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Biographia Britannica: Or, The Lives Of The Most Eminent Persons Who Have Flourished in Great Britain And Ireland From The Earliest Ages, To The Present Times Collected From The Best Authorities, Printed And Manuscript, And Digested In The Manner Of Mr. Bayle's Historical and Critical
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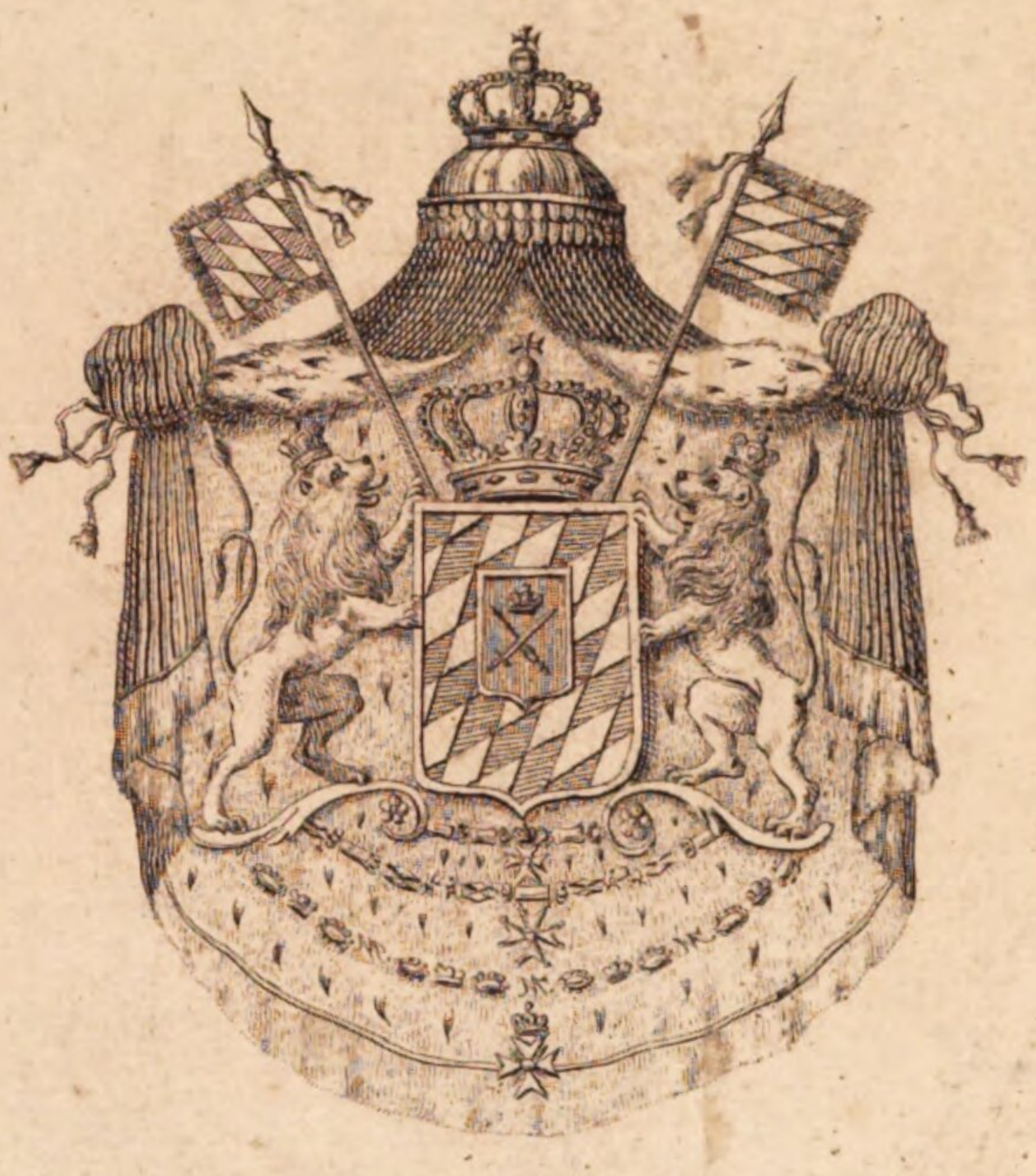

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BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

Biographia Britannica:

OR, THE

LIVES

OF THE

MOST EMINENT PERSONS

WHO HAVE FLOURISHED IN

GREAT BRITAIN

AND

IRELAND,

FROM THE EARLIEST AGES, TO THE PRESENT TIMES:

COLLECTED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES, PRINTED AND MANUSCRIPT,

AND DIGESTED IN THE MANNER OF

Mr. BAYLE's HISTORICAL and CRITICAL DICTIONARY.

THE SECOND EDITION,
With CORRECTIONS, ENLARGEMENTS, and the Addition of new LIVES:

By ANDREW KIPPIS, D.D. F.R.S. and S.A.

With the Aſſiſtance of the Rev. JOSEPH TOWERS, LL.D.
And other Gentlemen.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

LONDON:
Printed by W. and A. STRAHAN;
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R. BALDWIN, T. LOWNDES, S. FOX, J. NICHOLS, WHIELDON and WALLER,
H. GARDNER, W. OTRIDGE, and S. HAYES.
MDCCLXXX.

1780

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

The Earl of **SHELBURNE,**

A DISTINGUISHED PATRON OF SCIENCE
AND ART IN GENERAL,
AND A ZEALOUS ENCOURAGER OF HISTORICAL
AND BIOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE
IN PARTICULAR,
THE SECOND VOLUME OF THIS WORK
IS INSCRIBED,
WITH THE GREATEST GRATITUDE
AND RESPECT,

BY
HIS LORDSHIP's
MOST OBLIGED, AND
MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,

January 1, 1780.

ANDREW KIPPIS.

PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND EDITION OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

WE have now the pleaſure of preſenting our Readers with the Second Volume of the enlarged Edition of the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA. Should it be thought that the publication of it appears rather later than might have been expected, it may be anſwered, that there hath been ſome delay in conſequence of perſonal and profeſſional obligations and engagements, which were deemed of an indiſpenſable nature. Interruptions of health may, likewiſe, occur in the courſe of any great undertaking, and have actually occurred in the preſent caſe. Hindrances, alſo, will occaſionally and unavoidably ariſe from the Work itſelf. We cannot always obtain the information we want, or the books for which we have occaſion, ſo ſpeedily as is deſired: and ſometimes we hear of important and unexpected materials, the waiting for which amply compenſates for a ſhort delay.

But, perhaps, it is the leſs neceſſary to inſiſt upon theſe circumſtances, as we truſt it will be apparent, from the Volume before us, that we have not been defective in aſſiduity and diligence. The New Lives in this Volume are conſiderably more numerous than in the former, and the additions to the old articles are much greater. In fact, above a third part of the preſent Volume conſiſts entirely of freſh matter; from whence it has ariſen that we have not been able to get completely through the letter B. As this, at firſt view, may excite ſurpriſe in ſome of our Readers, it is proper to take notice, that B is a letter which furniſhes a larger number of names, and thoſe too of importance, than ſeveral other letters will do united. It took up no ſmall ſpace in the firſt edition of the Biographia Britannica: and though all the articles in the Great General Dictionary, are comprized in leſs than ten volumes, the letter B is continued to the end of the third volume.

The large additions which there are, in the preſent volume, to the old Work, and the little progreſs we have made in the alphabet, will naturally induce an inquiry, in how many volumes our deſign is likely to be comprehended. To this we anſwer, that, judging from what hath already been done, and ſuppoſing that the Work ſhall continue to require a like acceſſion of new matter, the whole cannot be finiſhed in leſs than Nine Volumes. In that number we apprehend it may be completed; provided the articles be not much increaſed by freſh ſuggeſtions, or by the deaths of learned and diſtinguiſhed perſons. The mortality of human life is continually adding to our taſk: and though the Work will be enriched by the accounts of men of ſuch extraordinary eminence and celebrity, in their reſpective ſtations, as a Garrick, a Warburton, and a Pitt, we cannot but regret that theſe, and other names that might be mentioned, are become the objects of our undertaking. It is highly probable, likewiſe, that before the deſign ſhall be finiſhed, a Supplement, of greater or leſs extent, will be neceſſary.

In accounting for the largeneſs of the Work, we wiſh our Readers again to advert, that it is not conſtructed upon a ſmall ſcale. It is juſtly obſerved by our learned predeceſſors, in their general Preface, that 'to have left out articles of 'note would have been unpardonable in an HISTORICAL, and to have treated 'ſuch articles ſuperficially, unworthy of a CRITICAL Dictionary.' It was the original intention of the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA, that it ſhould be a great repoſitory of hiſtorical and literary matter, and it is our aim to carry on that intention. In this view, we are deſirous of mentioning, as far as we are able, and as far as ſhall be found deſirable, not merely the writings of learned men, and other tranſactions of importance, but to afford ſuch a delineation of them as ſhall ſomewhat explain their nature and deſign, and the controverſies to which they gave occaſion. This part of our purpoſe we apprehend to be ſingularly uſeful, and the utility of which will be continually increaſing. In the vaſt variety of publications, accumulating from age to age, it is ſcarcely poſſible that the knowledge of many of them ſhould be preſerved in any other way than by a work of this nature. Every man of letters, however extenſive his reading may be, muſt feel the full force of this obſervation.

We have reaſon gratefully to acknowledge the generous communications and aſſiſtances which we ſtill continue to receive. While we renew our thanks to the reſpectable perſons formerly ſpecified, we muſt particularly do it with regard to Sir David Dalrymple, Iſaac Reed, Eſq; Thomas Aſtle, Eſq; and Mr. Arch-Deacon Blackburne. The continued aid of ſuch learned and judicious friends is no ſmall honour and advantage to our Work. We have the ſatisfaction, likewiſe, of adding to our liſt of general benefactors, the Rev. Dr. Lort, Chaplain to his Grace the Archbiſhop of Canterbury; the Rev. Mr. Hall, Rector of Child-Okeford, in Dorſetſhire; Sir John Hawkins; and Mr. John Nichols; who have obliged us with various uſeful and important communications, which will extend through the future volumes: and we have aſſurances of receiving aids of the like kind, from other learned men. The names of the Gentlemen of literature and conſequence, to whom we are indebted in ſingle articles, and which are too numerous to be here mentioned, will appear in the courſe of the articles themſelves.

We are now able to give a more accurate account, than we formerly did, of the original writers of the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA. As was heretofore obſerved, Mr. Broughton's ſignature was T, Mr. Morant's C, Mr. Oldys's G, Dr. Nichols's P, and the two ſignatures of Dr. Campbell, E and X. The articles marked R, were not written, as we before thought, by Mr. Oldys, but by the Rev. Mr. Hinton, a Clergyman who lived in Red-Lion Square. Thoſe ſigned H, were drawn up by Mr. Henry Brougham, of Took's Court, Curſitor Street; and thoſe which have the letter D annexed to them, were compoſed by Mr. Harris of Dublin; the ſame Mr. Harris, we apprehend, who was the Editor of Sir James Ware's Works. There are a very few articles marked I and Z, of the authors of which we are yet ignorant. Perhaps it may not be improper to repeat, that, in this Edition, we have put the initial letters of the real names of the writers, at the end of the Lives drawn up by them.

With regard to the original authors of the BIOGRAPHIA, Henry Brougham, Eſq; we believe is yet living, at Brougham, in the county of Weſtmoreland; having ſucceeded to the family eſtate, in 1756, by the death of his elder brother. Mr. Hinton was brother-in-law to Mr. Brougham. To Dr. Campbell, Mr. Harris, Mr. Morant, and Mr. Oldys, we intend to pay a due tribute of reſpect, at the proper places, in the courſe of this Work. Of Mr. Broughton, with regard to whom we had not ſufficient intelligence, when an article concerning him might have been introduced in the preſent Volume, we ſhall add, at the cloſe of this Preface, a ſhort account, for the materials of which we are indebted to his ſon.

We have prefixed to this Volume ſuch corrections and additions, with reſpect to ſeveral articles in the former Volume, as have occurred to ourſelves, or been pointed out by our friends, and particularly by Mr. Reed. We propoſe to do the ſame by the other Volumes, as we proceed in our undertaking. Some things of that kind, we already know, will preſent themſelves with relation to the Volume before us; but we think it better to defer them till the publication of the next, when we ſhall be able more completely to collect the remarks that may be ſuggeſted from various quarters. In doing this, it is not our intention to add any Lives which may be deemed to have been improperly omitted, or any accounts of eminent perſons whoſe deaths ſhall have happened after the letters with which their names begin are finiſhed. Such Lives muſt be referred to a Supplement.

From p. 56, we have pointed out, ſomewhat more diſtinctly than we had heretofore done, the new articles, and the new matter, by prefixing, beſides brackets, the following mark *$_*$* to every thing of that kind. We have prefixed, likewiſe, Tables of the Lives contained in each Volume.

It is our ambition to give this Work all the perfection in our power; and, therefore, we again invite the communications and the aid of the learned and judicious, in a deſign that is very honourable and important. As to the manner in which the undertaking is conducted, different judgments will be formed by different individuals. Some approve of reflections and remarks, others diſlike them; though recommended by the example of ſuch Biographers as a Tacitus and a Plutarch, a Bayle and a Johnſon. Some are only for a conciſe mention of facts and publications; while others wiſh for a more critical account both of events and writings. There muſt, likewiſe, ever exiſt in the world, diverſities of opinions, religious, political, and literary. It is impoſſible, therefore, in every caſe, to give univerſal ſatisfaction. The utmoſt that can be done, is to act with all the integrity, impartiality, and candour of which we are capable: and whilſt this is our aim, we muſt be allowed to follow our own judgment and feelings with regard to the choice of objects, and the mode wherein they are to be treated. In aſſuming this liberty, we muſt ſtand or fall, not by the opinion of any ſingle perſon, but by the ſuffrage of the Public in general; and in that reſpect we have not hitherto had reaſon to complain.

Mr. THOMAS BROUGHTON, a learned Divine, and one of the original Writers of the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA, was born at London, on the fifth of July, 1704, in the pariſh of St. Andrew, Holborn; of which pariſh his father was Miniſter. At an early age he was ſent to Eton School, where he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the acuteneſs of his genius, and the ſtudiouſneſs of his diſpoſition. Being ſuperannuated on this foundation, he removed, about the year 1722, to the Univerſity of Cambridge; and, for the ſake of a Scholarſhip, entered himſelf of Gonville and Caius College. Here two of the principal objects of his attention were, the acquiſition of the knowledge of the modern languages, and the ſtudy of the mathematics, under the famous Profeſſor Sanderſon. On the 28th of May 1727, Mr. Broughton, after taking the degree of Bachelor of Arts, was admitted to Deacon's orders, by Dr. Richard Reynolds, Biſhop of Lincoln. In the ſucceeding year, on the 22d of September, he was ordained Prieſt, by Dr. Edmund Gibſon, Biſhop of London, and proceeded to the degree of Maſter of Arts. At this time he removed from the Univerſity, to the Curacy of Offley, in Hertfordſhire. In the year 1739, he was inſtituted to the Rectory of Stepington, otherwiſe Stibington, in the county of Huntingdon, on the preſentation of John Duke of Bedford, and was appointed one of that nobleman's Chaplains. Soon after, he was choſen Reader to the Temple, by which means he became known to Biſhop Sherlock, who was then Maſter of it, and who conceived ſo high an opinion of our Author's merit, that, in 1744, this eminent Prelate preſented Mr. Broughton to the valuable Vicarage of Bedminſter, near Briſtol, together with the Chapels of St. Mary Redcliff, St. Thomas, and Abbot's Leigh, annexed. Some ſhort time after, he was collated, by the ſame patron, to the Prebend of Bedminſter and Redcliff, in the cathedral of Saliſbury. Upon receiving this preferment, he removed from London to Briſtol, where he married the daughter of Thomas Harris, Clerk, of that city, by whom he had ſeven children, ſix of whom ſurvived him. He reſided on his living till his death, which happened on the 21ſt of December 1774, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age. He was interred in the church of St. Mary Redcliff.

From the time of Mr. Broughton's quitting the Univerſity, till he was conſiderably advanced in life, he was engaged in a variety of publications, of which the following is a liſt, taken, in a great meaſure, from a paper in his own handwriting; but we cannot ſay whether it be ſtrictly in the order wherein they appeared.

Chriſtianity diſtinct from the Religion of Nature, in three Parts; in Anſwer to Chriſtianity as old as the Creation.

Tranſlation of Voltaire's Temple of Taſte.

Preface to his Father's Letter to a Roman Catholic.

Alteration of Dorrel on the Epiſtles and Goſpels from a Popiſh to a Proteſtant Book. Two Volumes, Octavo.

Part of the new Edition of Bayle's Dictionary in Engliſh, corrected; with a Tranſlation of the Latin and other Quotations.

Jarvis's Don Quixote; the Language thoroughly altered and corrected, and the poetical Parts new tranſlated.

Tranſlation of the Mottoes of the Spectator, Guardian, and Freeholder.

Original Poems and Tranſlations, by John Dryden, Eſq; now firſt collected and publiſhed together. Two Volumes.

Tranſlation of the Quotations in Addiſon's Travels, by him left untranſlated.

The firſt and third Olynthiacs, and the four Philippics of Demoſthenes (by ſeveral Hands), reviſed and corrected; with a new Tranſlation of the ſecond Olynthiac, the Oration de Pace, and that de Cherſoneſo: to which are added, all the Arguments of Libanius, and ſelect Notes from Ulpian. Octavo.

Lives in the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA.

The Biſhops of London and Wincheſter on the Sacrament, compared.

Hercules, a Muſical Drama.

Bibliotheca Hiſtorico-Sacra, an Hiſtorical Dictionary of all Religions, from the Creation of the World to the preſent Times. In two Volumes, Folio, 1756.

A Defence of the commonly received Doctrine of the human Soul.

A Proſpect of Futurity, in four Diſſertations; with a preliminary Diſcourſe on the natural and moral Evidence of a future State.

Mr. Broughton, ſome little time before his death, compoſed 'A ſhort View 'of the Principles upon which Chriſtian Churches require, of their reſpective 'Clergy, Subſcription to eſtabliſhed Articles of Religion;' but this work never appeared in print. He poſſeſſed, likewiſe, no inconſiderable talent for poetry, as is evident from many little fugitive pieces in manuſcript, found among his papers; and particularly, from two unfiniſhed Tragedies, both written at the age of ſeventeen.

When he was at Eton ſchool, Mr. Broughton was of the ſame year with Dr. Ewer, late Biſhop of Bangor; Dr. Sumner, late Provoſt of King's College, Cambridge; and Dr. Sleech, late Provoſt of Eton: and during his reſidence in London, he enjoyed the eſteem and friendſhip of moſt of the literary men of his time. He was a great lover of muſic, particularly the ancient; which introduced him to the knowledge and acquaintance of Mr. Handel; whom he furniſhed with the words for many of his compoſitions.

In his public character, Mr. Broughton was diſtinguiſhed by an active zeal for the Chriſtian cauſe, joined with a moderation of mind. In private life, he was devoted to the intereſts and happineſs of his family; and was of a mild, cheerful, and liberal temper. This diſpoſition, which is not always united with eminent literary abilities, attended him to his grave.

In 1778, a poſthumous Volume of Sermons, on ſelect Subjects, was publiſhed by his ſon, the Rev. Thomas Broughton, M. A. of Wadham College, Oxford, and Vicar of Tiverton, near Bath.

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315.	Aston (Sir Arthur), Warrior, - -	—	1649
317.	Aston (Sir Thomas), Warrior and political Writer, -	—	1645
317.†	Atheling (Edgar), Saxon Heir to the Engliſh Crown, at the Time of the Conqueſt, - - - -		about 1120
322.	Atkins (James), Biſhop of Galloway, - -	1613	1687
322.†	Atkins (Richard), Antiquary, - - -	—	1677
324.	Atkyns (Sir Robert), Lord Chief Baron, Law and Conſtitutional Writer, - - -	1621	1709
329.†	Atkyns (Sir Robert), Antiquary, - -	1646	1711
330.	Atterbury (Lewis), Divine, - - -	1631	1693
331.†	Atterbury (Lewis), Divine, - - -	1656	1731

Page		Born. A. D.	Died. A. D.
333.†	Atterbury (Francis), Biſhop of Rocheſter,	1662	1731
348.†	Aubrey (John), Antiquary,	1625 or 1628	1700
351.†	Audley (James), Lord Audley, Warrior,	1314	1389
352.	Audley (Edmund), Biſhop of Saliſbury,	——	1524
353.†	Audley (Thomas), Lord Chancellor and Stateſman,	1488	1544
358.	Avesbury (Robert of), ancient Engliſh Hiſtorian,	——	1356
361.†	Augustin (Saint), Archbiſhop of Canterbury,	——	604
370.†	Aungervyle (Richard), Biſhop of Durham,	1281	1345
372.†	Axtel (Daniel), Regicide,	——	1660
382.	Aylesbury (Sir Thomas), Patron of learned men,	1576	1657
383.	Aylesbury (William), Travelling Governor and Tranſlator,		about 1657
383.†	Aylmer (John), Biſhop of London,	1521	1594
394.	Ayrmin (William), Biſhop of Norwich,	——	1337
394.	Ayscue (Sir George), Naval Commander, in the laſt Century.		
408.	Aysserius, Biſhop of Shireburn, and Archbiſhop of St. David's; ancient Hiſtorian,	——	910

B.

412.†	Babington (Gervaſe), Biſhop of Worceſter,	1551	1610
413.	Bacon (Robert), Divine,	1168	1248
416.	Bacon (Roger), Divine, Philoſopher, Chemiſt, &c. &c.	1214	1292
441.†	Bacon (Sir Nicholas), Lord Keeper,	1510	1579
449.†	Bacon (Francis), Lord Chancellor, Stateſman, Philoſopher, Hiſtorian, &c.	1560-61	1626
502†	Bacon (Anthony), Brother to the Lord Chancellor, and Friend of the Earl of Eſſex,		about 1601
508.†	Baconthorp (John), Divine and Schoolman,	——	1346
510.	Badew (Richard de), Firſt Founder of Clare-hall, Cambridge, in the 14th Century.		
510.⁂	Baillie (Robert), Divine,	1599	1662
515.	Bainbridge (John), Phyſician and Aſtronomer,	1582	1643
516.†	Baker (Sir Richard), Hiſtorian,	1568	1644-5
518.	Baker (Thomas), Mathematician,	1625	1690
518.⁂	Baker (Thomas), Antiquary,	1656	1740
525.⁂	Baker (Henry), Naturaliſt,	about 1700	1774
528.†	Baldock (Ralph de), Biſhop of London,	——	1313
530.†	Baldwin, Archbiſhop of Canterbury,	——	1290
532.†	Bale (John), Biſhop of Oſſory,	1495	1563
536.	Bales (Peter), Penman and Short-hand Writer,	1547	about 1610
548.†	Baley (Walter), Phyſician,	——	1592
548.⁂	Balguy (John), Divine,	1686	1748
552.	Baliol (John de), Founder of Baliol-College, Oxford,	——	1269
553.†	Baliol (John), King of Scotland,	——	1314
571.	Ball (John), Divine,	1585	1640
572.	Ballendon (Sir John), Poet and Hiſtorian,	——	1550
574.†	Balsham (Hugh de), Biſhop of Ely,	——	1286
575.	Bambridge (Chriſtopher), Archbiſhop of York and Cardinal,	——	1514
577.†	Bancroft (Richard), Archbiſhop of Canterbury,	1544	1610
582.	Bancroft (John), Biſhop of Oxford,	——	1640
583.	Banister (John), Phyſician, in the 16th Century.		
583.	Bankes (Sir John), Lord Chief Juſtice,	1589	1644
585.⁂	Baptist (John), Painter,	1635	1699
586.†	Barclay (Alexander), Poet,	——	1552
587.⁂	Barclay (William), Civilian,	1541	1605
588.⁂	Barclay (John), political Writer,	1582	1621
589.†	Barclay (Robert), Writer among the Quakers,	1648	1690
602.	Barkham (John), Divine and Antiquary,	1572	1642
603.†	Barlowe (William), Biſhop of Chicheſter,	——	1568
604.	Barlowe (William), Biſhop of St. David's,	——	1625
604.†	Barlow (Thomas), Biſhop of Lincoln,	1607	1691
607.	Barnard (John), Divine,	——	1683
608.⁂	Barnard (Sir John), Citizen, Alderman, Lord Mayor, and Repreſentative of London,	1685	1764

Page.		Born. A. D.	Died. A. D.
616.†	Barnes (Joſhua), Divine and Greek Profeſſor,	1654	1712
619.	Barnwall (Robert), Lawyer,	—	—
619.	Baro (Peter), Divine,		about 1600
623.†	Baron (Bonaventure), Latin Writer in Proſe and Verſe,	—	1696
624.*⁎*	Barrington (John Shute), Lord Viſcount, Writer,	1678	1734
628.†	Barrow (Iſaac), Biſhop of St. Aſaph,	—	1680
629.†	Barrow (Iſaac), Divine and Mathematician,	1630	1677
638.†	Barry (Girald), Divine and ancient Hiſtorian,		about 1220
646.	Barry (James), Lord Santry, Lord Chief Juſtice in Ireland,	—	1672
648.†	Barry (Gerat), Military Writer, in the laſt Century.		
648.	Barry (Lodowick), Poet, in the laſt Century.		
648.	Barton (Elizabeth), Impoſtor,	—	1134
656.	Barwick (John), Divine,	1612	1664
665.	Barwick (Peter), Phyſician,	1619	1705
667.	Basier (Iſaac), Divine and Traveller,	1607	1676
669.	Basinge (John), Divine and Linguiſt,	—	1252
670.	Baskervile (Simon), Phyſician,	1573	1641
671.*⁎*	Baskerville (John), Artiſt and Printer,	1706	1775
672.	Basnet (Edward), Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin,	—	1553
675.†	Bassantin (James), Aſtronomer,	—	1568
677.†	Basset (Fulk), Biſhop of London,	—	1259
678.	Basset (Peter), hiſtorical Writer in the 15th Century.		
679.	Bastard (Thomas), Poet,	—	1618
679.	Baston (Robert), Poet,	—	1310
680.†	Bastwick (John), controverſial Writer,	1593	—
683.†	Bate (George), Phyſician,	1608	1667
685.	Bate (John), Divine,	—	1429
685.	Batecumbe (William), Mathematician, in the 15th Century.		
686.	Bateman (William), Biſhop of Norwich,	—	1354-5
687.†	Bates (William), Divine,	1625	1699
688.	Bathe (Henry de) Chief Juſtice,	—	1261
691.†	Bathe (William), Divine,	1564	1614
691.†	Bathurst (Ralph), Dean of Wells,	1620	1704

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

TO THE

Firſt Volume of the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA.

ABBOT (GEORGE), p. 21.

IN 1778, was publiſhed a Life of Archbiſhop Abbot, taken from the firſt Edition of the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA, with the Archbiſhop's Will annexed, and the ſtatutes made by him for the regulation of his hoſpital at Guilford. Theſe ſhew him to have been a man of great ſagacity and diſcretion. The Editor hath added, likewiſe, a character of our eminent Prelate, drawn up by the late Right Honourable Arthur Onſlow, Eſq. If this character had appeared in time, it would have been inſerted in its proper place: but we ſhall now refer it to Mr. Onſlow's article, where it may not unſuitably be introduced, both as a ſpecimen of that Gentleman's talent in compoſition, and as a proof of his regard for the Archbiſhop's memory.

ADAMSON (PATRICK), p. 38. l. 10.

Archbiſhop Adamſon was not born in 1563, but in 1543.

ADAMS (SIR THOMAS), p. 38.

It appears from the Life of Anthony a Wood, that Sir Thomas Adams remitted money to King Charles the Firſt during his diſtreſs, as well as to Charles the Second in his exile. Wood ſays, he had "heard from W. Lilly, that Alderman ——— Adams of "London, ſent to his Majeſty at Hampton Court a thouſand pound in gold: five "hundred pound of which was put into Jane Whorwood's hands, who gave Lilly for "this and other Judgments twenty pound of the ſame money, as the ſaid Lilly uſually "reported (*)." Jane Whorwood had conſulted Lilly as an Aſtrologer, to know in what quarter of the nation the King might be moſt ſafe, and not be diſcovered till himſelf pleaſed.

(*) Life of Anthony a Wood, p. 101, 102.

ADDISON (LANCELOT), p. 45.

Mrs. Combes, the daughter of Dr. Lancelot and the ſiſter of Mr. Joſeph Addiſon, died on the 2d of March 1750. It is ſaid, in the Gentleman's Magazine of that year (p. 139), that ſhe left her eſtate, after the payment of ſome legacies, to be applied to the erecting of a monument for her brother in Weſtminſter Abbey. This, however, if the fact concerning her bequeſt be truly ſtated, hath never been put into execution.

ADDISON (JOSEPH), p. 63.

We are informed (*a*) that Mr. Addiſon's marriage with the Counteſs of Warwick was upon terms; he having given up four thouſand pounds in lieu of ſome eſtate which ſhe loſt for his ſake.

(*a*) Gent. Mag. for Nov. 1779, p. 550.

When, upon account of his declining ſtate of health, he reſigned the poſt of Secretary of State, he was allowed a penſion of 1500 *l.* a year (*b*).

(*b*) Oldys's Manuſcripts.

It is ſaid, in Mr. Addiſon's Life (*c*), that he died in the fifty-fourth year of his age. But it is plain, from the account of his birth (*d*), that he was but a little more than forty-ſeven years old at the time of his deceaſe. This miſtake of our predeceſſor eſcaped our attention in reviſing the article.

(*c*) Biographia Britannica, vol. i. p. 51. 2d Edition.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 45.

Our repreſentation of the ſincerity of Mr. Addiſon's attachment to Dr. Swift (*e*), is confirmed, in a late valuable publication, not only by a letter there inſerted, but by an anecdote, which diſplays, in a ſtriking light, the nobleneſs of his diſpoſition. When he was appointed, by King George the Firſt, Secretary to the Earl of Sunderland, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Earl ſaid to him, 'But then there are ſome people in

(*e*) Ibid. p. 54.

‘ Ireland who are not agreeable to me, with whom I hope you will not converſe when ‘ you go thither.’ To this Mr. Addiſon replied, that he was much obliged to his Majeſty for the honour intended him; but that he could not comply with his Excellency's requeſt, as he would not ſacrifice his friendſhip for Dr. Swift to be made Chief Governor of that kingdom *(f)*.

In Dr. Johnſon's late elegant publication of the Engliſh Poets, Mr. Addiſon's Poems are better arranged than in any former edition that hath fallen under our inſpection. There are added, likewiſe, ſeveral of his pieces, which, having originally been publiſhed in the Spectator or other collections, are not uſually joined with the reſt of his poetical writings. Theſe are, a tranſlation of Cowley's epitaph on himſelf; Inauguratio Regis Gulielmi, which occaſioned Mr. Addiſon's being elected into Magdalen College; the Veſtal, tranſlated from Ovid de Faſtis; the prologue to Smith's Phædra and Hippolitus; an Ode for St. Cecilia's Day, ſet to muſic by Mr. Daniel Purcell, and performed at Oxford, in 1699; two Odes, two Hymns, and a Paraphraſe on the twenty-third Pſalm, all well known, and juſtly valued, in the religious world; the Play-houſe, a ſatire; and an Epigram on Lady Mancheſter *(g)*. On the other hand, Dr. Johnſon hath omitted a fine copy of verſes, addreſſed to her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Wales, with the tragedy of Cato *(h)*.

To the commendations of Mr. Addiſon as a writer, which have formerly been produced, many more might be added: but we ſhall only inſert the following ſhort character of him in this reſpect, which hath been given in the twenty-ſixth number of the World. ‘ Among ourſelves, no writer has made ſo happy and judicious a mixture ‘ of plain and figurative terms, as Addiſon, who was the firſt that baniſhed from the ‘ Engliſh, as Boileau from the French, every ſpecies of bad eloquence and falſe wit, ‘ and opened the gates of the temple of Taſte to his fellow-citizens.’ In Somervile's Poems, there is a copy of verſes to Mr. Addiſon, occaſioned by his purchaſing an eſtate in Warwickſhire, in which he is elegantly and highly applauded both as a man and an author *(i)*.

It hath been very properly ſuggeſted, that a complete edition of his Works, accompanied with ſuitable notes and illuſtrations, is yet wanted *(k)*: and there can be no doubt but that ſuch an edition, if executed with the attention and fidelity it deſerves, would be an acceptable preſent to the Public.

ADRIAN (DE CASTELLO), p. 69.

With regard to the time of this Cardinal's deceaſe, which, however, is uncertain, Ciaconius ſays, that it was about the year 1518, and Contelorius aſſerts, that he died on the 16th of January, 1526. Some writers relate, that the Cardinal, from the fear of being killed, fled into Thrace, as far as to Conſtantinople, where he departed this life in great obſcurity *(l)*.

AKENSIDE (MARK), p. 107.

In note [*F*], where Hutcheſon the moral philoſopher is mentioned, his name, by a miſtake of the reviſer of the preſs, is miſ-ſpelt, Hutchinſon.

As we have expreſſed ſome doubt concerning the authenticity of three pieces which are publiſhed as Dr. Akenſide's, in Pearch's Collection, viz. *Love*, an elegy, a *Britiſh Philippic*, and a *Hymn to Science*; it is neceſſary to aſſign the ſatisfactory reaſons which have been given us for aſcribing them to our ingenious poet. *Love*, an elegy, was printed originally with the Ode on the Winter Solſtice, and given to the Doctor's friends. It afterwards appeared in the firſt edition of Dodſley's Collection; but was omitted in the ſucceeding editions, by Dr. Akenſide's deſire. In the Gentleman's Magazine there is ſufficient evidence that the *Britiſh Philippic* and the *Hymn to Science* were written by our Author *(m)*. Whatever were the motives for leaving out theſe three pieces, in the publication of his poetical works by Mr. Dyſon; when it is conſidered that they were compoſed by Dr. Akenſide whilſt he was very young, they will be found to reflect no diſcredit on his memory. The *Britiſh Philippic* and the *Hymn to Science* in particular, well deſerved to be inſerted among the reſt of his poems. There is reaſon to believe that the Doctor wrote ſeveral other pieces in the Gentleman's Magazine, in the early part of his life. In the ſeventh volume of that Work, there is a poem, called the *Virtuoſo, in Imitation of Spenſer's Style and Stanza*, which is dated from Newcaſtle upon Tyne, ſigned Marcus, and ſaid to be the performance of one in his ſixteenth year *(n)*. Theſe circumſtances apply ſo exactly to Dr. Akenſide, that they can ſcarcely belong to any other perſon. In the ſame volume we meet with two poems beſides, which may, we doubt not, juſtly be reckoned among our Author's youthful compoſitions *(o)*.

The late Mr. Robert Lloyd, ſpeaking of Homer's Hymns, which he had ſome thoughts of tranſlating, ſays, ‘ they, who would form the juſteſt idea of this ſort of ‘ compoſition among the ancients, may be better informed, by peruſing Dr. Akenſide's ‘ moſt

(f) Supplement to Dr. Swift's Works, Vol. ii. p 410, 411.

(g) Johnſon's Poets, Vol. xxiii. p. 68, 69. 105. 215 219—234.

(h) Addiſon's Works, Vol. i. p. 371 Baſkerville's edition.

(i) Johnſon's Poets, Vol. xlvii. p. 174—179.

(k) Gent. Mag. *ubi ſupra.*

(l) Richardſon's Godwin de Præſulibus, p. 386. Note.

(m) Gent. Mag. Vol. xiv. p. 219. Vol. viii. p 427. Vol. ix. p. 554.

(n) Gent. Mag. Vol. vii. p. 244.

(o) *Ibid.* p. 309. 441.

‘ moſt claſſical hymn to the Naiads, than from any tranſlation of Homer or Callimachus (*p*).’ The ſame writer concludes his Ode to Genius with the following lines:

‘ Why ſleep the ſons of Genius now?
‘ Why, Wartons, reſts the lyre unſtrung?
‘ And Thou * bleſt bard! around whoſe ſacred brow,
‘ Great Pindar's delegated wreath is hung:
‘ Ariſe, and ſnatch the Majeſty of Song
‘ From Dulneſs' ſervile tribe, and Art's unhallowed throng (*q*).’

ALCOCK (John), p. 120.

Among Wren's manuſcript Collections, is the following curious memorial, concerning a long ſermon preached by Biſhop Alcock, at St. Mary's, in Cambridge.

‘ J. Alcock, divina gratia epiſcopus Elienſis, prima die dominica, 1488, bonum ‘ et *blandum* ſermonem prædicavit, in eccleſia B. Mariæ Cantabrig. qui incepit in hora ‘ prima poſt meridiem, et duravit in horam tertiam et ultra.’ It appears, from our Prelate's article, that he ſometimes condeſcended, even in his epiſcopal character, to ſport with his own name. Alexander Barklay the poet, in his third Ekloge, is prolix in his praiſes of Alcock. After applauding, in ſeveral punning lines upon his name, his vigilance as a paſtor, and celebrating the beautiful ſepulchral chapel erected by him in his cathedral, Barklay thus repreſents the general lamentation for the death of this worthy Biſhop, and riſes above himſelf, ſays Mr. Warton, in deſcribing the ſympathy of the towers, arches, vaults, and images of Ely monaſtery.

‘ The pratie palace by him made in the fen,
‘ The maidès, widowes, the wives, and the men,
‘ With deadly dolour were pearſed to the hearte,
‘ When death conſtrayn'd this ſhepherd to departe.
‘ Corne, graſſe, and fieldes, mourned for wo and payne,
‘ For oft his prayer for them obtayned rayne.
‘ The pleaſant floures for him faded eche one.——
‘ The okès, elmès: every ſort of dere
‘ Shrunke under ſhadowes, abating all their chere.
‘ The mightie walles of Ely monaſtery,
‘ The ſtonès, rockes, and towrès ſembably,
‘ The marble pillours, and images eche one,
‘ Swete all for ſorrowe, when this Cocke was gone (*r*).’

ALDRICH (Henry), p. 131.

In the Remarks on Mr. Aviſon's Eſſay on muſical Expreſſion, underſtood to have been written by the late Dr. Hayes, Profeſſor of Muſic at Oxford, an account is given of the methods taken by Dr. Aldrich to have the choral ſervice of his cathedral performed in the beſt manner. In the firſt place, he never admitted a boy choriſter, unleſs he had been previouſly inſtructed, and had afforded ſufficient proofs of his abilities. By this means there was always a complete ſet, and a conſtant ſupply. For parents, being aſſured that their children, if properly qualified, would be preferred as opportunity offered, were very ſolicitous to procure for them the neceſſary inſtruction. Secondly, in admitting a ſinging-man, or chaplain, the Doctor made it a rule to give the preference to one who had merited his favour in a lower capacity, provided he was fully equal to the duty of the higher ſtation. By a ſtrict obſervance of this method, there was not an uſeleſs member in the choir, chaplains having an equal ſhare, with the ſinging-men, in the choral duty. Neither was there, on this account, the leaſt grumbling or complaint: for the Dean himſelf ſet a noble example to every perſon in his cathedral, by conſtantly taking a part in all the ſervices and anthems. Thirdly, in order to keep up the ſpirit of muſic, and to promote ſocial harmony, the whole body, on certain evenings in the week, attended Dr. Aldrich regularly at his lodgings; where he not only appointed the pieces that ſhould be performed, but aſſiſted in the performance. Animated by ſuch a leader, ſcarcely any of the band could be remiſs or negligent. Laſtly, the Dean's method of puniſhing delinquents was as ſingular as it was effectual. If one of the choir abſented himſelf, without aſſigning a ſufficient reaſon for it, he was excluded from being preſent at the next meeting: any who were tardy and came late, were allowed nothing to drink, excepting ſmall beer. Such a mode of treatment had a better effect than could have ariſen from ſeverer mulcts and reprimands; and, indeed, there was ſeldom occaſion given for cenſure. To theſe muſical entertainments, a certain number of the Noblemen and Gentlemen Commoners of the Doctor's College were conſtantly invited. And, although to *them* it was chiefly matter of pleaſure and amuſe-

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(*p*) Lloyd's poetical Works, Vol. ii. p. 220.

* Dr. Akenſide.

(*q*) Lloyd, *ubi ſupra*, p. 175.

(*r*) Warton's Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, Vol. ii. p. 248—251.

ment, they were as cautious of offending by abſence as a ſinging-man would have been; and they were ſubjected to the ſame puniſhment (*s*).

Dr. Aldrich, in the more early part of his life, accompanied Sir Joſeph Williamſon to Cologn; a circumſtance which might contribute to his ſubſequent preferment (*u*).

(*s*) Remarks on Aviſon, p. 100—102.

(*t*) Sir William Muſgrave's Memoranda.

ALLEIN (RICHARD), p. 143.

Mr. Richard Allein is repreſented as having died when he was ſomething more than ſixty-four years of age. But if the dates of his birth and death, as given in his article, be true, he muſt have been ſeventy at the time of his deceaſe.

ALLEYN (EDWARD), p. 157.

The manuſcript of Mr. Edward Alleyn, ſo often quoted in his article, hath, we are told, been loſt by the careleſſneſs of the Members of Dulwich College. If this be the caſe, the neglect is very culpable. Perſons who are bountifully ſupported by inſtitutions of this kind, ought ſacredly to preſerve whatever is written by, or relates to, their founders and benefactors.

The letter under the name of George Peele, to one Maſter Henrie Marle, relative to a diſpute between Shakeſpeare and Alleyne, which was compromiſed by Ben Jonſon, appears to be a forgery. In a periodical pamphlet, called, 'The Theatrical Review,' the letter was pretended to be printed from the original manuſcript, dated 1600. But Dr. Farmer, in his admirable and deciſive Eſſay on the Learning of Shakeſpeare, hath clearly ſhewn, that George Peele muſt have been dead, at the lateſt, in 1598, if not before that time (*w*).

(*u*) Eſſay on the Learning of Shakeſpeare, p. 77. Note.

ALLIX (PETER), p. 163.

A learned friend * hath informed us, that beſides the works which are mentioned in Dr. Allix's article, as having been written by him, he was the author of the following pieces. 'Theſes Theologicæ de ultimo Judicio.' Salmur. Quarto. 1660. As Dr. Allix could not, at this time, be twenty years of age, theſe might poſſibly be no other than academical exerciſes. 'A Diſcourſe concerning Penance.' Lond. Octavo. 1688. 'An Hiſtorical Diſcourſe concerning the Neceſſity of the Miniſter's Intention 'in adminiſtring the Sacrament.' Octavo. 1688. 'An Examination of the Scruples 'of thoſe who refuſe to take the Oaths.' Quarto. 1689. 'Animadverſions on Mr. 'Hill's Vindication of the Primitive Fathers againſt the Right Rev. Gilbert Biſhop of 'Sarum. In a Letter to a Perſon of Quality.' Quarto. 1695.

* The Rev. Dr. Flexman.

AMHURST (NICHOLAS), p. 175.

In Lord Lyttelton's Works, we meet with the following account of the proceedings relative to Mr. Amhurſt, on occaſion of his publiſhing the ironical letter in the name of Colley Cibber. 'Some time after Chriſtmas, 1737, Mr. Amhurſt, hearing that a 'warrant from the Duke of Newcaſtle was out againſt him, ſurrendered himſelf to a 'Meſſenger, and was carried before his Grace to be examined. The crime imputed to 'him was, that he was *ſuſpected* to be the author of a paper *ſuſpected* to be a libel. As 'no proofs were alleged againſt him, no witneſſes produced, an examination of this 'kind could not laſt long. As ſoon as it was over, he was told, that, the crime being 'bailable, he ſhould be bailed, upon finding ſufficient ſureties to anſwer for his appear-'ance and trial: he gave bail for his appearance, but the other terms impoſed upon 'him he abſolutely refuſed. Upon that refuſal he was remanded back to cuſtody, and 'the next day brought his *Habeas Corpus*, and was then ſet at liberty by conſent, till the 'twelve Judges ſhould determine the queſtion, Whether he was obliged to give bail for '*his good behaviour*, as well as for his appearance, before he was entitled to his 'liberty.'

As this determination, continues Lord Lyttelton, would have been the moſt important to the liberty of every man in England, that perhaps the Judges ever gave, it was impatiently expected and deſired by the public. Several days were fixed for hearing counſel on both ſides: but they were never heard, and the queſtion was ſuffered to remain undetermined (*w*).

(*w*) Lord Lyttelton's miſcellaneous Works, Vol. i. p. 94, 95. 3d edition.

AMORY (THOMAS), p. 180.

Dr. Amory's funeral ſermon for Mr. Strong was not reprinted in the volume of Diſcourſes publiſhed in 1758, but in the volume which came out after the Doctor's death; and his Forms of Devotion for the Cloſet appeared firſt in 1733.

ANDREWS (LANCELOT), p. 188.

When Dr. Andrews was Dean of Weſtminſter, we are told, that he was particularly careful of the improvement of the ſcholars; that he often ſupplied the place of the maſters for a whole week together; that he ordered the leſſons to be given out of none but the moſt claſſical authors; that he cauſed the exerciſes to be brought to him; that he never went to Chiſwick without two ſcholars with him; that he frequently ſent for the uppermoſt ſcholars, and ſpent whole evenings entirely in inſtructing them; and that he did all this in a very ſtrict and exact, though a mild and tender manner *(y)*.

In the *Nugæ Antiquæ*, lately publiſhed, there is a character of Biſhop Andrews, by Sir John Harrington. In this character, the higheſt encomium is given of him, agreeably to all the accounts which we have of our eminent Prelate. Once, when Dr. Andrews had preached before Queen Elizabeth, Henry Noel, one of the greateſt gallants of thoſe times, ſware as he was a gentleman, he never heard man ſpeak with ſuch a ſpirit *(z)*.

(y) Widmore's Hiſt. of Weſtminſter Abbey, p. 144. Hacket's Life of Dr. Williams, p. 45.

(z) Nugæ Antiquæ, Vol. i. p. 163—170. Edition of 1779.

ARBUTHNOT (JOHN), p. 243.

Mr. William Pate, the woollen-draper, by whom Dr. Arbuthnot was entertained on his firſt coming to London, was himſelf a perſon of literature, as well as the friend of ingenious men. He was educated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Laws; but, from a diſlike to ſubſcriptions, he declined engaging in any learned profeſſion. Applying to buſineſs, he became very eminent as a woollen-draper; which trade he carried on in a houſe oppoſite to the Royal Exchange. He was once drank to as Sheriff, but avoided ſerving the office, by ſome mode of valuing his property which enabled him to ſwear off. He was commonly called the learned tradeſman; and he lived in friendſhip with the principal wits and ſcholars of his time. It appears, from the inſcription on the portrait of Sir Kenelm Digby, at Oxford, that Mr. Pate was in buſineſs ſo early as in 1692. He died on the 9th of December, 1746, in the 80th year of his age; and there is, in the church-yard at Lee, in Kent, a Latin epitaph to his memory, in which he is celebrated for his ingenuity and learning, and for the politeneſs and ſweetneſs of his manners. Mr. Pate ordered the following apothegm to be inſcribed upon his tomb-ſtone:

> ' Epicharmian illud teneto,
> ' Nervos atque artes eſſe ſapientiæ,
> ' NON TEMERE CREDERE *(a)*.'

We have taken notice, in Dr. Arbuthnot's article, that the greateſt part of the pieces in the Collection called his 'Miſcellaneous Works,' were not written by him. It may here be added, that ſeveral of the productions in this ſpurious, and, indeed, paltry publication, were by Fielding, Harry Carey, and other writers who are known. Some of the Tracts were written after the Doctor's deceaſe, or when he was too ill to compoſe ſuch trifles. Mr. Nichols intends to print a collection of Dr. Arbuthnot's genuine pieces, cleared of the rubbiſh in which they have been buried.

(a) Supplement to Swift's Works, Vol. ii. p. 458. Octavo.

ARTHUR, p. 269.

King Arthur, as we learn from Dr. Borlaſe, is ſaid to have been born at Tindagel Caſtle in Cornwall: and in the country near that place, every thing that is grand, uncommon, or inexplicable, is attributed to this Prince. There they have his hall, his bed, his way to church, and the like. The Doctor is of opinion, that theſe things ſerve to aſſure us, that there was ſuch a famous Prince; and he draws the ſame concluſion from the tomb-ſtone found in Glaſtonbury church, even though it ſhould be allowed to be ſuppoſititious. In ſhort, ſays Dr. Borlaſe, there was certainly ſuch a perſon; but it is not agreed in what year he was born, or whether he was the ſon of Gorlois or of Uter, or the ſame perſon as Uter. Another thing, adds the Doctor, may be aſſerted of Arthur without doubt, that he was a valiant warrior and true Chriſtian. As a proof of his being a great lover of Chriſtianity, it is related, that when, in the beginning of his reign, he was obliged to allow to Cerdic the Saxon, Hampſhire, Surrey, Wiltſhire, Somerſetſhire, Dorſetſhire, and part of Devonſhire and Cornwall, he took care, in the treaty, to provide for the religion of his native country, by ſtipulating that Cerdic ſhould permit to the Corniſh the free exerciſe of the Chriſtian worſhip, upon the payment of an annual tribute.

Merlin, in his Propheſies, calls Arthur the Corniſh boar *(Aper Cornubiæ)*; becauſe he was born *in maritimo Caſtro Tindagel.* He reigned twenty-ſix years, from 516 to 542 *(b)*.

(b) Borlaſe's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 407, 408. *Ibid.* p. 371.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

ASCHAM (ROGER), p. 289.

In the firſt volume of the very valuable " Miſcellaneous State Papers,' publiſhed in 1778, is a letter of Roger Aſcham's to Sir Richard Moryſon; giving Sir Richard an account of his communication with Monſ. D'Arras, at Landau, Oct. 1, 1552 (*c*).

ASHMOLE (ELIAS), p. 307.

Mr. Aſhmole's account of himſelf, written by way of diary, was republiſhed in 1774, together with William Lilly's Hiſtory of his Life and Times. The Diary was, no doubt, of great uſe to our learned predeceſſor, in aſcertaining the dates and facts in Mr. Aſhmole's article; but, otherwiſe, the publication of it reflects no credit on the underſtanding of this famous Chemiſt and Antiquary. It is, indeed, minute to a degree that is completely ridiculous. Were we to recite ſome particulars from it, they would make our readers laugh; but then it would be wholly at Mr. Aſhmole's expence. Mr. Burman was very ill employed in printing the whole of the Diary; and what are we to think of Dr. Plot's judgment, who could eſteem it worthy of being all tranſcribed with his own hand?

ASTELL (MARY), p. 314.

The Divine, to hear whom Mrs. Aſtell conſtantly walked, every Sunday, from Chelſea to St. Martin's Church, was Dr. Trapp.

ATKYNS (SIR ROBERT, Senior), p. 329.

The Pamphlet which Sir Robert Atkyns wrote againſt the Power of the Court of Chancery, was publiſhed in 1695. It was called, 'An Enquiry into the Juriſdiction 'of the Chancery in Cauſes of Equity;' and there was annexed to it, 'The Caſe of 'Sir Robert Atkyns about a ſeparate Maintenance.' Folio. He was, likewiſe, the Author of a Tract, intitled, 'The true and ancient Juriſdiction of the Houſe of Peers.' Folio, 1699. Neither of theſe pieces are printed in the Collection of his Tracts, which appeared in 1734.

ATTERBURY (FRANCIS), p. 348.

We learn, from a letter of Dr. Swift's, dated January 12, 1708-9, that when Queen Anne thought fit to prorogue the Convocation, it was greatly to the diſpleaſure of Dr. Atterbury, who was deſigned to be Prolocutor, and raged at the diſappointment (*d*).

When the famous Dr. Sacheverel died, on the fifth of June 1724, he bequeathed, by Will, to our Prelate, then in exile, and who was ſuppoſed to have penned his defence for him, the ſum of five hundred pounds (*e*).

The letter of Biſhop Atterbury to his ſon, mentioned in p. 347, hath been printed in ſeveral collections. The name of the Biſhop's ſon was not Obadiah, but Oſborne.

Mr. Pope's fine Epitaph on our Prelate ought not to have been omitted. Whether the compliment paid to him be a juſt one, is another queſtion.

'On Dr. Francis Atterbury, Biſhop of Rocheſter; who died in Exile at Paris 1732;
'his only Daughter having expired in his Arms, immediately after ſhe arrived in
'France to ſee him.

DIALOGUE.

SHE. 'Yes, we have lived—one pang, and then we part!
'May Heaven, dear Father! now have all thy heart.
'Yet ah! how much we loved, remember ſtill,
'Till you are duſt like me.
HE. 'Dear ſhade! I will:
'Then mix this duſt with thine—O ſpotleſs ghoſt!
'O more than fortune, friends, or country loſt!
'Is there on earth, one care, one wiſh beſide!
'Yes, SAVE MY COUNTRY, HEAV'N, he ſaid, and dy'd (*b*).'

(*c*) Miſcellaneous State Papers, p. 48—51.

(*d*) Swift's Works, vol. xii. p. 107, 24*mo* edition.

(*e*) Supplement to Swift, vol. i. p. 259.

(*f*) Pope's Works, vol. iv. p. 58. 12*mo*. 1776.

AUBREY (JOHN), p. 351.

Though Aubrey gave conſiderable aſſiſtance to Anthony Wood, and they were greatly obliged to each other for their mutual literary communications, the friendſhip between them was neither ſtrong nor durable. Wood, in his own Life, ſpeaks of Mr. Aubrey in very diſparaging terms. He calls him a Pretender to Antiquities; and after giving an account of the origin of their acquaintance, of the gay appearance which Aubrey made at Oxford, and of his ſubſequent poverty, Wood adds as follows: ‘ He was a ſhiftleſs perſon, roving and magotie-headed, and ſometimes little better ‘ than craſed. And being exceedingly credulous, would ſtuff his many letters ſent to ‘ A. W. with folliries, and miſ-informations, which ſometimes would guid him into ‘ the paths of errour.’

Beſides the books and manuſcripts of Mr. Aubrey, mentioned in his article, the following manuſcripts are alſo depoſited in the Muſeum at Oxford. ‘ An Apparatus ‘ for the Lives of our Engliſh mathematical and other Writers.’ ‘ An Interpretation ‘ of *Villare* Anglicanum.’ ‘ Deſignatio de *Eaſton-piers* in Com. Wilts.’ ‘ A Volume ‘ of Letters and other Papers of E. Aſhmole’s, relating chiefly to Dr. Dee and Sir ‘ Edw. Kelley.’ ‘ Two Volumes of Letters from eminent Perſons to John Aubrey, ‘ Eſq; *(g)*.’

(g) Lives of eminent Antiquaries, vol. ii. p. 208—210.

AYLMER (JOHN), p. 393.

In the Nugæ Antiquæ, there is a character of Biſhop Aylmer drawn up by Sir John Harrington; but it doth not appear to contain any new facts *(h)*.

(h) Nugæ Antiquæ, vol. i. p. 16—25.

BACON (SIR NICHOLAS), p. 448.

The account which is given, p. 444, of the Lord Keeper’s drawing upon him Queen Elizabeth’s diſpleaſure, from his diſlike to the title of the Queen of Scots, cannot, we think, be true. ‘ The diſcourſe,’ mentioned in the note, p. 448, ‘ upon certain ‘ points touching the inheritance of the Crown, conceived by Sir Anthony Brown, and ‘ anſwered by Sir Nicholas Bacon,’ was publiſhed in 1723, by Nathaniel Boothe of Gray’s-Inn, Eſq; from the original manuſcript. Now from this publication it deciſively appears, that Sir Nicholas Bacon was a moſt ſtrenuous aſſertor of the title of the Queen of Scots, in oppoſition to Sir Anthony Brown, who had contended for the right of the Houſe of Suffolk.

BAKER (THOMAS), p. 525.

The Life of Mr. Thomas Baker, drawn up by the late Dr. Zachary Grey, is now in the hands of a learned gentleman; but is not, we believe, intended to be publiſhed. It is probable, however, that ſeveral particulars will be ſelected from it, and communicated to the world. Some of them will, perhaps, appear in the Anecdotes, biographical and literary, of Mr. William Bowyer, which are deſigned to be prefixed to the third edition of that eminent Printer’s conjectural Obſervations on the New Teſtament.

BAKER (HENRY), p. 528.

Mr. Henry Baker was a poetical Writer, in the early part of his life. In 1725, he publiſhed ‘ Original Poems, ſerious and humourous,’ Part the firſt, Octavo. The ſecond Part came out in 1726. Among theſe Poems there are ſaid to be ſome Tales as witty and as looſe as Prior’s. He was the Author, likewiſe, of ‘ The Univerſe, a ‘ Poem intended to reſtrain the Pride of Man,’ which has been ſeveral times reprinted. Another of his poetical publications was an ‘ Invocation to Health *(i)*.’ His account of the Water Polype, which was originally publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, was afterwards enlarged into a ſeparate treatiſe, and hath gone through ſeveral editions.

(i) Gent. Mag. for July 1778, p. 321.

Mr. Baker’s eldeſt ſon, Mr. David Erſkine Baker, was a young man of genius and learning. Having been adopted by an uncle, who was a ſilk-throwſter in Spital-fields, he ſucceeded his uncle in the buſineſs; but wanted the prudence and attention which are neceſſary to ſecure proſperity in trade. His ſecond wife was the daughter of Mr. Clendon, a Reverend Empiric. Mr. Erſkine Baker wrote ſeveral occaſional poems in the periodical collections, ſome of which were much admired at the time. The Public is indebted to him for ‘ The Companion to the Play-houſe,’ in two Volumes, 12mo; a work which, though imperfect, has conſiderable merit, and ſhews that he poſſeſſed a very extenſive knowledge of our dramatic Authors *(k)*.

(k) Ibid.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

BALE (JOHN), p. 536.

It is ſaid by Mr. Wallis, in 'The natural Hiſtory and Antiquities of Northumberland,' vol. ii. p. 390, that John Bale lived and ſtudied at the abbey of Hulme in that county, of which ſociety he was member.

It appears from the extract in Note [*A*], that Bale was not ſent to Jeſus College in Oxford, but to Jeſus College in Cambridge.

BARCLAY (ALEXANDER), p. 589.

In the ſecond Volume of Mr. Warton's Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, is a full account of Alexander Barclay's 'Ship of Fooles,' and of his other poetical productions. As this account was not publiſhed when the firſt Volume of the BIOGRAPHIA was printed, we could not avail ourſelves of it: and, at preſent, it may ſuffice to refer to a work, which either is or ought to be in the hands of every Antiquary, and of every man of taſte and literature *(l)*.

BARLOWE (WILLIAM), p. 604.

In the Nugæ Antiquæ, there is a character of this Biſhop, by Sir John Harrington (*m*).

BARNARD (SIR JOHN), p. 615.

When Mr. Beckford was rechoſen Lord Mayor in 1769, a diſpute ariſing, in the Common Hall, on the propriety of his re-election, it appeared, by the City Records, that Sir John Barnard had been choſen Lord Mayor a ſecond time, in 1740. He was elected Preſident of Chriſt's Hoſpital in the ſame year.

BARROW (ISAAC), p. 638.

In Mr. Abraham Hill's Letters, there is one from Dr. Barrow to that gentleman, dated Pera of Conſtantinople, Dec. 17, 1658, giving an account of the medals he had collected in the courſe of his Travels. From this account it appears, that the Doctor was very learned in medallic ſcience (*n*).

BASSET (FULK), p. 677.

The marginal reference *(f)* to be expunged.

(l) Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry, vol. ii. p. 240—256.

(m) Vol. i. p. 123—129.

(n) Familiar Letters which paſſed between Abraham Hill, Eſq; and ſeveral eminent and ingenious Perſons of the laſt Century, p. 23—28.

XXIII

TABLE of the LIVES

CONTAINED IN THE

SECOND VOLUME.

[Thoſe with this Mark *** prefixed are new Lives. Thoſe with this Mark † have ſome Addition made to them.]

Page		Born. A. D.	Died. A. D.
1.***	Bathurst (Allen), Earl Bathurſt, diſtinguiſhed Senator,	1684	1775
8.†	Batmanson (John), Divine,	——	1531
8.†	Baxter (Richard), Divine,	1615	1691
22.†	Baxter (William), Critic,	1650	1723
24.***	Baxter (Andrew), Metaphyſician and Natural Philoſopher,	1686 or 1687	1750
27.†	Bayly (Lewis), Biſhop of Bangor,	——	1632
27.	Bayly (Thomas), Divine in the Seventeenth Century.	——	——
28.†	Baynes (Sir Thomas), Phyſician,	1622	1681
30.***	Beale (Mary), Painter,	1632	1697
31.†	Beaton (James), Archbiſhop of St. Andrews,	——	1539
37.†	Beaton (David), Cardinal,	1494	1546
56.	Beaton (James), Archbiſhop of Glaſgow,	——	1603
61.†	Beauchamp (Richard De), Earl of Warwick,	1381	1439
67.	Beauchamp (Henry De), Duke of Warwick,	1424	1445
68.†	Beauchamp (John De), Baron of Kidderminſter,	1320	1388
70.	Beauchamp (John De), Lord High Treaſurer of England	——	1475
71.†	Beauchamp (William De), Lord Bergavenny,	——	1411
72.	Beaver (John), Hiſtorian in the Fourteenth Century.	——	——
73.	Beaufort (John), Earl of Somerſet,	——	1410
74.†	Beaufort (Henry), Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Cardinal,	——	1447
81.	Beaufort (Joan), Queen of Scotland,	——	1446
82.†	Beaufort (Margaret), Counteſs of Richmond,	1441	1509
85.†	Beaumont (Lewis), Biſhop of Durham,	——	1333
86.†	Beaumont (Sir John), Judge of the Common Pleas, and Poet.		
88.†	Beaumont and Fletcher, Dramatic Poets, Beaumont	1585 or 1586	1615
	Fletcher	1576	1625
100.†	Becket (St. Thomas), Archbiſhop of Canterbury,	1119	1171
114.	Beckington (Thomas), Biſhop of Bath and Wells,	——	1464-5
115.†	Beda, famous Engliſh Monk,	672 or 673	735
133.†	Bedell (William), Biſhop of Kilmore in Ireland,	1570	1641
141.	Bederic (Henry), Divine in the Fourteenth Century.	——	——
141.†	Behn (Aphara), Poeteſs,	——	1689
146.†	Bek (Anthony), Biſhop of Durham,	——	1310
149.	Bekinsau (John), Civilian,	——	1559
149.†	Belgrave (Richard), Divine in the Fourteenth Century.	——	——
150.	Beling (Richard), Controverſial Writer,	1613	1677
151.†	Belmeis (Richard De), Biſhop of London,	——	1127
152.†	Belmeis (Richard De), Biſhop of London,	——	1162
153.	Belmeys (John), Divine in the Twelfth Century.	——	——
154.	Benbow (John), Admiral,	1650	1702
166.	Benbow (John), Seaman, Son to Admiral Benbow.	——	——
167.	Bendlowes (Edward), Poet,	1613	1686
168.†	Benedict (Biſcop), a famous Abbot,	——	690

Page		Born. A. D.	Died. A. D.
170.†	Benedict, Abbot of Peterborough, - -	—	1200
171.†	Benefield (Sebaſtian), Divine, - -	1559	1630
171.†	Benignus (St.) Archbiſhop of Armagh, in Ireland,	—	468
173.†	Bennet (Henry), Earl of Arlington, Stateſman, -	1618	1685
193.	Bennet (Chriſtopher), Phyſician, - -	1618	1655
193.†	Bennet (Thomas), Divine, - - -	1673	1728
201.⁂	Benson (George), Divine, - -	1699	1762
208.	Bentham (Thomas), Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry,	1513	1578
209.†	Bentinck (William), Earl of Portland, Stateſman,	—	1709
224.†	Bentinck (Henry), Duke of Portland, -	—	1726
224.†	Bentley (Richard), Divine and Critic, - -	1661-2	1742
247.⁂	Berkeley (George), Biſhop of Cloyne, in Ireland,	1684	1753
262.	Bernard (Nicholas), Divine, - -	—	1661
263.	Bernard (Edward), Aſtronomer, Linguiſt, and Critic,	1638	1696-7
267.†	Bernardi (John), Military Officer, - - -	1657	1736
274.⁂	Berners (Juliana), Learned Lady in the Fifteenth Century.	—	—
275.⁂	Berriman (William), Divine, - - -	1688	1749-50
277.⁂	Bertheau (Charles), Divine, - - -	1660	1732
280.	Bertie (Peregrine), Lord Willoughby of Ereſby, Warrior,	—	1601
282.	Bertie (Robert), Earl of Lindſey, Warrior, -	1582	1642
285.	Bertie (Montague), Earl of Lindſey, Warrior, -	1608	1666
285.	Berton (William), Divine in the Fifteenth Century.	—	—
286.†	Betterton (Thomas), Actor, - -	1635	1710
297.†	Betts (John), Phyſician in the Seventeenth Century.	—	—
297.†	Beveridge (William), Biſhop of St. Aſaph, -	1638	1707-8
301.	Beverly (John of), Archbiſhop of York, - -	—	721
302.†	Biddle (John), Divine, - - -	1615	1662
309.†	Bilson (Thomas), Biſhop of Wincheſter, -	—	1616
312.†	Bingham (Joſeph), Divine, - - -	1668	1723
315.⁂	Birch (Thomas), Hiſtorical and Biographical Writer,	1705	1766
324.†	Birkenhead (Sir John), Political Author, - -	1615	1679
326.	Blackall (Offspring), Biſhop of Exeter, - -	1654	1716
328.⁂	Blackmore (Sir Richard), Phyſician and Poet, -	—	1729
335.⁂	Blackwell (Thomas), Critical and Hiſtorical Writer,	1701	1757
343.	Blagrave (John), Mathematician, - -	—	1611
346.†	Blake (Robert), Admiral, - - -	1589	1657
359.⁂	Blake (John Bradby), Botaniſt, - -	1745	1773
361.†	Blood (Thomas), Adventurer, - - -	1628	1682
372.	Blount (John), Archbiſhop of Canterbury, - -	—	1248
373.	Blount (Richard), Biſhop of Exeter, - -	—	1257
373.†	Blount (Charles), Earl of Devonſhire, Warrior, -	1563	1606
376.	Blount (Sir Henry), Miſcellaneous Writer, -	1602	1682
378.†	Blount (Sir Thomas Pope), Critical Writer, and Natural Hiſtorian, - - - - - -	1649	1697
380.†	Blount (Charles), Controverſial Writer, - -	1654	1693
386.	Boadicea, Britiſh Queen in the Firſt Century. -	—	—
388.†	Bodley (Sir Thomas), Ambaſſador; and Encourager of Learning, - - - -	1544	1612
393.	Bodley (Laurence), Divine, - - -	1546	1615
393.	Bodley (Sir Joſias), Warrior, - - -	—	—
394.	Boethius (Hector), Scotch Hiſtorian, - -	1470	1550
396.†	Bolton (Edmund), Antiquary in the Seventeenth Century.	—	—
400.	Bond (John), Grammarian, - - -	—	1612
400.	Bonnell (James), Devout Writer, - -	1653	1699
402.†	Bonner (Edmund), Biſhop of London, - -	—	1569
408.⁂	Booth (Henry), Earl of Warrington, diſtinguiſhed Senator,	1651	1693-4
413.†	Booth (Barton), Actor, - - - -	1681	1733
421.⁂	Borlase (William), Antiquary and Natural Hiſtorian,	1695-6	1772
426.⁂	Bott (Thomas), Divine, - - -	1688	1754
429.†	Boulter (Hugh), Archbiſhop of Armagh, in Ireland	—	1742
436.†	Bourchier (William), Archbiſhop of Canterbury, -	—	1486
439.⁂	Bowyer (William), Learned Printer, - -	1699	1777
448.†	Boyd (Robert), Lord Boyd, Stateſman, - -	—	1470
455.⁂	Boyd (Mark Alexander), Latin Poet, - -	1562	1601
459.†	Boyle (Richard), Great Earl of Cork, - -	1566	1643
471.	Boyle (Richard), Firſt Earl of Burlington, - -	1612	1697-8
474.†	Boyle (Roger), Earl of Orrery, Stateſman and Writer,	1621	1679
493.†	Boyle (Robert), Philoſopher, - - - -	1626-7	1691
516.†	Boyle (Charles), Earl of Orrery, Polite Writer, -	1676	1731

IN THE SECOND VOLUME.

Page.		Born. A. D.	Died. A. D.
519. ⁂	**Boyle** (John), Earl of Cork and Orrery, Polite Writer,	1706-7	1762
527. †	**Boyse** (John), Divine,	1560	1643
531. ⁂	**Boyse** (Joſeph), Divine,	1659-60	1728
533. ⁂	**Boyse** (Samuel), Poetical Writer,	1708	1749
537. †	**Bracton** (Henry De), Lawyer and Judge in the Thirteenth Century.	——	——
539.	**Bradford** (John), Martyr,	——	1555
556. ⁂	**Bradley** (James), Aſtronomer,	1692	1762
562. †	**Brady** (Robert), Hiſtorian and Phyſician,	——	1700
564. †	**Brady** (Nicholas), Divine,	1659	1726
565. †	**Bramhall** (John), Archbiſhop of Armagh,	1593	1663
572. ⁂	**Bray** (Sir Reginald), Stateſman,	——	1503
574. †	**Bray** (Thomas), Divine,	1656	1730
584.	**Brent** (Sir Nathaniel), Writer,	1573	1652
584.	**Brevint** (Daniel), Divine,	——	1695
586. †	**Briggs** (Henry), Mathematician,	1556	1630
589. †	**Briggs** (William), Phyſician,	1642	1704
591. ⁂	**Brindley** (James), Mechanic and Engineer,	1716	1772
604. ⁂	**Broughton** (Hugh), Divine,	1549	1612
613. †	**Brouncker** (Sir William), Mathematician,	1620	1684
615. †	**Brown** (Robert), Divine,	——	1630
622. †	**Browne** (George), Archbiſhop of Dublin,	——	1556
624. ⁂	**Browne** (William), Poet,	1590	1645
627. †	**Browne** (Sir Thomas), Phyſician,	1605	1682
638. †	**Browne** (Edward), Phyſician,	1642	1708
641. ⁂	**Browne** (Simon), Divine,	1680	1732
647. ⁂	**Browne** (Iſaac Hawkins), Poet,	1705-6	1760
653. ⁂	**Brown** (John), Various Writer,	1715	1766
674. †	**Brownrig** (Ralph), Biſhop of Exeter,	1592	1659
676. †	**Buc** (George), Antiquary; in the ſeventeenth Century.	——	——
678. ⁂	**Buchanan** (George), Poet and Hiſtorian,	1506	1582
688. ⁂	**Budgell** (Euſtace), Miſcellaneous Writer,	1685	1737
693. †	**Bull** (John), Muſician,	1563	——
695. †	**Bull** (George), Biſhop of St. David's,	1634	1709-10

THE

LIVES

OF THE

Moſt eminent PERSONS

Who have flouriſhed in

GREAT-BRITAIN, and *IRELAND*,

From the earlieſt Ages, down to the preſent Times.

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* * * [BATHURST * (ALLEN) Earl Bathurſt, a nobleman of diſtinguiſhed abilities in the preſent century, was born in St. James's Square, Weſtminſter, on the 16th day of November, in the year 1684 (*a*). His father was Sir Benjamin Bathurſt [*A*], of Pauler's Perry, Northamptonſhire; and

[*A*] *His father was Sir Benjamin Bathurſt.*] According to Mr. Jacob, in his Peerage, there is reaſon to preſume that the family of Bathurſt was of great antiquity in Luneburg, where its anceſtors were ſeated. The ſpot of their reſidence, he ſays, was called *Batters*, whence they, according to the cuſtom of thoſe days, were denominated *De Batters*; and one or two of them coming into England in the time of the Saxons, gained a ſettlement in Suſſex, which they named *Batters Hurſt*, i. e. Batter's Grove. This appellation was, at length, ſhortened to *Bathurſt*; and the wood upon the ſpot ſtill retains the name of *Bathurſt Wood*. How long the eſtate had been in the family, cannot now be aſcertained: but it appears that Lawrence Bathurſt, in whoſe poſſeſſion it was, was deprived of it, in conſequence of the diſputes between the houſes of York and Lancaſter. His father, Lawrence, who had engaged in the cauſe of Henry the Sixth, had loſt his life in the battle of St. Albans, in 1461; and his ſon adhering to the ſame cauſe, Edward the Fourth took from him his ancient inheritance, and gave it to Battle Abbey, which was in the ſame neighbourhood (1). Lawrence Bathurſt, however, ſtill retained certain lands belonging to the family, in Staplehurſt, Canterbury, and Cranebrook, all in Kent; and making Cranebrook his chief ſeat, paſſed the remainder of his days in tranquility. This Lawrence Bathurſt left iſſue three ſons, Edward, Robert, and John. Edward, who was the anceſtor to Earl Bathurſt, was ſettled at Staplehurſt; and, among other children, had iſſue Lancelot Bathurſt, Eſq; who became an Alderman of the city of London, and who, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, was poſſeſſed of the manor of Francks, in the county of Kent, where he built a large manſion-houſe, and departed this life on September 27th, 1594, aged 65. By his wife Judith, who was daughter of Richard Randolph, of London, he had four ſons, Randolph, Lancelot, Edward, and George; and three daughters, Elizabeth, Mary, and Suſan. George, the youngeſt of theſe ſons, married, in the year 1610, Elizabeth Villiers, daughter and co-heir of Edward Villiers of Howthorpe, in the county of Northampton, Eſq; grandſon and heir of Edward Villiers, Eſq; who died ſeiſed of the manor of Howthorpe, &c. and was fifth ſon of Sir John Villiers of Brookeſby, Knt. grandfather to Sir George Villiers, father to George Duke of Buckingham (2). This George Bathurſt, in right of his wife, became poſſeſſed of the manor of Howthorpe, and had iſſue thirteen ſons and four daughters, as hath been mentioned in Note [*A*] of the preceding article. Sir Benjamin Bathurſt, the youngeſt of thoſe ſons of George Bathurſt who ſurvived their father, was elected, in the reign of King Charles the Second, Governor of the Royal African Company, under his Royal Highneſs James Duke of York. He was alſo Governor of the Eaſt-India Company, in the years 1688 and 1689. On the eſtabliſhment of the family of the Princeſs Anne of Denmark, he was appointed Treaſurer of her houſehold; and, upon her acceſſion to the throne, was conſtituted Cofferer. On the 18th of Auguſt, 1702, the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him, when he attended her Majeſty, on her viſit to the univerſity of Oxford. In the next year, when the Duke of Marlborough, together with the Elector of Hanover, afterwards King George the Firſt, was choſen a knight companion of the moſt noble order of the Garter, Sir Benjamin Bathurſt was his Grace's proxy at the inſtalment, the Duke being at that time beyond the ſeas. Sir Benjamin, who died on the 27th of April, 1704, and was buried at Pauler's-perry in Northamptonſhire, left iſſue, beſides the noble Lord who is the ſubject of the preſent article, and a daughter Anne, two younger ſons, Peter and

Benjamin.

* In this article, the writer is indebted, in ſeveral reſpects, to the preſent Earl Bathurſt, and to George Lewis Scott, Eſq.

(*a*) From the information of the family.

(1) Jacob's Complete Engliſh Peerage, Vol. ii. p. 507.

(2) *Ibid.* Collins's Peerage, Vol. vii. p. 196. 4th Edit. 1768.

and his mother, Frances, was daughter of Sir Allen Apſley, of Apſley, in Suſſex, Knight (*b*) [*B*]. After having gone through a proper courſe of grammatical education, he was entered, when fifteen years of age, in Trinity College, Oxford, of which his uncle, the celebrated Dean Bathurſt, of whom an account has been given in the preceding article, was preſident (*c*). From the directions, example, and encouragement of ſo eminent and polite a ſcholar, Mr. Bathurſt could not fail of highly increaſing, if he did not then firſt acquire, that elegance of taſte which accompanied him through all his future life. Nor were his ſtudies confined merely to ſubjects of claſſical literature: he applied himſelf, likewiſe, to thoſe parts of knowledge which were calculated to make him appear with great advantage in the world, as a ſenator and a ſtateſman (*d*). Being thus accompliſhed, he was early called out to the ſervice of his country. In 1705, when he was but juſt come of age, he was choſen repreſentative for the borough of Cirenceſter, in Glouceſterſhire; which borough he ſerved, with integrity and reputation, during two parliaments [*C*]. Though he entered ſo young into the Houſe of Commons, it is ſaid that he particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſtruggles and debates relative to the union between the two kingdoms, and that he firmly ſupported a meaſure which was ſo well calculated to ſtrengthen the vigour of government, by uniting its force. It is farther aſſerted, that though he was contented to act a ſubordinate character in the great oppoſition, planned by Mr. Harley and Mr. St. John, his intimate friends, to ſap the credit of the Duke of Marlborough and his adherents, he was of infinite ſervice to his party, by arraigning, with ſpirit and eloquence, the conduct of the General and the Earl of Godolphin (*e*). We have not, however, been able to meet with any traces of the ſpeeches delivered by him on theſe intereſting occaſions. But as the hiſtories of the parliamentary proceedings, in the reign of Queen Anne, are remarkably defective in their accounts of the public ſpeakers of that period, it cannot certainly be inferred, from their ſilence with reſpect to Mr. Bathurſt, that he did not exert himſelf in the manner above deſcribed. His zeal for his political principles did not render him inſenſible to the merit of thoſe who were of oppoſite ſentiments. He maintained, in particular, an high and invariable perſonal regard for Lord Somers; and when that great man was diveſted of his office, he behaved with ſuch tenderneſs and delicacy towards him, that he preſerved his lordſhip's eſteem and friendſhip (*f*). It is obſervable, and is a proof of Mr. Bathurſt's having acted from conviction, and not from intereſted views, that, amidſt the numerous changes which were made after the diſſolution of the Whig miniſtry, he accepted of no place from Government. Conſidering his abilities, his activity, and his intimate connexions with the principal Tories, it is highly probable that he might, if he had choſen it, have been raiſed to ſome advantageous and honourable poſt. His merit, however, did not go unrewarded, though not in a lucrative way; for, in the 10th year of Queen Anne's reign, her Majeſty was pleaſed, by letters patent, dated the 31ſt of December, 1711, to advance him to the dignity of a peer of Great Britain, by the ſtile and title of Lord Bathurſt, Baron Bathurſt of Battleſden, in the county of Bedford (*g*). This was at that memorable period, in which the adminiſtration, to obtain a majority in the Upper Houſe, brought twelve new lords into that houſe in one day [*D*]. But whatever might be the particular views of Government, it cannot be denied that the antiquity and loyalty of Mr. Bathurſt's

(*b*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. vi. p. 196, 197. 4th Edit.

(*c*) Warton's Life of Dean Bathurſt, p. 199.

(*d*) Annual Regiſter for 1775, 2d Part, p. 23.

(*e*) *Ibid.*

(*f*) *Ibid.*

(*g*) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 198.

Benjamin. Peter was ſettled at Clarendon Park in Wiltſhire, and Benjamin at Lydney in Glouceſterſhire. Both theſe gentlemen were ſeveral times repreſentatives in parliament for different cities and boroughs, and were each of them twice married. They had, by their reſpective ladies, many children, and left a numerous poſterity. Peter died on May the 6th, 1748, and Benjamin on the 5th of November, 1767 (3). For a more particular account of theſe, and of the other branches of the Bathurſt family, recourſe may be had to the peerages; our deſign having only been to trace the direct lineage of the noble Earl concerning whom we are now treating.

[*B*] *Sir Allen Apſley, of Apſley, in Suſſex.*] Sir Allen Apſley, who married Frances, daughter and heir of John Petre, of Bowkay, in Devonſhire, Eſq; of the family of the Lord Petre, was Falconer to King Charles the Second, and Treaſurer of the Houſehold and Receiver-General to James Duke of York. He died in St. James's Square on the 15th of October, 1683 (4). In the long parliament of Charles the Second, he had been member for the borough of Thetford in Norfolk (5).

[*C*] *During two parliaments.*] In the account of Lord Bathurſt, which is given in the Annual Regiſter, it is ſaid, that he ſerved in parliament for the borough of Cirenceſter, at the requeſt of his father Sir Benjamin Bathurſt, and the ſolicitations of his conſtituents. But if his father died in April 1704, as the peerages agree, what is ſaid of Sir Benjamin cannot be true; ſince his ſon was not brought into the Houſe of Commons till the year 1705 (6). In the parliament which met on the 16th of November, 1708, Mr. Bathurſt was again returned for the ſame borough. He doth not appear to have been a member of the new parliament which was called in 1710 (7). It is poſſible, that having at that time a view to the peerage, he might decline being elected. It ſhould have been mentioned, in the note [*A*], that Sir Benjamin Bathurſt had ſerved in two parliaments: in that which was ſummoned in the firſt year of King James the Second, and in the firſt parliament of Queen Anne. In the former caſe, he was repreſentative for Beralſton, Devonſhire, and in the latter, for New Romney, Kent (8).

[*D*] *Brought twelve new lords into that houſe in one day.*] The peers created on this memorable occaſion, were, 1. James Lord Compton, eldeſt ſon to George Earl of Northampton. 2. Charles Lord Bruce, eldeſt ſon to Thomas Earl of Aileſbury. Theſe two were called up to the Houſe of Lords by writ. The reſt were created by letters patent, bearing date on the ſame day, (Dec. 31, 1711) and were as follows. 3. George Henry Hay, Eſq; (Viſcount Dupplin, and ſon to the Earl of Kinnoul in Scotland) one of the four Tellers of the Receipt of her Majeſty's Exchequer, Baron Hay of Pedwardin, in the county of Hereford. 4. Thomas Lord Viſcount Windſor, of the kingdom of Ireland, Baron Mountjoy of the Iſle of Wight, in the county of Southampton. 5. Henry Paget, Eſq; ſon and heir apparent of William Lord Paget, Baron Burton, of Burton, in the county of Stafford. 6. Sir Thomas Manſel, of Margam, in the county of Glamorgan, Baronet, Baron Manſel of

(3) Jacob's and Collins's Peerages, *ubi ſupra*.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) Chandler's Debates, Vol. v. Appendix, p. 13.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 136.

(7) *Ibid.* p. 150. 156.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 53. 1 9.

Bathurſt's family, the long ſervices of his father, his own large fortune, and his eminent talents, rendered him a proper object of the peerage. In the confuſion which prevailed at Court, on the removal of the Earl of Oxford from the poſt of Lord High Treaſurer (b), when it was deſigned to put the Treaſury into commiſſion, Lord Bathurſt, among others, was thought of, upon that occaſion (i). But it is probable that his lordſhip, who had hitherto declined receiving any place of profit from the Crown, would not accept of a precarious employment in ſo critical a ſituation of public affairs. Upon the acceſſion of King George the Firſt, when Lord Bathurſt's political friends were in diſgrace, and ſome of them expoſed to the proſecution of Government, his attachment to them continued firm and unchangeable. As he was one of thoſe who believed that the proceedings againſt them were ſevere and vindictive, he expreſſed, we are told, with indignation and eloquence, his diſapprobation of theſe proceedings; and he obſerved that the king of a faction was only the ſovereign of half his ſubjects (k). Though none of the ſpeeches made by him at this period are recorded, we find, from his uniting in the proteſts againſt the acts of the attainder of Lord Bolingbroke and the Duke of Ormond (l), that he was zealous in the defence of his noble friends (m). It is ſcarcely neceſſary to add, that he oppoſed the proſecution of the Earl of Oxford, and that he joined in the unanimous acquittal of that eminent ſtateſman (n). When the famous ſeptennial act was brought into the Houſe of Peers, Lord Bathurſt, upon the ſecond reading of it (April 14, 1716), voted againſt its being committed; and, in conjunction with thirty members of that Houſe, entered his reaſons for diſſenting from a bill, which, for the ſake of avoiding ſome preſent difficulties and dangers, made a great and permanent breach in the Engliſh conſtitution of government (o) [E]. The firſt inſtance we meet

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of Margam, in the county of Glamorgan aforeſaid. 7. Sir Thomas Willoughby, of Wollaton-hall in Nottinghamſhire, Baronet, Baron Middleton, of Middleton, in the county of Warwick. 8. Sir Thomas Trevor, Knight, Chief Juſtice of her Majeſty's Court of Common Pleas, Baron Trevor of Bromham, in the county of Bedford. 9. George Granville, of Stow, in the county of Cornwall, Eſq; Baron Landeſdowne of Biddeford, in the county of Devon. 10. Samuel Maſham, of Oates, in the county of Eſſex, Baron Maſham of Oates, in the county of Eſſex aforeſaid. 11. Thomas Foley, of Witley, in the county of Worceſter, Eſq; Baron Foley of Kidderminſter, in the ſaid county. And, 12. Allen Bathurſt, Eſq; as mentioned in the text (9).

[E] *In the Engliſh conſtitution of government.*] 'The flight of the Pretender, ſays Mrs. Macaulay, 'the ſudden extinction of the rebellion in Scotland, 'and the general ſubmiſſion of the people in England, rendered it totally uſeleſs to lay even a temporary reſtraint on any even of the leſſer privileges 'of the ſubject; but the preſent opportunity of diminiſhing that ſmall portion of democracy, which 'on more than one occaſion had curbed the incroachments of royalty, and preſerved the freedom of the 'conſtitution, was too favourable to be loſt. On 'the 10th of April, 1716, the Duke of Devonſhire 'propoſed in the Houſe of Lords, a bill for enlarging 'the continuance of parliament, and was ſeconded 'by the Earls of Dorſet and Rockingham, the Lord 'Townſhend, and all the chiefs of the Whig faction. 'It was oppoſed by the Earls of Nottingham, Abingdon, and Poulet: but important as was the ſubject of the bill, weighty as were the arguments, 'and obvious as were the reaſons, urged againſt its 'neceſſity, expedience, or uſe, and alſo on the manifeſt evils which muſt attend it, the arguments 'ſerved only to form a ſhort debate, and the bill 'paſſed by a large majority, twelve Peers only entering their proteſt againſt it. It met with the ſame 'ſucceſs in the lower Houſe; and thus the conſtitution, from its miſtaken or pretended friends, received a more fatal injury than it had ever received 'by all the incroachments of power from the fatal 'period of the conqueſt to the preſent times (10).' Though we agree with our celebrated female hiſtorian, in diſapproving of the ſeptennial act, we think, nevertheleſs, that ſhe hath expreſſed herſelf ſomewhat too ſtrongly in the preceding quotation. The leaders of the Whigs, in propoſing the bill, ſeem rather to have acted from their fears, than from a ſettled deſign of injuring the conſtitution. They were ſo alarmed at the apprehenſion of having a Tory and Jacobite parliament, and ſo afraid of the dangers which might thence reſult to the government, that they ventured upon a meaſure which no principles of expedience, no impending difficulties could juſtify. Their conduct, however, was more fatal in its effects, than criminal in its intentions. It may, likewiſe, be queſtioned, whether the ſeptennial act was more injurious to the conſtitution, than *all* the encrbachments of power from the conqueſt to the preſent times.

But we have not quoted the above paſſage ſo much with a view of criticiſing its ſentiments, as to point out the miſtakes it is guilty of, in the account it gives of the progreſs of the bill. The act was certainly oppoſed in a much ſtronger manner than Mrs. Macaulay has repreſented. When it was firſt propoſed by the Duke of Devonſhire, ſeveral lords were for putting off the reading of it to another time, and moved that it might lie ſome days upon the table. On the 14th of April, when the queſtion was put, whether the bill ſhould be committed, a warm and long debate enſued; in which the Earl of Abingdon, Earl Poulet, Lord Trevor, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Ferrers, the Earl of Aylesford, the Earl of Peterborough, the Earl of Nottingham, the Duke of Shrewſbury, and the Earl of Angleſea, ſpoke againſt it with great ſtrength of reaſon. The debate laſted five hours, and the commitment of the bill was carried by a majority of only ninety-ſix to ſixty-one votes; ſo that, conſidering the influence which the Court neceſſarily has upon all ſuch occaſions, the minority was very reſpectable. Of this minority thirty-one lords entered their proteſt. When, on the 16th of April, the bill came to be conſidered in a Committee of the whole Houſe, it was debated as warmly as before; and upon a diviſion, whether it ſhould be reported, there were ſeventy-four voices on the affirmative, and thirty-nine on the negative ſide of the queſtion. Two days after, on the third reading of the act, there aroſe a freſh debate. It appears, therefore, that it was oppoſed in every ſtage; and when, at length, it was paſſed by ſixty-nine voices againſt thirty-ſix, twenty-four lords proteſted againſt it (11). We ſee, then, how imperfect and miſtaken Mrs. Macaulay is, in her account of this tranſaction. The writer of the preſent article, who hath a ſincere perſonal friendſhip for her, and who reveres her genius and integrity, is filled with regret, that ſhe ſhould be ſeduced from the legitimate mode of writing hiſtory, to the doing of it in that more deſultory manner which ſhe hath practiſed in her Letters to Dr. Wilſon. In her former work, even thoſe who did not always approve of her ſentiments and reflexions, could not but applaud the perſpicuity of her narration, the accuracy of her facts, and the preciſion and authenticity of her teſtimonies. In her late performance, it cannot be denied that the ſame excellencies are not ſo apparent. But, on the other hand, it may be alleged in her behalf, that any deficiencies in theſe reſpects are, in a great meaſure, atoned for by the acuteneſs and ſagacity of many of her remarks and obſervations. The oppoſition to the ſeptennial act was not confined to the Houſe of Lords. It was carried on with equal, if not ſuperior, warmth and vigour in the Houſe of Commons; and as the debates upon the ſubject in that Houſe, are better preſerved, they will be found worthy of peculiar attention (12).

with,

(b) July 27, 1714.

(i) Boyer's Hiſtory of the Reign of Queen Anne, p. 713.

(k) Annual Regiſter, *ubi ſupra.*

(l) Auguſt 18, 1715.

(m) Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. iii. p. 17, 18.

(n) *Ibid.* p. 72.

(o) *Ibid.* 39—41.

(9) Timberland's Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. ii. p. 359—361.

(10) Mrs Macaulay's Hiſtory of England, from the Revolution to the preſent time; in a Series of Letters to Dr. Wilſon. Vol. i. p. 286, 287.

(11) Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. iii. p. 27—41.

(12) Chandler's Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, Vol. vi. p. 68—105.

with, in the common accounts of the tranſactions of the times, of his ſpeaking in the parliamentary debates, occurs with regard to the bill for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion. This was on the 21ſt of February 1717-18 *(p)*; and from that period, for the ſpace of five and twenty years, we ſhall find that he took an active and diſtinguiſhed part in every important matter which came before the Upper Houſe; and that he was one of the moſt eminent leaders in that Houſe, of the warm, vigorous, and perſevering oppoſition which was carried on againſt the meaſures of the Court, and eſpecially againſt Sir Robert Walpole's adminiſtration. Some of the more remarkable occaſions upon which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, will be mentioned in this place; and the reſt ſhall hereafter be referred to in a note. In the debate *(q)* on the bill, *for granting to the people called Quakers ſuch form of affirmation or declaration, as may remove the difficulties many of them lie under*, Lord Bathurſt ſpoke for the ſecond reading of it, though it had been oppoſed by ſome of his friends, with whom he was uſually connected in parliamentary queſtions *(r)*. However, he united with the ſame friends in ſupporting the Archbiſhop of York's *(s)* motion, that the petition of the London clergy againſt the bill ſhould be received and read; and when the petition was rejected, he was one of the lords who entered their proteſt upon that occaſion; but he did not join in the proteſt that was made againſt the paſſing of the act *(t)*. In the whole proceedings againſt Dr. Atterbury, Lord Bathurſt was a zealous advocate for that ingenious and celebrated prelate; and, on the third reading of the bill (May 15, 1723) *for inflicting pains and penalties* on the Biſhop, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very extraordinary manner. His lordſhip took notice of the ungracious diſtinctions that were fixed on the members of the Houſe of Peers, who differed in opinion from thoſe who happened to have the majority; and obſerved, that, for his part, as he had nothing in view but truth and juſtice, the good of his country, the honour of that Houſe, and the diſcharge of his own conſcience, he would freely ſpeak his thoughts, notwithſtanding all diſcouragements. He would not, he ſaid, complain of the ſiniſter arts that had been uſed of late to render ſome perſons obnoxious, and, under pretence of their being ſo, by opening their letters about their minuteſt domeſtic affairs; for theſe ſmall grievances he could eaſily bear: but when he ſaw things go ſo far as to condemn a perſon of the higheſt dignity in the church, in ſuch an unprecedented manner, and without any legal evidence, he thought it his duty to oppoſe a proceeding ſo unjuſt and unwarrantable in itſelf, and ſo dangerous and diſmal in its conſequences. To this purpoſe, he begged leave to tell their lordſhips a ſtory he had from ſeveral officers of undoubted credit, that ſerved in Flanders, in the late war. 'A Frenchman, it ſeems, had invented a machine, 'which would not only kill more men at once than any yet in uſe, but alſo diſable for 'ever any man that ſhould be wounded by it. Big with the hopes of a great reward, he 'applied to one of the miniſters, who laid his project before the late French King; but 'that monarch, conſidering that ſo deſtructive an engine might ſoon be turned againſt 'his own men, did not think proper to encourage it: whereupon the inventor came over 'into England, and offered his ſervice to ſome of our generals, who likewiſe rejected the 'propoſal with indignation.' The uſe and application of this ſtory, added Lord Bathurſt, is very obvious: for if this way of proceeding be admitted, it will certainly prove a very dangerous engine. No man's life, liberty, or property will be ſafe: and if thoſe, who were in the adminiſtration ſome years ago, and who had as great a ſhare in the affections of the people as any that came after them, had made uſe of ſuch a political machine, ſome of thoſe noble perſons, who now appear ſo ſolicitous promoters of this bill, would not be in a capacity to ſerve his Majeſty at this time. His lordſhip farther ſaid, that if ſuch extraordinary proceedings went on, he ſaw nothing remaining for him, and others to do, but to retire to their country houſes, and there, if poſſible, quietly enjoy their eſtates, within their own families, ſince the leaſt correſpondence, the leaſt intercepted letter, might be made criminal. In ſupport of this reaſoning, Lord Bathurſt quoted a paſſage out of Cardinal de Retz's Memoirs, relating to that wicked politician, Cardinal Mazarine, who boaſted, 'that if he had but two lines of a man's writing, with a few circum'ſtances atteſted by witneſſes, he would cut off his head when he pleaſed.' His lordſhip alſo ſeverely animadverted on the majority of the venerable bench of Biſhops, turning himſelf towards which, he ſaid, that he could hardly account for the inveterate 'hatred 'and malice ſome perſons bore the learned and ingenious Biſhop of Rocheſter, unleſs it 'were that they were intoxicated with the infatuation of ſome of the wild Indians, who 'fondly believe they inherit not only the *ſpoils*, but even the *abilities* of any great enemy 'they kill *(u)*.' On the 24th of January 1726-7, Lord Bathurſt opened the debate on the King's ſpeech. As there was, at that time, a proſpect of a war with Spain, on account of the treaties of peace and commerce which had been concluded between that Crown and the Emperor of Germany, his lordſhip, who did not ſee any juſt reaſon for a rupture with the Spaniſh court, declared, towards the concluſion of his ſpeech, that he was neither a Spaniard nor a Frenchman, but a true Engliſhman; and that, as long as he had the honour to ſit in that Houſe, he would ſpeak and act for the good of his country. He added, that he would ſum up all, with earneſtly deſiring their lordſhips ſeriouſly to conſider the matter before them, which was of the laſt conſequence and importance to the nation. 'What, ſaid he, can we get by the war, if it be a ſucceſsful one? I'll ſay it in

(p) Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. iii. p. 83, 84.

(q) Jan. 9, 1721 22.

(r) Lords' Proceedings, *ubi ſupra*, p. 205.

(s) Sir William Dawes.

(t) *Ibid.* p. 209—216.

(u) *Ibid.* p. 381, 382. For the whole proceedings in the affair of the Biſhop of Rocheſter, which are very intereſting, vide p. 249—403.

‘ one word, Nothing. What can we loſe if it be unproſperous? I'll ſay it in one word, ‘ in a ſyllable, All (*w*).’ When the bill againſt permitting penſioners to ſit in the Houſe of Commons, was debated on the 20th of February 1730-1, our noble Lord, in conjunction with the Earl of Winchelſea, Lord Carteret, and the Earl of Strafford, ſtrenuouſly ſupported the bill, in oppoſition to the Duke of Newcaſtle, the Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Ilay, and the Biſhop of Bangor (Dr. Sherlock); the laſt of whom rendered himſelf very remarkable, and, indeed, gave great offence by the ſpeech which he delivered on the occaſion (*x*). On the firſt of May following, a motion was made by Lord Bathurſt, for an addreſs to the King, that his Majeſty would diſcharge the twelve thouſand Heſſian troops then in the pay of Great Britain; which motion was rejected by a majority of ſeventy-three againſt twenty-two voices (*y*). In the next Seſſion of Parliament, his Lordſhip appeared, with great ability, againſt the undue taxation of the poor. This was in the debate on the bill for the revival of the ſalt duty (*z*). Beſides the arguments ariſing from the caſe of the poor, a very ſtrong reaſon, againſt the renewal of the tax was urged in the proteſt of the diſſentient Peers, from the nature of ſalt, as an article of manure; nothing, if it could be had cheap, being better calculated for enriching the ground, and producing moſt plentiful crops (*a*). Another occaſion on which Lord Bathurſt diſplayed his parliamentary talents, was in ſupport of the Earl of Oxford's motion, in a Committee of the whole Houſe, upon the mutiny bill (*b*), for reducing the number of forces to twelve thouſand effective men. The Duke of Argyle having greatly exerted himſelf in this debate, on the oppoſite ſide of the queſtion, Lord Bathurſt, in anſwer to his Grace, vindicated the expedience and the uſefulneſs of a national militia, as the moſt proper and conſtitutional mode of defence, in a free country (*c*). On the ſecond reading of the bill for granting eighty thouſand pounds for the Princeſs Royal's marriage-portion, and a ſum, for different purpoſes, out of the Sinking Fund (*d*), his Lordſhip ſtrongly declared his diſapprobation of the method which had been begun of applying that fund to other objects beſides paying the public debts. He thought that it ought to be kept ſacred to the ends for which it was originally inſtituted; and moved for a reſolution of that kind, which was carried in the negative (*e*). There is, however, no judicious perſon but what muſt now be ſenſible that if the motion had paſſed, and afterwards inviolably been adhered to, unſpeakable advantages would have accrued to this country. Great Britain would have been lightened of a burden, which, at preſent, debilitates and depreſſes all her counſels and operations. When, on the 13th of February 1733-4, the Duke of Marlborough's bill for regulating the army had been rejected, and Lord Carteret made a motion for an addreſs to the King, ‘ that he would acquaint the Houſe who had adviſed his Majeſty to remove the Duke of Bolton and the Lord Viſcount Cobham from their reſpective regiments, and what crimes were laid to their charge,’ Lord Bathurſt, in a long and animated ſpeech, defended the propriety of the motion (*f*). In the next Seſſion of Parliament (*g*), being the firſt Seſſion of the eighth Parliament of Great Britain, his Lordſhip took a very active part in all the queſtions and proceedings relative to the petition of the Dukes of Hamilton, Queenſberry, and Montroſe, and the Earls of Dundonald, Marchmont, and Stair, complaining of the undue methods and illegal practices which had been uſed in procuring the election of the ſixteen Peers of Scotland (*h*). In the ſame ſeſſion, Lord Bathurſt availed himſelf of a farther opportunity of teſtifying his diſapprobation of the ſalt bill, and his averſion to the miſapplication of the Sinking Fund (*i*). On the motion for reducing the forces, at the ſecond reading of the mutiny bill, March 16th, 1737-8, his Lordſhip again ſtood up, with great eloquence and ſpirit, againſt a large ſtanding army, and in favour of a national militia. Among other things, he particularly urged the importance of all men in the kingdom, or at leaſt all freeholders, farmers, and ſubſtantial merchants and tradeſmen providing themſelves with arms, and breeding themſelves up to military diſcipline. ‘ It is, ſaid his Lordſhip, ‘ in my opinion, not at all impoſſible, to make it as infamous for a man to be unprovided ‘ with arms, or unacquainted with military diſcipline, as it is now for a gentleman to get ‘ the character of a notorious coward. Nor would this interrupt or diminiſh the labour ‘ and induſtry of any man in the kingdom. For even the moſt induſtrious might make ‘ themſelves thoroughly acquainted with the uſe of arms, and with military diſcipline, if ‘ they would but ſpend one half of that time in military exerciſes which they now throw ‘ away in idle and effeminate, or expenſive and criminal diverſions. And this method ‘ of paſſing away our leiſure hours, might eaſily be introduced even among the vulgar, ‘ if our courtiers and men in authority ſhould once begin to make this their practice; ‘ and that practice ſhould be followed, as it certainly would, by all the nobility and gentry in the kingdom (*k*).’ As Lord Bathurſt, in general, was ſo active in oppoſing the meaſures of Sir Robert Walpole's adminiſtration, we may be well aſſured that he was not a ſilent ſpectator in the tranſactions which took place with regard to the Spaniſh depredations, and the convention with Spain. He ardently united with other noble Peers, of the firſt eminence for political and oratorical abilities, in expoſing the conduct of thoſe who were at the head of affairs. To give an account of all the ſpeeches delivered by him, with reſpect to the queſtions which aroſe, in parliament, concerning the complaints of the Britiſh ſubjects againſt Spain, and the negociations and diſputes of the Engliſh miniſtry with his Catholic Majeſty, would carry us too far into the general hiſtory of the

(*w*) *Ibid.* p. 456—458.

(*x*) Lords' Hiſtory and Proceedings, Vol. iv. p. 40—48.

(*y*) *Ibid.* p. 49.

(*z*) March 27, 1732.

(*a*) Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, *ubi ſupra*, p. 84, 85.

(*b*) March 6, 1732-3.

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 68—111.

(*d*) May 30, 1733.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 151—169.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 185. 201. 209—214.

(*g*) 1734-5.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 361. 364. 373, 374. 392. 430.

(*i*) *Ibid.* 487. 489. 514.

(*k*) *Ibid.* Vol. v. p. 237. 295—308.

times. It muſt ſuffice to refer to the places where his Lordſhip's ſpeeches, upon theſe intereſting matters, are recorded (*l*). After the war with Spain had commenced, Lord Bathurſt, on the firſt of December 1740, moved for an addreſs to his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to lay before the Houſe copies of the inſtructions and orders which had been given to Vice-Admiral Vernon, from the time of his ſailing from England, in the year 1739, to the 24th of June in the following year; and took the lead in the debate which enſued upon this occaſion. On the ſame day, a motion of a ſimilar kind was made and ſupported by his Lordſhip, that the Admiral's letters to any part of the Miniſtry, during his expedition, and theirs to him, ſhould be laid before the Houſe. The firſt of theſe motions was rejected, and the ſecond paſſed with a reſtrictive amendment, which took away, in a great meaſure, the effect intended (*m*). Lord Bathurſt ſpoke alſo, on the 8th of December, with great eloquence in favour of a like motion, with regard to the inſtructions which had been given to Rear-Admiral Haddock (*n*). With equal eloquence, and with a very ſtriking diſplay of political knowledge and ability, did his Lordſhip exert himſelf in the grand and remarkable debate, which laſted two days, upon the queſtion, whether an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the King that he would graciouſly be pleaſed to remove the right honourable Sir Robert Walpole, Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, Firſt Commiſſioner for executing the office of Treaſurer of the Exchequer, Chancellor and Under Treaſurer of the Exchequer, and one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council, from his preſence and councils for ever (*o*). In the Hiſtory of the Parliamentary Proceedings of 1742-3 (*p*), we meet with a ſpeech of Lord Bathurſt which is in ſomething of a different ſtrain from thoſe he had heretofore delivered. It was ſpoken upon occaſion of the motion for diſcharging the Hanover forces which were in the pay of Great Britain. His Lordſhip vindicated, with much ſtrength of reaſoning, the propriety and neceſſity of continuing theſe troops in the ſervice of England; and, though he had then accepted of a place, in conjunction with ſeveral of his noble friends, we have no doubt but that he was fully ſatiſfied, from the critical ſituation of affairs abroad, of the rectitude of the meaſure which he defended (*q*). Indeed, there is ſcarcely any character in the period we have been ſpeaking of, in which we ſhall find leſs diſcrepancy of political conduct, than in that of Lord Bathurſt. But while we pay the proper tribute of juſtice to his Lordſhip's eminent integrity and abilities, we will not pretend to ſay that his ſentiments, with regard to the queſtions which aroſe in parliament, were always perfectly right. In the courſe of ſo long an oppoſition to the meaſures of the Court, it was not likely that the adminiſtration ſhould in every inſtance be wrong. Government muſt not only be corrupt in the higheſt degree, but entirely void of wiſdom and reflection, if no caſes occur in which the reſolutions of thoſe who manage public affairs are capable of a juſt vindication. Beſides the vaſt variety of ſpeeches that were made by Lord Bathurſt in parliament [*F*], he joined, likewiſe, in moſt of the proteſts, which, for a ſeries of years, were entered in the Jour-

(*l*) Lords' Hiſtory and Proceedings, Vol. iv. p. 338. 416. Vol. vi. p. 150—170. 235. 334.

(*m*) *Ibid.* Vol. vii. p. 484. 489. 530, 531. 540.

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 551—562.

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 641. 705—726. The debate was on February 13th and 14th 1740-41.

(*p*) February 1

(*q*) *Ibid.* Vol. viii. p. 239. 259—268.

[*F*] *Variety of ſpeeches*, &c.] Such of our readers as wiſh to have a more minute account of the part which Lord Bathurſt, beſides the caſes already mentioned or referred to, took in the ſeveral debates of Parliament, may have recourſe to the following volumes of the Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords.

VOL. III.

On the bill againſt blaſphemy and profaneneſs, p. 146. On the navy debt, p. 188. 191. On the treaty with Spain, ditto. On the bill relating to the plague, p. 198. On the mutiny bill, p. 199. On the inſtructions to Sir George Byng, p. 202. On building ſhips for foreigners, p. 206. On the Britiſh ſquadron ſent to the Baltic, p. 217. On victualling ſhips abroad, p. 223. On a complaint of Lord Sunderland's, p. 231. On the national debt, p. 234. On the Earl of Sunderland's motion concerning proteſts, p. 236. On the motion for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus Act, p. 244. On Plunket's attendance at the bar of the Houſe, p. 267. On the bill to tax the Papiſts, p. 403. On the mutiny bill, p. 413. On the King's meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, p. 451. On a clauſe in the malt bill, p. 470.

VOL. IV.

On the treaty of Seville, p. 24. On the motion for an account of the produce of the South Sea Directors' forfeited eſtates, p. 127, 128. On a farther motion upon the ſame ſubject, p. 169. 174. 180. On the motion relative to the claims of the Scots Peers, p. 219, 220. On the motion that the election for the Scots Peers be by ballot, p. 220. On influencing the election of the ſaid Peers, p. 221. 234. On the King's meſſage to be empowered to augment his forces by ſea and land, during the receſs of Parliament, p. 250. 268—273. On the inſtructions to his Majeſty's Miniſter in Poland, p. 437. 443. On the motion relating to the treaty of Seville, p. 443. 448. On the motion againſt augmenting the army, p. 449. 460. On the bill for regulating quarters, p. 463. 477. 483.

VOL. V.

On the King's ſpeech, p. 14. On a clauſe offered in the mortmain bill, in favour of the Univerſities, p. 15. On the Quaker's tythe bill, p. 93, 94. On the bill to prevent ſmuggling, p. 97. 134. On riots, p. 147—153. On the ſettlement of the Prince of Wales's revenue, and his Majeſty's meſſage to the Prince upon that ſubject, p. 158. 162—164. On the proceedings in relation to the murder of Capt. Porteous at Edinburgh, p. 165. 168. 179. 202.

VOL. VI.

On the motion for examining the South Sea Directors, p. 23—26. On the meſſage for a ſettlement upon his Majeſty's younger children, p. 185. 195.

VOL. VII.

On the motion for the Addreſs, in anſwer to the King's Speech, p. 418. On the amendment of the motion with regard to the ſame, p. 477—479.

VOL. VIII.

On the Addreſs of Thanks for his Majeſty's Speech, p. 56—58. On the bill to indemnify evidences againſt Robert Earl of Orford, p. 117. 166—171. On the bill for retailing ſpirituous liquors, p. 369—377. 446—448.

Accounts of Lord Bathurſt's parliamentary conduct and ſpeeches may, likewiſe, be met with in the ſeveral volumes of the Hiſtorical Regiſter, and the Gentleman's Magazine.

nals of the Houſe of Peers [*G*]. As we here cloſe the relation of our noble Lord's parliamentary conduct, we ſhall add the character that was given of him, in this reſpect, at the time in which his political and oratorical talents were in their full exertion. ‘ The Hurgo Bruſtrath (Lord Bathurſt), in all he ſays, carries along with him that conviction which ariſes from a warm ſenſe of liberty and virtue, directed by great abilities, and a moſt exquiſite diſcernment. He was called to the Houſe of Hurgoes (Lords) by means of the Tramecſan (Tory) intereſt, upon a particular exigence of State; and, therefore, it might have been preſumed that he was entirely devoted to that party. Yet he has choſen his principles of Government ſo happily, from what is commendable in both parties, that, upon whichſoever ſide he ſpeaks, he is always obſerved to lean to the extremes of neither (*r*).’

We now advert to the private circumſtances of Lord Bathurſt's life. On the ſixth of July 1704, he married Catherine, daughter and heir of Sir Peter Apſley, ſon and heir of Sir Allen before mentioned. By this Lady, who hence appears to have been his Lordſhip's Couſin German, he had iſſue four ſons and five daughters (*s*) [*H*]. When the late Frederic Prince of Wales was at Bath, in 1738, he did Lord Bathurſt the honour of paying him a viſit of ſome days, at his ſeat near Cirenceſter; during which time his Royal Highneſs was treated with a magnificence and hoſpitality which gave him the greateſt ſatisfaction (*t*). On the 13th of July 1742, his Lordſhip was ſworn, at Kenſington, one of the Privy-Council, and appointed Captain of his Majeſty's Band of Gentlemen Penſioners. This office he reſigned in 1744, from which time he was in no public employment, till the year 1757, when, upon a change in the Miniſtry, he was conſtituted Treaſurer to the preſent King, then Prince of Wales; and he continued to act in that capacity to the death of George the Second. At his Majeſty's acceſſion to the Throne, in 1760, Lord Bathurſt was continued in the liſt of Privy-Counſellors; but, on account of his great age, declined accepting of any employment (*u*). However, in conſideration of his eminent merit, he had a penſion on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, of two thouſand pounds a year. As his Lordſhip's abilities and integrity, in public life, gained him the eſteem even of his political opponents, ſo in private life, his humanity and benevolence excited the affection of all who were honoured with his more intimate acquaintance (*w*). The amiableneſs and generoſity of his temper will be apparent from a paſſage in one of his letters to Dr. Swift. ‘ I have attended Parliament many years, and have never found that I could do any good: I have, therefore, entered upon a new ſcheme of life, and am determined to look to my own affairs a little. I am now in a ſmall farm-houſe in Derbyſhire; and my chief buſineſs is to take care that my agents do not impoſe upon my tenants. I am for letting them all good bargains, that my rents may be paid as long as any rents can be paid; and when the time comes that there is no money, they are honeſt fellows, and will bring me in what corn and cattle I ſhall want (*x*).’ To his other virtues, Lord Bathurſt added all the good breeding, politeneſs, and elegance of ſocial intercourſe (*y*). No perſon of rank, perhaps, ever knew better how to unite *Otium cum Dignitate*. The improvements he made round his ſeat at Cirenceſter were worthy of his fortune, and ſhewed the grandeur of his taſte. In this reſpect Mr. Pope paid him a juſt and fine compliment:

(*r*) Character of Lilliputian Hurgoes, Gent. Mag. Vol. x. p. 103.

(*s*) Peerages, *ubi ſupra.*

(*t*) Gent. Mag. Vol. viii. p. 545.

(*u*) Peerages, *ubi ſupra.*

(*w*) Annual Regiſter, Vol. xviii. Part ii. p. 24.

(*x*) Swift's Works, Vol. xxi. 24mo. p. 236, 237.

(*y*) Annual Regiſter, *ubi ſupra.*

[*G*] *Joined in moſt of the proteſts, &c.*] The proteſts in which he united were very numerous. The nature and contents of them may be ſeen in the Lords' Journals, in the volumes referred to in the preceding note, and in a Collection of the Lords' Proteſts, publiſhed in 1768. Thoſe proteſts in which Lord Bathurſt was concerned, begin Vol. I. p. 265, and end Vol. II. p. 211.

[*H*] *Four ſons and five daughters.*] The four ſons were, 1. Benjamin Bathurſt, who was born Auguſt 12, 1711. On November 26, 1732, he married Elizabeth, ſecond daughter of Charles Lord Bruce, eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor to Charles Earl of Ayleſbury in England, and of Elgin in Scotland. By this Lady Mr. Bathurſt had no iſſue. In 1734, he was elected one of the Knights of the Shire for the county of Glouceſter; and in 1754, he was choſen a repreſentative for the borough of Cirenceſter. He died on the 22d of January 1767. 2. Henry Bathurſt, of whom in a ſubſequent note. 3. John Bathurſt, born 1728; ſaid, by Mr. Jacob, to be now living, but in the laſt edition of Collins, to have died unmarried. 4. Allen Bathurſt. Mr. Allen Bathurſt, who was born in 1729, was brought up to holy Orders, and became Fellow of New College, Oxford. In June 1760, he was preſented, by his late Majeſty, to the rectory of Beverſton, with the chapel of Kingſcot thereunto annexed, in the county of Glouceſter. He died unmarried, on the 22d of Auguſt 1767. Lord Bathurſt's five daughters were, 1. Frances, born in July 1708, and who on the 5th of Auguſt 1731, was married to William Woodhouſe, Eſq; ſon and heir apparent of Sir John Woodhouſe, of Kimberley, in Norfolk, Baronet. Mr. Woodhouſe died, Knight of the Shire for Norfolk, in 1735; and, ſome time after his deceaſe, his widow took for her ſecond huſband, James Whitſhed, Eſq; of the kingdom of Ireland, and of Hampton-Court in Middleſex. He has ſerved in parliament ſeveral times, for the borough of Cirenceſter. This lady died in 1756. 2. Catherine, who was born November 12, 1709. In April 1737, ſhe was married to Henry Reginald Courtenay, Eſq; brother to the late, and uncle to the preſent Lord Viſcount Courtenay. Mr. Courtenay, who died in 1763, was Member for Honiton in Devonſhire, which borough he had repreſented in the preceding parliament of 1754. The Rev. Dr. Courtenay, Rector of St. George's Hanover-ſquare, and of Lee in Kent, is a ſon of this gentleman. 3. Jane, born in 1717, and married, in April 1744, to James Buller, Eſq; of Morvall, in Cornwall, who, in 1763, died Knight of the Shire for that county; being the ſecond time of his being its Repreſentative in Parliament. He had ſerved for the borough of Eaſt-loe, in two former Parliaments. 4. Leonora, who was born in July 1718. She was married, in 1752, to Edward Urmſton, Eſq; ſince a Colonel of a regiment of foot, and a Lieutenant-General in his Majeſty's army. 5. Anne, born 1722, and married, April 13, 1752, to the Rev. Mr. (now Dr.) Benſon, Chancellor of the Dioceſe of Glouceſter, and nephew to the Right Rev. Dr. Martin Benſon, the late excellent Biſhop of that Dioceſe (13).

(13) Collins's and Jacob's Peerages, *ubi ſupra.*

Who then ſhall grace, or who improve the ſoil?
Who plants like Bathurſt, or who builds like Boyle (z).

(z) Epiſtle to the Earl of Burlington. Pope's Works, Vol. ii. p. 170. Edit. 1776.

It is remarkable that his Lordſhip's beautiful and noble plantations were begun by him after he had reached his fortieth year; and he had the felicity not only of living to ſee them in aſtate of perfection, but of preſerving ſuch a degree of health and vigour, at an age to which few advance, as enabled him to enjoy the delightful ſcenes he may be ſaid to have created (*a*). How completely he underſtood the right application of a large fortune, is well expreſſed by the excellent poet already quoted, in the epiſtle addreſſed by him, to Lord Bathurſt, on the Uſe of Riches:

(*a*) Supplement to Swift's Works, p. 656.

The ſenſe to value riches, with the art
T' enjoy them, and the virtue to impart,
Not meanly, nor ambitiouſly purſued,
Not ſunk by ſloth, not raiſed by ſervitude;
To balance fortune by a juſt expence,
Join with œconomy, magnificence;
With ſplendour, charity; with plenty, health;
Oh teach us, Bathurſt! yet unſpoil'd by wealth!
That ſecret rare, between th' extremes to move,
Of mad good-nature, or of mean ſelf-love (*b*).

(*b*) Pope's Works, *Ibid.* p. 152.

Lord Bathurſt's Wit, Taſte, and Learning, led him to ſeek the acquaintance of Men of genius. He was intimately connected with the great perſons of this kind, who adorned the beginning of the preſent century. Biſhop Atterbury, Dr. Freind, Mr. Congreve, Sir John Vanbrugh, Dr. Swift, Mr. Prior, Mr. Rowe, Mr. Addiſon, Mr. Pope, Dr. Arbuthnot, Mr. Gay, and others, cultivated his friendſhip, and were proud of his correſpondence (*c*): And, indeed, from the few letters of his which have been publiſhed, in one or two late collections, it appears that his correſpondence was a real honour and pleaſure to thoſe by whom it was enjoyed [*I*]. It is ſaid to have been a rule with his Lordſhip,

(*c*) Annual Regiſter, *ubi ſupra.*

[*I*] *From the few letters of his, &c.*] The letters of Lord Bathurſt, which have appeared in the collections publiſhed by Dr. Hawkeſworth, and Deane Swift, Eſq; are diſtinguiſhed by a vivacity and wit which will make every reader of taſte regret that more of them have not been preſerved. The whole number is only nine, ſeven in Dr. Hawkeſworth's publication, and two in Mr Swift's. We ſhall give one ſpecimen, from each of theſe collections, of his Lordſhip's manner of writing. In order to enter into the ſpirit of the firſt, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that it alludes to a tract of Dr. Swift's, entitled, " A modeſt Propoſal for preventing the Children of the poor People in Ireland, from being a burthen to their Parents or Country, and to make them beneficial to the Public." In this tract, the Dean, ſatirically and humorouſly, propoſed to fatten and eat the children of the poor, as the only remaining expedient to prevent miſery to themſelves, and render them of ſome benefit to the kingdom.

' DEAR DEAN, Feb. 12, 1729-30.

' I have this moment received a letter from you; but it is the firſt I can call a letter: The other ſcraps were only to direct me to convey your correſpondence to others, and I thought I anſwered them beſt by obeying your commands. But now you have deigned to ſend me one in form, with a proper beginning and ending, I will not wait even for a poſt-day; but I have taken pen and ink immediately to tell you, how much I think myſelf obliged to you, and how ſincerely I am——

' Well, I might end here, if I would; but I can't part with you ſo ſoon; and I muſt let you know, that as to your money affairs, though I have paid off John Gay, I ſtill keep the 200 l. for which I have given him a note. I have paid him intereſt to this time for it, which he muſt account to you for. Now you muſt imagine, that a man, who has nine children to feed, can't long afford *alienos paſcere nummos*; but I have four or five, that are very fit for the table. I only wait for the Lord Mayor's day to diſpoſe of the largeſt;' and I ſhall be ſure of getting off the youngeſt, whenever a certain great man (14) makes another entertainment at Chelſea. Now you ſee, though I am your debtor, I am not without my proper ways and means to raiſe a ſupply anſwerable to your demand. I muſt own to you, that I ſhould not have thought of this method of raiſing money; but that you ſeemed to point it out to me. For juſt at the time that ſcheme came out, which pretended to be calculated only for Ireland, you gave me a hint in one of the envelopes [*Anglicè covers*] that you wiſhed I might provide for my numerous family; and in this laſt you harp upon the ſame ſtring. I did immediately propoſe it to Lady Bathurſt as your advice, particularly for her laſt boy, which was born the plumpeſt, fineſt thing that could be ſeen; but ſhe fell in a paſſion, and bid me ſend you word, that ſhe would not follow your direction, but that ſhe would breed him up to be a parſon, and he ſhould live upon the fat of the land; or a lawyer, and then, inſtead of being eat himſelf, he ſhould devour others. You know women in paſſion never mind what they ſay; but, as ſhe is a very reaſonable woman, I have almoſt brought her over now to your opinion; and having convinced her, that as matters ſtood, we could not poſſibly maintain all the nine, ſhe does begin to think it reaſonable the youngeſt ſhould raiſe fortunes for the eldeſt. And upon that foot a man may perform family duty with more courage and zeal; for if he ſhould happen to get twins, the ſelling of one might provide for the other. Or if, by any accident, whilſt his wife lies in with one child, he ſhould get a ſecond upon the body of another woman, he might diſpoſe of the fatteſt of the two, and that would help to breed up the other. The more I think upon this ſcheme, the more reaſonable it appears to me; and it ought by no means to be confined to Ireland; for in all probability we ſhall, in a very little time, be altogether as poor here as you are there. I believe indeed we ſhall carry it farther, and not confine our luxury only to the eating of children; for I happened to peep the other day into a large aſſembly (15) not far from Weſtminſter-hall, and I found them roaſting a great fat fellow (16). For my own part, I had not the leaſt inclination to a ſlice of him; but, if I gueſſed it right, four in five of the company had a deviliſh mind to be at him. You begin now to wiſh I had ended, when I might have done it ſo conveniently. Well, Adieu (17).'

(14) Sir Robert Walpole.

(15) The Houſe of Commons.

(16) Sir Robert Walpole.

(17) Swift's Works, Vol. xx. 24*mo* edit. p. 326—328. being the ſecond Vol. of Hawkeſworth's Collection.

The next letter was occaſioned by a report that one Butler, a Clergyman, had ſhot at Dr. Swift:

' DEAR DEAN, Cirenceſter, 13 Sept. 1735.

' Though you never anſwer any of my letters, and I can never have a line from you, except in Parliament

Lordſhip, never to write to his friends but when he was in good ſpirits. To the laſt moment of his life, he was delighted with the converſation of men of abilities: Nor were his friendſhips confined to perſons of peculiar parties or profeſſions. Mr. Parry, the diſſenting Clergyman of Cirenceſter, who was a Gentleman of conſiderable learning and taſte, and who joined with the decorum of his character, a liberality of ſentiment and manners, and a ſprightly and amiable temper, was honoured with Lord Bathurſt's particular regard. The late extraordinary genius Mr. Sterne has given a very agreeable account of the attention which was paid to him by his Lordſhip. “ This Nobleman,” ſays he, “ is an “ old friend of mine. He was always the protector of men of wit and genius; and has “ had thoſe of the laſt century always at his table. The manner in which his notice be- “ gan of me, was as ſingular as it was polite. He came up to me one day, as I was at “ the Princeſs of Wales's court; ‘ I want to know you Mr. Sterne; but it is fit you “ ſhould know alſo who it is that wiſhes this pleaſure. You have heard, continued he, “ of an old Lord Bathurſt, of whom your Popes and Swifts have ſung and ſpoken ſo “ much; I have lived my life with geniuſes of that caſt, but have ſurvived them; and “ deſpairing ever to find their equals, it is ſome years ſince I have cleared my accounts, “ and ſhut up my books, with thoughts of never opening them again. But you have “ kindled a deſire in me of opening them once more before I die, which now I do; ſo “ go home and dine with me.' This Nobleman, I ſay, is a prodigy; for at eighty-five “ he has all the wit and promptneſs of a man of thirty, a diſpoſition to be pleaſed, and a “ power to pleaſe others beyond whatever I knew: Added to which, a man of learning, “ courteſy, and feeling (c)” Lord Bathurſt preſerved, to the cloſe of his life, his natural cheerfulneſs and vivacity; and was always acceſſible, hoſpitable, and beneficent. He delighted, latterly, in rural amuſements, and enjoyed, with a philoſophical calmneſs, the ſhade of the lofty trees he had himſelf planted. Till within a month of his death, he conſtantly rode out, on horſeback, two hours in the morning, and drank his bottle of wine after dinner. He uſed jocoſely to declare, that he never could think of adopting Dr. Cadogan's regimen, as Dr. Cheyne had aſſured him, fifty years before,

(c) Annual Regiſter, *ubi ſupra.* Sterne's Letters to Eliza.

‘ ment time about an Iriſh cauſe, I do inſiſt that ‘ without delay you give me either by yourſelf or ‘ agents immediate ſatisfaction in theſe points. Firſt, ‘ whether that article which I read in the news about ‘ one Butler a ſhooting parſon be true or not; ſecondly, whether he has yet begged pardon, and atteſted upon oath that it was without deſign, and by ‘ accident, that the gun went off. In caſe the fact be ‘ true, and that he has not yet made any ſufficient or ‘ reaſonable excuſe, I require of you that you do immediately get ſome able painter to draw his picture, ‘ and ſend it over to me; and I will order a great ‘ number of prints to be made of it, which ſhall be ‘ diſperſed over all parts of the known world, that ‘ ſuch a worthleſs raſcal may not go any where without being known. I make no doubt of his being ‘ immediately drove out of Ireland. Such a brutal ‘ attempt upon the Drapier cannot be borne there; ‘ and he will not venture into England when theſe ‘ prints of his perſon are ſent about, for he would ‘ certainly be knocked on the head in the firſt village ‘ he paſſes through. Perhaps he may think to ſkulk ‘ in Holland, the common refuge of all ſcoundrels; ‘ but he will ſoon find out, that Doctor Swuft (for ſo ‘ they pronounce the name) is in great eſteem there, ‘ for his learning and political writings. In France he ‘ would meet with worſe reception; for his wit is reliſhed there, and many of his tracts, though ſpoiled ‘ by tranſlation, are yet more admired than what is ‘ writ by any among themſelves. Should he go into ‘ Spain, he would find that Don Swifto is in the ‘ higheſt eſtimation, being thought to be lineally ‘ deſcended from Miguel de Cervantes by a daughter ‘ of Quevedo's. Perhaps he may think to be ſafe in ‘ Poland during the time of theſe troubles; but I can ‘ aſſure him, from the mouth of a Poliſh Lady, who ‘ was lately in London, by name Madam de Montmorency (for ſhe was married to a French Gentleman of that great family), that Dr. Swift is perfectly ‘ well known there; and ſhe was very ſolicitous to ‘ know whether he were a Staniſlaiſt or not, ſhe being ‘ a zealous partizan for that cauſe.

‘ Now if this brute of a parſon ſhould find no ſecurity in Europe, and therefore ſlip into the Eaſt Indies in ſome Dutch ſhip, for a Dutchman may be ‘ found who would carry the Devil for a ſtiver or two ‘ extraordinary, he will be confoundedly ſurprized to ‘ find that Dr. Swift is known in China, and that ‘ next to Confucius, his writings are in the greateſt ‘ eſteem. The miſſionaries have tranſlated ſeveral ‘ European books into their language: but I am well ‘ informed that none of them have taken ſo well as ‘ his; and the Chineſe, who are a very ingenious ‘ people, reckon Sif the only author worth reading. ‘ It is well known that in Perſia Kouli-Can was at the ‘ pains to tranſlate his works himſelf: being born a ‘ Scotſman, he underſtood them very well; and I ‘ am credibly informed that he read *The Battle of the* ‘ *Books* the night before he gave that great defeat to ‘ the Perſian army. If he hears of this, he may ‘ imagine that he ſhall find good reception at Conſtantinople; but he will be bit there; for many ‘ years ago an Engliſh renegado ſlave tranſlated Effendi Soif for them, and told them it was writ by ‘ an Engliſhman, with a deſign to introduce the Mahometan religion: this having got him his liberty, ‘ and although it is not believed by the Effendi, the ‘ book and the author are in the greateſt eſteem ‘ amongſt them. If he goes into America, he will ‘ not be received into any Engliſh, French, or Spaniſh ſettlement; ſo that in all probability he would ‘ be ſoon ſcalpt by the wild Indians; and in truth ‘ there would be no manner of ſhame that a head ‘ ſhould be uncovered that has ſo little brains in it. ‘ Brutality and ill-nature proceed from the want of ‘ ſenſe; therefore, without having ever heard of him ‘ before, I can decide what he is, from this ſingle ‘ action. Now I really believe no layman could have ‘ done ſuch a thing. The wearing of petticoats ‘ gives to moſt of the clergy (a few only excepted of ‘ ſuperior underſtanding) certain feminine diſpoſitions. They are commonly ſubject to malice and ‘ envy, and give more free vent to thoſe paſſions: ‘ Poſſibly for the ſame reaſon that women are obſerved ‘ to do ſo, becauſe they cannot be called to account ‘ for it. When one of us does a brutal action to another, he may have his head broke, or be whipt ‘ through the lungs; but all who wear petticoats are ‘ ſecure from ſuch accidents. Now to avoid further ‘ trouble, I hope by this time his gown is ſtript off ‘ his back, and the boys of Dublin have drawn him ‘ through a horſe-pond. Send me an account of ‘ this, and I ſhall be ſatisfied. Adieu, dear Dean; ‘ I am got to the end of my paper, but you may be ‘ aſſured that my regard for you will only end with ‘ the laſt breath of your faithful ſervant (15).'

(15) *Ibid.* Vol. xxiii. p. 316—319. being the 2d Vol. of the Collection publiſhed by Dean Swift, Eſquire.

that he would not live ſeven years longer, unleſs he abridged himſelf of his wine (*d*) [*K*]. In 1772, his Lordſhip was advanced to the dignity of Earl Bathurſt. He lived to ſee his eldeſt ſurviving ſon ſeveral years Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, and promoted to the Peerage, by the title of Baron Apſley. The death of Earl Bathurſt happened, after a few days illneſs, at his ſeat near Cirenceſter, in the ninety-firſt year of his age, and on the 16th of September 1775. On the 21ſt of September, his Lordſhip was buried with due funeral honours, at the pariſh church of Cirenceſter, in the ſame vault with his Lady; and a monument hath ſince been erected to *their* memory, on which is the following inſcription (*e*).

(*d*) Annual Regiſter, *ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) From Information of the noble Family.

Near this Place are depoſited the Remains of
ALLEN Earl BATHURST, and CATHERINE Lady BATHURST.

In the legiſlative and judicial departments
of the great Council of the Nation, he ſerved
his Country 69 years, with honor, ability,
and diligence.
Judgment and Taſte directed his Learning,
Humanity tempered his Wit,
Benevolence guided all his Actions.
He died regretted by moſt, and praiſed by all,
the 16th day of September, 1775, aged 91.

CATHERINE his Conſort, by her milder
Virtues, added Luſtre to his great Qualities;
Her domeſtic Œconomy extended
his Liberality,
Her judicious Charity his Munificence,
Her prudent Goverment of her Family his
Hoſpitality.
She received the Reward of her exemplary Life
the 8th Day of June, 1768, aged 79.

Married July the 6th, 1704.

His Lordſhip was ſucceeded in title and eſtate, by Lord Apſley, then Lord Chancellor of England, and now Henry Earl Bathurſt [*L*].] K.

[*K*] *Unleſs he abridged himſelf of his wine.*] ‘ His ‘ Lordſhip, we are told, having, about two years ‘ before his death, invited ſeveral of his friends to ‘ ſpend a few cheerful days with him, at his ſeat at ‘ Cirenceſter; and being one evening very loth to ‘ part with them; on his ſon, the Chancellor's objecting to their ſitting up any longer, and adding ‘ that health and long life were beſt ſecured by regularity; he ſuffered him to retire. But as ſoon as ‘ he was gone, the cheerful father ſaid, Come, my ‘ good friends, ſince the old gentleman is gone to ‘ bed, I think we may venture to crack another ‘ bottle (16).’

[*L*] *Now Henry Earl Bathurſt.*] The preſent Earl Bathurſt was born on the 2d of May 1714. Applying himſelf to the ſtudy of the law, he was called to the Bar in Hilary Term, 1735-6. In January 1745-6, he was made King's Counſel, and Solicitor-General to Frederic Prince of Wales; and afterwards, in 1748, Attorney-General, in which character he walked at his Royal Highneſs's funeral proceſſion, on the 13th of April 1751. After that Prince's deceaſe, he was appointed to the ſame office of Attorney-General to the Princeſs Dowager of Wales, and continued in that honourable employment till May 2d, 1754, when he was conſtituted a Serjeant at Law, and a Juſtice in the Court of Common Pleas. From 1735 to the laſt mentioned appointment, he ſerved, uninterruptedly, in Parliament, for the borough of Cirenceſter. In 1771, he was raiſed to the Peerage, and to the dignity of Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, which poſt he reſigned, on account of his health, on the 3d of June 1778. He married on the 19th of September 1754, Anne, only child of ——— James, Eſq; and relict of Charles Philips, Eſq; which lady died, February 4th, 1758, without iſſue. On June the 14th, 1759, his Lordſhip took to his ſecond wife, Tryphena, daughter to Thomas Scawen, of Carſhalton in Surry, Eſq; by whom, who is the preſent Counteſs Bathurſt, the Earl hath had two ſons and four daughters. Henry Lord Apſley, the eldeſt of his Lordſhip's ſons, was born May 22d, 1762, and Apſley Bathurſt, the youngeſt, Oct. 11, 1769 (17).] K.

(16) Annual Regiſter, Vol. xviii. part 2d, p. 25.

(17) Peerages, *ubi ſupra*, corrected by the Family.

BATMANSON (JOHN), a perſon of great piety and learning in the ſixteenth century, was at firſt a Monk, and afterwards Prior of the Carthuſian monaſtery or Charter-houſe, in the ſuburbs of London (*a*). For ſome time he ſtudied Divinity at Oxford; but it does not appear that he took any degree there in that faculty (*b*). He was intimately acquainted with, and a great favourite of Edward Lee, Archbiſhop of York; at whoſe requeſt he wrote againſt Eraſmus and Luther [*A*]. He died on the 16th of November 1531, and was buried in the chapel belonging to the Charter-houſe (*c*). Pits gives him the character of a man of quick and diſcerning genius; of great piety, and learning, and fervent zeal; much converſant in the ſtudy of the ſcriptures; and that led an angelical life among men (*d*). Bale, on the contrary, repreſents him as a proud, forward, and arrogant perſon; born as it were, for diſputing and wrangling; and ſays, that Eraſmus, in one of his letters to Richard Biſhop of Wincheſter, ſtiles him an ignorant fellow, encouraged by Lee, and vain-glorious even to madneſs (*e*). So oppoſite are the characters given by zealots of different parties! However, Bale in another place (*f*) calls him a very clear ſophiſt, or writer. [‘ John Batmanſon, ſays Mr. Warton, controverted Eraſ- ‘ mus's Commentary on the New Teſtament with a degree of ſpirit and erudition, which ‘ was unhappily miſapplied, and would have done honour to the cauſe of his antagoniſt ‘ (*g*).’]

(*a*) Baleus, Scriptor. Britanniæ, Centur. IX. n. 14. Pits, de Illuſtrib. Angliæ Scriptor. Æt. XVI. 1531, n. 942. Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 27. edit. Lond. 1721.

(*b*) Wood, *ibid.*

(*c*) Petreius in Biblioth. Cartuſiana, edit. Colon. 1609, p. 157. & Pits, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) Pits, *ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) Baleus, Cent. XI. p. 75. n. 95.

(*f*) *Ubi ſupra*, Cent. IX. n. 14.

(*g*) Hiſtory of Poetry, Vol. ii. p. 447.

[*A*] *He wrote againſt Eraſmus and Luther.*] Viz. I. *Animadverſiones in Annotationes Eraſmi in Novum Teſtamentum*; ‘ Animadverſions upon Eraſmus's Notes on ‘ the New Teſtament.’ II. *A Treatiſe againſt ſome of M. Luther's writings.* Theſe two he afterwards retracted. The reſt of his works were, III. *Commentaria in Proverbia Salomonis.* IV. —*in Cantica Canticorum*; ‘ Commentaries on the Proverbs of Solomon, ‘ and on the Canticles.’ V. *De unicâ Magdalenâ, contra Fabrum Stapulenſem*; ‘ Enquiry whether there ‘ was only one Magdalen, againſt Faber Stapulenſis.’ VI. *Inſtitutiones Noviciorum*; ‘ Inſtructions for No- ‘ vices, or Youth.’ VII. *De contemptu mundi*; ‘ Of ‘ the Contempt of the World.’ VIII. *De Chriſto duodenni*; ‘ A Homily on *Luke* ii. 42.’ IX. On the words *Miſſus eſt*, &c. (1). M.

(1) Bale, Pits, & Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

BAXTER (RICHARD), a very eminent Divine amongſt the Nonconformiſts in the laſt century. His father was a freeholder in the county of Salop, an honeſt, religious

man,

man, but his eſtate was very inconſiderable. His mother was of the ſame county, the daughter of Mr. Richard Adeney: Himſelf was born at Rowton, near High-Ercal, in the hundred of South-Bradford, November 12, 1615 (*a*). There he ſpent his infancy, wherein he is ſaid to have given ſtrong indications of that piety and purity which appeared in his ſubſequent life and converſation [*A*]. In 1625 he was taken from his grandfather's houſe where he had hitherto lived, and brought home to his father's at Eaton-Conſtantine, a village within five miles of Shrewſbury, where he paſſed the remainder of his childhood (*b*). He was far from being happy in reſpect to his ſchoolmaſters, who were men no way diſtinguiſhed either for learning or morals, and miſſed the advantages of an academical education, through a propoſal made to his parents of placing him with Mr. Richard Wickſtead, Chaplain to the Council at Ludlow. The only advantage he reaped there was the uſe of an excellent library, which, by his own great application, proved of infinite ſervice to him. In this ſituation he remained about a year and half, and then returned to his father's (*c*). At the requeſt of the Lord Newport he went thence to Wroxeter, where he taught in the free-ſchool for ſix months, while his old ſchoolmaſter Mr. John Owen lay in a languiſhing condition (*d*). In 1633 Mr. Wickſtead prevailed on him to wave the ſtudies in which he was then engaged, and to think of making his fortune at court. He accordingly came up to Whitehall with a recommendation to Sir Henry Herbert, then Maſter of the Revels, by whom he was very kindly received. But, after a month's ſtay, diſcovering no charms in this ſort of life, and having beſides a very ſtrong propenſity to undertake the miniſterial function, he returned to his father's, and reſumed his ſtudies with freſh vigour, till Mr. Richard Foley of Stourbridge fixed him as maſter of the free-ſchool at Dudley, with an uſher under him (*e*). In the time he taught ſchool there, he read ſeveral practical treatiſes, whereby he was brought to a due and deep ſenſe of religion, his progreſs therein being not a little quickened by his great bodily weakneſs and ill ſtate of health, which inclined him to think he ſhould ſcarcely ſurvive above a year (*f*) [*B*]. However, having ſtill an earneſt deſire to the Miniſtry, he in 1638 addreſſed himſelf to Dr. Thornborough, Biſhop of Worceſter, for holy orders, which after examination he received, having at that time no ſcruples of conſcience which hindered him from conforming to the Church of England (*g*) [*C*]. Being ſettled at Dudley, he preached frequently in that town, and in the neighbouring villages,

(*a*) Mr. Baxter's Life, publiſhed by Mr. Sylveſter, fol. p. 2. Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. i. p. 2, 3, 4.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 2, 3.

(*c*) Baxter's Life, p. 3. Calamy's Account of Miniſters ſilenced by the Act of Uniformity, Vol. II. p. 897.

(*d*) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, p. 4.

(*e*) *Ibid. ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) Calamy's Account of Miniſters ſilenced by the Act of Uniformity, Vol. ii. p. 897. *Id.* Abridgment of Baxter's Life, p. 4—10.

(*g*) Baxter's Life, p. 13. Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. i. p. 12.

[*A*] *Which appeared in his ſubſequent life and converſation.*] When he was yet very young, we are told his father ſaid, with tears of joy, to a friend, My ſon Richard I hope was ſanctified from the womb; for when he was a little boy in coats, if he heard other children in play ſpeak profane words, he would reprove them, to the wonder of them that heard him (1). Yet it is certain, that at this time of life he was not altogether free from thoſe irregularities common to lads of his age: this we learn from himſelf: 'Though my conſcience, ſays he, would trouble me when I ſinned, yet divers ſins I was addicted to, and oft committed againſt my conſcience, which, for the warning of others, I will here confeſs to my ſhame. I was much addicted to the exceſſive gluttonous eating of apples and pears, which I think laid the foundation of the imbecility and flatulency of my ſtomach, which cauſed the bodily calamities of my life. To this end, and to concur with naughty boys that gloried in evil, I have oft gone into other men's orchards, and ſtolen the fruit, when I had enough at home.' There are ſix other retractions, at the end of which he concludes; 'Theſe were my ſins in my childhood, as to which conſcience troubled me for a great while before they were overcome (2).'

(1) Dr. Bates's Sermon at the Funeral of Mr. Baxter.

(2) Mr. Baxter's Life, written by himſelf, publiſhed by Matthew Sylveſter, 1696, fol. p. 2.

[*B*] *Scarcely ſurvive above a year.*] We are told by Dr. Calamy, that, from the age of twenty-one till twenty-three, he lived conſtantly as it were in the ſhadow of death; and, finding his own ſoul under ſerious apprehenſions of the matters of another world, he was very deſirous to communicate thoſe apprehenſions to ſuch ignorant, careleſs, preſumptuous ſinners, as the world abounds with. Although, therefore, he had his diſcouragements, through his ſenſe of the greatneſs and awfulneſs of the work of the Miniſtry, and his fear of expoſing himſelf to the cenſure of many, on the account of his wanting academical education, honours, and dignities; yet, expecting to be ſo quickly in another world, the great concernments of miſerable ſouls prevailed with him to engage in it; and finding in himſelf a thirſty deſire of men's converſion and ſalvation, and a competent perſwading faculty of expreſſion, which fervent affections might help to actuate, he concluded, that if but one or two ſouls might by his means be won to God, it would eaſily recompenſe any treatment he might meet with in the world (3).

(3) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. i. p. 11.

[*C*] *From conforming to the Church of England.*] We have a very diſtinct detail of the means by which he firſt came to alter his opinions in theſe matters; and it will be very proper to take notice of them here, becauſe they will ſerve to let the reader into the character of the man. Being ſettled at Dudley, he fell into the acquaintance of ſeveral Nonconformiſts, whom, though he judged ſevere and ſplenetic, yet he found to be both godly and honeſt men. They ſupplied him with ſeveral writings on their own ſide, and amongſt the reſt, with Ames's *Freſh Suit againſt Ceremonies*, which he read over very diſtinctly, comparing it with Dr. Burgeſs's Rejoynder. And, upon the whole, he at that time came to theſe concluſions. Kneeling he thought lawful, and all mere circumſtances determined by the magiſtrate, which God in nature or ſcripture hath determined on, only in the general. The Surplice he more doubted of, but was inclined to think it lawful: And though he intended to forbear it till under neceſſity, yet he could not ſee how he could have juſtified the forſaking his Miniſtry merely on that account, though he never actually wore it. About the Ring in Marriage he had no ſcruple. The Croſs in Baptiſm he thought Dr. Ames had proved unlawful; and though he was not without ſome doubting in the point, yet becauſe he moſt inclined to judge it unlawful, he never once uſed it. A Form of Prayer and Liturgy he judged to be lawful, and in ſome caſes lawfully impoſed. The Engliſh Liturgy in particular he judged to have much diſorder and defectiveneſs in it, but nothing which ſhould make the uſe of it in the ordinary public worſhip to be unlawful to them who could not do better. He fought for Diſcipline in the Church, and ſaw the ſad effects of it's neglect, but he was not then ſo ſenſible as afterwards, that the very frame of Dioceſan Prelacy excluded it, but thought it had been chargeable only on the perſonal neglects of the Biſhops. Subſcription he began to think unlawful, and repented his raſhneſs in yielding to it ſo haſtily. For though he could uſe the Common-Prayer, and was not yet againſt Dioceſans, yet to ſubſcribe *ex animo*, that there is nothing in the three Books contrary to the Word of God, was that which he durſt not do, had it been to be done again. So that Subſcription and the Croſs in Baptiſm, and the promiſcuous giving the Lord's Supper to all comers, though ever ſo unqualified, if they were not excommunicate by a Biſhop or Chancellor who villages, with the approbation of all his hearers. In three quarters of a year he was removed to Bridgnorth, where he officiated as aſſiſtant to Mr. William Madſtard, then Miniſter of that place, who treated him with great kindneſs and reſpect, and did not put him upon many things which he then began to ſcruple doing (*h*). When the *et cætera* oath came to be impoſed, Mr. Baxter applied himſelf diligently to ſtudy the caſe of Epiſcopacy, and it fared with him as with ſome others; the thing which was intended to fix them to the Hierarchy, drove them into a diſlike of it (*i*) [*D*]. In the year 1640 he was invited to Kidderminſter by the Bailiff and Feoffees, to preach there for an allowance of ſixty pounds a year, which he accepted; and applied himſelf with ſuch diligence to his ſacred calling, as had a very great effect in a ſhort time upon a very diſſolute people. He continued there about two years before the civil war broke out, and fourteen afterwards with ſome interruption (*k*). He ſided with the Parliament, and recommended the Proteſtation they directed to be taken, to the people: This expoſed him to ſome inconveniencies, which obliged him to retire to Glouceſter, but he was ſoon invited back to Kidderminſter, whither he returned. His ſtay there was not long; but beginning to conſider with himſelf where he might remain in ſafety, he fixed upon Coventry, and accordingly went thither. There he lived peaceably and comfortably, preached once every Lord's day to the garriſon, and once to the town's people, for which he took nothing but his diet, though beſides thus exerciſing his function, he did great ſervice in repreſſing the Anabaptiſts (*l*). After Naſeby fight, when all things ſeemed to favour the Parliament, he, by advice of the Miniſters at Coventry, became Chaplain to Colonel Whalley's regiment, and in this quality he was preſent at ſeveral ſieges, but never in any engagement: So that there was not the leaſt grounds for that ſcandalous ſtory invented and trumpeted about by his enemies, viz. that he killed a man in cool blood, and robbed him of a medal (*m*) [*E*]. He took all imaginable pains to hinder the progreſs of the Sectaries, and to keep men firm in juſt and rational notions of religion and government, never deviating from what he judged in his conſcience to be right, for the ſake of making court to any, or from baſer motives of fear. But he was ſeparated from the army in the beginning of the year 1647, in a very critical juncture, juſt when they fell off from the Parliament, Mr. Baxter being at that time ſeized with a bleeding at the noſe in ſo violent a manner, that he loſt the quantity of a gallon at once, which obliged him to re-

who knows nothing of them, were the only things in which he as yet in his judgment inclined to Nonconformity: And yet, even as to theſe things, he kept his thoughts to himſelf. He continued to argue with the Nonconformiſts about the points they differed in, and particularly kneeling at the Sacrament; about which he managed a diſpute with ſome of them in writing, till they did not think fit to purſue it any farther: He freely reproved them for the bitterneſs of their language againſt the Biſhops and their adherents, and exhorted them to endeavour for patience and charity, but found their ſpirits ſo exaſperated by the hard meaſure they had met with, that they were deaf to his admonitions (4).

[*D*] *Drove them into a diſlike of it.*] In order to have a juſt idea of this matter, it is neceſſary to tranſcribe this famous oath at large; whence it will appear why ſome very honeſt men ſcrupled it, and why ſome as honeſt men took it without ſcruple. The oath ran thus: ‘I A. B. do ſwear, that I do approve the doctrine and diſcipline, or government eſtabliſhed in the Church of England, as containing all things neceſſary to ſalvation: And that I will not endeavour by myſelf or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Popiſh doctrine, contrary to that which is ſo eſtabliſhed; nor will I ever give my conſent to alter the government of the Church, by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, and Archdeacons, &c. as it ſtands now eſtabliſhed, and as by right it ought to ſtand, nor yet ever to ſubject it to the uſurpation and ſuperſtitions of the See of Rome. And all theſe things I do plainly and ſincerely acknowledge and ſwear, according to the plain and common ſenſe and underſtanding of the ſame words, without any equivocation or mental evaſion, or ſecret reſervation whatſoever. And this I do heartily, willingly and truly, upon the faith of a Chriſtian. So help me God, in Jeſus Chriſt (5).’ Men of tender conſciences thought it hard to ſwear to the continuance of a Church government, which many of them diſliked: and yet theſe men for the Church's quiet would willingly have concealed their thoughts, had not this oath, impoſed under the penalty of expulſion, compelled them to ſpeak. Others complained of the *et cætera*, which, they ſaid, contained they knew not what, and might be extended to they knew not whom, but in all probability to the officers of Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and to ſwear to them they thought not only a little extraordinary, but very far from being lawful. Mr. Baxter ſeems to have underſtood this matter exactly right, for he took the oath to be a direct declaration in favour of the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction of Prelates as then eſtabliſhed, which, though it might be ſubmitted to with little, he apprehended could not be ſworn to without much, conſideration. This put him upon ſtudying the beſt books he could meet with on this ſubject; the conſequence of which was, that he utterly diſliked the oath, a thing which fell out to many others beſides him, who, but for this accident, had never diſturbed themſelves about ſo knotty a queſtion (6).

[*E*] *That he killed a man in cold blood, and robbed him of a medal.*] This ſtrange ſtory was firſt publiſhed to the world in a book written by Dr. Boreman, of Trinity-college in Cambridge; for till then it paſſed current in diſcourſe, but was often contradicted, and generally looked upon as a calumny. At length it was ſtated as a direct charge, on the credit of Major Jennings, the very perſon whom Mr. Baxter left for dead. The ſubſtance of the ſtory was as follows: That Mr. Baxter finding one Major Jennings in the war-time among the bodies of the dead and wounded, looked on while Lieutenant Hurdman that was with him ran him through the body in cold blood; and that Mr. Baxter took off with his own hand the King's picture from about his neck, telling him, as he was ſwimming in his gore, that he was a Popiſh rogue, and that that was his crucifix; which picture was, it is ſaid, kept by Mr. Baxter till it was got from him, but not without much difficulty, by one Mr. Somerfield who lived with Sir Thomas Rowſe, who reſtored it to the true owner, who was ſuppoſed to be dead of his wounds (7). And this narrative was ſubſcribed by Jennings himſelf, that it might paſs for the more authentic. Mr. Baxter, in a piece publiſhed by him two years afterwards, abſolutely denies this, declaring that he took a voluntary oath it was falſe; that he was not near Major Jennings at that time, nor indeed ever ſaw him any where elſe to his knowledge in the courſe of his life. But in the houſe where he was, he did hear the ſoldiers tell how they wounded and ſtripped him, and took his medal (laughing at a ſilly ſoldier that called it a crucifix); and the man that took it offering it to ſale, Mr. Baxter declares he gave him eighteen-pence for it, and ſome years after ſent it Major Jennings freely, which it ſeems made him think, and raſhly affirm, though falſely, that it was Mr. Baxter that took it from him (8).

(*h*) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. i. p. 13—15.

(*i*) *Id.* Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. ii. p. 898. Biſhop Hall's Memoirs, p. 43.

(*k*) Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, p. 21. *Id.* Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. ii. p. 898.

(*l*) Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. i. p. 74—80. *Id.* Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. ii. p. 899.

(*m*) Peirce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, P. i. p. 229. Viſions of Government, by Edward Pettit, p. 134.

(4) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. i. p. 13.

(5) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Cent. XVII. Book ii. p. 169.

(6) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. i. p. 16.

(7) Life of Dr. Peter Heylyn, by Mr. Vernon, Rector of Burton, Lond. 1682. 8*vo*. Viſions of Government, by Edward Pettit, M. A. 1684, 8*vo*, p. 134.

(8) Catholic Communion doubly defended, by Richard Baxter, Lond. 1684, 4*to*.

tire to Sir Thomas Rouſe's, where he continued for a long time in a very languiſhing ſtate of health; which hindered him from doing that ſervice to his country, that otherwiſe from a man of his principles and moderation might have been expected. He afterwards returned to Kidderminſter, and reſumed the work of his miniſtry. He hindered, as far as it was in his power, the taking of the Covenant; he preached and ſpoke publicly againſt the engagement (*n*); and therefore it is very unjuſt to brand him, as ſome have done, as a trumpeter of rebellion [*F*]. When the army was marching to oppoſe King Charles II. at the head of the Scots, Mr. Baxter took pains, both by ſpeaking and writing, to remind the ſoldiers of their duty, and to diſſuade them from fighting againſt their brethren and fellow-ſubjects (*o*). After this, when Cromwell aſſumed the ſupreme power, he was not afraid to expreſs his diſaffection to his tyranny, though he did not think himſelf obliged to preach Politics from the pulpit. Once indeed he preached before Cromwell; but neither did he in that ſermon flatter, or in a conference he had with him afterwards, did he expreſs either affection to his perſon, or ſubmiſſion to his power, but quite the contrary (*p*) [*G*]. He came to London, a little before the depoſition of Richard Cromwell. At that time Mr. Baxter was looked upon as a friend to monarchy, and with reaſon; for being choſen to preach before the Parliament on the 30th of April 1660, which was the day preceding that on which they voted the King's return, he maintained, that loyalty to their Prince, was a thing eſſential to all true Proteſtants of whatever perſuaſion (*q*). About the ſame time, likewiſe, he was choſen to preach a thankſgiving ſermon at St. Paul's, for General Monk's ſucceſs; and yet ſome have been ſo bold as to maintain, that he attempted to diſſuade His Excellency from concurring in, or rather from bringing about, that happy change (*r*) [*H*]. After the Reſtoration he became one of the King's

(*n*) Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, Vol. i. p. 104. Account of Miniſters, &c. Vol. ii. p. 900.

(*o*) *Id.* Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. i. p. 109.

(*p*) Baxter's Life, P. I. p. 100. Account of Miniſters ſilenced by the Act of Uniformity, Vol. ii. p. 900.

(*q*) Peirce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, P. I. p. 219. Baxter's Life, P. I. p. 71—100. Account of ſilenced Miniſters, Vol. ii. p. 900.

(*r*) Impartial Examination of the 4th Vol. of Mr. Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, by Dr. Grey, p. 256. Obſervator, No. 96.

[*F*] *As a trumpeter of rebellion.*] To enter into all the groſs things that have been ſaid of Mr. Baxter by his enemies, would take up more room than we have employed in writing his life. It is ſufficient to note their names, and the pieces they have written, in the margin (9); adding, as a ſpecimen, the following ſpeech put into the mouth of Preſident Bradſhaw in Hell, who, in deciding on the merits of Mr. Hobbes, Mr. Nevill, and Mr. Baxter, is made to ſpeak of the latter thus: 'If he, whoſe Faith is faction, whoſe Religion is rebellion, whoſe Prayers are ſpells, whoſe Piety is magic, whoſe Purity is the gall of bitterneſs, who can cant and recant, and cant again; who can transform himſelf into as many ſhapes as Lucifer (who is never more a Devil than when an Angel of Light), and, like him (who proud of his perfections, firſt rebelled in Heaven), proud of his imaginary graces, pretends to rule and govern, and conſequently rebel on earth, be the greateſt politician; then make room for Mr. Baxter: Let him come in, and be crowned with wreaths of ſerpents and chaplets of adders: Let his triumphant chariot be a pulpit drawn on the wheels of cannon, by a brace of wolves in ſheeps clothing: Let the ancient Fathers of the Church, whom out of ignorance he has vilified; the reverend and learned Prelates, whom out of pride and malice he has abuſed, belied, and perſecuted; the moſt righteous King, whoſe murder (I ſpeak my own and his ſenſe), contrary to the light of all religion, laws, reaſon, and conſcience, he has juſtified, then denied, then again and again juſtified; let them all be bound in chains to attend his infernal triumph to his Saints Everlaſting Reſt. Then make room, Scribes and Phariſees, hypocrites, atheiſts, and politicians, for the greateſt rebel on earth, and next to him that fell from (10) Heaven.' Yet it is certain, that no man made more warm pretenſions to loyalty than Mr. Baxter did, who, as we ſhall preſently ſee, had the courage to tell the Protector Cromwell to his face, that the old Engliſh monarchy was a bleſſing. He was at the deſire of King Charles II. appointed one of his Chaplains, and had ſome ſhare of royal favour as long as the King lived. But what ſeems to put this matter out of all queſtion is this, that after the ſevere treatment he met with in the reign of King James, which might eaſily have ſoured his ſpirit, and after the Revolution, when he was under no neceſſity of keeping terms, he diſclaimed all ſuch ſentiments, declaring poſitively, that throughout the whole civil war he was always for the King and Parliament, and never againſt the King's perſon, power, or prerogative (11).

[*G*] *Affection to his perſon, or ſubmiſſion to his power, but quite the contrary.*] The Earl of Warwick and the Lord Broghill were the perſons who drew him to preach before the Protector, and the words he made choice of were theſe: *Now I beſeech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that ye all ſpeak the ſame thing, and that there be no diviſions among you, but that ye be perfectly joined together in the ſame mind, and in the ſame judgment.* He levelled his diſcourſe againſt the diviſions and diſtractions of the Church, ſhewing how miſchievous a thing it was for Politicians to maintain ſuch diviſions for their own ends, that they might fiſh in troubled waters, and keep the Church by its diviſions in a ſtate of weakneſs, leſt it ſhould be able to offend them. A while after Cromwell ſent to ſpeak with him, and when he came he had only three of his chief men with him. He began a long and tedious ſpeech to him of God's providence in the change of the government, and how God had owned it, and what great things had been done at home and abroad in the peace with Spain and Holland, &c. When he had continued ſpeaking thus about an hour, Mr. Baxter told him, it was too great condeſcenſion to acquaint him ſo fully with all thoſe matters which were above him; but that the honeſt people of the land took their ancient monarchy to be a bleſſing, and not an evil, and humbly craved his patience that he might aſk him how they had forfeited that bleſſing, and unto whom this forfeiture was made? Upon that queſtion he was awakened into ſome paſſion, and told him there was no forfeiture, but God had changed it as pleaſed him; and then he let fly at the parliament, which thwarted him, and, eſpecially by name, at four or five members, who were Mr. Baxter's chief acquaintance, whom he preſumed to defend againſt the Protector's paſſion. And thus were four or five hours ſpent, though to little purpoſe. Some time afterwards the Protector ſent for him again, under pretence of aſking his judgment about liberty of conſcience, at which time alſo he made a long tedious ſpeech himſelf, which took up ſo much time, that Mr. Baxter deſired to offer his ſentiments in writing, which he did; but he ſays he queſtions whether Cromwell read them (12). We have alſo a character of this uſurper drawn by the pen of our author, too long to be inſerted here (13).

[*H*] *From bringing about that happy change.*] The credit of this ſtory depends on the intelligence of Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, who, in one of his dialogues, introduces it thus. '*Tor.* Prithee aſk Mr. Baxter if he knew who it was that went with five or ſix more of his own cloth and character to General Monk, upon his coming up to London in 1659; and finding a great deal of company with him, told His Excellency that he found his time was precious, and ſo would not trouble him with many words; but, as they were of great weight, ſo he hoped they would make an anſwerable impreſſion on him. I hear a report, Sir, (ſaith he) that you have ſome thoughts of calling back the King; but it is my ſenſe, and the ſenſe of the gentlemen here with me, that it is a thing you ought not to do upon any terms; 'for

(9) Mr. Crandon in his book againſt Mr. Baxter's Aphoriſms. Mr. Young's Vindiciæ Anti-Baxterianæ, 1696, 12mo. Mr. Long's Review of Mr. Baxter's Life, 1697, 8vo. See alſo note [*M*]

(10) Viſions of Government, by Edward Petit, M. A. Lond. 1684, 8vo. p. 134, 135, 136.

(11) Penitent Confeſſion and neceſſary Vindication, by Mr. Baxter, 1691, 4to, p. 21, 22.

(12) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. i. p. 109.

(13) Life of Mr. Baxter, publiſhed by Mr. Sylveſter, P. I. p. 100. See the article of CROMWELL (OLIVER).

King's Chaplains in Ordinary, preached before him once, and had frequent acceſs to his Royal perſon, and was always treated by him with peculiar reſpect. At the Savoy conferences, Mr. Baxter aſſiſted as one of the Commiſſioners, and then drew up the Reformed Liturgy, which all who are competent judges allow to be an excellent performance. He was offered the biſhopric of Hereford, by the Lord-Chancellor Clarendon, which he refuſed to accept, for reaſons which he rendered in a reſpectful letter to his Lordſhip (*s*). Yet even then he would willingly have returned to his beloved town of Kidderminſter, and have preached there in the low ſtate of a Curate. But even this was refuſed him, though the Lord-Chancellor took pains to have ſettled him there as he deſired (*t*). When he found himſelf thus diſappointed, he preached occaſionally about the city of London, ſometimes for Dr. Bates at St. Dunſtan's in the Weſt, and ſometimes in other places, having a licence from Biſhop Sheldon, upon his ſubſcribing a promiſe, not to preach any thing againſt the doctrine or ceremonies of the Church (*u*). The laſt time he preached in public was on the 15th of May, 1662, a farewel ſermon at Black-Friars. He afterwards retired to Acton in Middleſex, where he went every Lord's day to the public church, and ſpent the reſt of the day with his family, and a few poor neighbours that came in to him. In 1665, when the plague raged, he went to Richard Hampden's, Eſq; in Buckinghamſhire, and returned to Acton when it was over. He ſtaid there as long as the act againſt conventicles continued in force, and when that was expired, he had ſo many auditors that he wanted room. Hereupon, by a warrant ſigned by two Juſtices, he was committed for ſix months to New-Priſon jail, but got an Habeas Corpus, and was releaſed and removed to Totteridge near Barnet (*w*) [*I*]. At this place he lived quietly and without diſturbance, but not without many marks of Royal favour. The King was reſolved to make ſome conceſſions to the Diſſenters in Scotland, and the Duke of Lauderdale, by his order, acquainted Mr. Baxter, that if he would take this opportunity of going into that kingdom, he ſhould have what preferment he would there; which he declined on account of his own weakneſs and the circumſtances of his family. His opinion, however, was taken on the ſcheme for ſettling Church diſputes in that country (*x*). In 1671, Mr. Baxter loſt the greateſt part of his fortune by the ſhutting up of the King's Exchequer, in which he had a thouſand pounds (*y*). After the indulgence in 1672, he returned into the city, and was one of the Tueſday lecturers at Pinner's-hall, and had a Friday lecture at Fetter-lane, but on the Lord's days, he for ſome time preached only occaſionally; and afterwards more ſtatedly in St. James's market-houſe, where in 1674 he had a wonderful deliverance, by almoſt a miracle, from a crack in the floor (*z*). He was apprehended as he was preaching his lecture at Mr. Turner's, but ſoon releaſed, becauſe the warrant was not, as it ought to have been, ſigned by a city juſtice. The times ſeeming to grow more favourable, he built a meeting-houſe in Oxenden-ſtreet, where he preached but once before a reſolution was taken to ſurpriſe and ſend him to the county jail on the Oxford Act, which misfortune he luckily eſcaped; but the perſon who preached for him was committed to the Gatehouſe, and continued there three months. Having been kept out of his new meeting-houſe a whole year; he took another in Swallow-ſtreet, but was likewiſe prevented from uſing that, a guard being fixed there for many Sundays together, to hinder him from coming into it. On Mr. Wadſworth's dying, Mr. Baxter preached to his congregation in Southwark for many months. When Dr. Lloyd ſucceeded Dr. Lamplugh in St. Martin's pariſh, Mr. Baxter made him an offer of the chapel he had built in Oxenden-ſtreet, for

(*s*) Baxter's Life, p. ii. Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. i. p. 139 to 181. Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. ii. p. 900, 901.

(*t*) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. i. p. 296—300.

(*u*) *Id. ib.* p. 300—304.

(*w*) Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. ii. p. 901. Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. i. p. 304—335.

(*x*) See the article MAITLAND (JOHN) Duke of Lauderdale.

(*y*) *Ibid.* Vol. i. p. 333.

(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 341.

'for profaneneſs is ſo inſeparable from the royal party, that if ever you bring the King back, the power of godlineſs will moſt certainly depart from this land (14).' To which charge Mr. Baxter returned an anſwer in the following words: 'Dr. Manton (and whether any other I remember not) went once with me to General Monk, and it was to congratulate him, but with this requeſt, that he would take care that debauchery and contempt of religion might not be let looſe upon any man's pretence of being for the King, as it already began with ſome to be. But there was not one word by me ſpoken (or by any one, to my remembrance) againſt his calling back the King, nor any of the reſt here adjoined: But as to me, it is a mere fiction. And the King was ſo ſenſible of the ſame that I ſaid, that he ſent over a proclamation againſt ſuch men, as while they called themſelves the King's party, did live in debauchery and profaneneſs; which proclamation ſo rejoiced them that were after Nonconformiſts, that they read it publicly in the churches (15).'

[*I*] *Removed to Totteridge near Barnet.*] In this affair, as Mr. Baxter met with ſome hardſhip in the commitment, ſo he experienced the ſincerity of many of his beſt friends, who on this occaſion ſtuck by him very ſteadily. As he was carried to priſon, he called upon Serjeant Fountain to aſk his advice, who, when he had peruſed the mittimus, gave it as his opinion, that he might be diſcharged from his impriſonment by Law. The Earl of Orrery, the Earl of Mancheſter, the Earl of Arlington, and the Duke of Buckingham, mentioned the affair to the King, who was pleaſed to ſend Sir John Baber to him, to let him know, that though his Majeſty was not willing to relax the Law, yet he would not be offended, if by any application to the courts in Weſtminſter-hall he could procure his liberty; upon this a Habeas Corpus was demanded at the bar of the Common-Pleas, and granted. The Judges were clear in their opinion, that the mittimus was inſufficient, and thereupon diſcharged him. This exaſperated the juſtices, who committed him; and therefore they made a new mittimus in order to have ſent him to the county-gaol of Newgate, which he avoided by keeping out of the way. The whole of this perſecution is ſaid to have been owing to the particular pique of Dr. Bruno Rives, Dean of Windſor and of Wolverhampton, Rector of Haſelly and of Acton, and one of the King's Chaplains in Ordinary (16). The reaſon that he puſhed this matter ſo far was, becauſe Mr. Baxter had preached in his pariſh of Acton, which he fancied ſomeway reflected upon him, becauſe Mr. Baxter had always a large audience, though in truth this was in a good meaſure owing to the imprudence of the Dean, whoſe Curate was a weak man, and too great a frequenter of alehouſes.

(14) Obſervator, No. 96.

(15) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. iv. p. 911.

(16) *Ibid.* Vol. i. p. 323—326.

public worſhip, which was very kindly accepted (a) [K]. In 1682, he ſuffered more ſeverely than he had ever done on account of his non-conformity. One day he was ſuddenly ſurpriſed in his houſe by many Conſtables and Officers, who apprehended him upon a warrant to ſeize his perſon, for coming within five miles of a corporation, producing at the ſame time five more warrants, to diſtrain for one hundred and ninety-five pounds for five ſermons. Though he was much out of order, being but juſt riſen from his bed, where he had been in extremity of pain, he was contentedly going with them to a Juſtice, to be ſent to jail, and left his houſe to their will (b). But Dr. Thomas Cox meeting him as he was going, forced him again into his bed, and went to five Juſtices and took his oath, that he could not go to priſon without danger of death. Upon this the Juſtices delayed till they had conſulted the King, who conſented that his impriſonment ſhould be for that time forborne, that he might die at home. But they executed their warrants on the books and goods in the houſe, though he made it appear they were none of his; and they ſold even the bed which he lay ſick upon (c). Some friends paid them as much money as they were appraiſed at, and he repayed them. And all this was without Mr. Baxter's having the leaſt notice of any accuſation, or receiving any ſummons to appear and anſwer for himſelf, or ever ſeeing the Juſtices or accuſers; and afterwards he was in conſtant danger of new ſeizures, and thereupon he was forced to leave his houſe, and retire into private lodgings (d). Things continued much in the ſame way during the year 1683, and Mr. Baxter remained in great obſcurity; however, not without receiving a remarkable teſtimony of the ſincere eſteem, and great confidence, which a perſon of remarkable piety, though of another perſuaſion, had towards him: The reverend Mr. Thomas Mayot, a beneficed Clergyman in the Church of England, who had devoted his eſtate to charitable uſes, gave by his laſt will 600*l.* to be diſtributed by Mr. Baxter to ſixty poor ejected Miniſters; adding, that he did it not becauſe they were Nonconformiſts, but becauſe many ſuch were poor and pious. But the King's Attorney, Sir Rober Sawyer, ſued for it in the Chancery, and the Lord-Keeper North gave it all to the King. It was paid into the Chancery by order, and, as Providence directed it, there kept ſafe, till King William the Third aſcended the throne, when the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal reſtored it to the uſe for which it was intended by the deceaſed; and Mr. Baxter diſpoſed of it accordingly (e). In the following year, 1684, Mr. Baxter fell into a very bad ſtate of health, ſo as to be ſcarcely able to ſtand. He was in this condition, when the Juſtices of Peace for the county of Middleſex granted a warrant againſt him, in order to his being bound to his good behaviour. They got into his houſe, but could not immediately get at him, Mr. Baxter being in his ſtudy, and their warrant not impowering them to break open doors. Six Conſtables, however, were ſet to hinder him from getting to his bed-chamber, and ſo by keeping him from food and ſleep, they carried their point, and took him away to the Seſſions-houſe, where he was bound in the penalty of four hundred pounds to keep the peace, and was brought up twice afterwards, though he kept his bed the greateſt part of the time (f). In the beginning of the year 1685, Mr. Baxter was committed to the King's-Bench priſon, by a warrant from the Lord Chief Juſtice Jefferies, for his paraphraſe on the New Teſtament, and tried on the 30th of May in the ſame year in the court of King's-Bench, and found guilty, and on the 29th of June following received a very ſevere ſentence (g) [L]. In 1686, the King, by the mediation of the Lord Powis, granted

(a) Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. ii. p. 902. 915.

(b) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. i. p. 357.

(c) Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. ii. p. 902.

(d) *Id. ibid.*

(e) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. i. p. 361. Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. ii. p. 902.

(f) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. i. p. 363.

(g) *Id. ibid.* p. 368—372.

[K] *Which was very kindly accepted.*] This was a fact public enough in its own nature, and which Mr. Baxter had mentioned in his life-time; and yet, on its appearing in Dr. Calamy's Abridgment, a very conſiderable writer, in a work which makes no mean figure in the world, was pleaſed to tell his readers, *that this part of the relation, as to the offer of a chapel, is known to be falſe* (17), which occaſioned, as it well might, a ſtrict enquiry to be made. At firſt ſight, indeed the point might ſeem to be of no great importance; but when it is remarked that Mr. Baxter had given it under his hand, *that Dr. Lloyd and his pariſhioners had accepted it for public worſhip, on the offer of himſelf, and his wife* (18); it is plain, that admitting this to be a falſehood, muſt prove a ſtain on the character of the deceaſed, and ſuch a one as might make very diſadvantageous impreſſions on the minds of poſterity. Hereupon application was made to Dr. Lloyd himſelf, then Biſhop of Worceſter, who was, pleaſed in juſtice to truth, and to Mr. Baxter's memory, to give it under his hand, 'that Mr. Baxter, 'being diſturbed in his meeting-houſe in Oxenden-'ſtreet by the King's drums, which Mr. Secretary 'Coventry cauſed to be beat under the windows, 'made an offer of letting it to the pariſh of St. Mar-'tin's for a tabernacle, at the rent of forty pounds a 'year; and that his Lordſhip hearing it, ſaid he 'liked it well, and that thereupon Mr. Baxter came 'to him himſelf, and upon his propoſing the ſame 'thing to him, he acquainted the veſtry, and they 'took it upon thoſe terms (19).' Thus this matter was fully and clearly made out beyond any poſſibility of a reply, and is a full proof that we ought not to take upon truſt, whatever haſty or partial men may think fit to ſet down in their hiſtories.

(17) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 412.

(18) A Breviate of the Life of Mrs. Margaret Baxter, by Richard Baxter, 1681, 4to. p. 57.

(19) Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, Vol. i. p. 348.

[L] *Received a very ſevere ſentence.*] This trial of Mr. Baxter was by much the moſt remarkable tranſaction in his life; and therefore we are under a neceſſity of ſtating things from a perſon, who has given us the faireſt account of them, for the ſake of authority. On the 6th of May, being the firſt day of Eaſter Term, 1685, Mr. Baxter appeared in the court of King's-Bench, and Mr. Attorney declared he would file an information againſt him. On the 14th the defendant pleaded not guilty, and on the 18th, Mr. Baxter being much indiſpoſed, and deſiring farther time than to the 30th, which was the day appointed for the trial, he moved by his counſel that it might be put off; on which occaſion the Chief Juſtice anſwered angrily, I will not give him a minute's time more to ſave his life. We have had (ſays he) to do with other ſorts of perſons, but now we have a Saint to deal with, and I know how to deal with Saints as well as ſinners. Yonder (ſays he) ſtands Oates in the pillory (as he actually did in the New Palace-yard), and he ſays he ſuffers for the truth, and ſo does Baxter; but if Baxter did but ſtand on the other ſide of the pillory with him, I would ſay two of the greateſt rogues and raſcals in the kingdom ſtood there. On the 30th of May, in the afternoon, he was granted him a pardon; and, on the 24th of November, he was diſcharged out of the King's Bench. Sureties, however, were required for his good behaviour; but it was entered

was brought to his trial before the Lord Chief Juſtice Jefferies at Guildhall. Sir Henry Aſhurſt, who could not forſake his own and his father's friend, ſtood by him all the while. Mr. Baxter came firſt into court, and with all the marks of ſerenity and compoſure waited for the coming of the Lord Chief Juſtice, who appeared quickly after with great indignation in his face. He no ſooner ſat down, than a ſhort cauſe was called, and tried; after which the clerk began to read the title of another cauſe. You blockhead you (ſays Jefferies), the next cauſe is between Richard Baxter and the King: Upon which Mr. Baxter's cauſe was called. The paſſages mentioned in the information, were his paraphraſe on *Matth.* v. 19. *Mark* ix. 39. *Mark* xi. 31. *Mark* xii. 38, 39, 40. *Luke* x. 2. *John* xi. 57. and *Acts* xv. 2. Theſe paſſages were picked out by Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, and ſome of his fraternity. And a certain noted clergyman (who ſhall be nameleſs) put into the hands of his enemies ſome accuſations out of *Rom.* xiii. &c. as againſt the King, to touch his life; but no uſe was made of them. The great charge was, that in theſe ſeveral paſſages he reflected on the Prelates of the Church of England, and ſo was guilty of ſedition, &c. The King's counſel opened the information at large, with its aggravations. Mr. Wallop, Mr. Williams, Mr. Rotherham, Mr. Atwood, and Mr. Phipps, were Mr. Baxter's counſel, and had been feed by Sir Henry Aſhurſt. Mr. Wallop ſaid, that he conceived the matter depending being a point of doctrine, it ought to be referred to the Biſhop, his Ordinary; but if not, he humbly conceived the doctrine was innocent and juſtifiable, ſetting aſide the inuendos, for which there was no colour, there being no antecedent to refer them to (*i. e.* no Biſhop or Clergy of the Church of England named). He ſaid the book accuſed, i. e. *The Comment on the New Teſtament*, contained many eternal truths; but they who drew the information were the libellers, in applying to the Prelates of the Church of England, thoſe ſevere things which were written concerning ſome Prelates who deſerved the characters which he gave. My Lord (ſays he), I humbly conceive the Biſhops Mr. Baxter ſpeaks of, as your Lordſhip, if you have read Church hiſtory, muſt confeſs, were the plagues of the church and of the world. ‘Mr. Wallop, ſays the Lord Chief Juſtice, I obſerve you are in all theſe dirty cauſes; and were it not for you gentlemen of the long robe, who ſhould have more wit and honeſty than to ſupport and hold up theſe factious knaves by the chin, we ſhould not be at the paſs we are.’ My Lord, ſays Mr. Wallop, I humbly conceive, that the paſſages accuſed are natural deductions from the text. ‘You humbly conceive, ſays Jefferies, and I humbly conceive: Swear him, ſwear him.’ My Lord, ſays he, under favour, I am counſel for the defendant; and, if I underſtand either Latin or Engliſh, the information now brought againſt Mr. Baxter upon ſuch a ſlight ground, is a greater reflection upon the Church of England, than any thing contained in the book he is accuſed for. Says Jefferies to him, ‘Sometimes you humbly conceive, and ſometimes you are very poſitive: You talk of your ſkill in Church hiſtory, and of your underſtanding Latin and Engliſh; I think I underſtand ſomething of them as well as you; but, in ſhort, muſt tell you, that if you do not underſtand your duty better, I ſhall teach it you.’ Upon which Mr. Wallop ſat down. Mr. Rotheram urged, that if Mr. Baxter's book had ſharp reflections upon the Church of Rome by name, but ſpake well of the Prelates of the Church of England, it was to be preſumed that the ſharp reflections were intended only againſt the Prelates of the Church of Rome. The Lord Chief Juſtice ſaid, Baxter was an enemy to the name and thing, the office and perſon of Biſhops. Rotheram added, that Baxter frequently attended divine ſervice, went to the ſacrament, and perſuaded others to do ſo too, as was certainly and publickly known; and had, in the very book ſo charged, ſpoken very moderately and honourably of the Biſhops of the Church of England. Mr. Baxter added, My Lord, I have been ſo moderate with reſpect to the Church of England, that I have incurred the cenſure of many of the Diſſenters upon that account. ‘Baxter for Biſhops! ſays Jefferies, that's a merry conceit indeed; turn to it, turn to it.’ Upon this Rotheram turned to a place where it is ſaid, ‘That great reſpect is due to thoſe truly called to be Biſhops among us,’ or to that purpoſe. ‘Ay, ſaith Jefferies, this is your Preſbyterian cant; truly called to be Biſhops; that is himſelf, and ſuch raſcals, called to be Biſhops of Kidderminſter, and other ſuch places: Biſhops ſet apart by ſuch factious, ſnivelling Preſbyterians as himſelf; a Kidderminſter Biſhop he means: According to the ſaying of a late learned author, and every pariſh ſhall maintain a Tithe-pig Metropolitan.’ Mr. Baxter beginning to ſpeak again, ſays he to him, ‘Richard, Richard, doſt thou think we will hear thee poiſon the court, &c. Richard, thou art an old fellow, an old knave; thou haſt written books enough to load a cart, every one as full of ſedition (I might ſay treaſon) as an egg is full of meat. Hadſt thou been whipped out of thy writing trade forty years ago, it had been happy. Thou pretendeſt to be a preacher of the goſpel of peace, and thou haſt one foot in the grave; 'tis time for thee to begin to think what account thou intendeſt to give. But leave thee to thyſelf, and I ſee thou'lt go on as thou haſt begun; but, by the grace of God, I will look after thee. I know thou haſt a mighty party, and I ſee a great many of the brotherhood in corners, waiting to ſee what will become of their mighty Don, and a Doctor of the party (looking to Dr. Bates) at your elbow; but, by the Grace of Almighty God, I'll cruſh you all.’ Mr. Rotheram ſitting down, Mr. Atwood began to ſhew, that not one of the paſſages mentioned in the information ought to be ſtrained to that ſenſe which was put upon them by the inuendos, they being more natural when taken in a milder ſenſe, nor could any one of them be applied to the Prelates of the Church of England without a very forced conſtruction. To evidence this, he would have read ſome of the text: But Jefferies cried out, You ſhall not draw me into a conventicle with your annotations, nor your ſnivelling parſon neither. My Lord, ſays Atwood, I conceive this to be expreſsly within Roſwell's caſe, lately before your Lordſhip. You conceive, ſays Jefferies, you conceive amiſs; it is not. My Lord, ſays Mr. Atwood, that I may uſe the beſt authority, permit me to repeat your Lordſhip's own words in that caſe. No, you ſhall not, ſays he: You need not ſpeak, for you are an author already; though you ſpeak and write impertinently. Says Atwood, I cannot help that, my Lord, if my talent be no better; but it is my duty to do my beſt for my client. Jefferies thereupon went on, inveighing againſt what Atwood had publiſhed; and Atwood juſtified it to be in defence of the Engliſh conſtitution, declaring that he never diſowned any thing that he had written. Jefferies ſeveral times ordered him to ſit down, but he ſtill went on. My Lord, ſays he, I have matter of Law to offer for my client; and he proceeded to cite ſeveral caſes, wherein it had been adjudged that words ought to be taken in the milder ſenſe, and not to be ſtrained by inuendos. Well, ſays Jefferies, when he had done, you have had your ſay. Mr. Williams and Mr. Phipps ſaid nothing, for they ſaw it was to no purpoſe. At length ſays Mr. Baxter himſelf, My Lord, I think I can clearly anſwer all that is laid to my charge, and I ſhall do it briefly. The ſum is contained in theſe few papers, to which I ſhall add a little by teſtimony. But Jefferies would not hear a word. At length the Chief Juſtice ſummed up the matter in a long and fulſome harangue. ‘'Tis notoriouſly known (ſays he) there has been a deſign to ruin the King and the nation. The old game has been renewed, and this has been the main incendiary. He is as modeſt now as can be; but time was, when no man was ſo ready to bind your Kings in chains, and your Nobles in fetters of iron; and to your tents, O Iſrael. Gentlemen, for God's ſake don't let us be gulled twice in an age, &c.’ And when he concluded, he told the jury, that if they in their conſciences entered on his bail-piece by direction of King James, that his remaining in London, contrary to the Oxford act, ſhould not be taken as a breach of the peace. After this he retired to a houſe he took in Charter-houſe yard, contenting himſelf with the exerciſe of his miniſtry, as aſſiſtant to Mr. Sylveſter; and though no man was better qualified than he, for managing the public affairs of his party, yet he never meddled with them, nor had the leaſt to do with thoſe addreſſes which were preſented by ſome of that body to King James II. on his indulgence (*h*). After his ſettlement in Charter-houſe yard, he continued about four years and a half in the exerciſe of public duties, till he became ſo very weak as to be forced to keep his chamber. Even then he ceaſed not to do good, ſo far as it was in his power; and as he ſpent his life in taking pains, ſo to the laſt moment of it he directed his Chriſtian brethren by the light of a good example. He departed this life December 8, 1691. A few days after, his corpſe was interred in Chriſt-church, being attended to the grave by a large company of all ranks and qualities, eſpecially miniſters, and amongſt them not a few of the Eſtabliſhed Church, who very prudently paid this laſt tribute of reſpect to the memory of a great and good man, whoſe labours deſerved much from true Chriſtians of all denominations (*i*). He was a man, to ſpeak impartially from the conſideration of his writings, who had as ſtrong a head, and as ſound a heart, as any of the age in which he lived. He was too conſcientious to comply from temporal motives, and his charity was too extenſive to think of recommending himſelf to popular applauſe by a rigid behaviour. Theſe ſentiments produced ſuch a practice as inclined ſome to believe he had a religion of his own, which was the reaſon that when Sir John Gayer bequeathed a legacy by will to men of moderate notions, he could think of no better expreſſion than this, that they ſhould be of Mr. Baxter's religion (*k*) [*M*]. We need not wonder that a perſon ſo little addicted to any party ſhould experience the bitterneſs of all; and, in truth, no man was ever more ſeverely treated in this reſpect than Mr. Baxter, againſt whom more books were written, than againſt any man in the age in which he lived [*N*]. His friends, however, were ſuch, that the bare repetition of their

(*h*) *Id. ibid.* p. 375. 402, 403. Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. ii. p. 903.

(*i*) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. i. p. 404.

(*k*) Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. ii. p. 932.

ſciences believed he meant the Biſhops and Clergy of the Church of England, in the paſſages which the information referred to, they muſt find him guilty; and he could mean no man elſe; if not, they muſt find him not guilty. When he had done, ſays Mr. Baxter to him, Does your Lordſhip think any jury will pretend to paſs a verdict upon me, upon ſuch a trial? 'I'll warrant you, Mr. Baxter, ſays he, don't 'you trouble yourſelf about that.' The jury immediately laid their heads together at the bar, and found him guilty. As he was going from the bar, Mr. Baxter told my Lord Chief Juſtice, who had ſo loaded him with reproaches, and yet continued them, that 'a predeceſſor of his had had other thoughts of him:' Upon which he replied, 'That there was not an honeſt man in England but what took him for a great 'knave.' He had ſubpœnaed ſeveral clergymen, who appeared in court, but were of no uſe to him, through the violence of the Chief Juſtice. The trial being over, Sir Henry Aſhurſt led Mr. Baxter through the crowd (I mention it to his honour), and conveyed him away in his coach. On June the 29th following he had judgment given againſt him. He was fined five hundred marks, to lie in priſon till he paid it, and be bound to his good behaviour for ſeven years (20).

[*M*] *That they ſhould be of Mr. Baxter's religion.*] Sir John Gayer did by his laſt will and teſtament bequeath a conſiderable ſum of money to perſons lately entered into the miniſtry, and young ſtudents for the miniſtry, with this reſtriction, that they ſhould be ſuch as were neither for domination nor unneceſſary ſeparation, but of Mr. Baxter's principles. His Lady, being of the Eſtabliſhed Church, inclined to pay the legacy to ſuch as were within Sir John's deſcription of her own community. Upon this a Chancery ſuit was commenced, wherein it was proved, to the ſatiſfaction of the court, that Mr. Baxter was a Nonconformiſt; whereupon a decree went in favour of the plaintiffs (21). This was certainly a very ſingular caſe, and much for the honour of Mr. Baxter, ſince it plainly appears that Sir John Gayer thought him a man of diſtinguiſhed piety and uncommon moderation; and, on the other hand, neither Church nor Diſſenters could be prevailed on to part with their right in him, but actually tried it in a court of equity. [It has been juſtly obſerved by a correſpondent, that it was the legacy, and not the bare right in or to Mr. Baxter, which occaſioned this ſuppoſed conteſt between the Church and the Diſſenters.]

[*N*] *Againſt any man in the age in which he lived.*] It is ſaid that in whole, or in part, no leſs than ſixty treatiſes were oppoſed to him and his writings; neither would it be difficult to make this good by a diſtinct citation of them; but, for brevity's ſake, perhaps the following ſuccinct account may do as well. He had for his adverſaries certain modern Sadducees, who were provoked by his ſtrenuouſly aſſerting the immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. He was oppoſed by Materialiſts, on account of his maintaining the diſtinction between ſpirit and ſubſtance: By the Anti-trinitarians, for affirming their doctrines to be incompatible with the ſcriptures: By certain zealous Eccleſiaſtics, for repreſenting the old controverſies with the Neſtorians, Eutychians, and Monothelites, as capable of eaſier reconciliations than is allowed by fierce dividers: By Arians and Socinians, as judging too hardly of ſuch as deny the godhead of Chriſt: By Arminians, as holding ſpecial Election and differencing Grace: By hot Anti-arminians, for holding ſuch free-will and univerſal redemption, as Uſher, Davenant and Preſton, and other ſuch knowing men, defended: By the Anabaptiſts, for writing ſo much and ſo warmly for Infant-Baptiſm: By rigid diſſenting Separatiſts, for ſeparating no farther from the Conformiſts than they ſeparate themſelves from neceſſary truths, and for perſuading men to communion with the pariſh aſſemblies: By the Conforming Separatiſts, for not ſeparating from all ſave themſelves, and for owning thoſe to be faithful ſervants of Chriſt whom they reject: By the Seekers, for aſſerting the Certainty of Scripture Verity, as ſealed by the Spirit, by miracles and ſanctification; and for maintaining that there is yet a continuance of a true Miniſtry and true Churches: By Mr. Liford, and ſome others, for taking the blaſphemers of the Holy Ghoſt to be fixed Infidels, judging Chriſt's miracles to be by the Devil: By Mr. Henry Dodwell, for not taking the office of Preſbyters to be varied by the will of the Biſhop or Ordainer, without being determined by Chriſt's inſtitution; and for not denying the Preſbyters and Biſhops of the reformed Churches to be real miniſters, and not unchurching their Churches, who have not an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of canonical ordination by Dioceſans, as from the days of the Apoſtles, and not inveighing againſt them as committing the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, in adminiſtering the ſacraments while but laymen, though he himſelf held ſuch as the French to be true miniſters: By the Eraſtians, for vindicating the power of the keys, and the neceſſity of miniſterial Church diſcipline: By the Independents, for being too much for a national Church, and againſt their unneceſſary covenanting, terms of com-

(20) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. i. p. 368—372.

(21) Account of Miniſters ſilenced by the Act of Uniformity, Vol. ii. p. 932.

names might well paſs for a panegyric; ſince it is impoſſible they could have lived in terms of ſtrict intimacy with any other than a wiſe and upright man [O]. But the beſt teſtimony of Mr. Baxter's worth may be drawn from his own writings, of which he left behind him a very large number [P]. Many indeed have cenſured them, though it is certain, that ſome of his books met with as general a reception as any that ever were printed; and the judicious Dr. Barrow, whoſe opinion all competent judges will admit, gave this judgment upon them, that *his practical writings were never mended, his controverſial ſeldom confuted* (*l*). C.

(*l*) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. i. p. 422.

[As Mr. Baxter was, in ſeveral reſpects, one of the moſt eminent perſons of his time, a few farther particulars concerning him may not be unacceptable to many of our readers. He appears, as hath already been intimated, to have been unhappy in his education, with regard both to learning and piety (*m*), his ſchoolmaſters being ignorant and immoral. For want of better inſtructors, he fell into the hands of the readers of the villages in which he lived [Q]. And though he had not afterwards the advantage of an academical

(*m*) *Vid.* Calamy's Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Hiſtory of his Life and Times, Vol. i. p. 3. Edit. 1702.

munion, and their giving too much power to popular votes: By the Scottiſh Preſbyterians, for being againſt the impoſition of their Covenant, and too much for Epiſcopacy: By zealous Churchmen, becauſe he was not entirely a Conformiſt, and particularly differed from them in his notions of Epiſcopacy: By eager Politicians, who ſought to repreſent him as a republican, and avowed enemy to monarchy, and to the Royal family: By looſe and licentious writers, who, through the ſides of Mr. Baxter, were for ridiculing and expoſing religion and ſobriety, morality and good manners (22). All theſe adverſaries purſued him with uncommon virulence in ſentiment and language; and he, on the other hand, defended himſelf with great vigour againſt them all, being ſeldom known to quit the field where his adverſary brought any other weapon to the diſpute than ſcurrility. To ſet down the names of all who made themſelves remarkable by contending with Mr. Baxter, would take up too much room, and therefore let it ſuffice that we give an inſtance in one of the malice of the reſt; and this inſtance ſhall be an epitaph, or monumental inſcription, drawn up for him in his lifetime, and publiſhed, that he might ſee how he was to be repreſented after his death. 'Hic jacet Richardus Baxter, Theologus Armatus, Loiolita Reformatus, Hæreſiarcha Ærianus, Schiſmaticorum Anteſignanus: Cujus pruritus diſputandi * peperit, ſcriptandi cacoethes nutrivit, prædicandi zelus intemperatus maturavit eccleſiæ ſcabiem. Qui diſſentit ab iis, quibuſcum conſentit maximò: Tum ſibi cum aliis nonconformis præteritis, præſentibus, et futuris: Regum et Epiſcoporum juratus hoſtes: Ipſumque rebellium ſolenne fœdus. Qui natus erat per ſeptuaginta annos, et octoginta libros, ad perturbandos regni reſpublicas, et ad bis perdendam Eccleſiam Anglicanam; magnis tamen excedit auſis. Deo gratias (23).' The ſenſe of which is, *Here lies* RICHARD BAXTER, *a militant divine, a reformed Jeſuit, a brazen Hereſiarch, and the chief of Schiſmatics, whoſe itch of diſputing begat, whoſe humour of writing nouriſhed, and whoſe intemperate zeal in preaching brought to its utmoſt heighth the leproſy of the Church: Who diſſented from thoſe with whom he moſt agreed; from himſelf as well as all other Nonconformiſts paſt, preſent, and to come; the ſworn enemy of Kings and Biſhops, and in himſelf the very bond of rebels: Who was born through ſeventy years and eighty books, to diſturb the peace of the kingdom, and twice to attempt the ruin of the Church of England; in the endeavour of which mighty miſchiefs he fell ſhort. For which, thanks be to God.*

(22) *Ibid.* p. 905, 906.

* The words *Cujus pruritus diſputandi* are an alluſion to Sir Henry Wotton's monumental inſcription in Eton chapel, *Hic jacet hujus ſententiæ primus author, diſputandi pruritus eccleſiarum ſcabies.*

(23) Review of Mr. Baxter's Life, by Mr. Thomas Long, p. 189.

[O] *With any other than a wiſe and upright man.*] We have already mentioned many of his court friends, to whom we ought to add the famous Duke of Lauderdale, and the Earl of Balcarras, a Scotch nobleman of the name of Lindſay, who is ſaid by Calamy to have been 'a very conſiderable man, and taken for the head of the Preſbyterians with the King.' The great Chief Juſtice Hale, who honoured him with an intimate friendſhip, gave a high encomium of his piety and learning to all the Judges; when he was in priſon, on the Oxford act, left him a legacy in his will, and ſeveral large books, in his own hand-writing, on the matter of their converſations; Alderman Aſhurſt, Sir John Maynard, Sir James Langham, Sir Edward Harley, &c. He was likewiſe honoured with the correſpondence of many foreign Divines, ſuch as Mr. Brunſenius, Chaplain to the Elector of Brandenbourg; Dr. Spencer, Chaplain to the Elector of Saxony; the celebrated Monſieur Amyrald, and many others: Among whom we ought not to forget Dr. John Tillotſon, then Dean of St. Paul's, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury (24). [It is aſſerted by Mr. Beardmore, that Dr. Tillotſon compared Baxter to the learned Henry Dodwell, ſaying, 'that they were much alike in their tempers and opinions in one reſpect, though they were moſt wide and oppoſite one to another in their tenets; namely, that both of them loved to abound in their own ſenſe, and could by no means be brought off their own apprehenſions and thoughts, but would have them to be the rule and ſtandard for all other men's †.']

(24) Calamy's Abridgment. Vol. i. p. 405—410. Life of Sir Matth. Hale, by Biſhop Burnet, p. 39.

† Appendix to Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 419.

[P] *Of which he left behind him a large number.*] Dr. Bates tells us, that his books, which for number and variety of matter were ſufficient to make a library, contain a treaſure of Controverſial, Caſuiſtical, Poſitive, and Practical Divinity (25). Biſhop Wilkins affirms, that he has cultivated every ſubject he has handled (26). Dr. Simon Patrick, Biſhop of Ely, commends him as a uſeful and pious writer (27). But the Reverend Mr. Long of Exeter, whom we have quoted more than once, ſays, that it would be well for the world if they were all burned (28). According to his computation, they were in number fourſcore: Dr. Calamy ſays, he wrote above one hundred and twenty (29). Neither of theſe computations are exact. The author of this note hath ſeen a hundred and forty-five diſtinct treatiſes of Mr. Baxter's, whereof four were folios, ſeventy-three quartos, forty-nine octavos, and nineteen in twelves and twenty-fours, beſides ſingle ſheets, ſeparate ſermons, and at leaſt five and twenty prefaces before other men's writings. The firſt book he publiſhed was his *Aphoriſms of Juſtification*, and the *Covenants*, printed in 1649; and the laſt in his lifetime, *The Certainty of the World of Spirits*, printed in 1691; ſo that he was an author two and fifty years. Amongſt his moſt famous pieces were his *Saints Everlaſting Reſt*; his *Call to the Unconverted*, of which twenty thouſand were ſold in one year. It was tranſlated into all the European languages, and into the Indian tongue; his *Reformed Liturgy*, his *Catholic Theology*, his *Poor Man's Family Book*, his *Dying Thoughts*, and his *Paraphraſe on the New Teſtament*. His practical works have been printed altogether in four volumes in folio, and it is a pity the ſame care has not been taken of thoſe of another kind. On the whole, his books are like to ſhare always the ſame fate their author had while living, that is, to be mightily eſteemed by ſome, and mightily condemned by others.

(25) In his Sermon at the Funeral of Mr. Baxter.

(26) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. i. p. 410.

(27) Aqua Genitalis, p. 471.

(28) Account of Miniſters ſilenced, Vol. ii. p. 904.

(29) *Id. ibid.*

[Q] *For want of better inſtructors, he fell into the hands of the readers of the villages in which he lived.*] He ſays himſelf, 'In the village where I was born there were four readers ſucceſſively in ſix years time, ignorant men, and two of them immoral in their lives; who were all my ſchoolmaſters. In the village where my father lived, there was a reader of about eighty years of age that never preached, and had two churches about twenty miles diſtant: his eye-ſight failing him, he ſaid common-prayer without book; but for the reading of the pſalms and chapters, he got a common threſher and day-labourer one year, and a taylor another year; for the clerk could not read well. And at laſt he had a mical education, yet, by his own application, he made an extraordinary progreſs in the ſtudy of divinity [*R*], as well as in other branches of knowledge. When he was prevailed upon for a ſhort time to quit his ſtudies, and to repair to court, it ſeems to have been with much reluctance on his part [*S*]. But he ſoon returned again to his books, and entered

kinſman of his own (the excellenteſt ſtage-player in all the country, and a good gameſter and good fellow) that got orders, and ſupplied one of his places. After him another kinſman, that could write and read, got orders; and at the ſame time another neighbour's ſon, that had been a while at ſchool, turned miniſter, and who would needs go farther than the reſt, ventured to preach (and after got a living in Staffordſhire), and when he had been a preacher about twelve or ſixteen years, he was fain to give over, it being diſcovered that his orders were forged by the firſt ingenious ſtage-player. After him another neighbour's ſon took orders, when he had been a while an attorney's clerk, and a common drunkard, and tippled himſelf into ſo great poverty, that he had no other way to live: it was feared that he and more of them came by their orders the ſame way with the forementioned perſon. Theſe were the ſchoolmaſters of my youth (except two of them), who read common-prayer on Sundays and holy-days, and taught ſchool and tippled on the week-days, and whipped the boys when they were drunk, ſo that we changed them very oft. Within a few miles about us were near a dozen more miniſters that were near eighty years old a piece, and never preached; poor, ignorant readers, and moſt of them of ſcandalous lives: only three or four conſtant competent preachers lived near us, and thoſe (though conformable all ſave one) were the common marks of the people's obloquy and reproach; and any that had but gone to hear them, when he had no preaching at home, was made the deriſion of the vulgar rabble, under the odious name of a Puritan.

‘In the village where I lived, the reader read the common-prayer briefly; and the reſt of the day, even till dark night almoſt, except eating-time, was ſpent in dancing under a may-pole, and a great tree, not far from my father's door, where all the town did meet together; and though one of my father's own tenants was the piper, he could not reſtrain him, nor break the ſport; ſo that we could not read the ſcripture in our family without the great diſturbance of the tabor and pipe, and noiſe in the ſtreet. Many times my mind was inclined to be among them, and ſometimes I broke looſe from conſcience, and joined with them; and the more I did it, the more I was inclined to it. But when I heard them call my father Puritan, it did much to cure me, and alienate me from them: for I conſidered that my father's exerciſe of reading the ſcripture was better than their's, and would ſurely be better thought on by all men at the laſt; and I conſidered what it was for that he and others were thus derided. When I heard them ſpeak ſcornfully of others as Puritans, whom I never knew, I was at firſt apt to believe all the lies and ſlanders wherewith they loaded them; but when I heard my own father ſo reproached, and perceived the drunkards were the forwardeſt in the reproach, I perceived that it was mere malice: for my father never ſcrupled common-prayer or ceremonies, nor ſpake againſt biſhops, nor ever ſo much as prayed but by a book or form, being not ever acquainted then with any that did otherwiſe; but only for reading ſcripture when the reſt were dancing on the Lord's day, and for praying (by a form out of the end of the Common Prayer-book) in his houſe, and for reproving drunkards and ſwearers, and for talking ſometimes a few words of ſcripture and the life to come, he was reviled commonly by the name of Puritan, Preciſian, and Hypocrite; and ſo were the godly conformable miniſters that lived any-where in the country near us, not only by our neighbours, but by the common talk of the vulgar rabble all about us. By this experience I was fully convinced that godly people were the beſt, and thoſe that deſpiſed them, and lived in ſin and pleaſure, were a malignant, unhappy ſort of people: and this kept me out of their company, except now and then when the love of ſports and play enticed me.——The chiefeſt help that I had for all my learning in the country ſchools, was with Mr. John Owen, ſchoolmaſter at the free-ſchool at Wroxeter, to whom I went next, who lived in Sir Richard Newport's houſe (afterwards Lord Newport) at Eyton, and taught ſchool at that ancient *Uriconium*, where the ruins and old coin confirm thoſe hiſtories, which make it an ancient city in the Romans times (30).’

[*R*] *Progreſs in the ſtudy of divinity.*] He tells us, that he ſtudied ‘Practical Divinity firſt, in the moſt practical books, in a practical order; doing all (ſays he) purpoſely for the informing and reforming of my own ſoul: ſo that I had read a multitude of our Engliſh practical treatiſes, before I had ever read any other bodies of divinity than Urſine and Ameſius, or two or three more: by which means my affection was carried on with my judgment, and by that means I proſecuted all my ſtudies with unweariedneſs and delight.’ But the great advantages which he received from this courſe of ſtudy, were attended with ſome inconvenience. ‘One loſs I had by this method (ſays he), which hath proved irreparable; That I miſſed that part of learning which ſtood at the greateſt diſtance, in my thoughts, from my ultimate end, though no doubt but remotely it may be a valuable means; and I could never ſince find time to get it. Beſides the Latin tongue, and but a mediocrity in Greek (with an inconſiderable trial at the Hebrew long after), I had no great ſkill in languages; though I ſaw that an accurateneſs and thorough inſight into the Greek and Hebrew were very deſirable; but I was ſo eagerly carried after the knowledge of *things*, that I too much neglected the ſtudy of *words*. And for the *mathematics*, I was an utter ſtranger to them, and never could find in my heart to divert any ſtudies that way. But in order to the knowledge of Divinity, my inclination was moſt to *logic* and *metaphyſics*, with that part of *phyſics* which treateth of the ſoul, contenting myſelf at firſt with a ſlighter ſtudy of the reſt; and theſe had my labour and delight: which occaſioned me, perhaps too ſoon, to plunge myſelf very early into the ſtudy of controverſies, and to read all the ſchool-men I could get: for next Practical Divinity, no books ſo ſuited with my diſpoſition as Aquinas, Scotus, Durandus, Ockham, and their diſciples; becauſe I thought they narrowly ſearched for truth, and brought things out of the darkneſs of confuſion: for I could never from my firſt ſtudies endure confuſion. Till *equivocals* were explained, and *definition* and *diſtinction* led the way, I had rather hold my tongue than ſpeak; and was never more weary of learned men's diſcourſes, than when I heard them long wrangling about unexpounded words or things, and eagerly diſputing before they underſtood each other's minds; and vehemently aſſerting *modes*, and *conſequences*, and *adjuncts*, before they conſidered of *Quod ſit*, the *Quid ſit*, or the *Quotuplex*. I never thought I underſtood any thing until I could *anatomize* it, and ſee the *parts diſtinctly*, and the conjunction of the parts as they make up the whole. Diſtinction and method ſeemed to me of that neceſſity, that without them I could not be ſaid to know; and that the diſputes which forſook them, or abuſed them, ſeemed but as incoherent dreams (31).’

[*S*] *When he was prevailed upon —— to repair to court, it ſeems to have been with much reluctance on his part.*] In his account of his own life, he ſays, ‘About the eighteenth year of my age Mr. Wickſtead, with whom I had lived at Ludlow, had almoſt perſuaded me to lay by all my preparations for the miniſtry, and to go to London, and get acquaintance at court, and get ſome office, as being the only riſing way. I had no mind of his counſel who had helped me no better before; yet becauſe that they knew that he loved me, and they had no great inclination to my being a miniſter, my parents accepted of his motion. He told them, that if I would go up, and live a while with Sir Henry Herbert,

(30) Reliquiæ Baxterianæ; or, Mr. Richard Baxter's Narrative of the moſt memorable paſſages of his life and times, publiſhed by Mr. Sylveſter, p. 2, 3.

(31) Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, p. 5, 6.

entered into holy orders, though he afterwards condemned himſelf for having been too precipitate, in complying with the terms of ſubſcription [*T*]. It was not till the impoſition of what was called the *et cætera* oath, that he entered into a thorough examination of the points in controverſy between the Conformiſts and Nonconformiſts: but, independently of all controverſy, he was always a zealous advocate for ſolid and practical religion [*U*]; and, whilſt he preached at Kidderminſter, as he was indefatigable in diſcharging the duties of the paſtoral office, ſo he met with great and extraordinary ſucceſs [*W*]. After the Reſtoration, he expreſſed his ſentiments to King Charles II. with the ſame freedom that he had before done to the protector Cromwell. He ſtrongly repreſented to his Majeſty, the great importance of tolerating thoſe pious perſons, who entertained doubts concerning the ceremonies or diſcipline of the church; and he obſerved, that the late uſurpers had ſo well underſtood their own intereſt, that they had found 'the way of doing good' to be the moſt effectual means to promote it; and, therefore, he beſought the King, that 'he would never ſuffer himſelf to be tempted to undo 'the good which Cromwell or any other had done, becauſe they were uſurpers that did 'it;' and, on the contrary, 'that he would rather outgo them in doing good (*n*).'

(*n*) Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, p. 230.

The integrity of Mr. Baxter was unqueſtionable: and it ſhould not be forgotten, that though he refuſed a biſhopric, yet he was deſirous of preaching at Kidderminſter for nothing; but his requeſt was not granted (*o*). He may be conſidered as a ſtriking example of the powerful effects of temperance and induſtry; for notwithſtanding a conſtitution extremely weak and tender, and various diſorders, he went through a moſt extraordinary

(*o*) Calamy, p. 572.

'Herbert, then maſter of the revels, he would 'quickly ſet me in a riſing way. I would not be 'diſobedient, but went up, and ſtayed at Whitehall 'with Sir H. H. about a month: but I had quickly 'enough of the court, when I ſaw a ſtage-play inſtead of a ſermon on the Lord's days in the afternoon, and ſaw what courſe was there in faſhion, 'and heard little preaching, but what was as to one 'part againſt the Puritans, I was glad to be gone: 'and at the ſame time it pleaſed God that my mother 'fell ſick, and deſired my return; and ſo I reſolved 'to bid farewel to thoſe kind of employments and 'expectations (32).'

(32) Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, p. 11.

[*T*] *He condemned himſelf for having been too precipitate, in complying with the terms of ſubſcription.*] 'When I thought of ordination,' ſays he, 'I had no 'ſcruple at all againſt ſubſcription; and yet ſo precipitant and raſh was I, that I had never once read 'over the book of ordination, which was one to 'which I was to ſubſcribe; nor half read over the 'book of homilies, nor exactly weighed the book of 'common-prayer; nor was I of ſufficient underſtanding to determine confidently in ſome controverted 'points in the 39 articles. But my teachers and 'my books having cauſed me in general to think the 'Conformiſts had the better cauſe, I kept out all 'particular ſcruples by that opinion (33).'

(33) *Ibid.* p. 13.

[*U*] *He was always a zealous advocate for ſolid and practical religion.*] Mr. Glanvill, in his *Philoſophia Pia*, p. 110, expreſſes himſelf thus concerning Mr. Baxter: 'That worthy man, I think, is to be honoured much for his ſtout, rational, and ſucceſsful 'oppoſitions of the miſchievous Antinomian follies, 'when the current ſyſtematic divinity then called 'orthodox was overgrown with them; and for his 'frequent aſſerting the reaſonableneſs of religion, 'againſt the madneſs of ſpreading enthuſiaſm; for 'his earneſt endeavours for the promotion of peace 'and univerſal charity, when it was held a great 'crime not to be fierce in the way of a ſect.' He alſo added farther relative to our author, that 'he 'was a perſon worthy of great reſpect; and that he 'could ſcarce forbear affirming concerning him, as a 'learned Doctor of the church of England did, *viz.* 'That he was the only man that ſpoke ſenſe in an 'age of nonſenſe (34).'

(34) *Vid.* the judgment of ſeveral learned men, both Conformiſts and Nonconformiſts, concerning Mr. Baxter, prefixed to his Life in folio.

Mr. Whiſton, in his account of his own life, ſays, 'It ought here to be mentioned, that my father was 'acquainted with that moſt eminent Diſſenter, and 'moſt vigilant paſtor, Mr. Richard Baxter, and had 'a great eſteem for him and his practical writings; 'inſomuch that he cauſed me to learn his ſmall Catechiſm, of twelve articles, by heart. And certainly, as Mr. Baxter put a great ſtop to the folly 'of the *Antinomians*, who in the times of anarchy 'were ready to overſet the majority of weak, but 'zealous Chriſtians; ſo, had he been as well verſed 'in the original writers of the two or three firſt centuries, as he was in the ſchoolmen, his parts were 'ſo conſiderable, that he (would have) afforded very 'great light to the Chriſtian world (35).'

(35) Life of Mr. Whiſton, p. 12.

It appears, that Mr. Baxter himſelf was much pleaſed with the ſucceſs of his writings againſt the Antinomians. Thus, in his account of his life, he ſays, 'I muſt here record my thanks to God for the 'ſucceſs of my controverſial writings againſt the Antinomians. When I was in the army, it was the 'predominant infection. The books of Dr. Criſp, 'Paul Hobſon, Saltmarſh, Cradock, and abundance 'ſuch like, were the writings moſt applauded; and 'he was thought no ſpiritual Chriſtian, but a Legaliſt, that favoured not of Antinomianiſm, which 'was ſugared with the title of *Free-grace*; and others 'were thought to preach the law, and not to preach 'Chriſt (*).'

(*) Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, p. 111.

[*W*] *As he was indefatigable in diſcharging the duties of the paſtoral office, ſo he met with great and extraordinary ſucceſs.*] In his public preaching at Kidderminſter he had an attentive, diligent, and numerous auditory. Though the church was very capacious and commodious, yet, after his coming thither, it became neceſſary to build five galleries to receive the hearers. But he did not confine his labours to his public miniſtration: two days every week he and his aſſiſtant took fourteen families between them for private catechiſing and conference. His method was this: He firſt heard them recite the words of the Catechiſm, and then examined them about the ſenſe, and afterwards urged them in the moſt earneſt and engaging manner to ſuitable affections and practice. If any were ſhy, through ignorance or baſhfulneſs, he forbore to preſs them any farther to anſwers, but made them hearers, and either examined others, or turned all into inſtruction and exhortation. He ſpent about an hour with a family, and admitted no others to be preſent, leſt baſhfulneſs ſhould make it burdenſome, or any ſhould tell of the weakneſſes they obſerved. His pious labours were attended with ſo much ſucceſs, that on Sundays there was no diſorder to be ſeen in the town; but you might hear, we are told, an hundred families ſinging pſalms, and repeating ſermons, as you paſſed through the ſtreets. When he firſt came thither, it is ſaid, there might be one houſe in a ſtreet in which the duties of family-worſhip were practiſed; and when he came away, there was not above a family on the ſide of a ſtreet that did not do it, and that did not make a ſerious profeſſion of religion. Nay, in the worſt families, in inns and alehouſes, uſually ſome in each houſe ſeemed to be religious (36).

(36) Britiſh Biography, Vol. vi. p. 19, 20. Calamy, p. 25, 26.

After the Reſtoration, when he was deſirous of ſtill continuing to officiate at Kidderminſter, even as curate to the vicar, Sir Ralph Clare, who was his ſecret enemy, endeavoured to make it believed at London, that many people at Kidderminſter were againſt Mr. Baxter's being ſtationed there. There were eighteen hundred people who had been communicants with Mr. Baxter in that town; and when they were acquainted with this report, ſixteen hundred of theſe ſet their hands, in one day, to a paper teſtifying their deſire of having Mr. Baxter reinſtated among them (37).

(37) Calamy, p. 570, 571.

degree of labour, both as a preacher and a writer. His works are extremely voluminous [*X*]; and they have been held by good judges in very high eſtimation. Dr. Barrow's opinion of them has already been given; and the late Dr. Philip Doddridge, in a letter written to a friend in 1723, giving ſome account of his ſtudies, expreſſes himſelf thus: 'Baxter is my particular favourite. It is impoſſible to tell you, how much I am charmed with the devotion, good ſenſe, and pathos, which is every where to be found in him. I cannot forbear looking upon him as one of the greateſt orators, both with regard to copiouſneſs, acuteneſs, and energy, that our nation hath produced: and if he hath deſcribed, as I believe, the temper of his own heart, he appears to have been ſo far ſuperior to the generality of thoſe whom we charitably hope to be good men, that one would imagine God raiſed him up to diſgrace and condemn his brethren; to ſhew what a Chriſtian is, and how few in the world deſerve the character (*p*).' Dr. Bates, in his ſermon preached upon occaſion of our author's death, mentions it as a ſaying of Biſhop Wilkins, that 'if Mr. Baxter had lived in the primitive times, he had been one of the Fathers of the Church.' Biſhop Burnet ſays, that Mr. Baxter was 'a man of great piety, and, if he had not meddled in too many things, would have been eſteemed one of the learned men of the age.—He had a very moving and pathetical way of writing, and was his whole life long a man of great zeal and much ſimplicity; but was moſt unhappily ſubtle and metaphyſical in every thing. There was great ſubmiſſion paid to him by the whole party (*q*).'

(*p*) Orton's Life of Doddridge, 2d edit. p. 22.

(*q*) Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. i. p. 180.

Mr. Granger's character of him is too ſtriking to be omitted. 'Richard Baxter was a man famous for weakneſs of body and ſtrength of mind; for having the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of religion himſelf, and exciting a ſenſe of it in the thoughtleſs and profligate; for preaching more ſermons, engaging in more controverſies, and writing more books, than any other Nonconformiſt of his age. He ſpoke, diſputed, and wrote with eaſe; and diſcovered the ſame intrepidity, when he reproved Cromwell, and expoſtulated with Charles II., as when he preached to a congregation of mechanics. His zeal for religion was extraordinary, but it ſeems never to have prompted him to faction, or carried him to enthuſiaſm. This champion of the Preſbyterians was the common butt of men of every other religion, and of thoſe who were of no religion at all. But this had very little effect upon him: his preſence and his firmneſs of mind on no occaſion forſook him. He was juſt the ſame man before he went into a priſon, while he was in it, and when he came out of it; and he maintained an uniformity of character to the laſt gaſp of his life. His enemies have placed him in hell; but every man who has not ten times the bigotry that Mr. Baxter himſelf had, muſt conclude that he is in a better place. This is a very faint and imperfect ſketch of Mr. Baxter's character: men of his ſize are not to be drawn in miniature. His portrait, in full proportion, is in his *Narrative of his own Life and Times*; which though a rhapſody, compoſed in the manner of a diary, contains a great variety of memorable things, and is itſelf, as far as it goes, a Hiſtory of Nonconformity (*r*).' An ac-

(*r*) Biographical Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 331, edit. 8vo, 1775.

[*X*] *His works*, &c.] Of the great number of theſe notice hath already been taken in note [*P*]. His income, which was not great, was increaſed by the profit which he made of his writings; for which, he ſays, he ſometimes received ſixty or eighty pounds a year of the bookſellers (38). But he ſeems to have employed this money in charitable purpoſes (39). And it appears that by printing one of his moſt conſiderable works, he was many pounds out of pocket. This was his *Methodus Theologiæ*, which was printed in Latin, in folio, in 1674. In his account of his own life, ſpeaking of his publiſhing this work, he ſays, 'The times were ſo bad for ſelling books, that I was fain to be myſelf at the charge of printing my *Methodus Theologiæ*; ſome friends contributed about eighty pounds toward it. It coſt me one way or other about five hundred pounds: about two hundred and fifty pounds I received from thoſe Nonconformiſts that bought them. The contrary part ſet themſelves to hinder the ſale of it, becauſe it was mine; though elſe the doctrine of it, being half philoſophical and half conciliatory, would have pleaſed the learned part of them. But moſt lay it by as too hard for them, as over ſcholaſtical and exact. I wrote it, and my Engliſh *Chriſtian Directory* to make up one compleat Body of Theology. The Latin one the theory, and the Engliſh one the practical part. And the latter is commonly accepted, becauſe leſs difficult (40).'

(38) Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, p. 89.

(39) *Ibid. ubi ſupra.*

(40) Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, Part III. p. 190.

His Engliſh Body of practical Divinity was publiſhed in one large volume, folio, in 1673, under the following title: 'A Chriſtian Directory: or, A Sum of Practical Theology, and Caſes of Conſcience. Directing Chriſtians how to uſe their Knowledge and Faith; how to improve all Helps and Means, and to perform all Duties; how to overcome Temptations, and to eſcape or mortify every Sin. In four Parts. I. Chriſtian Ethics, or private Duties. II. Chriſtian Œconomics, or Family Duties. III. Chriſtian Eccleſiaſtics, or Church Duties. IV. Chriſtian Politics, or Duties to our Rulers and Neighbours.' Dr. Calamy ſpeaks of this Body of practical Theology, as 'the moſt compleat that is extant in the Engliſh language, or perhaps in any other (41).'

(41) Abridgment, Vol. i. p. 696. Edit. 1702.

Among the other works of our indefatigable author, are the following: *The right Method for Peace of Conſcience, and ſpiritual Comfort, in thirty-two Directions*, 12mo. 1653. *Chriſtian Concord*, 4to, 1653. *The Unreaſonableneſs of Infidelity*, 8vo, 1655. *Gildas Salvianus*, or *Reformed Paſtor*, 8vo, 1656. This piece has been held in conſiderable eſteem, by ſeveral Divines eminent for their great piety. *A Treatiſe of Converſion*, 4to, 1657. *Five Diſputations of Church Government*, 4to, 1658. *Univerſal Concord*, giving an account of the terms upon which all Chriſtian Churches may hold Communion, 12mo, 1658. *A Treatiſe of Death*, 8vo, 1659. *A Treatiſe of Self-denial*, 4to, 1659. *Divine Life, in three Treatiſes; of the Knowledge of God; Of walking with God; Of converſing with God in Solitude*, 4to, 1664. *Reaſons for the Chriſtian Religion*, 1667. *Catholic Theology*, folio, 1675. The deſign of this work is to reconcile the differences between the Arminians and the Calviniſts. *The Nonconformiſts Plea for Peace*, 8vo, 1679. A ſecond part of this was publiſhed the following year. *A Treatiſe of Epiſcopacy*, 4to, 1681 *A Treatiſe of Univerſal Redemption*, 8vo, 1694. But thoſe who wiſh to ſee a more particular enumeration of our author's works, we muſt refer to Dr. Calamy's Abridgment (42), though even that long liſt of his pieces appears to be far from complete.

(42) Vol. i. p. 691—701.

count of his behaviour during his laſt ſickneſs [Y], and ſome farther particulars relative to him [Z], will be found in the notes.

In 1662, Mr. Baxter was married to Margaret Charleton, daughter to Francis Charleton, Eſq; of the county of Salop, who was eſteemed one of the beſt Juſtices of the Peace in that county. She was a woman of great piety, and entered thoroughly into her huſband's views concerning religion. His refuſal of a biſhopric was before their marriage; but his conduct on that occaſion ſhe entirely approved. She chearfully accompanied her huſband in priſon, and in all the inconveniencies and ſufferings which were brought on him by the intolerance of the times. Her general conduct was exemplary, and ſhe was uncommonly liberal to the poor. She died in a houſe of Mr. Baxter's, in Southampton-ſquare, London, in 1681, and was buried in Chriſt-Church (s).] T.

(s) Clark's Lives of ſundry eminent Perſons, p. 181—191.

[Y] *His behaviour during his laſt ſickneſs.*] Dr. Calamy ſays, 'Mr. Baxter was the ſame in his life and death. His laſt hours were ſpent in preparing others and himſelf to appear before God. He ſaid to his friends that viſited him, *You come hither to learn to die: I am not the only perſon that muſt go this way; I can aſſure you, that your whole life, be it never ſo long, is little enough to prepare for death. Have a care of this vain deceitful world, and the luſts of the fleſh. Be ſure you chuſe God for your portion, heaven for your home, God's glory for your end, his word for your rule, and then you need never fear, but we ſhall meet with comfort.* His reſigned ſubmiſſion to the will of God in his ſharp ſickneſs was eminent. When extremity of pain conſtrained him earneſtly to pray to God for his releaſe by death, he would check himſelf and ſay, *It is not fit for me to preſcribe; when thou wilt, what thou wilt, how thou wilt.* Being often aſked by his friends, how it was with his inward man, he replied, *I bleſs God, I have a well-grounded aſſurance of my eternal happineſs, and great peace and comfort within*; but it was his trouble he could not triumphantly expreſs it, by reaſon of his extreme pains.——During his ſickneſs, when the queſtion was aſked him, How he did, his anſwer was, Almoſt well (43).'

[Z] *Some farther particulars relative to him,*] Mr. Sylveſter ſays, that Mr. Baxter's 'perſon was tall and ſlender, and ſtooped much: his countenance compoſed and grave, ſomewhat inclining to ſmile. He had a piercing eye, a very articulate ſpeech, and deportment rather plain than complimental (44).' There is an original portrait of him at Dr. Williams's library, founded for the uſe of Proteſtant Diſſenting Miniſters, in Red-croſs-ſtreet. Mr. Sylveſter alſo ſays, that 'he had a great command over his thoughts. He had that happy faculty, ſo as to anſwer the character that was given of him by a learned man diſſenting from him, after diſcourſe with him; which was, that *he could ſay what he would, and he could prove what he ſaid.* He was moſt intent upon the neceſſary things. Rational learning he moſt valued, and was a very extraordinary maſter of. And as to his expreſſive faculty, he ſpake properly, plainly, pertinently, and pathetically. He could ſpeak ſuitably, both to men's capacities, and to the things inſiſted on. He was a perſon wonderful at extemporate preaching.' But his common practice appears to have been to preach with notes; though he ſaid, *That he thought it very needful for a Miniſter to have a body of divinity in his head* (45).] T.

[Mr. Baxter hath had the honour, if it may be deemed ſuch, of having given riſe to a diſtinct religious denomination. His Theological Syſtem has been called Baxterianiſm, and thoſe who embrace his ſentiments in divinity, are ſtiled Baxterians. Baxterianiſm ſtrikes into a middle path between Calviniſm and Arminianiſm, endeavouring, in ſome degree, though perhaps not very conſiſtently, to unite both ſchemes, and to avoid the ſuppoſed errors of each. The Baxterians, we apprehend, believe in the doctrines of Election, effectual Calling, and other tenets of Calviniſm, and, conſequently, ſuppoſe that a certain number, determined upon in the divine Counſels, will infallibly be ſaved. This they think neceſſary to ſecure the ends of Chriſt's interpoſition. But then, on the other hand, they reject the doctrine of Reprobation, and admit that our bleſſed Lord, in a certain ſenſe, died for all; and that ſuch a portion of grace is allotted to every man, as renders it his own fault, if he doth not attain to eternal happineſs. If he improves the common grace given to all mankind, this will be followed by that ſpecial grace which will end in his final acceptance and ſalvation. Whether the Baxterians are of opinion, that any, beſides the elect, will *actually* make ſuch a right uſe of common grace, as to obtain the other, and, at length, come to Heaven, we cannot aſſuredly ſay. There may poſſibly be a difference of ſentiment upon the ſubject, according as they approach nearer to Calviniſm or to Arminianiſm. Mr. Baxter appears, likewiſe, to have modelled the doctrines of Juſtification, and the perſeverance of the Saints, in a manner which was not agreeable to the rigid Calviniſts. His diſtinctions upon all theſe heads we do not mean particularly to enquire into, as they would not be very intereſting to the generality of our readers. Some foreign Divines, in the laſt century, ſtruck nearly into the ſame path; and particularly, in France, Monſ. le Blanc, Mr. Cameron, and the celebrated Monſ. Amyrault. For a conſiderable time, the Nonconformiſt Clergy in England were divided into ſcarcely any but two doctrinal parties, the Calviniſts and the Baxterians. There were, indeed, a few direct Arminians among them, whoſe number was gradually increaſing. Of late, ſince many of the Diſſenters have become more bold in their religious ſentiments, the Baxterians among them have been leſs numerous. However, they are ſtill a conſiderable body; and ſeveral perſons are fond of the name, as a creditable one, who, we believe, go farther than Mr. Baxter did. The denomination, like other theological diſtinctions which have prevailed in the world, will probably, in a courſe of time, ſink into deſuetude, till it is either wholly forgotten, or the bare memory of it be only preſerved in ſome hiſtorical production.] K.

(43) Abridgment, p. 682.

(44) Funeral Sermon on the Death of Mr. Baxter, printed at the End of his Life in folio, p. 16.

(45) *Ibid.* p. 17.

BAXTER (William) nephew and heir of Mr. Richard Baxter, mentioned in the laſt article (a), was an eminent Schoolmaſter and Critic, in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth, century. His family was ancient and not inconſiderable [A], but (by what means we are not informed) his parents were but in very indifferent circumſtances (b). He was born in the houſe of his mother's father, at Llanlugany, an obſcure village in Shropſhire (c), in the year 1650 (d). No care, it ſeems, was taken

(a) *Autoris Vita in gratiam filiorum ab ipſo conſcripta*; prefixed to his *Gloſſarium Antiq. Britann.* Lond. 1731. 8*vo*. N. B. It is very imperfect.

(b) *Natus ſum* (as he ſaith himſelf in his Life) —*in tenui re— innocuis parentibus—*

(c) *Vita, &c. ubi ſupra.*

(d) This is evident from his age, at the time of his death.

[A] *His family was antient, and not inconſiderable.*] He derives his pedigree (like a true Cambro-Briton) through a long ſeries of anceſtors, from John Baxter, who, in the reign of Henry VI., ſettled at Shrewſbury. And he ſhews, that the name of *Baxter* ſignifies originally a Baker, in Saxon *Bæceſter*; and that it was given that family, becauſe they were *Bakers* to the antient Princes of Wales; in which poſt, according to the cuſtom of the antient Celtes and Greeks, the nobleſt perſons were employed.—*De more ſcilicet veterum Celtarum atque Græcorum, ut nobiliſſimi quique in famulatu eſſent Regio, domeſticiſque fungerentur officiis* (1).

(1) *Vita, ubi ſupra*, p. 1, 2, &c.

of his education in his younger years: For, at the age of eighteen, when he firſt went to the ſchool at Harrow on the Hill in Middleſex, where he was educated (*e*), ‘ he knew ‘ not one letter in a book, nor underſtood one word of any language but Welſh (*f*)’. But he ſo well redeemed and improved his time, that he became a perſon of great and extenſive knowledge. His genius led him chiefly to the ſtudy of Antiquities and Philology, in which he compoſed ſeveral books. The firſt he publiſhed, was in 1679, a Grammar, intituled, *De Analogiâ ſeu Arte Latinæ Linguæ Commentariolus* [*B*]. Next, in 1695, a new and correct edition of Anacreon, with Notes; reprinted in 1710 with conſiderable additions and improvements [*C*]. In 1701 he put out an edition of Horace [*D*], which was reprinted in 1725, with additions. And in 1719 he publiſhed his curious and learned Dictionary of the Britiſh Antiquities [*E*]; of which a ſecond edition came out in 1733, after the author's deceaſe. His Gloſſary of the Roman Antiquities, which goes no farther than the letter A, was publiſhed in 1726, by the reverend and learned Mr. Moſes Williams [*F*]: who alſo put out propoſals in 1732 for printing Mr. Baxter's notes on Juvenal [*G*]. He had likewiſe made notes on Perſius; which are at preſent either loſt or miſlaid; and tranſlated into Engliſh ſome of Plutarch's Lives, done ſome years ago by ſeveral hands (*). Our author was an extraordinary good Linguiſt,

[*B*] *De Analogiâ,* &c.] The whole title is thus: *De Analogiâ, ſive arte Linguæ Latinæ commentariolus; in quo omnia, etiam reconditioris grammaticæ elementa, ratione novâ tractantur, & ad breviſſimos canones rediguntur. In uſum provectioris adoleſcentiæ. Operâ Wilhelmi Baxteri Philiſtoris.* Lond. 1679, 12mo. He is very ſhort upon the points of Orthography, Proſody, and Syntaxis, but dwells a great while upon Etymology; in which, among other peculiar notions of his own, he makes the firſt word of the imperative mood the theme, not only of the ſeveral declenſions of the verbs, but likewiſe of all the participles and verbal nouns. The ſeventh chapter is concerning the grammatical figures; and the eighth treats of the poetical metre, and the method of making Latin verſes.

[*C*] *A new and correct edition of Anacreon,* &c.] The title of which is as follows: *Anacreontis Teij carmina. Plurimis quibus hactenus ſcatebant mendis purgavit, turbata metra reſtituit, notaſque cum nova interpretatione literali adjecit Willielmus Baxter. Subjiciuntur etiam duo vetuſtiſſima poetriæ Sapphus elegantiſſima odaria, unâ cum correctione Iſaaci Voſſii, & Theocriti Anacreonticum in mortuum Adonin.* Lond. 1697, and 1710, 8vo. In the dedication he makes very free with the famous Tanaquil Faber, who formerly publiſhed an edition of that Poet, calling him a ſilly Frenchman, who rejects as falſe and ſpurious whatever he doth not underſtand; and ſays that he trifles every where, hath no acuteneſs nor critical diſcernment, but is a mere blockhead. J. Cornelius de Pauw, who publiſhed a new edition of Anacreon at Utrecht in 1732, 4to, is even with Mr. Baxter, and treats him with as much contempt as he had done T. Faber; ſaying, that his, and Joſhua Barnes's Commentaries upon that poet, are full of the moſt ſilly and ridiculous trifles. Such is the common uſage of critics to each other. See Dr. Bentley's notes throughout.

[*D*] *In* 1701 *he put out an edition of Horace, which was reprinted in* 1725.] The ſecond edition was finiſhed by him but a few days before his deceaſe, and publiſhed under this title: *Q. Horatii Flacci Eclogæ, una cum ſcholiis perpetuis, tam veteribus quam novis. Adjecit etiam, ubi viſum eſt, & ſua; textumque ipſum plurimis locis vel corruptum vel turbatum reſtituit* Willielmus Baxter, 8vo. In this ſome things are corrected, others altered, and ſeveral additions made. The notes are collected from the moſt eminent commentators on Horace, particularly thoſe two antient ones, *Helenius Acro,* and *Pomponius Porphyrio*; and alſo from the moderns, namely from Lambinus, Cruquius, Torrentius, Lubinus, Chr. Landinus, Anton. Mancinellus, Muretus, Henric. Stephanus, Heinſius, &c. As for Tanaq. Faber, he ſays he hath not one good note upon that poet. And, with regard to Dacier, he leaves the candid reader to judge, whether the want of fidelity or diligence is moſt to be complained of in that commentator. Then as to Dr. Bentley, he ſeems in his opinion to have rather buried Horace under a heap of rubbiſh, than to have illuſtrated him. *Scriptorem iſtum videtur magis oppreſſiſſe quam adornaſſe.* To this ſecond edition are ſubjoined the third Satire of the ſecond book of Horace reſtored to its original order, by Dr. Aldrich, Dean of Chriſt-church, and an account of that poet's metre by Chr. Waſe.

[*E*] *In* 1719 *he publiſhed his* —— *Dictionary of the Britiſh Antiquities.*] Under the title of *Gloſſarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum, ſive Syllabus Etymologicus Antiquitatum veteris Britanniæ atque Iberniæ, temporibus Romanorum. Auctore Willielmo Baxter, Cornavio, Scholæ Merciariorum præfecto,* 8vo. Dedicated to Richard Mead, M. D. by whoſe advice it had been ſaved from the flames. In the dedication and preface the author obſerves, that by the help of his knowledge in the Britiſh, or Welſh tongue (which he affirms to be abſolutely neceſſary to a Britiſh Antiquary) he had corrected Camden in a great many paſſages, and added about two hundred names of ancient places and rivers, which were not taken notice of in his Britannia; beſides the old appellations of Gods, Kings, and Generals, which he had explained according to the beſt of his abilities; and had compared occaſionally the ſurnames and expreſſions of Old Gaul, and other countries. Through the whole work he goes upon this ſuppoſition, that all the nations of Europe were *Heneti,* or *Brigantes,* and of an Aſiatic origin; and on account of their being *Foreigners* at firſt, were called *Galli* by other nations. In the ſecond edition are added ſome ſhort notes, in the beginning, by Dr. W. Stukely, F. R. S. and, at the end, Mr. Edw. Lhwyd's poſthumous obſervations on the names of the rivers, mountains, towns, &c. in Britain. By extracts of ſome letters publiſhed in the beginning of this book, it appears that the author was above twenty years about it.

[*F*] *His Gloſſary of the Roman Antiquities* —— *was publiſhed in* 1726, *by Mr. Moſes Williams,*] It was publiſhed under the title of *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, ſive Willielmi Baxteri opera poſthuma. Præmittitur eruditi autoris vitæ a ſeipſo conſcriptæ Fragmentum.* But the book, very likely, not ſelling under that title, it was republiſhed in 1731, with this title, *Gloſſarium Antiquitatum Romanarum, a Willielmo Baxter, Cornavio, Scholæ Merciariorum Præfecto. Accedunt eruditi autoris vitæ a ſeipſo conſcriptæ Fragmentum, et ſelectæ quædam ejuſdem Epiſtolæ.* Lond. 8vo. The author intended, if God had granted him life, to have gone through the whole alphabet, but he was hindered from proceeding in this uſeful, though difficult, undertaking, by the diſcouragement he met with from the Bookſellers, to whom he offered the copy of his *Gloſſarium Antiquitat. Britannicarum,* when it was ready for the preſs (2). To ſatisfy the learned reader's curioſity we ſhall inſert one article, which will give a true notion of the author's method. ‘ A, *Au,* vel ‘ *Ab,* à Græco 'Aπ' vel Αϖ' pro 'Aπὸ; veteribus Gothis ‘ *Af,* uti & Germanis; indigenis noſtris Αυ, unde & ‘ ϛερητικὸν A, quod ſequente Vocali eſt 'Aν, uti & Perſis, Armenis & veteribus Britannis; Anglis *Un,* & ‘ Latinis *In,* etiam ſequente Conſona.’ Moſt of the articles are long and learned Diſſertations.

[*G*] *Who alſo put out propoſals in* 1732 *for printing Mr. Baxter's notes on Juvenal.*] Under this title, *Gulielmi Baxteri quæ ſuperſunt enarrationes & notæ in D. Junii Juvenalis Satyras. Accedit rerum & verborum obſervatione dignorum, quæ in iiſdem occurrunt, Index locupletiſſimus. Accurante Moſe Gulielmo A. M. R. S. Soc.*

and

(*e*) See his Scholia in *Horatii Epiſtol. lib.* i. xv.—*in ſacro iſto monte Muſas primum adivimus.*

(*f*) Of this he himſelf informed the Rev. Mr. Moſes Williams: See General Dictionary, in the article **BAXTER** (WILLIAM).

* He intended alſo to have written Commentaries upon Ovid's Metamorphoſes, but did not.

(2) See an Advertiſement of the Editor's at the end of *Gloſſar. Antiq. Romanar.* p. 400.

and a great maſter of the ancient Britiſh and Iriſh tongues; moſt particularly ſkilled in the Latin and Greek, and in the Northern and Eaſtern languages. He kept a correſpondence with the learnedeſt men of his time, eſpecially with that eminent Antiquarian Mr. Edward Lhwyd. Some of his Letters are publiſhed at the end of his *Gloſſarium Antiquitatum Romanarum*, of which we ſhall give an account in the note [*H*]. There are likewiſe in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (*g*), two letters of his to Dr. Harwood; one concerning the town of *Veroconium*, or Wroxeter, in Shropſhire (*h*); and the other concerning the *Hypocauſta*, or Sweating-Houſes of the Ancients. And another to Dr. Hans Sloane, Secretary of the Royal Society (*i*), containing an abſtract of Mr. Edward Lhwyd's *Archæologia Britannica*, or Account of the Languages, Hiſtories, and Cuſtoms of the original inhabitants of Great Britain, *&c.* Mr. Baxter was taken up for the moſt part of his life, with the toilſome employment of teaching youth. For he kept ſome years a boarding-ſchool at Tottenham-High-Croſs in Middleſex: from whence he was choſen maſter of Mercers ſchool, near Cheapſide in London (*k*). In this poſt he continued above twenty years (*l*); but reſigned it before his death, which happened on the thirty-firſt of May 1723, in the ſeventy-third year of his age (*m*). Having had no thoughts of marrying in his younger days, and even rejected ſome advantageous offers, he took at laſt to wife a woman without a fortune, but of a very good character, named Sarah Carturit, by whom he had two ſons, and three daughters (*n*).

[*H*] *Some of his letters are publiſhed at the end of his Gloſſarium Antiquitatum Romanarum.*] The firſt is a very curious one to Mr. Edw. Lhwyd, in which he aſks his judgment of the account he there gives him of the ancient language and alphabet. In the firſt place he takes it for granted, that no language is natural; and concludes, that as the ſounds, or *Poteſtates*, of the letters were firſt owing to the imitation of ſounds natural; ſo the firſt figures were contrived to ſignify, for the moſt part, the things from which thoſe ſounds were firſt learned. For inſtance, A wide is the voice of a Bull, which is therefore called by the Syrians *Alpha*, or *Ail appa*, *Huyes attes* in Phrygian, and in Latin *Liber pater*, in Egyptian *Ou Siri*, and ſometime only *Apis*, which, as is well known, was repreſented under the ſhape of a Bull.—B we learnt of the Sheep: The Tyrians therefore call it *Baita*, and Βαίτης is ſtill Greek for a Sheep-ſkin: And ſo on. He ſums up the whole by obſerving, that the whole Alphabet conſiſts firſt of Gutturals, which are the Vowels, with H. X. and N g, or *y*, which H being added to any Vowel or Conſonant, will make a ſecondary kind of alphabet, as *Ha*, *Bha*, &c. He places theſe Gutturals firſt, becauſe they are moſt ſimple, and common to man with brutes. The ſecond ſort he calls Linguals, which are proper to mankind, and borrowed by imitation from animal and other ſounds. Palatins and Dentals are reduced to theſe. The third ſort are Labials, formed by the lips alone.

In another letter he ſays, that before the invention of letters, the heads of nails ſerved to count by, and that for a memorial of that ancient uſage, they clavated their cups, chairs, hilts of their ſwords, and their very letters. At Rome they kept memorandums of years, by driving a nail in the Capitol, on the ides of September, as is well known.

In a third letter he obſerves, that Plutarch in his *Cato Uticenſis* makes Cicero the contriver of writing *per notas* (in characters or ſhort-hand) upon the ſcore of Catiline's conſpiracy. And that he uſed that way of writing is apparent from an epiſtle of his *ad Atticum*, lib. XIII. Dion. lib. LV. tells us, that Mecænas communicated the art to the public by his freed man Aquila, as Euſebius in Chronicis ſaith Cicero did by his man Tyro. Notwithſtanding all this, it appears by Suetonius in his Cæſar, that Cæſar himſelf did write *per notas*. For my own part, ſaith Mr. Baxter, I am very apt to believe this way of writing to have been univerſal before a Muſician invented the Alphabet. The ancient marks, uſed both by Muſicians and Phyſicians, I take to be a remainder of theſe *Notæ*. M.

[Mr. Gough, ſpeaking of our author's Gloſſarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum, obſerves, that Mr. Baxter, from his ſkill in the old Britiſh language, attempted to determine the geography by etymology. It is juſtly added, by Mr. Gough, that this is a method the moſt uncertain, and which too often miſled Camden before, and others ſince (3). In the firſt volume of the Archæologia of the Society of Antiquaries, are four Latin letters, written by Mr. Baxter to the late Dr. Geeky, when firſt entered at Cambridge. In theſe letters, the learned critic ſhews how entirely his attention was devoted to etymological and philological inquiries. In the firſt, he endeavours to confirm, by an inſtance or two, an opinion he had often advanced, that the language of the Romans conſiſted almoſt entirely of obſolete Greek words. The next letter is chiefly employed upon the giants ſpoken of in Geneſis, and the prophecy of Enoch, mentioned by St. Jude. Our author ſeems to be of opinion, that the genuine prophecy of Enoch was originally written in verſe, and that it was preſerved in the time of the ancient Chriſtian Fathers. He thinks it credible, likewiſe, that it was known to the Phrygians, the oldeſt of all nations. In the third letter, he conſiders the cuſtom of the Greeks, in preſenting earth and water, when they ſurrendered themſelves to an enemy. This he looks upon as having been a moſt ſolemn form of an oath, derived from the earlieſt antiquity. From the fourth letter it appears, that Mr. Baxter was ſolicited to give a new edition of the writers *De Re Ruſticâ*; but that he declined it, on account of his age, and the difficulty of the undertaking (4).

We are inclined to believe, from ſuch parts of our author's works as have fallen under our own obſervation, that his learning, which was unqueſtionably very great, was ſomewhat ſuperior to his judgment.

Dr. Harwood, in his view of the editions of the claſſics, calls Mr. Baxter's Anacreon an excellent edition; and with regard to his Horace, expreſſes himſelf in the following ſtrong terms. 'This ſecond 'edition of Horace, in 1725, is by far the beſt edi'tion of Horace ever publiſhed. I have read it 'many times through, and know its ſingular worth. 'England has not produced a more elegant and judi'cious critic than Mr. Baxter (5).'] K.

(*g*) No. 306. p. 2230.

(*h*) This Letter is only what he had written in his *Gloſſarium Antiq. Britann.* concerning Wroxeter; and is to be found there, in the article *Veroconium*.

(*i*) No. 311. p. 2438.

(*k*) To which is annexed a ſalary of 40 l. a year, with a houſe. See Stow's and Strype's Survey of London, *&c.* Vol. i. book i. p. 169. edit. Lond. 1720.

(*l*) See *Vita*, as above, towards the end.

(*m*) See General Dictionary, under the article BAXTER (WILLIAM.)

(*n*) *Vita, ubi ſupra.*

(3) Anecdotes of Britiſh Topography, p. 4.

(4) Archæologia, Vol. i. p. 205—211.

(5) View of the various Editions of the Greek and Roman Claſſics, 2d Edit. p. 10. 175.

[BAXTER (ANDREW), an ingenious writer in metaphyſics and natural philoſophy, was ſon to a merchant of Old Aberdeen, in Scotland [*A*], at which city he was born in 1686, or 1687 (*a*). His mother, whoſe name was Elizabeth Frazer, was of a conſiderable family in the North. He was educated in King's College, Aberdeen. His principal employment was that of a private tutor to young gentlemen; and among others of his pupils were, Lord Grey, Lord Blantyre, and Mr. Hay of Drummelzier. About the year 1724, he married Alice Mebane, daughter to a Clergyman of a good family in

[*A*] *Son to a merchant in Old Aberdeen*, &c.] His father, who was a remarkably ſtout man, could walk ſome miles in a day, at the age of 105, and died at 110 (1).

(*a*) Our author's ſon, Alexander Baxter, Eſq; who hath obligingly favoured us with ſundry Particulars relative to his Father's Life, cannot determine in which of theſe years he was born.

(1) From the information of Mr. Alexander Baxter.

the ſhire of Berwick. A few years after (*b*) he publiſhed, in 4to, his celebrated work, intituled, 'An Enquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul; wherein the Immateriality 'of the Soul is evinced, from the Principles of Reaſon and Philoſophy [*B*].' In the ſpring of the year 1741, he went abroad with young Mr. Hay, and reſided ſome years at Utrecht, having there alſo Lord Blantyre under his care (*c*). His merit ſoon occaſioned him to be known to moſt of the literati, and other perſons of note, in Holland, as well as in ſome neighbouring countries; he making occaſional excurſions into Flanders, France, and Germany. In the mean time, his wife and family chiefly reſided at Berwick upon Tweed. He returned to Scotland in the ſummer of the year 1747, and reſided till his death at Whittingham, in the ſhire of Eaſt Lothian, in Scotland (*d*). He drew up, for the uſe of his pupils, and of his own ſon, a piece, intitled, *Matho: ſive, Coſmotheoria Puerilis, Dialogus. In quo Prima Elementa de Mundi ordine et ornatu proponuntur; de potentia illa agitur, quâ materiæ inertia in obeundis Naturæ vicibus regitur. Subnexa obiter eſt Methodus de Parallaxi Solis ad examen reducenda. Cum figuris.* This was firſt printed in Latin, but afterwards greatly enlarged, and publiſhed in Engliſh [*C*], in two volumes, 8vo.

Mr. Baxter was much ſubject to the gout, and in the ſummer of the year 1749, being then about ſixty-three years of age, he found that diſorder increaſe, and ſeveral other complaints were added to it. By a kind of complication of diſorders, he, at length, ſuffered the moſt excruciating pains for ſome months; all which he endured with the greateſt fortitude. He died on the 23d of April 1750, and was buried in the family-vault of Mr. Hay at Whittingham (*e*).

The learning and abilities of Mr. Baxter are ſufficiently diſplayed in his writings. He was extremely ſtudious, and ſometimes ſat up whole nights reading and writing. His temper, at the ſame time, was very chearful [*D*]: he was a friend to innocent merriment,

(*b*) There is no Date to the firſt Edition.

(*c*) From the Information of his Son, Mr. Alexander Baxter.

(*d*) From the Information of his Son.

(*e*) From the Information of Mr. Alexander Baxter.

[*B*] *An Enquiry into the Nature of the human Soul, &c.*] This is a very learned and ingenious work, and has been much applauded by men of great knowledge and eminence. Biſhop Warburton ſays of it, 'He 'who would ſee the juſteſt and preciſeſt notions of 'God and the ſoul, may read this book; one of the 'moſt finiſhed of the kind, in my humble opinion, 'that the preſent times, greatly advanced in true 'philoſophy, have produced (2).' A ſecond edition of this work was publiſhed in two volumes, 8vo, in 1737, and a third in 1745.

In 1750, was publiſhed, 'An Appendix to the 'firſt part of the Enquiry into the Nature of the 'human Soul, wherein the principles laid down 'there, are cleared from ſome objections; and the 'government of the Deity in the material world is 'vindicated, or ſhewn not to be carried on by me'chaniſm and ſecond cauſes.' To this piece Mr. Baxter prefixed a dedication to Mr. Wilkes, between whom and our author an acquaintance had commenced abroad. The dedication is as follows:

'To John Wilkes, of Ayleſbury, in the county of
'Bucks, Eſq.

'SIR,

'The ſubject of our converſation in the Capu'chin's garden at Spaw in the ſummer of the year '1745, lies ſtill by me in the dreſs in which it was at 'firſt put. I have not leiſure at preſent to prepare it 'for public view. In the mean time, I ſend you the 'following ſheets as a token of my ſincere reſpect. 'It is with pleaſure I think on the time we ſpent ſo 'agreeably together, and am,

'Sir,

'Your moſt obedient humble ſervant.'

It is well known, that the great principle on which our author builds his curious reaſoning, in his elaborate Treatiſe on the Immateriality of the Soul, is the *vis inertiæ* of matter. The arguments he hath founded upon this principle, and the conſequences he hath drawn from it, have, in the opinion of ſeveral perſons, been carried too far. Mr. Hume made ſome objections to Mr. Baxter's ſyſtem, though without naming him, in his Enquiry concerning Human Underſtanding. It is probable that Mr. Baxter did not think Mr. Hume to be enough of a natural philoſopher to merit particular notice; or he might not have ſeen Mr. Hume's Philoſophical Eſſays, which were firſt publiſhed only two years before our author's death. He had a much more formidable antagoniſt in Mr. Colin Maclaurin. This ingenious gentleman, in his account of Sir Iſaac Newton's philoſophical diſcoveries, had ſtarted various difficulties with regard to what had been urged concerning the *vis inertiæ* of matter; and it was to remove theſe difficulties, and ſtill farther to confirm his own principles, that Mr. Baxter wrote the Appendix juſt mentioned.

In the ſecond volume of his *Enquiry*, Mr. Baxter has inſerted a very copious Eſſay on the Phænomenon of Dreaming, and what he hath advanced on this ſubject excited much attention at the time of its firſt publication. He endeavoured to prove, that the ſcenes preſented to the ſoul in ſleep, in which there is ſo much *variety*, *action*, and *life*, nay oftentimes *ſpeech* and *reaſon*, cannot be the effect of mechaniſm, or any cauſe working mechanically: And farther, that the φαντάσμα, or what is properly called the viſion, is not the work of the ſoul itſelf. His concluſion was, that 'our dreams are prompted by ſeparate 'immaterial beings:' that there are living beings exiſting ſeparate from matter; that they act in that ſtate; and that they act upon the matter of our bodies, and prompt our ſleeping viſions. Some obſervations upon this ſubject, and ſeveral objections to Mr. Baxter's hypotheſis, may be found in Mr. David Fordyce's 'Dialogues concerning Education,' Vol. ii. p. 223–257.

[*C*] *Greatly enlarged, and publiſhed in Engliſh.*] Under the following title; '*Matho:* or, the *Coſmo'theoria Puerilis:* in ten Dialogues. Wherein, from 'the phænomena of the material world briefly ex'plained, the principles of natural religion are de'duced and demonſtrated. The whole accommo'dated to the capacities, and intended for the infor'mation of young ſtudents.' In a preface to the third edition of this work it is obſerved, that 'theſe 'Philoſophical Dialogues have been univerſally well 'received, and found to anſwer the purpoſe which 'their learned and pious author had in view, the 'advancement and defence of true religion; in op'poſition to the ſceptical refinements of ſome late 'writers: and this, by fixing its principles and obli'gations on an invariable and ſure foundation, the 'divine attributes, as clearly diſplayed in the works 'of nature. A miſtake, however, in the aſtrono'mical theory, which the author did not live to 'rectify (as he intended), had diſguſted ſome 'readers; and might have created a prejudice againſt 'thoſe parts of the work which, for the execution as 'well as the deſign, were altogether unexception'able. To remove this ſtumbling-block, the con'ference, which was chiefly affected by that miſtake, 'is entirely ſuppreſſed, and another added to fill up 'the vacancy.' The ſecond edition of this work was publiſhed in two volumes, 8vo, in 1745, and the third in two volumes, 12mo, in 1765.

[*D*] *His temper was very chearful.*] His ſon, Mr. Alexander Baxter, informs us, that he entered very chearfully, and with much good humour, into the converſation

(2) Divine Legation of Moſes demonſtrated, p. 395, firſt Edit.

ment, and of a diſpoſition truly benevolent. In converſation he was modeſt, and not apt to make much ſhew of the extenſive knowledge of which he was poſſeſſed. In the diſcharge of the ſeveral ſocial and relative duties of life, his conduct was exemplary. He had the moſt reverential ſentiments of the Deity, of whoſe preſence and immediate ſupport he had always a ſtrong impreſſion upon his mind; and the general tenor of his life appears to have been conformable to the rules of virtue. Mr. Baxter paid a ſtrict attention to œconomy, though he dreſſed elegantly, and was not parſimonious in his other expences. It is known, alſo, that there were ſeveral occaſions, on which he acted with remarkable diſintereſtedneſs; and ſo far was he from courting preferment, that he has repeatedly declined conſiderable offers of that kind which were made him, if he would have taken orders in the Church of England (*f*). The French, German, and Dutch languages were ſpoken by him with much eaſe, and the Italian tolerably; and he wrote and read them all, together with the Spaniſh. His friends and correſpondents were numerous and reſpectable; and among them are particularly mentioned Mr. Pointz, Preceptor to the late Duke of Cumberland, and Dr. Warburton, Biſhop of Glouceſter. His wife, by whom he had one ſon and three daughters, all of whom are ſtill living, ſurvived him ten years, and was buried in the church of Linlithgow, in 1760.

(*f*) From the Information of his Son.

Mr. Baxter left many manuſcripts behind him: but the only one which appears to have received his laſt corrections, and to be prepared for the preſs, is intitled, ‘*Hiſtor*, a Dialogue; in which the experiments brought by foreign philoſophers, againſt the Engliſh eſtimation of the forces of moving bodies are ſhewn to agree exactly with, and very much to confirm that eſtimation.’ In this piece, Mr. Leibnitz's computation is particularly conſidered and confuted; and an Appendix is added, concerning the controverſy between Dr. Clarke and Mr. Leibnitz. Several unfiniſhed tracts, political, hiſtorical, and philoſophical, but chiefly the latter, are now in the hands of his ſon, Mr. Alexander Baxter. Among theſe, is a piece relating to the evidence of reaſon, in proof of the future life of man, from the conſtitution and circumſtances of his preſent ſtate, and the attributes of the Deity: and though this has not undergone the laſt corrections of the author, we have reaſon to believe that it will be publiſhed in a ſhort time, as his ſon has put the manuſcript into the hands of a friend, in order to prepare it for the preſs.] T.

converſation and pleaſures of young people, when they were of an innocent nature: and that he preſided, all the time of his abode at Utrecht, at the ordinary which was frequented by all the young Engliſh gentlemen there, with much gaiety and politeneſs, and in ſuch a manner as gave univerſal ſatisfaction. He alſo frequented the moſt polite aſſemblies in that city, and his company and converſation were particularly acceptable to the ladies. So that Mr. Baxter appears to have ſtudied the graces, though without neglecting more valuable acquiſitions and accompliſhments. He was at once the ſcholar and the gentleman.

In a letter, written to Mr. Wilkes, by Mr. Baxter, during his laſt illneſs (3), we have a very agreeable account of the ſtate of his mind, and of the chearful reſignation and piety with which he expected his approaching diſſolution. After ſome introductory expreſſions of his great regard for his friend, and ſome directions relative to his Appendix, juſt then publiſhed, he goes on as follows: ‘As to the ſtate of my diſeaſe, unleſs I would make ſuppoſitions contrary to all probability, I have no reaſonable hopes of recovery, the ſwelling which began at my legs, being now got up to my belly and head. I am a trouble to all about me, eſpecially to my poor wife, who has the life of a ſlave night and day, in helping me to take care of a diſeaſed carcaſe. Yet I may linger on a while, as I can ſtill walk a little through the room, and divert myſelf now and then with reading, nay, and writing down my remarks on what I read. But I can with ſincerity aſſure you (my moſt dear Mr. Wilkes) death has nothing terrible to me; or rather I look upon it with pleaſure. I have long and often conſidered, and written down, the advantages of a ſeparate ſtate. I ſhall ſoon know more than all the men I leave behind me; wonders in material nature and the world of ſpirits, which never entered into the thoughts of philoſophers. The end of knowledge *there* is not to get a name, or form a new ſect, but to adore the power and wiſdom of the Deity. This kills pride, but heightens happineſs and pleaſure. All our rational deſires, becauſe rational, muſt be ſatisfied by a being himſelf infinitely rational. I have been long aware that nothing can go beyond the grave but the habits of virtue and innocence. There is no diſtinction in that world, but what proceeds from virtue or vice. Titles and riches are laid off, when the ſhroud goes on. But oh! my deareſt friend, I cannot conceal from you a topic of inexpreſſible pleaſure. Puniſhment itſelf is pleaſant. God does not puniſh out of anger and revenge, to deſtroy, as we wrathful men conclude, but to correct and make better. That is the true end of puniſhment. Boundleſs puniſhment would ſhew incontroulable power, but chaſtiſement in proportion to our faults, ſhews the divine perfection of *equity*, and with a deſign to correct, not to throw us off, ſhews mercy. The end of God's puniſhing us therefore is our final happineſs. Are not theſe comfortable topics at the approach of death? Beſides, what is it to be free from the pains and infirmities of the body? Though I am ſatisfied juſt now, that the weakneſs of my diſtreſſed limbs is as much the immediate effect of the ſame power and goodneſs, as their growth and ſtrength was ſixty years ago. Dare I add a word without being thought vain? This is owing to my having reaſoned honeſtly on the nature of that dead ſubſtance *matter*. It is as utterly inert when the tree flouriſhes, as when the leaf withers. And it is the ſame divine power differently applied, that directs the laſt parting throb, and the firſt drawing breath. O the blindneſs of thoſe who think matter can do any thing of itſelf, or perform an effect without impulſe and direction from ſuperior power!’ After ſome farther obſervations on this ſubject, Mr. Baxter ſays, ‘I own, if it had been the will of Heaven, I would have gladly lived, till I had put in order the ſecond part of the *Enquiry*, ſhewing the immortality of the human ſoul: But infinite wiſdom cannot be miſtaken in calling me ſooner. *Our blindneſs makes us form wiſhes.*’ Towards the concluſion, Mr. Baxter ſpeaks of his unfiniſhed manuſcripts, and mentions his having taken them with him to Holland, thinking to put them in order there, but that he found it impracticable; and that ſince his return home, he had been prevented, either by looking after country affairs, or want of health. ‘There are, he adds, a great many miſcellaneous ſubjects in philoſophy, of a very ſerious nature, few of them ever conſidered before as I know of.’

(3) It was dated January 29, 1750.

The letter from which the preceding extracts were taken, was the laſt but one which Mr. Wilkes received from Mr. Baxter, and the laſt that was written by him to his friend, in his own hand. A falſe and imperfect copy of it having appeared in a Scots Magazine, Mr. Wilkes printed, in 1753, a number of copies, to be given away. It hath ſince been publiſhed in the firſt volume of a Collection of Letters, by the laſt-mentioned gentleman (4). In another letter to Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Baxter ſays, ‘ I have employed ‘ my time of late in conſidering the difference, or ‘ controverſy, between the Engliſh and foreign phi‘ loſophers, concerning the force of bodies moving ‘ in free ſpaces, which, in its conſequences, ſpreads ‘ far and wide through natural philoſophy. I have ‘ ſhewn demonſtratively, that the experiments brought ‘ by the foreign philoſophers to eſtabliſh their new ‘ theory, are applicable entirely to the Engliſh com‘ putation, which they beautifully confirm and il‘ luſtrate, and that theſe learned gentlemen have ‘ quite miſtaken them (5).’

(4) Letters to and from Mr. Wilkes, Vol. i. p. 271—279.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 272.

Our author's Treatiſe on this ſubject was offered, ſince his death, to the late Mr. Andrew Millar, bookſeller in the Strand; but, as it would have conſiſted of two volumes in quarto, and the curioſity of the public, with regard to works of that kind was a good deal abated, Mr. Millar did not chooſe to venture upon its publication (6). It is to be regretted, that ſo elaborate a performance, from want of due encouragement, ſhould have been loſt to the world.

(6) For the above Particulars, and for the Communication of the Volume containing Mr. Baxter's Letter; we are indebted to John Wilkes, Eſq.

Mr. Baxter, ſpeaking of his endeavours to eſtabliſh the particular providence of the Deity, and to ſhew his inceſſant influence and action on all the parts of matter, through the wide univerſe, from the inactivity of this dead ſubſtance; expreſſes his hope, that, when the preſent party-zeal ſubſides a little, men will come more eaſily in to own ſuch a plain truth (7). His prediction hath not yet been accompliſhed. Several eminent names ſeem rather diſpoſed to increaſe than to leſſen the powers of matter; and they have expreſsly maintained that the ſoul of man is material. However, other names, equally eminent, have aſſerted the eſſential diſtinction between the mind and the body. Perhaps, in the revolutions of opinion, the doctrine of immateriality may again obtain the general ſuffrage of metaphyſical and philoſophical enquiry.] T. & K.

(7) Letters, *ubi ſupra*, p. 277.

BAYLY (Lewis), Biſhop of Bangor in the reign of King James I., and author of a celebrated piece called *The Practiſe of Piety* [*A*], was born in the town of Caermarthen in Wales, and educated at Oxford; but in what college we cannot ſay. We find only, that he was admitted to the reading of the ſentences in the year 1611; about which time he was Miniſter of Eveſham in Worceſterſhire, Chaplain to Prince Henry, and Rector of St. Matthew, in Friday-ſtreet, London; and that he proceeded in Divinity two years after. Being an eminent Preacher, he was appointed one of King James's Chaplains; who promoted him to the See of Bangor, to which he was conſecrated, at Lambeth, December the eighth 1616. On the fifteenth of July 1621, he was committed a priſoner to the Fleet: but what his crime was, we know not; unleſs, perhaps, it concerned Prince Henry's match with the Infanta of Spain. This Prelate died in the beginning of the year 1632, and was buried in the church of Bangor. He left behind him four ſons, Nicholas, John, Theodore, and Thomas (*a*); the laſt of whom deſerves our particular notice (*b*).

(*a*) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. i. col. 567.

(*b*) *See the next article.*

[*A*] *He wrote a celebrated Treatiſe called* The Practiſe of Piety.] The title at length is, *The Practiſe of Piety, directing a Chriſtian how to walk that he may pleaſe God*; with this motto, *Piety hath the Promiſe.* 1 Tim. iv. 8. It is dedicated *to the high and mighty Prince, Charles, Prince of Wales*; and the author tells his Highneſs, he had ‘ endeavoured to ex‘ tract (out of the Chaos of endleſs controverſies) *the* ‘ *old practice of true Piety*, which flouriſhed before ‘ thoſe controverſies were hatched (1).’ After the Epiſtle Dedicatory follows this diſtich, addreſſed to that Prince:

(1) *Practiſe of Piety*, Edit. 1734. Dedicat. p. 8.

Ad Carolum Principem.

Tolle malos, extolle bonos, cognoſce teipſum;
Sacra tene, paci conſule, diſce pati.

The reader may judge of the reception this book has met with from the great number of editions it has run through; that in *octavo*, 1734, being the *fifty-ninth.* Mr. Wood tells us, it was the ſubſtance of ſeveral ſermons, preached by Dr. Bayly while he was miniſter of Eveſham; that it was tranſlated into Welſh, and into French in the year 1633; and that the fame of it was ſo great, that one John D'Eſpagne, a French writer, and preacher in Somerſet-houſe chapel, complained, that the generality of the common people looked upon its authority as equal to that of the Bible (2). Lewis du Moulin denies Biſhop Bayly the honour of writing this book. He pretends (3), it was the compoſition of a Puritan miniſter, and purchaſed of the author's widow by Dr. Bayly, who interpolated it in ſeveral places, and publiſhed it as his own; and that the ſtyle and ſentiments of the book being abſolutely puritanical, and yet a Biſhop's name being prefixed to it, occaſioned it to be equally ſought after by Puritans and Epiſcoparians. Others aſcribe the *Practiſe of Piety* to Mr. Price, Archdeacon of Bangor. But Dr. White Kennet, Biſhop of Peterborough (4), has put it beyond all reaſonable queſtion, that our Prelate was the true author of this book. B.

(2) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. i. col. 567.

(3) *Apud* Patronus bonæ fidei: *in the chapter containing* Specimen contra Durellum, p. 48.

(4) In his *Regiſter and Chronicle, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil*, Lond. 1728. *fol.* p. 350.

[A learned correſpondent hath obſerved, with reſpect to the diſtich addreſſed, by Dr. Bayly, to King Charles the Firſt, when Prince of Wales, that it would have been happy for Britain, if that Monarch had followed all the Doctor's advices as well as he did *Sacra tene*, and *diſce pati*. The ſame correſpondent hath favoured us with an extract from Johnſton's *Rerum Britannicarum Hiſtoria*, lib. 21. 680. from which it appears that Biſhop Bayly was accuſed of immoralities, and that there were great conteſts about the mode of his trial. The account, however, which this hiſtorian hath given of the affair, is very obſcure. Johnſton repeats, alſo, the ſtory of Dr. Bayly's not being the author of the *Practiſe of Piety*. His words are as follows: *Iſte præſul edidit Librum de Praxi Pietatis, cujus argumentum ſuſpicionem objectorum ſcelerum refellere potuit, niſi alienæ potius induſtriæ, debuiſſet quam ſuæ. Nam Miniſter Eccleſiæ pius ac doctus, auctor libri fuiſſe credebatur: cujus uxor non dubitavit it ipſum in comitiis aſſerere, ut vanitatem ficti auctoris redargueret; qui, ſuppreſſa mentione mariti, gloriam ingenii quæſiverat.* Notwithſtanding this teſtimony, we are, upon the whole, well ſatisfied with Dr. Kennet's argument and evidence on the ſubject. John, Biſhop Bayly's ſecond ſon, was born in Herefordſhire, became a ſojourner in Exeter College in 1611, and, under the care of Dr. Prideaux, made great progreſs in academical learning. He ſoon became a Fellow of the College, and, after he had completed the degree of Maſter of Arts, received holy Orders from his father, and, by his means, obtained one or two benefices. At length, being appointed one of his Majeſty's Chaplains, and Guardian of Chriſt's-Hoſpital, in Ruthyn, Denbighſhire, he took the Degrees in Divinity, and publiſhed in 1630 ſeveral ſermons (5).] K.

(5) Wood's Athenæ, Vol. i. col. 553.

BAYLY (Thomas), Doctor of Divinity, and ſon of Dr. Lewis Bayly Biſhop of Bangor (*a*), was educated at Cambridge; and, having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, was preſented by King Charles I. in May 1638, to the ſub-deanry of Wells, upon the promotion of Dr. William Roberts to the See of Bangor. In 1644, he retired, among other loyal Miniſters, to Oxford, and, in the month of Auguſt that year, was created Maſter of Arts, and ſoon after Doctor in Divinity. In 1646, we find him with the Marquis

(*a*) *See the preceding article.*

quis of Worceſter in Ragland-Caſtle, which that nobleman defended for King Charles I. againſt the Parliament army. But that caſtle being ſurrendered on the 19th of Auguſt in the ſame year, upon good articles, moſtly of Dr. Bayly's framing, he travelled into France and other countries; where having ſpent a conſiderable ſum of money, which he had gotten from the ſaid Marquis, he returned into England the year after the King's death. Having given offence by his writings (*b*), he was committed priſoner to Newgate; out of which he ſoon made his eſcape, and retired to Holland; where he declared himſelf a Roman-Catholic, and became a great zealot for that cauſe, often breaking out into rage and fury againſt the Proteſtant religion, which he had before preached and profeſſed. Some time after, he left Holland, and ſettled at Douay; and at laſt went into Italy, where he died [*A*]. We ſhall take notice of him as an author in the remark (*c*) [*B*].

(*b*) *See the remark* [*B*].

(*c*) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. i. col. 567, 568, 569.

[*A*] *He died in Italy.*] Anthony Wood tells us (1), he was informed by ſeveral Roman Catholics, that Dr. Bayly was received into the ſervice of Cardinal Ottoboni, and that he died in the Cardinal's family, whilſt his Eminence reſided at Ferrara as Nuncio from the Pope. But an Engliſh traveller aſſured our Biographer, that this was not true; that the Doctor was reduced to the neceſſity of turning common ſoldier; that he lived poor at Bononia; and that he ſaw his grave there. And this account was confirmed by Dr. Trevor, Fellow of Merton-college (younger brother to Sir John Trevor, ſome time Secretary of State), who was in Italy in 1659, and who ſeveral times told Mr. Wood, that Dr. Bayly died obſcurely in an hoſpital, and that he had ſeen the place where he was buried.

(1) Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 569.

[*B*] *He was an author.*] Soon after his return into England in 1649, he publiſhed a book, intitled, *Certamen Religioſum: Or, A Conference between King Charles* I. *and Henry late Marquis of Worceſter, concerning Religion, in Ragland-caſtle,* an. 1646. Printed at London, in *octavo*. The Doctor was blamed by the true ſons of the Church of England for publiſhing this piece, in which the Romiſh cauſe was ſet forth with great pomp; and it was looked upon by many as nothing elſe than a prologue to the declaring himſelf a Papiſt. Beſides, the orthodox party affirmed, that this *Conference* had nothing of the ſtyle of King Charles I. in it, and that the Marquis of Worceſter had not abilities to maintain a diſcourſe of religious matters with the King. There was publiſhed in 1651, *An Anſwer, with Conſiderations on Dr. Bayly's parenthetical Interlocution, by Hammond L'Eſtrange*; and C. C. i. e. Chriſtopher Cartwright of York, publiſhed *An Anſwer to* Certamen Religioſum, &c. *together with a Vindication of the Proteſtant cauſe.* Printed at London, 1651, in *quarto*. About the ſame time Dr. Peter Heylyn put out an advertiſement againſt it, as an impoſture, in his Epiſtle to the Reader, prefixed to the collection of King Charles's works, intitled, *Bibliotheca Regia*; in which the *Conference* is inſerted, but omitted in all other impreſſions of his Majeſty's works (2). The ſame year Dr. Bayly publiſhed *The Royal Charter granted unto Kings by God himſelf*, &c. To which he added *A Treatiſe, wherein is proved, that Epiſcopacy is* Jure Divino. It was afterwards reprinted at London, in 1656 and 1680, in *octavo*. In this piece, Mr. Wood tells us, the Doctor, like an unſkilful builder, *diruit ædificat*; what he rears with one hand, pulls down with the other, and is guilty of many egregious errors, a ſpecimen of which may be ſeen in a book, intitled, *Legenda Lignea* (3). And, amongſt many ſtories of his travels, having railed with great freedom at all the governments in Europe, he at laſt falls deſperately on that newly eſtabliſhed in England; which provoked a ſtrict inquiry after the author, and ended in his diſcovery and impriſonment in Newgate. During his confinement he wrote a piece, intitled, *Herba Parietis: Or, The Wall-flower, as it grows out of the Stone-chamber belonging to the Metropolitan priſon; being an Hiſtory, which is partly true, partly romantic, morally divine; whereby a marriage between Reality and Fancy is ſolemnized by Divinity.* Printed at London, in 1650, in a thin *folio*; in the Preface to which the author falls foul upon Peter Heylyn, whom he calls *a fellow without a name,* for the advertiſement above mentioned. He alſo tells us of his great ſufferings in the late civil war, in which, he pretends, he had loſt not only a thouſand pounds *per annum,* but his blood and his liberty; and he brags of the nobility of his deſcent, his father being a Peer, and his mother a Knight's daughter. Whilſt he lived at Douay, he gave the public a book, intitled, *The End to Controverſy between the Roman-Catholic and Proteſtant Religions, juſtified by all the ſeveral manner of ways, whereby all kind of Controverſies, of what nature ſoever, are uſually, or can poſſibly, be determined.* Printed at Douay in 1654, in *quarto*, and dedicated to Walter Montague, Abbot of Nanteuil, and afterwards of Pontoiſe. There alſo goes under Dr. Bayly's name, *The Life and Death of the renowned John Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter.* Printed at London in 1655, in *octavo*. But the true author of this work, Mr. Wood aſſures us (4), was one Richard Hall, Doctor of Divinity, ſome time Fellow of Chriſt's-college in Cambridge (of which Biſhop Fiſher was a member), afterwards Canon and Official of the cathedral church of St. Omers; who leaving it behind him at his death in 1604, it was eſteemed a curious piece, and as ſuch repoſited in the library of the Engliſh Benedictins at Dieuward in Lorrain. Afterwards ſeveral copies of it getting abroad, one of them fell into the hands of one Weſt; from whom it came into the poſſeſſion of *Francis a Sancta Clara* in 1623, and from him (as Mr. Wood was aſſured from his own mouth) to Sir Wingfield Bodenham; who, keeping it in his hands ſeveral years, with an intention to print it in the name of the true author, communicated it for ſome time to Dr. Bayly; who, taking a copy thereof, and making ſome alterations in it, ſold it for a ſmall ſum of money to a Bookſeller, who printed it at London under the name of Thomas Bayly, D. D. Mr. Wood adds, that he had ſeen a manuſcript life of Biſhop Fiſher, beginning thus: *Eſt in Eboracenſi Comitatu, octogeſimo à Londino lapide, ad aquilonem, Beverleiæ oppidum,* &c. Who the author was, he knew not; but thinks it not unlikely Hall had ſeen it, having been written before his time. There is another work aſcribed to our author, intitled, *Golden Apophthegms of King Charles* I. *and Henry Marquis of Worceſter.* Printed at London in 1660, in one ſheet *quarto*. But Mr. Wood tells us, they were taken entirely from another piece, intitled, *Witty Apophthegms delivered at ſeveral times, and upon ſeveral occaſions, by King James, King Charles* I. *and the Marquis of Worceſter.* Lond. 1658, 8vo, without the author's name. B.

(2) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 568.

(3) Printed at London, 1653, 8vo, c. xxxv i. p. 165, 166.

(4) *Ubi ſupra*, col. 569.

BAYNES (Sir THOMAS), an eminent Phyſician, and Profeſſor of Muſic at Greſham-college in London, was born about the year 1622, and educated at Chriſt's-college in Cambridge, under the tuition of the learned Dr. Henry More, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts about the year 1642 (*a*). In 1649, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*b*), after which time he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Phyſic. He went into Italy in company with Mr. Finch (afterwards Sir John), with whom he had contracted the

(*a*) *Communicated by the Rev.* Mr. Baker *of* Cambridge. *Apud* Mr. John Ward's *Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham college,* folio, Lond. 1740, p. 227.

(*b*) Regiſtr. Academ. Cantabr.

the ſtricteſt friendſhip [*A*]; and at Padua they were both created Doctors of Phyſic [*B*]. Upon the reſtoration of King Charles II. in 1660, Mr. Baynes and Mr. Finch returned into England (*c*), and the ſame year their Grace was paſſed at Cambridge, for creating them Doctors of Phyſic in that univerſity (*d*). On the 26th of February following, Mr. Baynes, together with Sir John Finch (*e*), was admitted a Fellow Extraordinary of the College of Phyſicians of London [*C*]. Dr. Petty having reſigned his Profeſſorſhip of Muſic in Greſham-college, Dr. Baynes was choſen to ſucceed him, the 8th of March 1660; and the 26th of June following, he and his friend Sir John Finch were admitted Graduates in Phyſic at Cambridge, in purſuance of the Grace paſſed in their favour the year before [*D*]. The winter following, this inſeparable pair of friends deſigned to have made a ſecond tour into Italy [*E*], but did not execute their deſign. The 20th of March 1663, they were elected Fellows of the Royal Society, upon the firſt choice made by the Council, after the grant of their charter, of which they had been members before (*f*), and, 'May 15, 1661, had, with ſeveral others, been nominated 'a Committee for a library (at Greſham-college), and for examining of the generation 'of inſects (*g*).' In March 1664, Dr. Baynes accompanied Sir John Finch to Florence, where that gentleman was appointed his Majeſty's Reſident, and returned back with him into England in 1670. Towards the end of the year 1672, Sir John being appointed

(*c*) Ward, *ubi ſupra*, p. 228.

(*d*) Regiſtr. Academ. Cantabr.

(*e*) *He had been knighted the 10th of the preceding month.*

(*f*) Ward, *ibid.* p. 229.

(*g*) *Journals of the* R. S. Vol. i. p. 18.

[*A*] Mr. Finch —— *with whom he had contracted the ſtricteſt friendſhip.*] This gentleman was of the ſame college with Mr. Baynes, and a pupil likewiſe of Dr. More's; and the lives and fortunes of theſe fellow-collegians were ſo interwoven, as to render their hiſtory in a manner inſeparable. They have a tradition at Chriſt's-college, that while Mr. Finch was a ſtudent there, Mr. Baynes, who was then his Sizar, took the liberty to admoniſh him with great tenderneſs of ſome miſconduct in his behaviour, which at firſt he reſented, but afterwards complied with his advice, and made him his conſtant and boſom friend. Mr. John Finch was younger brother of Sir Heneage Finch, afterwards Earl of Nottingham, and born about the year 1626. His admiſſion at Chriſt's-college does not appear by their regiſter, which is very imperfect (1). Anthony Wood tells us (2) he was educated in Grammar learning under Mr. Edward Sylveſter at Oxford, became a gentleman-commoner of Baliol-college about the fifteenth year of his age, and after he had taken one degree left that univerſity, upon the coming of the viſitors the year following. It appears by the Oxford regiſter, that he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts there the 22d of May, 1647. But it is certain from his epitaph, that he was pupil to Dr. More at Cambridge, as well as Mr. Baynes. And therefore there is ſome difficulty in reconciling theſe two accounts, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that, in the year 1642, when Oxford was a garriſon, Mr. Finch might for a time remove to Cambridge, and afterwards returning to Oxford, and taking his firſt degree in Arts there in 1647, leave it again the year following, and go back to Cambridge. Mr. Finch purſued the ſtudy of Phyſic with Mr. Baynes; and their friendſhip had then ſo firmly united them, that it is very probable they determined to proceed together through the ſeveral ſteps and advancements of life, ſo far as was conſiſtent with their reſpective circumſtances; for which reaſon Mr. Baynes, who did not take the ſecond degree till ſeven years after the firſt, might probably defer it till Mr. Finch by his ſtanding could do it with him (3).

[*B*] *They were both created Doctors of Phyſic at Padua.*] Mr. Finch was made Conſul of the Engliſh nation there, and likewiſe a Syndic of the univerſity; in which office he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that he was honoured with a marble ſtatue, and the great Duke made him public profeſſor at Piſa (4). The like honours were afterwards paid by that univerſity to another Engliſh Phyſician, Dr. William Stokeham (5).

[*C*] Mr. Baynes *and* Sir John Finch *were admitted Fellows Extraordinary of the College of Phyſicians of London.*] The order for their admittance being ſomewhat ſingular, I ſhall give it in the words of the regiſter. *Ob præclara Doctoris Harvæi, nobis nunquam ſine honore nominandi, ejuſque fratris germani Eliabi, in collegium merita, placuit, ſociis omnibus præſentibus, præterquam quatuor, Dominum Johannem Finch et Doctorem Thomam Baines (Patavii Doctorali laurea ornatos) adaucto tantundem in eorum gratiam ſociorum numero, in collegium ceu ſocios extraordinarios adſciſcere. Ea tamen lege et conditione, ne res hæc facile in exemplum trahatur*; i. e. 'In conſideration of the great 'ſervices done to the college by Dr. Harvey, whom 'we ought never to mention without honour, and his 'brother Eliab, it is reſolved, in the preſence of all 'the fellows, excepting four, to elect into the College, 'as fellows-extraordinary, Sir John Finch and Dr. 'Thomas Baynes, created Doctors at Padua, the 'number of fellows being increaſed merely for their 'ſakes; but on condition that this proceeding ſhall 'not be drawn into a precedent.' The reaſon of their admiſſion as *Fellows Extraordinary*, with the condition annexed that this *inſtance ſhould not be drawn into a precedent*, ſeems to have been, that the number of fellows, which at that time was limited to thirty, was then full: But by their new charter, granted by King Charles II. in 1663 (wherein the names of Dr. Baynes and Sir John Finch were both inſerted), the number was enlarged to forty (6); which in the reign of King James II. was increaſed to eighty: And ſince that time they have been limited to no certain number, but remain candidates a year before their admiſſion as fellows (7).

[*D*] — *in purſuance of the Grace paſſed in their favour the year before.*] The reaſons aſſigned for this grant of the univerſity are ſo much to the honour of both of them, and expreſs the great eſteem they had gained abroad in ſo full a manner, that I ſhall here inſert them in the original words. *Cum vir eximie nobilis Johannes Finch eques auratus, et Piſæ magni ducis Hetruriæ profeſſor publicus, et digniſſimus etiam vir Thomas Baynes, duodecim abhinc annis admiſſi fuerint apud nos Cantabrigienſes ad gradum magiſterii in artibus, et poſtea in externas regiones profecti, diuque apud Patavinos commorati, non ſine ſummo eorum applauſu, et Anglicani nominis honore, gradum doctoratus in medicina ibidem adepti ſint; in patriam demum reverſis ſuperiori anno iiſdem gratia conceſſa eſt, ut hic apud nos admitterentur ad eundem gradum, ſtatum, et honorem, quibus apud Patavinos prius inſigniti fuerant: At vero cum ipſimet in perſonis propriis ob importuna negotia, quibus impliciti et detenti ſunt, adeſſe non poſſint: Placeat itaque vobis, ut vir nobilis Johannes Finch admiſſionem ſuam recipiat ad dictum gradum, ſub perſona Doctoris Carr, in Medicina Doctoris; et Thomas Baynes ſuam itidem, ſub perſona Johannis Goſtlin, inceptoris in medicina; et ut eorum admiſſio ſtet eiſdem pro completis gradu et forma* (8). The high reputation they had gained at Padua, and the honour they did to the Engliſh name, are here aſſigned as the reaſons of their admiſſion to the ſame degree at Cambridge, which had been conferred upon them in that foreign univerſity. We learn alſo from this Grace, that they were admitted to their degree at that time by proxy; Mr. Finch being repreſented by Dr. Carr, a Phyſician, and Dr. Baynes by Mr. John Goſtlin, Inceptor in Phyſic.

[*E*] *They deſigned to have made a ſecond tour into Italy.*] For this purpoſe they had deſired and obtained the conſent of the College of Phyſicians, as appears by the following minute in the regiſter. *Sept.* 30, 1661, *Dominus Johannes Finch et Doctor Baines ſumma cum urbanitate veniam abeundi in Italiam a Domino Præſide petierunt, obtinueruntque.*

(1) *Communicated by the Rev. Mr.* Baker *of* Cambridge. *Apud* Mr. John Ward's *Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-college*, folio. Lond. 1740. p. 227.

(2) Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 58.

(3) Ward, *ubi ſupra.*

(4) Ward, *ibid.* p. 228.

(5) Stowe's *Survey of London*, B. vi. p. 89. Edit. 1720.

(6) Dr. Goodall's *Royal College of Phyſicians of London*, p. 70

(7) Ward, *ibid.*

(8) Regiſt. Academ. Cantabr.

the King's Ambaſſador to the Grand Seignior, Dr. Baynes was ordered to attend him as his Phyſician, and, before he left England, received from his Majeſty the honour of knighthood. Nine years after, Sir Thomas ſtill continuing in Turkey, the Greſham Committee, taking into conſideration his long abſence without ſupplying the duty of his place, thought fit to diſmiſs him from his profeſſorſhip, and, on the 9th of Auguſt 1681, choſe Mr. William Perry in his room. The news of this diſmiſſion could not reach Sir Thomas Baynes; for he died at Conſtantinople [*F*] the 5th of the following month, to the inexpreſſible grief of his dear and conſtant friend Sir John Finch, who did not long ſurvive him [*G*]. Their epitaph [*H*], written by Dr. Henry More, is yet to be ſeen in the chapel of Chriſt's-college; and therein it is ſaid, that they jointly left four thouſand pounds to that college (*b*) [*I*].

(*b*) Ward, *ib.* & p. 230, 231.

[*F*] *Sir* Thomas Baynes *died at Conſtantinople.*] His body was embalmed, and the bowels interred there, with a monument over them, by order of Sir John Finch; who ſoon after returning into England, brought the body with him, and ſent it to Cambridge, where it was depoſited in the chapel of Chriſt's-college, Sir John himſelf making a funeral oration in honour of the deceaſed (9).

(9) Ward, *ib.* p. 230.

[*G*] *Sir* John Finch *did not long ſurvive him.*] He died the 18th of November, 1682, at London, and, according to his own deſire, was carried down to Cambridge, and interred in the ſame grave with his beloved friend, being unwilling to be ſeparated from him in death, who had been his conſtant companion, and the partner of his fortunes ſo many years while living (10).

(10) *Id. ibid.*

[*H*] *Their Epitaph.*] It is as follows. *Effare, marmor, cuja ſunt hæc duo quæ ſuſtentas capita? Duorum amiciſſimorum, quibus cor erat unum unaque anima, D. Johannis Finch, et D. Thomæ Baineſii, equitum auratorum, virorum omnimoda Sapientia, Ariſtotelica, Platonica, Hippocratica, rerumque adeo gerendarum peritia plane ſummorum, atque hiſce nominibus, et ob præclaram immortalis amicitiæ exemplum, ſub amantiſſimi tutoris Henrici Mori auſpiciis, hoc ipſo in collegio initæ, per totum terrarum orbem celebratiſſimorum. Hi mores, hæc ſtudia, hic ſucceſſus; genus vero ſi quæris et neceſſitudines, Horum alter D. Heneagii Finchii equitis aurati filius erat, Heneagii vero Finchii comitis Nottinghamienſis frater, non magis juris quam juſtitiæ conſulti, regiæ majeſtati a conſiliis ſecretioribus, ſummique Angliæ Cancellarii; viri prudentiſſimi, religioſiſſimi, eloquentiſſimi, integerrimi; Principi, patriæ, atque Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ chariſſimi; ingenioſa, numeroſa, proſperaque prole feliciſſimi: Alter D. Johannis Finchii viri omni laude majoris amicus intimus, perpetuuſque per triginta plus minus annos fortunarum et conſiliorum particeps, longarumque in exteras nationes itinerationum indivulſus comes. Hic igitur peregre apud Turcas vita functus eſt, nec prius tamen quam alter a ſereniſſimo rege Angliæ per decennium legatus præclare ſuo functus eſt munere; tunc demum dilectiſſimus Baineſius ſuam et amici Finchii ſimul animam Byzantii efflavit, die V Septembris H. III. P. M. A. D. MDCLXXXI, ætatis ſuæ LIX. Quid igitur fecerit alterum hoc corpus anima caſſum, rogas: Ruit ſed in amplexus alterius, indoluit, ingemuit, ubertim flevit, totum in lachrymas, niſi neſcio quæ utriquæ animæ reliquiæ cohibuiſſent, defluxurum: nec tamen totus dolori ſic indulſit nobiliſſimus Finchius, quin ipſi quæ incumberent ſolerter geſſerit confeceritque negotia; et poſtquam ad amici pollincturam quæ ſpectarent curaverat, viſceraque telluri Byzantinæ addito marmore eleganter a ſe pieque inſcripto commiſerat, cunctaſque res ſuas ſedulo paraverat, ad reditum in optatam patriam, corpus etiam defuncti amici a Conſtantinopoli uſque (triſte ſed pium officium) per longos maris tractus, novam ſubinde ſalo e lachrymis ſuis admiſcens ſalſedinem, ad ſacellum hoc deduxit; ubi funebri ipſum Oratione adhibita mæſtiſque ſed dulciſſimis threnodiis, in hypogæum tandem ſub proxima area ſitum, commune utrique paratum hoſpitium, ſolenniter honorificeque condidit. Hæc pia Finchius officia defuncto amico præſtitit, porroque cum eo in uſus pios quater mille libras Anglicanas huic Chriſti Collegio donavit, ad duos ſocios totidemque ſcholares in collegio alendos, et ad augendum libris quinquagenis reditum magiſtri annuum: cui rei miniſtrandæ riteque finiundæ Londini dum incumberet, paucos poſt menſes in morbum incidit, febrique ac pleuritide, maxime vero Amici Baineſii deſiderio, adfectus et afflictus, inter lachrymas, luctus, et amplexus chariſſimorum, diem obiit, ſpeque beatæ immortalitatis plenus, pie ac placide in Domino obdormivit, Die XVIII Novembris H. II. P M N. A. D. MDCLXXXII, Ætatis ſuæ LVI, Londinoque huc delatus ab illuſtriſſimo D. Domino Finchio Heneagii Comitis Nottinghamienſis filio primogenito, aliiſque ejus filiis ac neceſſariis comitantibus, eodem in ſepulchro quo ejus amiciſſimus heic conditus jacet, ut ſtudia, fortunas, conſilia, imo animas vivi qui miſcuerant, iidem ſuos defuncti ſacros tandem miſcerent cineres* (11).

(11) Le Neve, *Monumenta Anglicana*, Vol. iii. p. 6.

[*I*] *They jointly left four thouſand pounds to Chriſt's-college.*] With that money were purchaſed in farm-rents two hundred pounds a year, for the maintenance of two Fellows, each to receive ſixty pounds a year; and two Scholars, each to receive twelve pounds a year; and fifty pounds a year towards the augmentation of the maſterſhip. Sir John was preſumed to pay moſt of the money, though he was willing that Sir Thomas ſhould ſhare with him in the honour of this donation, as in all other his laudable actions (12). B.

(12) Mr. Baker, *apud* Ward, *ubi ſupra*, p. 232.

[This inſtance of the long and inviolably mutual attachment, which took place with regard to Sir Thomas Baynes and Sir John Finch, ought to be added to the hiſtories of human friendſhip, which are ſo rare, and ſo beautiful when they do occur. Is it not probable that theſe two gentlemen imbibed ſomething of the noble enthuſiaſm they were inſpired with, from their tutor, Dr. Henry More; who was a man of the warmeſt and moſt generous affections; and a great adept in the Platonic philoſophy?] K.

[BEALE (MARY), a Lady of ſome note as a Portrait painter in the reign of King Charles the Second, was born in Suffolk, in the year 1632 (*a*), and was daughter of Mr. Cradock, miniſter of Walton upon Thames (*b*). She is generally ſaid to have been inſtructed in the rudiments of painting by Sir Peter Lely; but the truth of this is queſtioned by Mr. Horace Walpole; and, indeed, there is much reaſon for his doubts upon this ſubject [*A*]. She appears, however, to have been very aſſiduous in copying the

(*a*) Pilkington's Dictionary of Painters, 4to, 1770, p. 43. and Eſſay towards an Engliſh School of Painters, annexed to De Piles's Art of Painting, 2d edit. p. 358.

(*b*) Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting in England, vol. iii. p. 71. 2d edit.

[*A*] *She is generally ſaid to have been inſtructed in the rudiments of painting by Sir Peter Lely; but the truth of this is queſtioned*, &c.] Mrs. Beale's huſband minuted down almoſt daily accounts of whatever related to himſelf, his buſineſs, and his wife's pictures, in ſmall almanack pocket-books. He left above thirty of theſe, a few of which afterwards came into the hands of Mr. Vertue, the engraver; and ſome of his extracts from them have been publiſhed by Mr. Walpole *. One of theſe is as follows: '1 Aug. '1672. Dr. Tillotſon ſat to Mr. Lely about three 'hours for the picture he is doing for me; this is the 'fourth time, and I believe he will paint it (at 'leaſt touch it) over again. His manner in the painting of this picture, this time eſpecially, ſeemed 'ſtrangely different both to myſelf and my deareſt 'heart from his manner of painting the former pictures he did for us. This we thought was a more 'concealed, myſterious, ſcanty way of painting, than 'the way he uſed formerly, which we both thought 'was a far more open and free, and much more was 'to be obſerved and gained from ſeeing him paint 'then, than my heart could with her moſt careful 'marking learn from his painting either this, or Dr. 'Cradock's the works of that great maſter, as well as thoſe of Vandyke. She painted in oil, water-colours, and crayons, and had much buſineſs. Her portraits were in the Italian ſtyle, which ſhe acquired by copying ſeveral pictures and drawings, which ſhe borrowed from Sir Peter Lely's and the royal collections (*c*). The author of the *Eſſay towards an Engliſh ſchool of Painters* ſays, 'She was little inferior to any of her contemporaries, either for 'colouring, ſtrength, force, or life; inſomuch that Sir Peter was greatly taken with her 'performances [*B*], as he would often acknowledge. She worked with a wonderful 'body of colours, and was exceedingly induſtrious (*d*).' It appears that ſhe was greatly eſteemed and encouraged by many of the moſt eminent among the clergy of that time, by whom alſo her huſband was much reſpected. She painted the portraits of Tillotſon, Stillingfleet, Cradock [*C*], Patrick, Wilkins, Outram, &c. Her price was 5 l. for a head, and 10 l. for a half-length, in oil, which was her moſt common method of painting (*e*). Among others whoſe portraits ſhe drew were, the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Cornbury, the Counteſs of Derby, Sir Stephen Fox, the Duke of Newcaſtle, Lady Scarſdale, the Earl of Bolingbroke, Lady Dorcheſter, Lady Stafford, and the Earl of Clare (*f*).

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* In a 4to manuſcript, now before us, of Mr. Oldys's, is a reference to ſome extracts made by him from Mr. Beale's memorandum-books; but we have not met with any of theſe extracts.

(*c*) Walpole, *ubi ſupra*, p. 71.

(*d*) Eſſay towards an Engliſh School, *ut ſuprà.*

(*e*) Walpole, *ubi ſupra*, p. 75.

(*f*) Walpole, *ubi ſupra*, p. 79.

In the manuſcripts of Mr. Oldys, Mrs. Beale is celebrated for her poetry, as well as for her painting; and is ſtiled 'that maſculine Poet, as well as Painter, the incomparable Mrs. Beale.' In Dr. S. Woodford's tranſlation of the Pſalms are two or three verſions of particular pſalms by Mrs. Beale, whom, in his preface, he calls *an abſolutely compleat Gentlewoman.* He ſays farther, 'I have hardly obtained leave to honour this 'volume of mine with two or three verſions, long ſince done by the truly virtuous Mrs. 'Mary Beale, amongſt whoſe leaſt accompliſhments it is, that ſhe has made *Painting* and '*Poeſis*, which in the fancies of others had only before a kind of likeneſs, in her own to 'be really the ſame. The reader, I hope, will pardon this public acknowledgment, 'which I make to ſo deſerving a perſon, when I ſhall tell him, that while, as a friend 'and one of the family, I had the convenience of a private and moſt delightful retire-'ment, in the company of her worthy huſband and herſelf, I both began and perfected 'this paraphraſe.'

Mrs. Beale died on the 28th of December, 1697, at the age of ſixty-five, and was buried under the communion-table in St. James's church (*g*). She had two ſons, Charles and Bartholomew, who both exerciſed the art of painting. Charles, who was born in 1660, painted both in oil and water colours: but the weakneſs of his eyes did not ſuffer him to continue his profeſſion above four or five years. He lived and died over-againſt St. Clement's church, in the Strand, at Mr. Wilſon's, a banker, who became poſſeſſed of ſeveral of his pictures for debt; particularly of a double half-length of his father and mother, and a ſingle one of his mother, all by Lely (*h*). Her other ſon, Bartholomew, having little inclination for painting, relinquiſhed it, ſtudied phyſic under Dr. Sydenham, and practiſed at Coventry, where he and his father died (*i*). There is an engraving, by Chambars, from a painting by herſelf, of Mrs. Beale, and her ſon Charles, in Mr. Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England.*] T.

(*g*) Walpole, *ubi ſupra*, p. 81.

(*h*) Walpole, *ubi ſupra*, p. 82.

(*i*) Walpole, *ubi ſupra*, p. 81.

'Cradock's picture of his doing for Dr. Patrick (1),' Mr. Walpole infers from this paſſage, that what has been ſaid of Mrs. Beale being ſcholar to Lely is a miſtake. Her huſband, he obſerves, 'does not hint 'at it —— on the contrary, they (Mrs. Beale and her 'huſband) ſeem to have procured their friends to ſit 'to Sir Peter, that ſhe might learn his method of 'colouring —— and Sir Peter ſeems to have been 'aware of the intention (2).'

(1) Anecdotes of Painting in England, Vol. iii. p. 75, 76.

(2) Anecdotes, &c. *ubi ſupra.*

[*B*] *Sir Peter was greatly taken with her performances.*] In one of her huſband's pocket-books was the following paſſage: '1672, 20 April. Mr. Lely 'was here with Mr. Gibſon and Mr. Skipwith, to 'ſee us, and commended very much her (Mrs. 'Beale's) copy after our Saviour praying in the gar-'den, &c. after Anto. da Corregio: her copy in 'little after Endymion Porter, his lady, and three 'ſons, he commended extraordinarily, and ſaid (to 'uſe his own words) it was painted like Vandyke 'himſelf in little, and that it was the beſt copy he 'ever ſaw of Vandyke. Alſo he very well liked her 'two copies in great of Mr. Porter's little ſon Phil. 'He commended her other works, copies and thoſe 'from the life (3).' Sir Peter Lely has been ſpoken of as having a tender attachment to Mrs. Beale; but if there be any foundation for this, it ſeems to have been an unſucceſsful paſſion; for ſhe appears to have been ſtrictly virtuous, and in every reſpect of an amiable character.

(3) Walpole, *ubi ſupra*, p. 72.

[*C*] *She painted the portraits of Tillotſon, Stillingfleet, Cradock, &c.*] Mr. Walpole informs us, that the portraits of Dr. Tillotſon, Dr. Pierce, Dr. Cradock, Dr. Stillingfleet, and of four other perſons, by Mrs. Beale, are ſtill remaining at the Earl of Ilcheſter's, at Melbury in Dorſetſhire. 'Each head is 'incloſed in a frame of ſtone-colour; a mark that 'very generally diſtinguiſhes Mrs. Beale's works (4).'

(4) Walpole, *ubi ſupra*, p. 75.

In one of her huſband's pocket-books, for the year 1672, is the following memorandum: 'Received 'this year for pictures done by my deareſt heart '202 l. 5 s.' In 1674, her pictures produced 216 l. 5 s.; and in 1677, ſhe received for pictures 429 l. It appears, that ſhe and her huſband beſtowed about 2 s. in the pound of their income in charitable uſes (5).

(5) Walpole, *ubi ſupra*, p. 81.

BEATON, BETON, or rather BETHUNE (JAMES), Archbiſhop of St. Andrews in the reign of King James V. This famous Prelate was deſcended from a very ancient and honourable family, that came originally from France, but had been long ſettled in Scotland (*a*) [*A*]. His father was John Beaton of Balfour, and his mother Mary,
daughter

(*a*) Hiſtoire de la Maiſon de Bethune, par Du Cheſne.

[*A*] *Originally from France, but had been long ſettled in Scotland.*] This noble family takes its name from the town of Bethune on the little river of Brette in Artois, five leagues from Aire, and ſix from Liſle; and the firſt mention we meet with in hiſtory of theſe Lords of Bethune, informs us, that Robert the Firſt founded the collegiate church of St. Bartholomew in the year 999. He had ſix ſucceſſors of his own name, the laſt of which left his title and eſtates to William, ſirnamed the *Red*, father of Daniel and Robert the
VIIth.

daughter to Sir David Boſwell of Blamuto (*b*). We have no certain account of his birth, or of the manner of his education, except that being a younger brother, he was from his nonage deſtined for the Church, and with that view kept to his ſtudies (*c*). He had great natural talents, and having improved them by the acquiſition of all that ſort of learning faſhionable in thoſe times, he came early into the world, under the title of Provoſt of Bothwell; a preferment given him through the intereſt of his family (*d*) [*B*]. When he was once put into the road, he made a very quick progreſs in his journey; for having ſtept into his firſt benefice in 1503, we find him the very next year advanced to the rich and honourable preferment of Abbot of Dumferling, which abbacy became void by the death of the moſt noble Prince, James Stuart, Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, Duke of Roſs, and Chancellor of Scotland (*e*). A very ſhining teſtimony this was of his maſter's favour, but in 1505 he received ſtill a greater; for upon the death of Sir David Beaton, his brother, his Majeſty honoured him with the ſtaff of High-Treaſurer, and he was thenceforward conſidered as one of the principal Miniſters of the King his maſter (*f*). In 1508 he was promoted to the biſhopric of Galloway, on the death of Biſhop Vauſs, and before he had ſat a full year in that cathedral chair, he was removed to the archiepiſcopal See of Glaſgow, vacant by the death of Dr. Blackader, upon which he reſigned the Treaſurer's ſtaff, which was beſtowed on Dr Hepburn, Biſhop of the Iſles (*g*). This was in the year 1509, and his Grace ſeems to have taken this ſtep, in order to be more at leiſure to mind the government of his dioceſe: And indeed it is univerſally acknowledged, that none more carefully attended the duties of his functions than Archbiſhop Beaton while he continued at Glaſgow; and he has left there ſuch marks of concern for that church, as have baffled the ſtrong teeth of time, and, which is ſtill keener, the rage of a diſtracted populace (*h*). In a word, the monuments of his piety and public ſpirit which he raiſed at Glaſgow, yet remain and juſtify this part of his character [*C*]. It does not appear that he had any hand in

VIIth. The latter left behind him an only daughter Maud, who married Guy de Dampierre Earl of Flanders, who had by her Robert the IIId, firnamed de Bethune, who bore his father's title (1). William de Bethune, Lord of Locres, ſettled in France, where he died Auguſt 24, 1243, and from him deſcended the Dukes of Sully, D'Orval, and Charoſt, and all the families of the ſame name in France (2). It is a point out of diſpute, that the Scotch family are deſcended from the ſame ſtock with the French, but it is at the ſame time very certain, that the French writers are in the wrong to ſuppoſe that James de Bethune, who lived in the XVth century, was the founder of this family, ſince it appears, that Robert de Bethune was poſſeſſed of lands in Scotland in the reign of King William; and Sir David Bethune, who probably was his ſon, was living in 1296 (3). From him deſcended Robert de Bethune, who was of the houſhold to King Robert II. and marrying the daughter and heireſs of Sir John Balfour, chief of that family, obtained with her the lands of Balfour in the county of Fife; from whence this family has been ever ſince diſtinguiſhed by the name of Bethune, or, as it is commonly written in Scotland, Beaton, of Balfour. This, it ſeems, was their principal ſeat, and the family gained an eſtabliſhment by marrying this heireſs; but they retained nevertheleſs the name of Bethune, and quartered the arms of Balfour with their own, viz. quarterly 1ſt and 4th *azure* a *Feſs* between three *Maſcles*, *Or*, 2d and 3d *Argent* on a *Cheveron ſable*, an *Otter's* head eraſed of the *firſt* for Balfour, Supporters, two *Otters* proper, and an *Otter's* head for creſt, with the word *Debonnaire* (4). Beſides this, there have been ſeveral conſiderable families of this firname in Scotland, ſuch as the Beatons of Creigh, of Baudon, of Blebo, &c. but as they all derive themſelves from Beaton of Balfour, it is needleſs to dwell upon them.

[*B*] *A preferment given him through the intereſt of his family.*] He was remarkably happy at his ſetting out; for his brother, Sir David Beaton of Creigh, a very learned, wiſe, and prudent gentleman, was then a great courtier, and ſo much beloved by his maſter King James IV. that he raiſed him to the honour of being Comptroller of his houſhold; and on the death of Sir Robert Lundin of Balgony, in 1502, he made him Treaſurer of Scotland (5). But beſides the aſſiſtance derived to our Divine, by the intereſt of this brother, he was alſo in great credit with the powerful houſe of Douglas, from whom he received his firſt preferment, which was that of the Provoſtſhip of Bothwell. It may not be amiſs to ſhew what the nature of this preferment was, and how the family of Angus came to have the beſtowing of it. The reader then is to know, that there were in Scotland before the Reformation many collegiate churches of ſecular prieſts, and he who preſided over theſe canons was ſtiled Provoſt (6). The church of Bothwell was one of theſe, and belonged to the potent family of the Hepburns, Earls of Bothwell. But Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, one of the moſt potent noblemen in Scotland, making uſe of this ſaying, That when the King was angry he had nothing to do but to retire to his hermitage in Liddeſdale; King James IV. ſwore there was no keeping the kingdom in order while the Earl of Angus was poſſeſſed of that country, of which the Earl was no ſooner informed, than he reſolved to ſacrifice his own eaſe to the ſatisfaction of his maſter, and therefore conſented that his eldeſt ſon and heir, George, according to the Scots cuſtoms, ſtiled Maſter of Angus, ſhould exchange the lands of Liddeſdale for thoſe of Bothwell, which, with the King's conſent, was accordingly done in the year 1492 (7). And thus the Earl of Angus became patron of the college of Bothwell, which, upon the firſt vacancy, he beſtowed upon Dr. James Beaton; a plain proof that he came into the world under the powerful protection of this noble family, with which however he had very high differences afterwards, as in its proper place the reader will be informed.

[*C*] *Still remain and juſtify this part of his character.*] It may juſtly be obſerved, that there is no hiſtory of any country written with ſo much inaccuracy and confuſion as that of Scotland, in reſpect to which, even thoſe who might have been beſt acquainted with it, have committed ſtrange miſtakes. As for inſtance, Archbiſhop Spotſwood tells us expreſsly, that our Archbiſhop Beaton ſat in this See twenty-two years (8); if ſo, he muſt have been Archbiſhop in the year 1500, that is about three years before he had any preferment at all. But the truth is, that he was only fourteen years Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, during which ſpace he did many things for the honour of that church, and the convenience of his ſucceſſors, as a very careful writer tells us in the following words. ‘ While Archbiſhop Beaton was in the See, he incloſed his epiſcopal palace in the city of Glaſgow with a noble and magnificent ſtone wall of aiſler work towards the eaſt, ſouth and weſt, with a baſtion on one corner, and a tower on the other fronting the high-ſtreet, whereupon are fixed in different places his coat of arms, viz. quarterly firſt and fourth as the Heralds blazon it, a feſs betwixt three lozenges, two in chief, and one in baſe; ſecond and third a chevron charged with an Otter's head coupee, ſurmounted by a ſalmon fiſh, the arms of the See, and his archiepiſcopal croſs inſtead of a mitre and croſier, and the word *Miſericordia* for his motto

(*b*) Lives and Characters of the great Officers of Crown and State in Scotland, by G. Crawfurd, p. 61.

(*c*) Supplement to Dempſter's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. of Scotland, MS.

(*d*) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 61.

(*e*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 61.

(*f*) Charta in Rotulis, Jac. IV.

(*g*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 114.

(*h*) See Crawfurd's Account of his benefactions while Archbiſhop, in Note [*C*].

(1) André Hojus de Bruges, Deſcription, de Bethune.

(2) Hiſtoire de la Maiſon de Bethune, par Du Cheſne.

(3) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. vii. p. 358. See alſo the Commentary upon Ragman's Roll, at the end of Neſbit's Heraldry, Vol. ii. p. 14. 29.

(4) Neſbit's Heraldry, Vol. ii. p. 213.

(5) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 62.

(6) Appendix to Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland.

(7) Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 257.

(8) Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 114.

in thoſe fatal counſels, which drove the unfortunate King James IV. into his laſt war with England, which ended with the battle of Flodden-field, wherein the King loſt his life. With him fell the flower of his Nobility, and amongſt them Alexander, Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, and Chancellor of Scotland, his natural ſon, of whom Eraſmus has ſpoken with ſo much honour (*i*). By this fatal blow the kingdom was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, all minding rather their private advantages, than how to repair the public loſs. The Queen, by a very haſty and indecent marriage with the Earl of Angus, loſt the regency, about which the Nobility could not agree; and the Clergy who ought to have interpoſed their good offices, were all-together by the ears about the Archbiſhopric of St Andrews; ſo that, for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, it was found requiſite to ſend for John Duke of Albany, the young King's great uncle, from France, and to declare him Regent (*k*). He was a very wiſe and moderate Prince, but at the ſame time one who loved to make uſe of his authority, by which means he reſtored order and quiet in the State, and for a time ſatisfied every body. Among thoſe particularly diſtinguiſhed by his favour, was our Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, whom he raiſed to the office of High-Chancellor, and conferred on him other benefits, which ſhewed how much he eſteemed him (*l*) [*D*]. Some time after, when the Regent thought proper, or perhaps found it requiſite to go to France, he appointed (amongſt other great men) our Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, one of the Governors of Scotland in his abſence; and to prevent, if it had been poſſible, all diſputes amongſt them, they had different provinces aſſigned them (*m*). This was in 1517, but it did not anſwer the Duke-Regent's intention; for they quickly broke into parties, and this brought on ſuch confuſion, that they were content to devolve their whole power upon the Earl of Arran, nearly allied in blood to the King, and one of the moſt worthy Noblemen in the kingdom (*n*). Upon this, at his inſtance, and in order to reform the diſorders that were crept into the Government, a Convention of Eſtates was ſummoned to meet at Edinburgh on the 29th of April, 1520. On this day, the Earl of Arran, with the chief of the Nobility of the Weſt, aſſembled together in Archbiſhop Bethune's houſe, at the bottom of Black-frier-wynde; where, before the ſitting of the Convention, they reſolved to apprehend the Earl of Angus, alleging that his power was ſo great, that ſo long as he was free they could not have a free parliament (*o*). But as ſoon as the Earl was informed of their deſign, he ſent his uncle, the Biſhop of Dunkeld, to the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, then Chancellor, offering, if he had failed in any point of his duty to the reſt of the Lords, that he would moſt willingly ſubmit himſelf to the cenſure of the Convention, which was going then to meet; and the Biſhop himſelf, earneſtly beſought the Chancellor, that he would uſe his beſt endeavours with his friends to compromiſe matters, and prevent as much as poſſible the ſhedding of blood, which in a conteſt of that kind would be inevitable. The Archbiſhop, though he was as deep in the deſign as any of the party, and had put on armour to aſſiſt them in perſon, or at leaſt to animate others by his example, made the beſt apology for himſelf he could, and laid the blame wholly upon the Earl of Arran, who, he pretended, was diſobliged with the Earl of Angus upon many accounts, and after he had reckoned up the chief of them, he in the end concluded, *There is no remedy! Upon my conſcience, I cannot help it.* And in the heat of his aſſeveration he beat on his breaſt with his hand, which made the iron plates of the coat of mail under his caſſoc return a rattling ſound, which Biſhop Douglas perceiving, he gave his brother, the Archbiſhop, this ſevere and juſt reprimand. *How now, my Lord, methinks your conſcience clatters: We are Prieſts; and to put on armour, or to bear arms, is not conſiſtent with our character* (*p*). But the good Biſhop Douglas,

(*i*) Buchan. Hiſt. lib. xiii. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. viii. Drummond's Hiſtory, p. 227. Eraſm. in Adag. *concluding thus:* 'In ſumma, nemo fuit dignior 'qui ex Rege, & 'ex illo Rege, 'naſceretur.'

(*k*) Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 242, 243.

(*l*) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 62.

(*m*) Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 256, 257.

(*n*) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scotor. lib. ix.

(*o*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 263.

(*p*) Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 245.

'motto. But this was not all his benefactions to the 'See while he ſat here, for he augmented the altarages in the choir of the cathedral, over which he 'cauſed to be affixed his arms emblazoned in their 'proper tinctures, where they are ſtill to be viewed 'by the curious. He laid out alſo a good deal of 'money in building and repairing of bridges that 'were gone to decay at different places within the 'regality and about the city of Glaſgow, whereupon 'are his arms engraven, which will remain as perpe-'tual monuments of his charity (9).' At the time he ſat here, the famous Dr. Gawen Douglas, uncle to the Earl of Angus, and brother of the Archbiſhop's firſt patron, George, Maſter of Angus, was promoted to the See of Dunkeld, which being a ſuffragan to the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, Dr. Douglas went thither to be conſecrated. This was in 1515; and our Prelate, to ſhew how much he reſpected the new Biſhop and his family, entertained him and all his attendants magnificently, and moſt generouſly defrayed the whole expence of his conſecration (10).

[*D*] *Which ſhewed how much he eſteemed him.*] He gave him for the ſupport of his dignity the two rich abbies of Killwinning and Arbroth, which he held with his Archbiſhopric *in commendam*, and by this means drew him over from the faction of the Douglas's to his own party (11). But though this might ſatisfy both him and the Duke-Regent, yet it was ſo far from quieting the troubles and diſturbances in Scotland, that, on the contrary, it contributed to increaſe them. The Lord Hume, who had been the principal perſon in bringing over the Duke-Regent, was ſo ill treated by him, that he was forced to join with the Earl of Angus, and the Earl of Arran was alſo not very well affected to the adminiſtration. After many confuſions however (in ſome of which the Queen for her own ſafety fled to England, and her huſband reconciled himſelf to the Regent) things ſeemed to go better, and there was ſome appearance of the public tranquility being ſettled, when ſuddenly, and without any cauſe, proportioned to ſuch an effect, he ſummoned the Lord Hume and his brother, under colour of certain offences, and with the formality of Law cut off their heads. This ſo diſguſted the nobility, that the Duke-Regent finding himſelf hated by the common people, and his commands ſlighted by the Peers, repented he ever came thither, and reſolved to return to France; hoping that in his abſence they might forget what had lately happened, and recover that ſpirit of cordial love and affection towards him, which they had ſhewn when he firſt aſſumed the government, and which he thought he ſhould not have loſt by putting the Humes to death, ſince whatever the pretence might be, the true cauſe of that ſeverity certainly was the common fame, that the late King James IV. did not fall in battle, but was traiterouſly murdered by the Humes afterwards, which ſuppoſed fact he thus revenged (12).

(9) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 62.

(10) Supplement to Dempſter's Eccleſ. Hiſtory.

(11) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Rebus Geſtis Scot. lib. ix. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 241, 242.

(12) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv.

perceiving he was able to do little with the Archbiſhop, who ought, upon this occaſion, to have been a promoter of peace, but, inſtead of that, as Mr. Buchanan aſſures us, flew up and down like a firebrand of ſedition, left him: And thereupon enſued a hot ſkirmiſh, in which the Earl of Angus's party had the better. The martial Archbiſhop ſeeing the day loſt, and his friends defeated, fled for ſanctuary to the Black-friars church, and was there taken out from behind the altar, his rochet torn off him, and he would certainly have been ſlain, if Biſhop Douglas, from a tender regard he had for his character, had not interceded for him and ſaved his life (*q*). One hiſtorian indeed ſays, that the Archbiſhop fled on foot to the Queen; which poſſibly may be true, but then it muſt have been after he recovered his liberty, in the manner we have juſt now related (*r*). From theſe diſtreſſes he was happily relieved the next year, 1521, by the return of the Duke-Regent from France, who very ſoon reſtored the face of affairs, and ſome kind of order in the government, obliging the Earl of Angus to conſent, for the ſake of the public peace, to remain for a year in France (*s*). Affairs might have after this gone on well enough, if the Regent and the Clergy had not been bent upon involving the nation in war with England, to ſerve the purpoſes of the French, which, together with the ſuggeſtions of the Biſhop of Dunkeld, and other Scotch exiles, greatly incenſed King Henry VIII. againſt the Regent, the Chancellor, and all their party (*t*). In the midſt of theſe confuſions died Dr. Andrew Forman, Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, and Primate of Scotland, which opened a fair path for Dr. Beaton to ſet himſelf at the head of the Clergy (*u*), who were very well inclined to him, and very deſirous that he ſhould ſucceed: But however a great ſtruggle there was before he could bring his deſign to bear, and in order to it, he is charged (though I think without reaſon) with acting very ungratefully towards the Biſhop of Dunkeld (*w*) [*E*]. At laſt, in 1523, he became Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, not only by the favour of the Duke-Regent, but with the full conſent of the young King, who was at that time, and indeed all his life, chiefly governed by the Archbiſhop's nephew, David Beaton, for whom this great Prelate had ſuch a regard, that ſoon after his promotion he reſigned to him the rich abbey of Arbroth, or Aberbrothock (*x*). But this fair weather did not laſt long; for in the ſame year the power of the Regent was abrogated by parliament, the Earl of Angus returned from France, and by degrees made himſelf maſter of the government, and of the King's perſon (*y*). He was extremely incenſed againſt the Archbiſhop, drove him from court, and diſpoſſeſſed him of the office of Chancellor, obliging the King for that purpoſe to write him a letter, demanding the Great-Seal, which he very reſpectfully delivered, and ſome time after the Earl took upon himſelf the office of Chancellor (*z*) [*F*]. The

(*q*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scotor. lib. ix. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 264.

(*r*) Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 247. where he ſays the Chancellor fled on foot to Linlithgow.

(*s*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv.

(*t*) Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 266.

(*u*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 62.

(*w*) Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 241. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 62. Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 63.

(*x*) Epiſtolæ Jacob. IV. Jacob. V. & Mariæ, &c. Vol. i. p. 340.

(*y*) Buchan. Rerum Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas.

(*z*) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 67.

[*E*] *Very ungratefully towards the Biſhop of Dunkeld.*] This is charged very home upon the Archbiſhop's memory by Mr. Crawfurd, who, ſpeaking of the generous behaviour of Biſhop Douglas, when he delivered the Chancellor from the power of the mob, he proceeds thus; 'For which he made him afterwards a 'very ungrateful requital; for having an eye towards 'the Biſhopric of St. Andrews upon the death of 'Archbiſhop Forman, he was afraid of no competitor 'ſo much as of Biſhop Douglas, and therefore, to be 'rid of him, writes a letter to the King of Denmark, 'wherein he repreſents him as a perſon diſaffected to 'the government, and going about to infringe the 'privileges granted to the Scots nation by the holy 'See, endeavouring to be preferred to the Archbi'ſhopric by the intereſt of the Emperor and the King 'of England, then public enemies to Scotland, and 'therefore he intreats that King, that he would write 'to his miniſters at Rome, to inform his Holineſs 'that the Biſhop was under a ſentence of baniſhment 'becauſe of his demerits, and thereby put a ſtop to 'his ambitious deſigns (13).' This letter, which has been hinted at by ſeveral other authors, was long preſerved among other pieces relating to the hiſtories of thoſe times in the Advocates library at Edinburgh, which letters are now made public. This is dated from Edinburgh, April the 8th, 1522 (14), and the contents of it are as before ſet forth; but then it is to be conſidered, that the Archbiſhop was Chancellor of the kingdom, and therefore the only perſon that could write this letter by the order of the Council; that the facts mentioned therein were ſtrictly true, that is to ſay, the Biſhop of Dunkeld was at that time a fugitive in England, was actually practiſing to reſtore the affairs of his party by the aſſiſtance of the King of England, and was endeavouring to obtain the Archbiſhopric of St. Andrews and the Primacy of Scotland, not only without the conſent, but in ſpite of the will of his Prince and the States of the kingdom, by whoſe direction this letter was written to induce the King of Denmark to interpoſe at the court of Rome on behalf of the King of Scots, his nephew, to prevent the Pope from making Douglas Archbiſhop at that juncture (15). Such was the fact, and ſuch the circumſtances that attended it. The reader will therefore judge between theſe two Prelates, who, in point of ambition, ſeem very nearly to have reſembled each other, and at the ſame time he will remember, that the Chancellor muſt have written this letter in right of his office, whether he had any private intereſt in the affair or not; beſides all which it is certain, that but a very little before this the Earl of Angus and his faction had forced the Archbiſhop to fly for his life. Whatever his motives might be, moſt certain it is the letter produced no effect, for before it could reach the hand of the King of Denmark, the Biſhop of Dunkeld was in his grave (16), which perhaps might facilitate the Chancellor's ſcheme of becoming Archbiſhop of St. Andrews. Yet, with all the care I have been able to take, I have not been ſo happy to diſcover when he was promoted to this See: Only this is certain, that it was between the months of April and December 1523, ſince in the firſt he ſubſcribed himſelf Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and Archbiſhop of St. Andrews in the latter (17). It is certain, that his promotion was very critical, ſince the Duke-Regent loſt his authority ſo ſoon afterwards, which had he done before, there is no doubt but that Dr. Dunbar would then have ſupplanted him in the Primacy, as he afterwards did in the Chancellorſhip, when the King was at full liberty, and diſpoſed of the offices of ſtate at his own pleaſure (18).

[*F*] *Took upon himſelf the office of Chancellor.*] It was in the ſpring of the year 1523, that the Duke-Regent returned for the third and laſt time into France. Soon after which his authority was taken away by an act of parliament; for the Earl of Angus returning, quickly came to have ſuch an influence, notwithſtanding the ill terms upon which he ſtood with the Queen-Dowager his wife, that all things were directed by him and his creatures, and ſuch an intereſt he had in parliament, that on the 25th of February, 1525, an act paſſed, devolving the ſupreme authority upon a council of ſeven (19), viz. The two Archbiſhops, the Biſhops of Aberdeen and Dumblain, the Earls of Argyle and Lenox, and himſelf, into which Council

(13) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers of State, p. 62.

(14) Epiſtolæ Jacob. IV. Jacob. V. & Mariæ Reg. Scot. Edit. 8*vo.* 1722, p. 333.

(15) Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 268, 269.

(16) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 446.

(17) Epiſtolæ Jacob. IV. &c. p. 338. 342.

(18) See the article DUNBAR (GAWEN), Archbiſhop of Glaſgow.

(19) See Anderſon's Hiſtory of Scotland, MS. in the Advocate's Library at Edinburgh.

The Archbiſhop afterwards found means to revenge, in ſome meaſure, this uſage, by giving a ſentence of divorce, at the inſtance of the Queen, againſt the Earl of Angus; about the circumſtances of which, though hiſtorians differ, yet the fact is certain (a) [G]. When the Douglaſſes were driven from court, and the King recovered his freedom, the Archbiſhop came again into power, but did not recover his office of Chancellor, which was beſtowed upon Gawen Dunbar, Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, who had been the King's tutor (b), and ſtood very high in his favour. Our Archbiſhop reſided from this time forward in his own palace at St. Andrews, where, by the arts of the Clergy, and chiefly by the influence of his nephew, he was drawn to proceed violently in the perſecution of the Proteſtants, and actually cauſed the Abbot of Ferne to be burnt for a heretic, which drew upon him great odium (c) [H]. He went on afterwards in the ſame courſe as long as he lived,

(a) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix.

(b) Crawfurd's Lives of the Great Officers, p. 76.

(c) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 63. Knox's Hiſtory.

Council the Queen was to be admitted, and nothing was to be done without her advice. But it was not long that he was ſatisfied with this regulation, with which, while it laſted, he never complied, but managed all things at his own will; and therefore, by another act of parliament, dated the 17th of June, 1526, the King was declared of full age though but eighteen, and the adminiſtration placed entirely in his hands; that is, in the hands of the Earl of Angus, who kept him in his cuſtody, and made him the engine of his will (20). One of the firſt things he made him do after this alteration took place, was appointing a new Privy-Council, in which the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews was left out; and ſoon after the ſeal was taken from him, as is ſaid in the text; but the Earl did not aſſume to himſelf the title of Lord-Chancellor before the month of Auguſt, 1527, after he had entirely new modelled the court (21). It was no wonder that in this plenitude of power, the Earl ſhould perſecute a man whom he hated, whoſe parts he feared, and whoſe intereſt was very great, his niece having lately married the Earl of Arran, who was looked upon as the ſecond perſon in the kingdom. All this time King James V. was very little better than a cloſe priſoner, and though in public he profeſſed himſelf very affectionate to the Earl of Angus, yet he privately excited two attempts to reſcue himſelf out of that Nobleman's hands; one by the Laird of Buccleugh, in which ſome blood was ſpilt; the other by the Earl of Lenox, which likewiſe failed, and in which that noble Lord was killed: And as the Earl of Angus foreſaw what afterwards fell out, he endeavoured to ſecure himſelf from being called to an account for his conduct, by procuring an act of parliament in ſupport of it (22). But ſoon after, the King made his eſcape from Faulkland, and rode directly to the caſtle of Stirling, where the Queen, his mother, was; and from thence he preſently iſſued a proclamation, forbidding the Earl to act any farther in the government, taking from him all his places, and forbidding him, or any of his adherents, to come within twelve miles of the court. And in a parliament held the next year, he, and two of his neareſt relations, were adjudged guilty of high-treaſon (23), which put an end to his power during that reign, though he recovered it after the King's death. But as this has nothing to do with the preſent article, we ſhall not purſue it any farther, as deſiring only to ſhew how the Archbiſhop loſt his credit and power, and how, in ſome meaſure, he afterwards recovered them.

(20) Hume's Hiſtory of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 252.

(21) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 68.

(22) Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 253. Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 68.

(23) Buchan. Leſl. Drummond, *ubi ſupra*.

[G] *About the circumſtances of which, though Hiſtorians differ, yet the fact is certain.*] The riſe of this divorce was very early, for the Queen of Scotland, like her brother Henry VIII. was very apt to grow weary of the conjugal yoke; and this humour, though reſembling his own, that Monarch much diſliked in her, which contributed to retard this affair for ſome years. The firſt ground of the quarrel between the Queen and the Earl, was upon their retiring out of Scotland, at the time the Duke of Albany became Regent, when her Majeſty went to London; and the Earl remained on the borders: That is, in the year 1518, when it ſeems he had an amour with one Mrs. Stewart, daughter to the Lord Traquair, by whom he had a daughter, who was afterwards married to Lord Ruthven; of which the Queen having notice, ſhe was much incenſed againſt him; though, for her own purpoſes, ſhe frequently aſſiſted him even afterwards with her intereſt (24). However, coming at laſt to know, that the Earl's correſpondence with Mrs. Stewart, was earlier than her marriage, ſhe ſuggeſted that there was a pre-contract between the Earl and this Lady, which rendered her marriage void (25). Upon this, a ſuit was commenced, in the Conſiſtorial Court of the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, who, after mature deliberation, and no doubt, upon due proofs, pronounced a judicial ſentence of divorce, declaring the marriage to have been null from the beginning; but by an expreſs clauſe, the legitimacy of the daughter the Queen had by the Earl was ſaved, becauſe born under a marriage *de facto*, and contracted *bona fide* on the Queen's part. As ſoon after as this divorce could be confirmed by a Bull from Rome, the Queen-Dowager married Henry Stewart, brother to the Lord Evandale, who, on account of this marriage, was created Lord Methuen, the charter for erecting that barony being dated at Edinburgh the 7th of July, 1528 (26). Hence it appears, that Mr. Hume was miſtaken when he aſſerted, that the Queen did not prevail in her ſuit before the Pope, becauſe what ſhe alleged could not be proved; and that this increaſed her ſpite and hatred againſt the Earl, and ſet her to contrive by all the means ſhe could, how to deſtroy him (27): For it is impoſſible to conceive how the Queen could openly marry a third huſband in the lifetime of her ſecond, if ſhe had not obtained ſuch a divorce. It is indeed true, that her brother, King Henry, was very much offended with her upon this account: But then this aroſe from two cauſes, the firſt, That he held that ſcandalous in a woman, which he thought tolerable in a man; the ſecond, That this leſſened the intereſt of the Earl of Angus, to whom he always wiſhed well, and who was both the moſt proper, the moſt ſteady, and the moſt uſeful friend he had in Scotland (28).

(24) Hume's Hiſtory of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 249.

(25) Anderſon's Hiſt. of Scotland, MS.

(26) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 66.

(27) Hume's Hiſtory of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 249.

(28) Buchan. Leſl. Drummond, *ubi ſupra*.

[H] *Which drew upon him great odium.*] The clergy of Scotland at this time were all in the French intereſt, and bitter enemies to England, becauſe they looked upon King Henry VIII. as a friend to the Reformation (29). The Abbot of Aberbrothock, who governed at this time both his uncle the Archbiſhop, and the King his maſter, was zealous for the religion and for the court of Rome, which induced him to aim at ſtopping the growth of the new opinions, as they were called, by a vigorous proſecution. This was a thing to which neither his maſter nor his uncle were inclined; but his power was ſo great, and he had ſuch an aſcendency over both, as enabled him to carry his deſign into execution, with the aſſiſtance however of many of the Biſhops, who began to think that the Church was in the utmoſt danger, and came therefore very readily into that method, which this cunning and ambitious man perſuaded them would effectually anſwer the end, and tear up Hereſy by the roots, though it proved uneaſy to the Archbiſhop, fatal to the King, and in the end alſo, notwithſtanding all his artifices, no leſs fatal to himſelf, as the reader in the next article will ſee at large. The firſt that was called in queſtion was Maſter Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Ferne, a man nobly deſcended (for he was nephew to the Earl of Arran by his father, and to the Duke of Albany by the mother), and not much above twenty-three years of age (30). This young gentleman had travelled in Germany, and falling into a familiarity with Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon, Francis Lambard, and other learned men, was by them inſtructed in the knowledge of true religion; in the profeſſion whereof he was ſo zealous, that he was reſolved to come back into his country, and to communicate the light he had received unto others. At his return, whereſoever he came, he ſpared not to lay open the corruptions of the Roman Church, and to ſhew the errors crept into the Chriſtian religion, to all which many gave

(29) Petrie's Church Hiſtory, p. 171.

(30) Knox's Hiſtory of the Reformation of Religion in the Realm of Scotland, p. 4. Petrie's Hiſtory of the Catholic Church, P. ii. p. 171. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 62, 63.

lived, though probably, againſt his inclination, for, as one of his ſucceſſors tells us, he was naturally indifferent enough about religious diſputes (*d*). But as to eſſential points, and the promoting of piety and learning, he ſhewed a real concern, by founding the New-college in the univerſity of St. Andrews, which he did not live to finiſh, and to which, though he left the beſt part of his eſtate, yet after his death it was miſapplied, and did not come, as he intended, to that foundation (*e*). One of the laſt acts of his life was the being preſent at the baptiſm of the young Prince, born at St. Andrews the very year in which he died (*f*). His nephew acted for ſeveral years as his co-adjutor, and had the whole management of affairs in his hands; but the King retained to the laſt ſo great an affection for the Archbiſhop, that he allowed him to diſpoſe of all his preferments, by which means, his relation, George Dury, obtained the rich abbey of Dumferline, and one Mr. Hamilton of the houſe of Roplock became Abbot of Killwinning (*g*). Our Archbiſhop deceaſed in 1539, and was interred in the cathedral church of St. Andrews before the high altar (*h*). He enjoyed the Primacy of Scotland ſixteen years, and his character is very differently repreſented, according to the diſpoſitions of thoſe who have mentioned him in their writings (*i*) [*I*].

gave ear, and a great following he had both for his learning and courteous behaviour to all ſorts of people. The Clergy diſpleaſed at this, under colour of conference, enticed him to the city of St. Andrews, and when he came thither appointed Frier Alexander Campbell to keep company with him, and to uſe the beſt perſuaſions he could to divert him from his opinions. Sundry conferences they had, wherein the Frier acknowledged that many things in the Church did need to be reformed, and applauding his judgment in moſt of the points, his mind was rather confirmed than in any ſort weakened. Thus, having ſtaid ſome few days in the city, whilſt he ſuſpected no violence to be uſed, in the night, he was apprehended, being in bed, and carried priſoner to the caſtle. The next day he was preſented before the Biſhop, and accuſed for maintaining the articles following, viz.

I. That the corruption of ſin remains in children after their baptiſm.

II. That no man by the power of his free will can do any good.

III. That no man is without ſin ſo long as he liveth.

IV. That every true Chriſtian may know himſelf to be in the ſtate of grace.

V. That a man is not juſtified by works, but by faith only.

VI. That good works make not a good man, but that a good man doeth good works, and that an ill man doeth ill works, yet the ſame ill works truly repented make not an ill man.

VII. That faith, hope, and charity, are ſo linked together, that he who hath one of them hath all, and he that lacketh one lacketh all.

VIII. That God is the cauſe of ſin in this ſenſe, that he withdraweth his Grace from man, and Grace withdrawn he cannot but ſin.

IX. That it is a deviliſh doctrine to teach, that, by any actual penance, remiſſion of ſin is purchaſed.

X. That auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to ſalvation.

XI. That there is no purgatory.

XII. That the Holy Patriarchs were in Heaven before Chriſt's Paſſion.

XIII. That the Pope is Antichriſt, and that every Prieſt has as much power as the Pope.

It being demanded of him what he thought of theſe articles, he anſwered, that in his judgment the firſt ſeven points were undoubtedly true; that the reſt were diſputable, but that he could not condemn them without hearing better arguments offered againſt them, than any he had yet met with. Theſe propoſitions therefore were delivered to the Rector of the univerſity, and twelve other Divines, who, on the ſecond of March, 1527, delivered them back again to the Judges, with their certificate that they were heretical. Upon this judgment they founded their ſentence, which was ſubſcribed by the two Archbiſhops, three Biſhops, ſix Abbots and Friers, and eight Divines. The very ſame day he was transferred to the ſecular Judge, and by his order burnt that very afternoon (31). He ſuffered with great courage and conſtancy, and his death was ſo far from anſwering the intentions of the Clergy, that it promoted the Reformation exceedingly; ſo that in a very ſhort ſpace afterwards many publicly profeſſed their opinion, that Patrick Hamilton ſuffered unjuſtly, though for ſaying ſo one was burned (32). The Clergy, however, were for going on in the ſame track, and for ſtopping the mouths of ſuch as preached what they diſliked, in the ſame manner as they had done Hamilton's. The Archbiſhop moved but heavily in theſe kind of proceedings; and there are two very remarkable ſtories recorded to have happened about this time, which very plainly ſhew he was far enough from being naturally inclined to ſuch ſeverities. It happened at one of their conſultations, that ſome who were moſt vehement preſſed for going on with the proceedings in the Archbiſhop's court, when one Mr. John Lindſey, a very merry man, and in great credit with the Archbiſhop, delivered himſelf to this purpoſe: *If you burn any more of them*, ſaid he, *take my advice, and burn them in cellars, for I dare aſſure you, that the ſmoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton has infected all that it blew upon* (33). The other was of a more ſerious nature; one Alexander Seton, a black Frier, preached openly in the church of St. Andrews, that, according to St. Paul's deſcription of Biſhops, there were no Biſhops in Scotland, which being reported to the Archbiſhop, not in very preciſe terms, he ſent for Mr. Seton, and reproved him ſharply for having ſaid, according to his information, *that a Biſhop who did not preach was but a dumb dog, who fed not the flock, but fed his own belly*. Mr. Seton ſaid, that thoſe who had reported this were liars, upon which witneſſes were produced, who teſtified very poſitively to the fact. Mr. Seton, by way of reply, delivered himſelf thus: ‘My Lord, you have heard, and may conſider, what ears theſe aſſes have, who cannot diſcern between Paul, Iſaiah, Zachariah, Malachi, and Frier Alexander Seton. In truth, my Lord, I did preach that Paul ſaith, it behoveth a biſhop to be a teacher. Iſaiah ſaith, that they that feed not the flock are dumb dogs; and the Prophet Zechariah ſaith, that they are idle Paſtors. Of my own head I affirmed nothing, but declared what the Spirit of God before pronounced; at whom, my Lord, if you be not offended, you cannot juſtly be offended with me.’ How much ſoever the Biſhop might be incenſed, he diſmiſſed Frier Seton without hurt, who ſoon afterwards fled out of the kingdom (34). It does not appear, that from this time forward the Archbiſhop acted much in theſe meaſures himſelf, but choſe rather to grant commiſſions to others that were inclined to proceed againſt ſuch as preached the doctrines of the Reformation, a conduct which ſeems very fully to juſtify the remark of Archbiſhop Spotſwood upon our Prelate's behaviour. *Seventeen years*, ſays he, *he lived Biſhop of this See, and was herein moſt unfortunate, that under the ſhadow of his authority many good men were put to death for the cauſe of religion, though he himſelf was neither violently ſet, nor much ſolicitous (as it was thought) how matters went in the Church* (35).

[*I*] *Who have mentioned him in their writings.*] It may be eaſily conceived, that a perſon ſo many years in ſo high a ſtation, and in ſuch factious times, muſt have provoked many, and yet we do not find that even thoſe who were leaſt his friends could lay much to his charge. Mr. Hume, who diſliked all that were no friends to the family of Douglas, does not for all that bear very hard upon the Archbiſhop. Except in the buſineſs of the riot at Edinburgh, of which we have given an account before, and in ſpeaking of the Earl

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(*d*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 62.

(*e*) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. p. 450.

(*f*) Drummond's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 318.

(*g*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 67.

(*h*) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 63.

(*i*) Buchanan, Leſley, Spotſwood, &c.

(31) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſtoria, lib. xiv.

(32) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 65.

(33) Knox's Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. 16.

(34) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 64. Petrie's Church Hiſtory, P. ii. p. 172.

(35) Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 62.

of Angus attacking the caſtle of St. Andrews, and pillaging it, he adds, *He could not apprehend the Fox himſelf, who fled from hole to hole, and lurked ſecretly amongſt his friends* (36). The famous George Buchanan, who was obliged to fly for Hereſy a little after Mr. Hamilton was burnt, has no where ſpoken with heat or vehemence of the Archbiſhop: on the contrary, he ſtiles him a very prudent man; and ſpeaking of the violence with which the Earl of Angus perſecuted his enemies, he adds (37), *Neither did the* Douglaſſes *exerciſe their revenge and hatred leſs fiercely upon* James Beton, *for they led their forces to* St. Andrews, *ſeized upon, pillaged, and ruined his caſtle, becauſe they counted him the author of all the projects the Earl of Lenox had undertaken; but he himſelf went about in various diſguiſes, becauſe none durſt receive him openly, and ſo eſcaped.* The famous John Knox, who was no friend to Biſhops, mentions him frequently, and gives him this character: 'He was more careful of the world than to preach Chriſt, or yet to advance any religion but for the faſhion only, and, as he ſought the world, it fled him not; for it was well known, that at once he was Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, Abbot of Dunfermling, Aberbrothe, Kylwinning, and Chancellor of Scotland (38).' Yet he ſays nothing of him elſewhere particularly, except it be inſinuating that he had a leproſy (39), of which there is not a word mentioned by any other writer. Archbiſhop Spotſwood's character of him has been before given; but in another place he mentions ſome circumſtances relating to the Archbiſhop's behaviour, which ought not to be omitted. 'The Archbiſhop, James Beaton, ſays he, committed the charge of all Church-affairs to his nephew the Cardinal (who ſucceeded in his place), for he was aged and ſickly himſelf, and not ſeen often abroad. In his laſt days he began to erect the New college in St. Andrews, and ſet men at work to build the ſame: But neither lived he to finiſh the work, nor was the money he left in ſtore to that uſe rightly beſtowed. Some conteſting, ſome few years before, he and the Clergy had with the King, becauſe of the impoſition laid upon the Prelates for the entertainment of the Senators of the College of Juſtice, ſo that the matter was drawn by an appeal to Rome, and Gawen Dunbar, Biſhop of Aberdeen, appointed to proſecute the ſame. But this ceaſed upon an accord made, which was, that the Senate ſhould conſiſt of fourteen Ordinaries, with the Reſident, ſeven of the Spirituality, and as many of the Temporality, the Preſident always being of the ſpiritual eſtate, and a Prelate conſtitute in dignity. According to this appointment a Ratification paſſed in Parliament, anno 1537, and the Abbot of Cambuſkenneth was elected Preſident of the new Senate in the year 1539 (40).' But, as might be well expected, Dr. John Leſley, Biſhop of Roſs, gives our Archbiſhop the higheſt character in his hiſtory; where, ſpeaking of his death, he ſays, That after having long, with great reputation, enjoyed the higheſt offices in the State, the Archbiſhop, in a very advanced age, paid his laſt debt to nature, and was honourably interred in the cathedral of St. Andrews: That while he was yet alive, he diſpoſed of all the benefices which he enjoyed, which the King did not oppoſe, but ſuffered thoſe to whom he gave them freely to remain in poſſeſſion, that he might not ſeem to controvert the will of him dead, whoſe opinion he had always followed while living: That he began to build the new college at St. Andrews, and left wherewithal to have finiſhed it in the moſt beautiful manner, if the money had not been (to ſay no worſe) applied to other uſes than thoſe of the college. But this character, as drawn by its author, has ſomething in it ſo elegant, that we cannot better cloſe this life than by adding the author's own words, which muſt neceſſarily ſuffer by any tranſlation. 'Jacobus Betonius Archiepiſcopus Sanctandreapolitanus, qui maximis reip. honoribus, ſummaque gloria, apud nos quàm diutiſſime floruerat, ætate jam grandio naturæ concedebat, ac in æde Sancti Andreæ tumulo honorificè tegebatur. Hic Antiſtes quoſdam, quos egregiè caros habuit, vivus conſtituebat, ut in beneficio ſibi mortuo ſufficerentur. In Epiſcopatum autem Sanctandreapolitanum, ac in Abbatium Arbrothenſam, vir ſumma, prudentia, et animi magnitudine præſtans David Betonius Cardinalis, ejus ex fratre nepos, in Abbatiam vero Dunfermlingenſem Georgius Durius, in alia denique alii: quam illius voluntatem Rex non impedivit, quo minus illi, quos Archiepiſcopus ante obitum conſtituerat, beneficiis liberè fruerentur: ne cujus vivi mentem ſemper laudaverat, ejus mortui voluntatem malitioſè videretur recidiſſe. Hic Archiepiſcopus præcipuam illius Collegii, quod Novum Sanctandreapoli dicitur, partem ſuo ſumptu excitavit, ac maximam pecuniæ vim, qua reliqua pars inchoata perpoliretur, teſtato reliquit. Verùm pecunia illa in alios uſus poſtea traducta, Collegio jus (ne quid acrius dicam) perierat (41).' C.

[Lindſay of Pitſcottie, in his Hiſtory of Scotland, has mentioned a few particulars concerning Archbiſhop Beaton, which do not occur in the preceding article. When James the Fifth was about twelve years of age, our Prelate was choſen one of the Tutors and Governors to the King, in conjunction with the Earls of Angus, Argyle, and Lenox; and theſe four were to diſpoſe of all preferments and benefices, and to remain always with his Majeſty, in order to give him counſel in every thing pertaining to his own honour and the welfare of his country. But the Earl of Angus ſoon aſſumed all power to himſelf, drove the reſt, in a great meaſure, from the Royal preſence, and managed the King and Court as he pleaſed. Afterwards, in 1526, when James was deſirous of getting rid of Angus and his adherents, he ſent for Archbiſhop Beaton to aid him with his advice for this purpoſe. The Archbiſhop counſelled his Majeſty to apply to the Earl of Lenox, which being done, the Earl raiſed his vaſſals, and, having otherwiſe received aſſiſtance, marched towards Edinburgh. But being met, at Linlithgow, by the Earl of Angus and his party, and a battle having enſued, the Earl of Lenox was there ſlain. Our Prelate, having joined in this expedition, was obliged to abſcond; and for ſome time he kept ſheep in Bogrionnew, 'with ſhepherd's clothes upon him, ſays Lindſay, like as he had been a ſhepherd himſelf.' However, he was ſoon after reconciled to the Douglaſſes, in conſideration of his giving up certain tacks and tithes which belonged to him as Archbiſhop of St. Andrews (42.)

Notwithſtanding what is ſaid above in the Archbiſhop's favour, it ſeems that little can be alleged with regard to his excelling in that ſanctity of character which becomes a governor of the Church. He appears to have been merely a man of the world. Neither can his conduct as a perſecutor admit of any juſt palliation. For, though he might not be very active in his own perſon, it is evident, that, to the end of his life, he readily granted commiſſions to all who were deſirous of perſecuting the Reformed.] K.

BEATON, BETON, or rather **BETHUNE** (David), Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, Primate of Scotland, and Cardinal of the Roman Church. He was nephew to the Archbiſhop his predeceſſor, being the ſon of his elder brother John Beaton, or Bethune, of Balfour, by Iſabel his wife, daughter of David Moniepenny, of Pitmilly, in the county of Fife (*a*). He was born ſome time in 1494, and had all imaginable care taken of his education while at home, where having paſſed through the ordinary diſcipline of the ſchools, and of the univerſity of St. Andrews, he began to diſcover a pregnancy of wit, and an application to learning, which gave his relations great hopes of his becoming a conſiderable perſon (*b*). His uncle therefore being very deſirous to complete his education, ſent him over to France, where, in the univerſity of Paris, he perfected himſelf in the Civil and Canon Laws, and applied diligently likewiſe to Divinity, in order to qualify himſelf for the ſervice of the Church; and as ſoon as he attained to a

(36) Hiſtory of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 256.

(37) Rer. Scot. Hiſtor. lib. xiv.

(38) Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 4.

(39) *Id. ibid.* p. 22.

(40) Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 67.

(41) De Rebus Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. p. 450.

(42) Lindſay's Hiſt of Scotland, from Feb. 21, 1436, to March 1, 1563, 3d edit. p. 205. 211, 212. 216, 217.

(*a*) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. lib. ii. p. 88. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 44. Neſbit's Heraldry, Vol. ii. p. 213.

(*b*) Hay's Panegyrick on Cardinal Bethune.

proper age, entered into holy orders (*c*). His long ſtay in France was no way prejudicial to his preferment; for it gave him an opportunity of entering very early into the favour and ſervice of John Duke of Albany, whom the States of Scotland had made Regent, during the minority of King James V., by whom he was employed in ſeveral affairs of conſequence, in which he diſcharged his duty with ſuch diligence and capacity, that upon the death of Secretary Pantar, he was appointed in his place, Reſident at the Court of France, in the year 1519 (*d*). About the ſame time his uncle, then Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, beſtowed upon him the rectory of Campſay, though he was only in Deacon's orders, as appears plainly by the Act of Preſentation, in which he is ſtiled barely Clerk of the dioceſe of St. Andrews, ſo that he was beneficed in the Church, and a Miniſter of State at the age of twenty-five (*e*). In the year 1523, his uncle being now Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, Primate of Scotland, and Commendator of Arbroath, reſolved to reſign the abbacy in favour of his nephew; and for that end he prevailed with the Regent Duke of Albany, to write in the moſt preſſing manner, both in the young King's name and his own, to Pope Adrian VI., to expede and diſpatch the Bulls of his inveſtiture, and withal, requeſting his Holineſs, that, by the plenitude of his apoſtolic power, he would be pleaſed to diſpenſe with Mr. Bethune's taking on him, what they call the Habit, for the ſpace of two years, which the Pope, to gratify the King, granted (*f*) [*A*]. Theſe two years Mr. Bethune continued in France, and upon his return in 1525, we find him taking his place and ſeat in Parliament, as Abbot of Arbroath (*g*). Almoſt all the writers of the Hiſtory of Scotland, and even ſuch as have undertaken to give us the particular memoirs of this great man, have repreſented him, as falling ſomeway under a cloud after this time, through the great power of the Earl of Angus, into which they were led, by conſidering that nobleman's bitter hatred againſt his uncle the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews (*h*). But how probable ſoever this might make it appear, yet the fact, beyond all queſtion, is far from being true; ſince it appears from the very Act of Parliament, which conſtitutes the Earl of Angus one of the Regents, that the following perſons were appointed to attend upon, and to remain in the ſervice and company of the King, *viz.* the Biſhop of Orkney, the Earl of Morton, the Abbot of Holy-Rood-Houſe, the Lord Seaton, and our Abbot of Arbroath (*i*); ſo that it is plain, he had either wrought himſelf into ſome degree of confidence with the family of Douglas, or ſtood at that time in ſo great credit with the King, that even this powerful party did not think proper to remove him; which, as it is a circumſtance of his hiſtory not generally known, ſo it is certainly a very high proof of his eminent abilities (*k*). It does not appear, that in any of the ſubſequent changes of government, he was ever obliged to leave the perſon of his Royal maſter,

[*A*] *Which the Pope, to gratify the King granted.*] The Duke of Albany, while Regent of Scotland, had as many cares and difficulties to ſtruggle with, as any Prince that ever was intruſted with the management of the public affairs of a kingdom (1). His father had been baniſhed into France, where he was born; and it does not appear that he had intermeddled with the concerns of Scotland, or had any great intercourſe with the Nobility, before he was called upon by them to take upon him that high office, which he is allowed to have executed with great diligence and capacity (2). He depended very much upon the French King Francis I., and promoted, as far as in him lay, the intereſt of that monarch in Scotland, which was the only objection that was ever made, even by his greateſt enemies, againſt his adminiſtration. The oppoſite party were ſupported by, and acted wholly in favour of, King Henry VIII. of England, uncle to their King James V., and who profeſſed much tenderneſs and regard for his nephew. Thus the Nobility of Scotland were almoſt wholly divided into two factions (3); the *French*, at the head of which was the Regent, with whom ſided almoſt all the Clergy, and the greateſt part of the common people; and the *Engliſh*, of whom the principal perſon was the Earl of Angus, and to him many of the active nobility were inclined. The former of theſe factions charged the latter, with having little reſpect for their King, and ſtill leſs for their country, promoting their private intereſt by procuring penſions from King Henry, and implicitly obeying his commands to obtain them. On the other hand, the latter charged the former with being the abſolute creatures of a foreign power, enemies without any cauſe to the Engliſh nation, and ready to involve the King, though in his minority, in a very unequal as well as unnatural war againſt his uncle, purely to gratify France. It muſt be allowed, that the greateſt part of both theſe charges was true; and conſequently it muſt be owned, that there were many ſelfiſh Stateſmen on both ſides, and but very few patriots on either (4). I thought this explanation of the ſtate of affairs in Scotland, at the time of this great man's entering upon buſineſs, neceſſary, to give the reader a juſt notion of his future conduct; for by this the reader ſees, that he was brought up in, and brought in by, the French faction, in the ſervice of which he acted from his firſt ſetting out, and for which at length he ſacrificed his life. The procuring him this rich Abbacy was one of the laſt acts of the Regent, as it was one of the firſt of his uncle's after his coming to the See of St. Andrews. The letter written for the King to Pope Adrian VI., is conceived in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible, and therein the higheſt character is given of Abbot Bethune, who is ſaid to have given ſuch proof of his capacity and probity in the ſervices rendered to the Regent, during the time of his reſidence in France, and management of affairs there, as made him truly worthy of the King's favour and liberality; and therefore out of reſpect to the man's merit, the King moſt earneſtly deſires his Holineſs would yield to his requeſt (5). The Archbiſhop, likewiſe, in his letter preſſes the matter very warmly, and recommends his nephew very ſtrongly to his Holineſs's favour, both in this and in other reſpects. In the firſt letter he is ſtiled Prothonotary of the dioceſe of St. Andrews, and the King's Counſellor and domeſtic ſervant; and in the Archbiſhop's letter, he is called Chancellor of the Church of Glaſgow. It ſeems the Duke-Regent was very deſirous of having this young man provided for, as being both his own pupil and the King's favourite, and the perſon already fixed upon to have the principal management of the affairs of Scotland, at the courts of France and Rome (6), which he looked upon as of much conſequence to himſelf, though in reality it did him little or no ſervice, as he never returned to Scotland afterwards, but continued in France; where he received marks of favour from the King, and the higheſt proofs of gratitude from our Abbot, who always conſidered him as his patron, and the author of all his fortunes (7).

with

(*c*) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. lib. ii. p. 88. Sir David Lindſay of the Mount's Tragedy of Cardinal Bethune. Mackenzie's Scots Writers, Vol. iii. p. 19.

(*d*) Crawfurd's Lives of the great Officers in Church and State, p. 78.

(*e*) Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 68, 69.

(*f*) Epiſtolæ Regum Scotiæ, Vol. i. p. 339—342.

(*g*) Records of Parliament.

(*h*) Mackenzie's Scots Writers, Vol. iii. p. 19. Crawfurd's Great Officers of Crown and State in Scotland, p. 78. Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 252.

(*i*) Records of Parliament, in which this reſolution bears date July 17, 1526.

(*k*) See his Character, from the Supplement to Dempſter's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. in note [*O*].

(1) Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 16.

(2) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. ix. Leſl de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. xiv.

(3) See Sir Ralph Sadler's Account of his Negociation addreſſed to King Henry VIII.

(4) Drummond's Hiſt. of James V.

(5) Epiſtolæ Regum Scotiæ, p. 339.

(6) This appears from thoſe Letters before cited.

(7) Epiſtolæ David. Cardin. S. Andreæ. MS.

with whom he grew into ſuch a high degree of favour, that in 1528, on the reſignation of Biſhop Crichton of Dunkeld, he was promoted to the dignity of Lord Privy-Seal (*l*). In this capacity he aſſiſted the King with his counſels, and was looked upon to be the perſon in whom the King confided moſt. And there is good reaſon to believe, that it was by his perſuaſion the King inſtituted a College of Juſtice in 1530, after the manner that Philip IV. of France had eſtabliſhed a court of the like kind (*m*). He was alſo intruſted, in the year 1533, with a very important commiſſion, which obliged him to return to France, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Erſkine, with directions to give the Moſt Chriſtian King, the ſtrongeſt aſſurance of their maſter's, King James's reſolution, to adhere ſteadily to the alliance concluded between the two crowns at Rochelle, and to demand in marriage for him the Princeſs Magdalen, daughter to the French King, which marriage however did not then take effect, becauſe the Princeſs was at that time in a very bad ſtate of health (*n*). The Abbot of Arbroath was likewiſe intruſted with ſome other ſecret commiſſion at the French Court, where he continued for ſome time, and gave his maſter ſuch intelligence from thence, as enabled him to ſecure his peace with his uncle, at the ſame time that he was complimented and careſſed in the moſt extraordinary manner, by the Emperor and the Pope, both violent enemies to King Henry (*o*) [*B*]. It was during the time he was thus employed at the French court, that our Abbot laid the foundation of all his greatneſs, entering ſo deeply into the good graces of King Francis I., that he granted him many, and thoſe too very ſingular, favours; from whence it has been conjectured, that he was now admitted into the whole ſyſtem of the French Poli-

(*l*) Crawfurd's Lives of great Officers, p. 78.

(*m*) Drummond's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 297. Supplement to Dempſter.

(*n*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 303. The Commiſſion itſelf, which is ſtill extant, dated *Ex Regia noſtra Falklandiæ* 22° Februarii 1533.

(*o*) Supplement to Dempſter.

[*B*] *Both violent enemies to King Henry.*] The bold ſtep taken by King Henry VIII., in marrying Anne Bullen, alarmed all Europe, particularly the Emperor Charles V., and the Pope (8). They were both great Politicians, and therefore we need not wonder at their both thinking at once of the ſame expedient for diſtreſſing King Henry; which was to excite the King of Scots to take up arms againſt him, and attack his dominions on one ſide, while they were preparing ſeveral Princes on their ſide the ſea to attack him on the other. It was with this view that the Emperor, in 1534, ſent Goddeſcallo Errico, a Sicilian, round by Ireland into Scotland, to renew the antient treaties between the Emperor and King James, to carry him the order of the Golden Fleece, and to offer him his choice of three Ladies for a wife (9), *viz.* Mary the Emperor's ſiſter, widow of Lewis King of Hungary; Mary, Infanta of Portugal, his niece, by his ſiſter Eleanora; and his other niece, Mary of England, daughter of King Henry VIII., by Queen Catherine, the Emperor's ſiſter alſo. But the real and great deſign of his negotiation was to preſs the three following points, *viz.* To engage King James to eſpouſe the cauſe of the Emperor againſt King Henry, to irritate him againſt thoſe that were called Heretics, and to engage him to aſſiſt in the ſcheme then on foot, of calling a general council to ſupport the cauſe of the Pope againſt the King of England. As this embaſſy did great honour to the King of Scots, he treated the Ambaſſador with all the marks of reſpect poſſible; and in regard to what he propoſed, he teſtified the utmoſt eſteem for the three Ladies, but more eſpecially for Mary of England; and yet ſuggeſted, that the Emperor had another niece, Iſabella, daughter to the King of Denmark, more ſuitable in age and temper to become his conſort. At the ſame time, he offered to act as a mediator between the Emperor and the King of England his uncle; aſſured him of his great zeal for the Catholic religion, and promiſed to ſend his Clergy to the general council, in caſe that council ſhould diſcover a truly Chriſtian ſpirit for reforming abuſes in the Church (10). In the mean time, King Henry VIII. perſiſting in his reſolution of throwing off the yoke of papal tyranny, had cauſed Dr. Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, to be tried, condemned, and put to death, for denying his ſupremacy (11). This induced Pope Paul III. to ſend to the King of Scotland John Antonio Compeggio. This Legate finding King James at Faulkland, the 22d of February 1535, there with many ceremonies and apoſtolical benedictions, delivereth him a cap and a ſword conſecrated the night of the nativity of our Saviour (12), 'which the fame of his valour, and 'many Chriſtian virtues, had moved his maſter to re'munerate him with. Alſo *(ſaith the original)*, that 'it might breed a terror in the heart of a wicked 'neighbouring Prince, againſt whom the ſword was 'ſharpened.' The Pope's letter, which accompanied this preſent, was conceived in a very ſubmiſſive ſtile towards the King, though full of ſharp and indecent expreſſions againſt his uncle; alleging, that King Henry 'was a deſpiſer, a ſcorner, one who ſet at 'naught the cenſures of the Church, an Heretic, 'Schiſmatic, a ſhameful and ſhameleſs adulterer, a 'public and profeſſed homicide, murderer, a ſacri'legious perſon, a Church-robber, a rebel, guilty of 'leſe Majeſty divine, outrageous, many and innu'merable ways a felon, criminal by all laws, there'fore juſtly to be turned out of his throne; praying 'the King of Scotland, for the defence of the 'Church, would undertake ſomething worthy a 'Chriſtian King, and that he would endeavour to 'ſuppreſs Hereſy, and defend the Catholic Faith 'from thoſe againſt whom the juſtice of Almighty 'God and judgments were now prepared, and ready 'to be denounced.' The King of Scots entertained this miniſter very kindly, and gave him very good words, but without promiſing any thing more than to uſe his utmoſt endeavours with his uncle to reconcile himſelf again to the Church, and in the mean time to uſe his power to aboliſh and extinguiſh Hereſy in his own dominions (13). The Abbot of Arbroath, then in France, and in the higheſt credit with the King, who was a firm friend and ſteady ally to Henry VIII., took care to adviſe his maſter, that this was all artifice, and that the Emperor and the Pope aimed only at making him ſubſervient to their views, and a thorn in the ſide of his uncle (14). This induced King James to ſend back the Ambaſſadors as they came, with much ſhew of friendſhip, fair promiſes, and nothing elſe. But as he was ſenſible that King Henry could not fail of hearing of both theſe embaſſies, and of doubting their conſequences, he immediately, after the departure of the Legate, diſpatched Lord Ereſkine to London, to give his uncle a fair account of what had paſſed, and to give him likewiſe the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his living with him, not only in the moſt peaceable, but the moſt friendly manner poſſible (15). This gave his Majeſty ſuch ſatisfaction, that he immediately ſent his nephew the order of the Garter, and alſo diſpatched Lord William Howard as his Ambaſſador into Scotland, who, finding the King at Stirling, propoſed a meeting between him and his uncle at York, promiſing, that if he would condeſcend to this, and a few other points there to be mentioned, the King would give him his own daughter Mary, create him Duke of York, and Lord Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. But the Council expreſſing ſome diſlike to that match, as the Lady Mary was but a child, and the King the laſt heir male of his family; and at the ſame time doubting, whether it would be altogether ſafe for him to proceed ſo far as York, Lord William Howard took upon him to chide, brow-beat, and even threaten the Lords with his maſter's diſpleaſure. This rude behaviour proved fatal to both nations: it gave King James an ill opinion of the interview, and Lord William, on his return to London, infuſed into King Henry ſuch bad impreſſions of his nephew, as could never afterward be effaced (16).

(8) Herbert's Hiſtory of the Reign of Henry VIII., in Kennet's Collection, Vol. ii. p. 168. 183. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. i. p. 126. Hiſtoire des Papes, Vol. iv. p. 480.

(9) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix.

(10) Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 302, 303.

(11) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. i. p. 198.

(12) Drummond's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 304, 305.

(13) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix.

(14) Supplement to Dempſter.

(15) Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 307.

(16) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 307. Sadler's Letters, p. 47, 48.

tics,

tics, and engaged to keep his maſter cloſe up to the ſame plan, which, if true, it is no wonder the French monarch ſhould, by virtue of his prerogative, grant him all the privileges of a native of France, and afterwards confer upon him a biſhopric, favours not frequently beſtowed on ſtrangers, and never by ſo wiſe a Prince as Francis I., without juſt cauſe (*p*) [*C*]. To ſay the truth, theſe were not ſo much encouragements as rewards; for the Emperor having invaded France in 1536, King James reſolved to go with the flower of his nobility to his aſſiſtance; and knowing that this would be attended with much oppoſition, he kept his deſign ſo cloſe a ſecret, that though he was twice forced back by contrary winds into his own ports, yet he embarked a third time, and arrived ſafely at Dieppe in Normandy, before his deſign was ſuſpected either at home or in England (*q*). He went immediately to viſit the Lady Mary of Bourbon, daughter to the Duke de Vendoſme, to whom the French writers ſay he was already contracted. He did not deſire that this lady ſhould know him on his firſt arrival; but it ſeems ſhe was adviſed by letters from the Abbot of Arbroath, of the King's intention, and of the means by which ſhe might diſcover him, as ſhe did at firſt ſight. But it appears his Majeſty was not ſo well pleaſed with her as ſhe expected, and therefore continued his journey towards the French camp, but was met upon the road by the Dauphin, who conducted him to Paris, where he had all the honours paid him that he could deſire, and what he ſeemed to wiſh moſt, the Princeſs Magdalen, for whom he had ſent two embaſſies in vain, was given to him in perſon, whom with great pomp he eſpouſed on the firſt of January 1537 (*r*). The Abbot of Arbroath returned with the King and Queen to Scotland, where they landed on the twenty-ninth of May; but before the rejoicings were well over for her arrival, the Court was thrown into the deepeſt mourning for her death, which happened in the month of July following (*s*). It was not long after this, that our Abbot, in conjunction with one Maxwell, was ſent over again to Paris, to negociate a ſecond marriage for the King, with the Lady Mary, daughter to the Duke of Guiſe, and the widow of the Duke de Longueville, in which ſome time was ſpent; and it was during his ſtay at this time in the kingdom of France, that he was conſecrated Biſhop of Mirepoix, which was to make way for that higher dignity that was perhaps already intended him (*t*). All things being at length ſettled, in the month of June 1538, he embarked with the new Queen for Scotland, where after great hazard of being taken by the Engliſh, they ſafely arrived, and, in the month of July, their nuptials were celebrated at St. Andrews (*u*). Our Biſhop had now all the power and authority of the Archbiſhop, though he was no more in title than Coadjutor of St. Andrews; but this being thought inſufficient for the ends which he had undertaken to promote, he was, by Pope Paul III., raiſed to the dignity of Cardinal, by the title of St. Stephen *in Monte Cælio*, on the 20th of December 1538 (*w*) [*D*].

In

(*p*) Crawfurd's Lives of great Officers, p. 78. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 45.

(*q*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Rebus Geſt. Scotor. lib. ix. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 309, 310, 311.

(*r*) Abregé de l'Hiſtoire de France, par Mezeray, Vol. iv. p. 598.

(*s*) Buchan. Leſl. Drummond.

(*t*) Supplement to Dempſter.

(*u*) Buchan. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. Reb. Geſt. Scot. l. ix. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 318.

(*w*) Dempſter, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scotor. lib. ii. p. 88.

[*C*] *By ſo wiſe a Prince as Francis* I., *without juſt cauſe.*] The Kings of France, ſo long as Scotland remained an independent kingdom, affected to live upon very good terms with its Monarchs; and indeed it was their intereſt ſo to do, becauſe it afforded them an opportunity of creating powerful diverſions whenever they were attacked by the Engliſh. The deſire, therefore, of gaining to his intereſt a perſon who was known to have the ear of his maſter, was very natural to ſuch a Prince as Francis the Firſt, who had great deſigns, and underſtood perfectly well how to make a fit choice of ſuch inſtruments as were neceſſary to be employed in the execution of them (17). It was with this view that he always careſſed Dr. Beaton extremely, and perceiving that he was fond of being conſidered as deſcended of a French family, he laid hold of that circumſtance to bring him over wholly to his intereſt; and therefore in November 1537, he made him a grant, by which he was allowed to hold benefices, and acquire lands, as a native of France. In the ſame year he beſtowed upon him the Biſhopric of Mirepoix, a city in the county of Foix in Upper Languedoc, ſuffragan to the Archbiſhop of Toulouſe (18), a very conſiderable preferment in every reſpect, the revenue being no leſs than 10,000 livres *per ann.* which at that time of day was a large ſum, and enabled the Biſhop to make a great figure (19). Neither was this all; for we find that on the 30th of June 1539, he had a new grant made him in conſideration of ſervices already done, and which he might afterwards do his Majeſty, allowing him all the privileges of a native of France, and permitting his heirs to ſucceed to his eſtate in France, notwithſtanding they might be born and live within the kingdom of Scotland, and this without their having any particular letter or act of naturalization for that purpoſe. This grant, which was made after he was Cardinal, and which recites the grant formerly made him in 1537, ſtill remains in his family, and there is an authentic copy of it preſerved in the Advocate's library at Edinburgh (20). I have mentioned all theſe favours from the French King in one note, though granted at different times, that we might not be obliged to repeat matters relating to the ſame ſubject. There is a tradition in the Cardinal's family, that he obtained all theſe extraordinary marks of eſteem and confidence, in virtue of his perſonal intereſt with King Francis I. (21); but I conceive that they were beſtowed upon him rather from political motives, and, as the grant expreſſes, for ſervices done, and to be done, for the crown of France; and this I am the rather inclined to believe, becauſe he received none of them till after King James's voyage to France, and his marriage with Queen Magdalen, nor indeed till after her death, when the French King ſtood more in need of his ſervices in Scotland. As to his being made Cardinal, which all our Hiſtorians attribute alſo to the intereſt of the French Monarch, I muſt confeſs I doubt of the fact; not that I believe he might not have obtained that King's recommendation had it been neceſſary; but becauſe I apprehend there were other and more powerful motives which induced the court of Rome to grant him that and other favours, as will be more fully ſhewn in the ſucceeding note; wherein I hope I have ſet the true cauſes of his being promoted to that dignity in their proper light.

[*D*] *By the title of St. Stephen in Monte Cælio, December* 20, 1538.] It is very ſtrange that none of the authors of the Hiſtory of Scotland ſhould have given themſelves the trouble to enquire into the cauſes of our Prelate's being raiſed to the rank of a Cardinal, which was certainly a thing extraordinary enough to merit their attention, ſince, as far as I could ever learn, they had of their nation but one Cardinal before (22). I the rather wonder at this, and at the aſcribing his promotion to the influence of the King of France, becauſe I think it may be eaſily proved that the crown of Scotland had at that time credit enough at Rome to procure him this promotion. There was nothing the Pope ſo much aimed at, as attaching the Clergy both of England and Scotland

ſtrictly

(17) P. Daniel Hiſt. de France, Tom. VIII. p. 925, 926.

(18) St. Marthe Gall. Chriſt.

(19) Nouv. Deſcription de la France, par P. la Force, Tom. VI. p. 30.

(20) Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 44.

(21) Supplement to Spotſwood.

(22) Buchanan, Drummond, Spotſwood, Crawfurd, Mackenzie, &c.

In the February following, Queen Mary was ſolemnly crowned, with great ſplendour and magnificence, in the abbey church of Holy-Rood-Houſe. It was not long after this, that the Cardinal ran a great hazard of being turned out of his maſter's favour; for his uncle King Henry VIII., having good intelligence of the deſign upon which he was made Cardinal, ſent about this time a very able Miniſter of his to King James, with particular inſtructions to procure the Cardinal's diſgrace, in order to which the King had contrived a very deep and ſubtle ſcheme, which however had not the ſucceſs that he expected (x) [E]. A few months

(x) See Sir Ralph Sadler's Account of this Negociation in his Letters.

ſtrictly to himſelf, and it was this that put him but a very little before upon making Dr. Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, a Cardinal. When England was loſt, there was the more need to take care of Scotland, where the old Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, of whom we ſpoke in the former article, was equally unfit and uninclined to undertake ſuch a perſecution of Heretics as the Pope deſired; and as for the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, he was ſtill leſs inclined to ſuch warm meaſures than the Primate. It was neceſſary, therefore, to give the Popiſh Church of Scotland another head, and this could be no way done but by raiſing one of their Clergy to the rank of a Cardinal, and for this there was none ſo fit as our Prelate. He was then Coadjutor of St. Andrews, and from his capacity alone had acquired the entire management of the affairs of the Church; was of all the Clergy the beſt known to the court of Rome, and moſt truſted by it. Beſides all this, he had the entire confidence of the King his maſter, and therefore was of all others the fitteſt for this dignity. But if it ſhould be objected, that theſe are conjectures only, I ſhall deſire the reader to conſider the following paſſage from a letter of the Cardinal to Mr. Andrew Oliphant, his Agent to the court of Rome, which will put the matter out of queſtion, by ſhewing that he owed his promotion ſolely to the circumſtances of affairs, and to the neceſſity the Pope was under of managing the King his maſter (23).

(23) Sadler's Letters, p. 17, 18, 19.

‘We have received an inſtrument of poſſeſſion of our title, *ſub Stephano in Cœlio monte*, and we likewiſe have received our Bull of proviſion thereto, ſent to us lately by Mr. James Salmond, and have received all other letters and miſſives ye make mention of in your ſaid letters. As to the matter of Legation we deſire, and that the King's grace deſires to be granted to us, we underſtand perfectly your diligence with the Pope's Holineſs, and the Cardinal of Chinciis in that behalf; and how ſome of our own countrymen have done, and do, that they may by their private informations and perſuaſions for their own particular weal and money, that they get in theſe parts by particular commiſſions, *in conductionibus et locationibus in emphyteoſin*, and not having any regard to the common weal of the King's grace, his realm and ſubjects, to ſtop and make impediments that the ſaid Legation be not granted to us. And therefore in this matter, touching the ſaid Legation, ye ſhall have yourſelf ſecret from all Scotſmen, and labour therein, till by yourſelf and others our friends, *viz.* by the Cardinal of Chinciis, to whom the King's grace and we write preſently, in that behalf of the whilk ye ſhall receive the copy *cum præſentibus*; and alſo have written to Monſieur *Lymoges Langtah*, Ambaſſador there preſently, for the King of France, and likewiſe to *Latinus de Juvenalibus*, our good friends, to do for the King's grace effectuous deſire in this matter to have the ſaid Legation granted to us. And we aſſure you the King's grace has this matter right high in head and mind, for the common weal of his realm and ſubjects. And this, conſidering the great parts, he keeps to the ſiege apoſtolick and obedience thereof, and maintenance of the Faith Catholick in this his realm, now in this moſt perilous time, that his Grace ſhould not be denied of his juſt and reaſonable deſires, whilks tend all utterly to the auctorization of the holy ſiege apoſtolick, and obedience of the Pope's Holineſs, as head of the Kirk Catholick. And hereafter with the firſt ſhips his Grace will write of new to the Pope's Holineſs hereupon, that it may be underſtood perfectly, that this Legation is deſired by his Grace ſpecially, and not principally, by us; therefore do diligently herein, as we doubt not but ye will, as ye have begun, and write reſolutely to us hereupon in your firſt writings.’

Upon this letter we ſhall make a few obſervations. It appears to be entirely of a private nature, and therefore is the beſt authority with regard to the temper and ſentiments of the man; and from hence it very clearly appears, that though he thought he might claim the aſſiſtance of the French King's miniſter at Rome as a friend, yet it was not upon that, but chiefly upon the ſtate of affairs in Scotland, his own ſervices, and the King's influence, that he relied. It is to be obſerved, that the point he labours about the Legateſhip in this letter, was no more than this, that he might have a ſpecial faculty for the execution of that office as Archbiſhop Forman had, and not truſt barely to the Legantine authority annexed to the See of St. Andrews. It ſeems the court of Rome was a little ſtiff in this point, and did not come into it ſo readily as the Cardinal expected, which obliged him to write in the manner he did to his Agent, and the reaſon of this ſtiffneſs may very eaſily be gueſſed at. The Pope was liberal of his favours while he was only Coadjutor of St. Andrews, becauſe he thought them neceſſary to give him weight in Scotland, and to enable him to do the buſineſs of the Papacy; but now he was become Archbiſhop, Primate, and *Legatus natus*, he thought he had power enough, and what the Cardinal aims at in his letter, is to ſhew that this was a miſtake, and that the additional power he wanted did not ariſe from his own ambition, but was really requiſite to enable him to do what the Pope expected from him; and that this was the opinion of the Clergy in Scotland, and the deſire of the King himſelf. He therefore inſtructs his Agent to inſiſt upon the granting him this faculty, as a thing not of grace but of right, as it was for the good of the Church, and no more than one of his predeceſſors had obtained, and obtained upon the ſame reaſons from which he expected it ſhould be granted to him. Beſides this letter, we have another expreſs authority to prove that he obtained his promotion to the rank of Cardinal not by the mediation of the King of France, but from the immediate good will and pleaſure of Paul III., which is that of Biſhop Leſley (24), whoſe authority is good as an Hiſtorian, but is more particularly of weight in this caſe, becauſe he had a better opportunity of knowing things of this nature, as being intimately acquainted with the politics of the court of Rome, as well as with the ſtate of affairs in Scotland at that time. This point I have taken ſo much pains about, ſets the character of our Prelate in its true and proper light, and ſhews him to have been a man of ſuch parts and penetration, as to have raiſed himſelf to the higheſt dignities, of which his profeſſion was capable, not by the little arts of fawning and flattering, which it does not appear he ever uſed, but by his doing ſuch real ſervices as commanded thoſe rewards he received, and which therefore he regarded not in the light of favours beſtowed, but of preferments acquired by his merit and abilities. How far this was right, or how ſtrong evidences theſe may be of the haughtineſs of his ſpirit, and of that boundleſs ambition with which many writers charge him, muſt be left with the reader to determine: all I aim at is, to ſhew him as he was, and to draw his character neither better nor worſe than as facts direct. There are men who riſe by little arts, by low ſubmiſſions, and by a dirty kind of cunning; and there are others who arrive at the higheſt preferment by a more direct road, which is always the mark of a ſuperior genius; and of this kind that age produced various inſtances, ſuch as Cardinal Wolſey, and his ſucceſſor Thomas Lord Cromwell, men as proud and as ambitious as our Cardinal, and men, who, like him, forced their paſſages to the higheſt pitch of grandeur, by the ſervices they rendered to thoſe from whom their honours were received.

(24) De Rebus Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. p. 447.

[E] *Which however had not the ſucceſs he expected.*] By the publication of Sir Ralph Sadler's original Inſtructions and Letters, we are let entirely into the ſecret of this negociation, the main point of which was to procure the Cardinal's diſgrace. In order to this, months after, the old Archbiſhop dying, the Cardinal ſucceeded in the Primacy, whereby he was inveſted with as great or greater power, than ever any churchman had enjoyed in that kingdom.

King Henry, in his inſtructions, directs his Miniſter to repreſent to King James V., that the Cardinal held a correſpondence with traitors, was endeavouring to render himſelf in a manner independent of his maſter, by the powers he laboured to procure from Rome, and was entirely devoted to that See; in proof of which he was to produce a letter of the Cardinal's (cited in the former note), which if King James was much moved on the reading, he was to deliver, otherwiſe he was to pretend he had no commiſſion to part with it. How well this was executed, appears clearly from Sir Ralph's own account of the matter, which is ſo full, and ſo fully ſhews the temper of both theſe Kings, and the true nature of this tranſaction, that though it is of ſome length, and penned in the rough ſtile of thoſe times, I am perſuaded the reader will be glad to ſee it. We find it in a letter addreſſed to the King his maſter by Sir Ralph, which appears to have been written in the month of February 1540, and the paſſage (25) runs thus:

'The firſt thing, quoth I, that I have to declare unto your Grace, my Sovereign Lord and Maſter the King's Majeſty your uncle, requireth you to keep it ſecret, unleſs ye ſhall determine and promiſe to proceed thereupon, to the puniſhment of thoſe perſons which ſhall be detected according to your laws; and if your Grace ſhall ſo determine when ye have heard the matter, then the King's Majeſty, your uncle, is content to leave the opening thereof to your arbitry; but otherwiſe, his Majeſty would be loath to ſeem author of any ſuch thing, if your Grace ſhould not weigh it, and take it in heart, as he doth; for be ye aſſured, quoth I, whatſoever toucheth your Grace, or your honour, his Majeſty weigheth it as his own. Here he ſeemed to be very deſirous to know the matter, and ſaid, *I pray you what is it! for I aſſure you, whatſoever he be that doth offend us, or our Laws, he ſhall well know that we ſtand not in awe to ſee him puniſhed.* Sir, quoth I, this is the matter: It fortuned late, that a ſubject of your's, being ſervant as is reported to your Cardinal here, was by the rage and tempeſt of the ſea, driven a-land in the north parts of England, and very like to have been drowned. *Yea,* quoth he, *that was* Brunſtoun, *he is now newly come home.* Yes, Sir, quoth I, the King's Majeſty my maſter had advertiſed you of the matter afore this time, but he reſpited the ſame until the return of the man, becauſe your Grace ſhould both be ſure of the parties, and be advertiſed of the matter all at once. This Brunſtoun, quoth I, when he was thus on land, by chance left certain private letters and copies behind him. *No,* quoth he, *the letters were taken from him by the King mine uncle's officers.* Indeed, Sir, quoth I, the letters were found by the King my Maſter's officers, and ſent up to his Majeſty. *Well,* quoth he, *it is no force.* Now and it pleaſe your Highneſs, as I paſſed by Bamburgh, I met with John Horſley, Captain of the ſame, who, in communication, told me, that he had taken a packet of letters from certain Scotiſh men which were driven a-land there by tempeſt, and named the ſaid Brunſtoun to be one of them; and therefore knowing the ſame by that means, when the King of Scots told me that the ſaid letters were taken away from the ſaid Brunſtoun, I would not wade too far in the defence thereof, but thought to paſs it over, and proceed to the matter as I did, and ſo ſaid unto his Grace, that when the letters came unto your Majeſty's hands, and that your Grace had peruſed them, there appeared ſuch ſtrange matter in them, that your Majeſty could no otherwiſe think, but that God had ſent them to your hands for the ſurety and commodity of his Grace; for, quoth I, it appeared unto the King's Majeſty your uncle, by a letter ſubſcribed with your Cardinal's own hand here, that under colour to ſerve your Grace, being his Sovereign Lord, he laboureth to bring into his own hands, not only the whole ſpiritual juriſdiction of your realm, but under colour of it alſo the temporal, taking for cloak the Biſhop of Rome's uſurped power, which may ſerve him for a ſword, if he be ſuffered to enjoy the ſame: So that the juſt power and authority given you by God, as to a King, ſhould thereby in few years be little or nothing at all. And, Sir, for a plain declaration of his intent herein, he ſheweth himſelf to be a friend and fautor of your Grace's traitors, deviſing how to compaſs himſelf by a crafty mean, under the colour of the Biſhop of Rome's power, to be their judge, to the intent he might deliver them. *Which traitors I pray you,* quoth he. Marry, Sir, quoth I, as I conceive by the Cardinal's ſaid letters your Grace committed to ward one Hutchenſon and one Harvy for their treaſons and offences committed againſt your Grace, and to theſe your Cardinal, ſeemeth to be a great friend; and as it ſhall evidently appear to your Grace by his letter, he deviſeth to make himſelf their Judge, to the intent he would deliver them, and all for that he would ſeem to be a good workman for his chief Captain the Biſhop of Rome, for whoſe ſervice he is only meet, which meaneth nothing elſe than to uſurp Princes powers, and to diminiſh the ſame. And, quoth I, as this matter may declare unto you, the crafty dealing of thoſe Prelates, ſo by opening thereof your Grace may well perceive that the King's Majeſty your uncle doth both love and truſt you, and wiſheth to God that your Grace knew as well as he doth, to what ruin thoſe Prelates do labour to bring the ſtate of Kings, that they may be rulers of all, and keep Princes in their own realms, as their Miniſters and Deputies; or elſe by moſt deteſtable and impudent boldneſs vindicate the depoſing of them, and making of new at their pleaſure. In the declaration hereof I obſerved well his countenance, and perceived that he gave me an attentive ear, and ſomewhile looked very ſteadily on me, and with grave countenance; ſomewhile he bit the lip, and bowed his head. And when I had ſaid, and waited what he would ſay, he anſwered theſe words: *By my truth,* quoth he, *there are two laws, the Spiritual Law and the Temporal. The cure of the one pertaineth to the Pope's Holineſs, and the ſpirituality; the other to Kings, Princes, and the Temporality; and, for my part, I truſt I ſhall do my duty to God in the diſcharge of ſuch things as pertain to the Temporal power within my office and rule within this realm. But as for the Spiritual Law, in good faith we take no regard thereof, but commit that to the Pope's Holineſs, and other ordinary Miniſters of the Kirk within our realm.* Sir, quoth I, it may pleaſe your Grace to conſider, that God hath called you to be a King, and hath not only committed unto your charge, to ſee his Laws executed within your office and realm, as ſupreme head thereof, but alſo hath put the ſword into your hands for the puniſhment and reformation of the tranſgreſſions of the ſame. And thinks your Grace, that if the Miniſters of the Spiritual Laws within your realm, for that they know your Grace taketh no regard thereof, ſhall not do their duty, ſo that your people in their default ſhall periſh for lack of juſtice, and run headlong in blindneſs and ignorance of God's word, for lack of doctrine and true preaching of the ſame, by your Prelates and Clergy of your realm, think you, quoth I, in that caſe, if your Grace do not your Kingly office to redreſs the ſame, and appoint every man to ſerve in his vocation, that ye ſhall not yield a juſt reckoning thereof unto God. *Marry,* quoth he, *I truſt God ſhall give me Grace to do my duty to him; and whatſoever he be in Scotland, that we may know doth not his duty both in the execution of God's Laws above all, and alſo in the miniſtration of indifferent juſtice to our Lieges: By God,* quoth he, *if we may know him, we ſhall not lett to puniſh him, be he Spiritual or Temporal, in ſuch ways as appertains, and that (ye ſhall trow me) they know all full well. But by my troth,* quoth he, *I thank God Scotland was never in better love and obedience to no King of the ſame than they are unto me; and, I dare ſay, that there is no man in Scotland, either high nor low, but will do willingly and gladly whatſoever is my will and commandment. For,* quoth he, *they do both love and dread me. And for this matter which the King mine uncle hath advertiſed me of, touching this Cardinal, ye ſhall well know, that if he hath, or ſhall in*

(25) Sadler's Letters, p. 31—36.

kingdom. And it was very ſoon after his promotion to the archbiſhopric, that he diſcovered himſelf to be of a moſt warm and perſecuting temper *(y)*. For, to ſtop the progreſs of thoſe who oppoſed the eſtabliſhed religion, he brought a great confluence of quality, both clergy and laity, to St. Andrews, and there in the cathedral he made a ſpeech, to acquaint them with the increaſe of Hereſy, how the Catholic faith was inſulted, that Heterodoxy was openly maintained, and too much encouraged within the Court particularly: he mentioned one Sir John Borthwick, who had been cited to St. Andrews for diſperſing heretical books, and holding ſeveral opinions contrary to the doctrine of the Roman church (*z*) [*F*]. Sir John Borthwick appearing neither in perſon nor by

(y) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 69. Petrie's Hiſt. of the Catholic Church. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 10.

(z) Knox's Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. 23. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland.

‘ *any ways offend our Laws, we ſhall not ſtand awe of any man to puniſh him as he merits. But*, quoth he, *I know not but that he wrote to Rome to his Agent there for the procuring of a Legation, which, in good faith, ſhould be a benefit to our ſubjects, and we alſo did write to the Pope's Holineſs in the ſame.* Sir, quoth I, the King's Majeſty my Maſter hath ſent with me the original letter of the ſaid Cardinal, to the intent I ſhould read the ſame to your Grace, whereby you ſhall perceive all his crafty pretence; and, quoth I, if your Grace will ſee the letter, I have it here ready, and will myſelf read it unto you. *No*, quoth he, *keep the letter ſtill, we will take another time for it*; and that he ſpake to me very ſoftly, which I think he did becauſe the Cardinal was preſent in the chamber. And again he ſaid, *Let this matter paſs at this time, we ſhall talk more of it at our next meeting*.’—— The Ambaſſador took care to put King James in mind of his promiſe, and to give King Henry an account of what paſſed at it, which he does thus (26).

(26) *Ibid.* p. 55—57.

‘ Quoth I, your Grace may well perceive by the advertiſements that he hath now ſent you by me, and alſo by his friendly advices and counſels, that his Grace doth both love and truſt you. *By my ſoul*, quoth he, *I have adviſed me of the matter his Grace has advertiſed me of by you at this time touching the Cardinal here*; *and*, quoth he, *I can find no default in him*; *for when his letters were taken and holden in England, we heard of it, and aſked him thereof*; *and by God*, quoth he, *he had the doubles and copies of them, and ſhewed them all to us, and we remember not that any thing was amiſs in them*. Sir, quoth I, did your Grace ſee the double of a letter wrote to his Clerk and Agent at Rome. *Yea marry*, quoth he, *to one, that is all his doer there*. Well, Sir, quoth I, if your Grace do ſee the very original, then ſhall ye perceive if the double and it agree. Quoth he, *Have ye the original here upon you?* Yea, quoth I, that I have. *Take it out privately*, quoth he, *as though it were ſome other paper, and let me ſee it*. (The Cardinal was in the chamber, and therefore think I he bade me take it out ſecretly.) I took it forth of my boſom, and he took it, and read it ſoftly every word, from the beginning to the end; and in one place of the letter, *the Cardinal biddeth his Agent ſolicit, that nothing be done that might in any wiſe irritate the King's Grace and his Council againſt the liberties of the Holy Kirk, conſidering the time is perilous*. When the King did read theſe words, *By God*, quoth he, *they dread me*. Sir, quoth I, they know their own abuſes, and they fear leaſt your Grace ſhould find them. *By my truth*, quoth he, *if they do not well, ye ſhall ken that I will redreſs them*. When he had read the whole letter, he took it me again. And, quoth he, *In good faith I have ſeen the double of it word by word: But I have good cauſe to thank the King mine uncle, for I ſee well*, quoth he, *if his Grace ſhould ſee any thing that ſhould be to my diſpleaſure or diſhonour, he would advertiſe me of it*; *and by God*, quoth he, *I ſhall do ſicklike to him*. Sir, quoth I, doth not your Grace perceive by this letter the crafty pretences of the Cardinal? *Why*, quoth he, *wherein?* Marry, quoth I, he ſheweth himſelf to be a great friend to your rebels and traitors, and deviſeth to be their judge becauſe he would deliver them; and ſo your Grace may eaſily ſee how he laboureth to bring into his own hands both the ſpiritual, and alſo the temporal juriſdiction of your realm. *No, no*, quoth he, *I warrant you we ſhall uſe him and all his fellows well enough*; *if they do not their duties, I may tell you*, quoth he, *they may dread me. And as for thoſe men, Hutchenſon and Harvy, which ye name traitors to us, in good faith*, quoth he, *they are but ſimple men, and it was but a ſmall matter, and we ourſelf made the Cardinal the Miniſter both to commit them to the caſtle, and alſo to deliver them*. Sir, quoth I, the matter is as ye pleaſe to take it; but it ſeemed ſo ſtrange to the King's Majeſty your uncle, and in ſuch wiſe to touch your honour and ſurety, that he could not but advertiſe your Grace thereof. And if your Grace, quoth I, think ye may juſtly take any advantage thereof, ye may at your pleaſure; if not, the King's Majeſty prayeth you to compreſs it, and keep it ſecret to yourſelf. *Yes*, quoth he, *I warrant you his Grace ſhall hear no more of the ſame*. I aſſure your Majeſty he excuſed the Cardinal in every thing, and ſeemed wonderous loth to hear of any thing that ſhould ſound as an untruth in him, but rather gave him great praiſe.’

[*F*] *Contrary to the doctrines of the Roman Church.*] He was no ſooner become Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, and Primate, than he reſolved to give the ſtrongeſt proof of his attachment to the religion and intereſts of Rome; and therefore, in May 1540, he went to St. Andrews in ſuch pomp and ſplendour, as certainly no Primate of Scotland ever uſed before. He was attended by the Earls of Huntley, Arran, Marſhal, and Montroſe; the Lords Fleming, Lindſey, Erſkine, and Seaton, with many other perſons of diſtinction that were laymen; and he had alſo with him Gawen, Archbiſhop of Glaſgow and Lord High Chancellor, with five other Biſhops, four Abbots, and a vaſt train of Clergy beſide. In the preſence of theſe witneſſes he held, in wonderful ſtate and grandeur, a kind of viſitation or inquiry after Heretics, in which this Sir John Borthwick was condemned for Contumacy on the 28th of May, 1540, and his effigies was publicly burnt the ſame day in the market-place of St. Andrews, and a week after at Edinburgh (27). This proceeding of the Cardinal's did not very well anſwer his purpoſe; and therefore he had ſoon after recourſe to another method, which was to engage the King to iſſue a commiſſion for inquiring after Heretics, and to place at the head of it Sir James Hamilton, baſtard-brother to the Earl of Arran, a man of a barbarous and bloody temper, whom the King till this time had always hated (28) for many reaſons, but more particularly for his having killed the Earl of Lenox, when he had taken arms by the King's expreſs direction to reſcue him out of the hands of the Earl of Angus, as the reader has ſeen in the former article. The great point the King is ſaid to have had in view by ſetting up this terrible court was, the obtaining large ſums of money by the conviction of ſuch as were diſcovered to be favourers of the new opinions, that is, of the doctrines of the Reformation. The truth ſeems to be, that the King was very deſirous to increaſe his revenue, that he might be able to defend himſelf in caſe of being attacked, and to make a greater figure in Europe than any of his predeceſſors (29). To enable him to do this, there had been two ſchemes propoſed to him, one by his uncle Henry the Eighth, and the favourers of the Reformation, which was by ſuppreſſing monaſteries, and ſeizing the eſtates of the clergy; the other by the Clergy themſelves, to defeat this project of their enemies, and to ingratiate themſelves with the King; to which end they were for eſtabliſhing this dangerous court of Inquiſition; and of this it ſeems the King made choice, as being more agreeable to his ſentiments than the other. We are informed by a very good author, that the Clergy perſuaded the King he might by this means add to his income one hundred thouſand crowns of annual rent, by annexing the lands of Heretics convict to thoſe of the Crown; but in caſe this ſcheme of theirs failed, the Clergy offered to grant him fifty thouſand crowns *per ann.* out of their own eſtates for the preſent, and more if his neceſſities

(27) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 69, 70.

(28) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 310. 381.

(29) Spotſwood's Church Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 83. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p.3 9,330. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 12.

by proxy, the charge was taken for confeſſed; upon which he was declared a Heretic, his goods confiſcated, burnt in effigy, and all perſons prohibited to entertain or relieve him, under the penalty of excommunication. Being informed of theſe proceedings againſt him, he retired into England, where he was well received by King Henry, and honoured with a public character to the Proteſtant Princes in Germany. But Sir John Borthwick was not the only perſon the Cardinal proceeded againſt for Hereſy; for quickly after this, he proſecuted ſeveral others, ſome of them perſons of quality, for what he called the ſame crime, as Andrew Cunningham, ſon to the maſter of Glencairn, James Hamilton of Livingſton, and Mr. George Buchanan, the celebrated Poet and Hiſtorian; and they would all of them have certainly died, if they had not made their eſcape out of priſon: for the King having abſolutely left all men to the mercy of the Cardinal, one knows not what lengths he might have gone, if Providence had not prevented the execution of his bloody deſigns, by the death of the King; ſince it is ſaid, he had preſented to him a roll of three hundred and ſixty of the chief Nobility and Barons, as ſuſpected of Hereſy. In this black roll the firſt man was the Earl of Arran; and though ſeveral attempts were made to bring the Cardinal into diſgrace, or at leaſt to deprive him of his large and unlimited power, yet they were all unſucceſsful; for no mark or evidence appears, that the King did ever leſſen his affection to him to the hour of his death (*a*). On the contrary, it was by his influence that the King directed his troops to invade England; whereupon followed the diſmal overthrow of the army at Solway Moſs, which broke his heart, and occaſioned his death (*b*). But then it muſt be allowed, that the Cardinal acted ſo artfully, that though the general courſe of his conduct manifeſted ſufficiently his intentions, yet he hardly left it in the power of any of his adverſaries to make any thing out againſt him by proofs or particular facts (*c*) [*G*]. The King had none

(*a*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland. Drummond's Hiſtory of the five James's. Sadler's Letters.

(*b*) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 79.

(*c*) See the proofs of this in the notes [*G*], [*H*], and [*K*].

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ceſſities ſo required (30). It was upon this occaſion that the famous roll was made, which is mentioned in the text, containing the names of ſuch as were ſuſpected and might be proſecuted, in order to fix the King in a belief of the mighty advantages that were promiſed him from the execution of this barbarous deſign. That ſuch a roll there really was, and that the Earl of Arran was the firſt named therein, is beſt proved by the Earl's own teſtimony, who told this to Sir Ralph Sadler (31); but that it was found in the King's pocket after his deceaſe, is a little improbable, conſidering that the Cardinal is on all hands allowed to have been with his Majeſty at the time he died, and who, one would think, ſhould have ſecured this roll for his own ſake. But be this as it will, moſt certainly the ſcheme came to nothing; for Sir James Hamilton, while buſy in proſecuting others for Hereſy, was himſelf accuſed, convicted, and ſoon afterwards executed for high treaſon; and with him ended all endeavours to bring this project of the Clergy to bear, the King himſelf growing out of humour with it, and expreſſing upon many occaſions a ſtrong ſenſe of the ſeverity and baſeneſs of ſuch proceedings (32). Yet the Cardinal always found means to ſhift ſuch things from himſelf, and to keep as much in the King's favour as ever, in order to which he ſcrupled not doing any thing that might flatter the King's humour, and gratify his deſires; though in doing this he acted ſo cautiouſly, that he ſeemed to be rather obliged to do what he did from a principle of duty to his Prince, than to carry into execution any of his own advices (33). But notwithſtanding all his arts, many of the Nobility, who began to fear the King, and conſequently to hate him, looked upon the Cardinal as the great author of all theſe miſchiefs, and probably would have made him feel the weight of their reſentment, if he had not had ſo much addreſs as to keep a ſtrong party of the Nobility attached to himſelf; ſo that even after the King's death, by which he ſeemed to be expoſed to all his enemies, he made it clearly appear, that he had a ſuperior intereſt, and was able to do more with all ranks of people than any other perſon in Scotland, as the reader will ſee in its proper place.

(30) Drummond's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 330. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 12.

(31) Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 101.

(32) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 319, *&* *ſeq.* Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 30.

(33) Buchanan, Leſley, Drummond, Spotſwood, Keith, *&c.*

[*G*] *Make out any thing againſt him by proofs of particular facts.*] It was a maxim with this great Politician, from which he never digreſſed, *to run no needleſs hazards, and to decline none when they became neceſſary.* It was his conſtant adhering to that rule which preſerved him from ſuffering, as he otherwiſe would have done, in the various revolutions which he lived to ſee in the government of Scotland. It was report only that faſtened upon him the buſineſs of the roll, mentioned in the former note; for the Earl of Arran, then Governor of Scotland, told the Engliſh Ambaſſador *Sadler*, that it was the King himſelf, not the Cardinal, who procured that roll to be written (34). In like manner the common opinion was, that the Cardinal perſuaded the King his maſter not to go to the meeting at York, which occaſioned a great difference between him and King Henry. But when Sir Ralph Sadler was ſent a ſecond time into Scotland, the Cardinal ſent a meſſage to him, aſſuring him, that this fact was falſe; that he was able to prove it ſo; that he had always had as juſt a ſenſe of the great advantages that would reſult to both kingdoms, from the preſerving peace and friendſhip between them, as any man in Scotland, and had been as far from ſeeking to deſtroy them; and that, if he had an opportunity of paying his reſpects to King Henry, he did not doubt being able to ſatisfy his Majeſty in that reſpect (35). It is certain, that throughout the whole reign of the King his maſter, though his enemies at home and abroad were continually labouring to bring him into diſgrace, and in order thereto ſuggeſted many things againſt him, yet they were able to prove none (36). As for the capital imputation, that he meant to eſtabliſh the Pope's power over the Clergy, and to exerciſe it in Scotland himſelf, independently of the King, it never could make any impreſſion, becauſe his maſter very well knew that it was by his own intereſt and interpoſition that the Cardinal had obtained the power which he poſſeſſed, and that the great point he laboured with the Clergy was, to perſuade them it was better to grant a part of their revenues to the Crown for its protection and ſupport, than to rely on the ſole authority of the Church (37). It was likewiſe imputed to the Cardinal, that he gave the King a diſtaſte to his ancient nobility, adviſed him to leſſen their power, and to cut off the moſt potent; but whoever conſiders the great intereſt he had with the beſt families in Scotland in the lifetime of that King, the ſteadineſs with which they adhered to him through all his troubles after the death of that monarch, and his influence upon them to the very time of his own death, muſt be ſatisfied that they did not apprehend this charge to be well founded, or at leaſt that it could be proved; for if they had, no doubt they would have exerted themſelves to his deſtruction when they had him in their power, and not have laboured as they did to reſtore him not only to his liberty, but alſo to his former, and even greater, authority (38). But it is time to part with this ſubject at preſent, the rather becauſe in the ſubſequent notes we ſhall be able to ſet this point in a ſtill clearer light; from whence it will appear, that how often or how loudly ſoever he was accuſed, yet he was never proved guilty of any thing laid to his charge. We except only his ſeverity againſt the favourers of the Reformation, which, as it cannot be denied,

(34) Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 101.

(35) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 28. Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 154, 155.

(36) Supplement to Dempſter.

(37) Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 325, 326.

(38) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scotor. lib. ix. Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 82.

none ſo near him when he died as the Cardinal, which gave him an opportunity of forging a will for him, or at leaſt afforded a pretence for ſuggeſting that he forged it, which occaſioned its being ſet aſide, though he cauſed it to be ſolemnly proclaimed over the croſs at Edinburgh, in order to eſtabliſh the Regency in himſelf, the Earls of Argyle, Huntley, and Arran (*d*); and beſides loſing his deſign, the imputation has remained upon his memory, though perhaps there is no ſufficient authority to prove it [*H*]. By

denied, ſo it ought not to be excuſed: but in other parts of his life he ſeems to have acted with very ſingular addreſs, and in that, as well as other parts of his character, very nearly reſembled Cardinal Wolſey, made uſe of the ſame precautions, and with the ſame effect; that is to ſay, both defended themſelves from being in danger of capital puniſhments by legal proſecutions (39). In this indeed Cardinal Beaton ſeems to have had the better, that even his greateſt enemies never thought it in their power to procure any ſentence againſt him by a parliament; but whether this might not be owing rather to his influence over his judges than to his innocence, may very well be made a queſtion (40). In his lifetime, however, this circumſtance made wiſe and thinking men wonder much, as appears from what Sir Ralph Sadler tells his maſter King Henry VIII. at the time the Cardinal was in priſon, and the cry ſtrongeſt againſt him, that he could never learn from his bittereſt enemies *what it was they had againſt him* (41). So much it is in the power of a great man to guard againſt conviction, though he cannot avoid clamour.

[*H*] *Though perhaps there is no ſufficient authority to prove it.*] This is one great crime with which the memory of the Cardinal is ſtained; but it ſo falls out, that we have no very clear teſtimony to prove that he was really guilty of forging the King's will. The author, upon whoſe authority this has been chiefly believed, delivers himſelf thus (42). 'As for the 'Cardinal, he thinking that in theſe public calamities he might have an opportunity to aggrandize, 'that he might ſhew himſelf ſomebody, both to his 'own order, and alſo to the French faction, attempted a thing both bold and impudent. For, 'by the hired aſſiſtance of Henry Balfour, a mercenary prieſt, he forged a falſe will of the King's, 'wherein he himſelf was nominated to the ſupreme 'authority with three of the moſt potent of the Nobility to be his aſſeſſors. He was in great hopes 'that his project would ſucceed from the diſpoſſeſſion 'of the Earl of Arran, one of his aſſeſſors and partners in the government, who was not turbulent, 'but rather inclinable to be eaſy and quiet. And 'beſides, he was near of kin to him, for he was ſon 'to the Cardinal's aunt. Moreover, the opportunity to invade the ſupreme power ſeemed to require 'haſte, that he might be poſſeſſed of it before the 'exiles and captives returned out of England, that 'ſo they might have no hand in conferring this honour upon him, for he was afraid of their power 'and popularity. Neither did he doubt their minds 'were alienated from him upon the ſcore of a different 'religion. This was the cauſe, that preſently after 'the King's death he publiſhed an edict concerning 'the chuſing four governors of the kingdom.' He then proceeds to give us an account of King Henry's ſending back the Scots priſoners, and of the recalling the exiles, and then he reſumes his former ſubject thus: 'The Cardinal, who ſaw this ſtorm gathered 'againſt him, making no doubt but the priſoners 'and the exiles would be both his oppoſers in the 'Parliament, had taken care to be choſen Regent 'before their coming; but he enjoyed that honour 'not long, for within a few days his fraud in counterfeiting the King's will and teſtament being diſcovered, he was thrown out of place, and James 'Hamilton, Earl of Arran, made Regent, through 'a deſire which ſome had to ingratiate themſelves 'with him as the next heir to the crown. Others 'foreſaw ſo long before the cruelty of the Cardinal 'in matters of religion, and therefore provided 'againſt it by leſſening his power.' There is a very different account of this matter in a book of good authority, generally aſcribed to John Knox, and part certainly written by him, where, ſpeaking of the King's laſt ſickneſs, he writes thus (43): 'In the 'mean time, in his great extremity, comes the Cardinal (a fit comforter for a deſperate man). He 'cries in his ear, Take order, Sir, with your realm 'who ſhall rule during the minority of your daughter. Ye have known my ſervice, what will ye have 'done? Shall there not be four Regents choſen? 'and ſhall not I be principal of them? Whatever 'the King anſwered, documents were taken that ſo 'it ſhould be, as my Lord Cardinal thought expedient. As many affirm, a dead man's hand was 'made to ſubſcribe one blank, that they might write 'above what it pleaſed them beſt. The Cardinal 'having hired one Henry Balfour, a Prieſt, to make 'a falſe teſtament, which was done accordingly, but 'in vain. This finiſhed, the Cardinal poſted to the 'Queen, lately before delivered, as is ſaid.' Biſhop Leſley ſays nothing more, than that the Cardinal oppoſed the ſetting up the Earl of Arran as ſole Regent, becauſe the King by his teſtament had appointed four (44). We have ſeen that Buchanan ſays alſo there were four, of whom he names only the Cardinal, and the Earl of Arran: in Knox's hiſtory, mention is made of the Earls of Huntley, Argyle, and Murray (45). And Archbiſhop Spotſwood agrees with this, though he quotes Buchanan, who ſays no ſuch thing (46). Moſt certain it is, that the common reports charge not only the forging the King's will, but the King's death, upon the Cardinal. We find it in the margin of Knox's hiſtory, *that ſome did not ſtick to ſay the King was haſtened away by a potion* (47), which is however inconſiſtent with that hiſtory, wherein it is more than once ſaid, that the King foretold his own death. Drummond mentions this as a groundleſs rumour (48); but Melvil is clear that the fact was true, *viz.* that the King was poiſoned by the Clergy (49). Sir James Balfour is as clear, that there was nothing of poiſon in the caſe, but that the King died of a Lent fever (50). Of this, therefore, we may fairly acquit the Cardinal, eſpecially ſince neither Buchanan nor Knox ſo much as ſuggeſt that he was guilty. As for the forgery of the will, there is aſſertion, but no proof; and upon comparing the ſeveral accounts, I hope to be able to give a more ſatisfactory relation of this affair than we find in any of our modern hiſtorians, though they would be thought to have taken great pains in ſifting the matter (51). After the rencounter at Solway Moſs, in which a great body of Scots ſuffered themſelves to be defeated and made priſoners by a handful of Engliſh, becauſe they had a perſon appointed to command them whom they did not like, King James the Fifth died of mere vexation for what had happened, at Falkland in the county of Fife, which lies twelve miles weſt from St. Andrews, and about ten from the river of Frith, on the 13th of December, 1542 (52). He was, during the time of his ſickneſs, attended by the Cardinal, who, when he found him ſo near his end, deſired to know how he would have the affairs of the kingdom ſettled, and cauſed his anſwers to be ſet down and ſubſcribed a few moments before he fell into the agonies of death (53). On the 14th the Cardinal brought over the King's body to Edinburgh, and, with the Earls of Argyle, Marſhal, Rothes, and Arran, aſſiſted at his funeral. On the Monday following, the Cardinal cauſed himſelf and the other Lords to be proclaimed Governors; of whom, without doubt, the Earl of Arran was one (54). But Mr. Kirkaldy of Grange adviſed the Earl of Arran to call an aſſembly of the Nobility, and therein to demand his right of being Governor alone, as he was next heir, if the young Queen died, to the crown; which accordingly he did; and though this was moſt vehemently oppoſed by the Cardinal and his friends, it was carried notwithſtanding, and the Earl of Arran thereupon declared ſole Regent (55). But ſo little notion was there then amongſt thoſe who were well acquainted with the thing, that the Cardinal had forged the King's will, that it was amicably reſolved that he and the other Lords ſhould have free pardons granted them by the Governor for what they had done;

(*d*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Spotſwood, Knox, Petrie.

(39) See the Life of Cardinal Wolſey, by Mr. Cavendiſh, MS. differing from the printed copies.

(40) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. i. p. 291.

(41) Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 160, 161.

(42) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. p. 281, edit. Edinb. 1715, fol.

(43) Hiſtory of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 34.

(44) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. p. 463.

(45) Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 34.

(46) Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 71.

(47) Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 34.

(48) Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 345.

(49) Melvil's Memoirs, p. 6.

(50) *Apud* Keith, *ubi ſupra.*

(51) Keith's Hiſtory of the Church and State of Scotland, p. 25.

(52) Buchanan, Leſley, &c.

(53) Melvil's Memoirs, p. 6.

(54) Hiſtory of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 35.

(55) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. p. 463.

By this means he was entirely excluded from the government, and before the cloſe of the year 1542, the Earl of Arran was declared ſole Regent during the minority of Queen Mary, then but a few days old. This was done chiefly by the Lords inclined to the Engliſh intereſt, who being deſirous alſo of complying with a propoſal made by Henry VIII. for the marriage of the Prince of Wales to their young Queen, judged it neceſſary, before this came to be diſcuſſed in Parliament, to procure the Cardinal to be ſeized, and ſent priſoner to the caſtle of Blackneſs; after which they conducted all things at their pleaſure, and ſettled public affairs as they thought fit *(e)*. But this did not laſt long; for the Cardinal, though confined, raiſed ſo ſtrong a party, that the Regent ſcarcely knew how to proceed; and, which was ſtill more extraordinary, had gained ſo many of thoſe about him, that the Regent began to diſlike his former ſyſtem, and at laſt deſerting it, releaſed, and was reconciled to the Cardinal *(f)* [*I*]. This was un-

doubtedly

(e) Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters, p. 71. 169.

(f) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv.

done; which agreement was made December 25, 1542 (56). In the month of March following came Sir Ralph Sadler, and found the Cardinal a priſoner, and the Governor, at leaſt in appearance, bent upon his deſtruction. But notwithſtanding this, he ſome time afterwards granted him more liberty, though he did not care to own that, but pretended that it was done againſt his will; and therefore he inquired the Engliſh Ambaſſador Sadler's opinion, what he ſhould do with the Cardinal if he came to Edinburgh; and in the converſation upon this ſubject, which we have in Sadler's letters, there is an account of this matter, which, from what has been ſaid before, may be very eaſily underſtood, and ſets the whole in a very clear light (57). ‘My Lord, quoth I, I am not able to give you advice; but if it may pleaſe you to tell me what ye have to charge him withal, and for what cauſe he was apprehended, I will tell you, quoth I, mine opinion. Marry, quoth he, the principal matter whereupon he was taken, was upon knowledge that we had by a letter from my Lord Warden, my Lord Lyſle, quoth he, that the Cardinal had procured the Duke of Guiſe to come hither with an army to ſubdue this realm, and take the government of the ſame, whereof now, quoth he, we have no proofs; nor we perceive not, quoth he, that the ſame was true; nevertheleſs, quoth he, we have other matters to charge him with, for he did forge, quoth he, the late King's teſtament; and when the King was even almoſt dead, quoth he, took his hand in his, and ſo cauſed him to ſubſcribe a blank paper; and beſides that, quoth he, ſince he was priſoner, he has given ſpecial and ſecret command to his men to keep his hold and caſtle of St. Andrews againſt us, which, quoth he, is a plain diſobedience and rebellion. I engrieved theſe crimes as much as I could, and told him that I heard ſay he had forgiven and pardoned the Cardinal of that crime in forging of the King's teſtament, as indeed, communing yeſterday with the Lord Summervile in that matter, he told me it was ſo; nevertheleſs the Governor aſſured me, that he never gave the Cardinal remiſſion for the ſame.’

(56) Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 35.

(57) Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 160, 161.

[*I*] *Releaſed, and was reconciled to the Cardinal.*] The dates, and even the facts, in this part of the hiſtory are ſo perplexed and differently told, that there cannot be a more difficult taſk than to endeavour to ſet them in a plain light. In the text we have ſhewn, that the Governor was perſuaded by the partizans of King Henry, whom the Scottiſh writers call *the Engliſh Lords*, to ſeize upon the Cardinal, and ſend him priſoner to Blackneſs, on the ſouth ſide of the river Forth, ten miles from Leith, in the cuſtody of the Lord Seaton, where he continued during the time the Parliament was held, and the treaty with England for the marriage of Edward, Prince of Wales, and Mary, Queen of Scots, was concluded (58). The Queen Dowager, however, and many of the Nobility, ſhewed great concern for him, and laboured all they could to prevail upon the Governor to ſet him at liberty. In the mean time, the Cardinal took better methods himſelf, for he offered the Lord Seaton a conſiderable gratification, and his conſtant friendſhip, if he would transfer him to St. Andrews, which, before the end of the month of March 1543, he did with the conſent of the Governor, notwithſtanding the Engliſh Ambaſſador had laboured to have the Cardinal ſent into England (59). At St. Andrews he was at full liberty, and actually called there an aſſembly of the Clergy, which met upon the 25th of May, and was adjourned to the 1ſt of June, for which he had the Governor's permiſſion, though the latter pretended he had not. In this aſſembly of the Clergy, the Cardinal ſhewed them, that nothing could preſerve the Church as it was then conſtituted, but their raiſing a ſum of money ſufficient to defeat the intended match with England; which, in conſequence of his arguments, he obtained (60). When this was done, the Earls of Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell, and Murray, raiſed a force ſufficient, and coming down to Linlithgow, carried off the two Queens to Stirling, and endeavoured to prevent the meeting of the Parliament, which the Governor had ſummoned for the 25th of Auguſt, which however they could not do; but the Governor, and ſuch as were of his party, actually met, and ratified the two treaties of peace and marriage with the crown of England, under the Great Seal (61). But the very day after he had done this, the Governor ſet out for St. Andrews, pretending that he would force the Cardinal to a ſubmiſſion, or puſh all things againſt him farther than ever; and accordingly, upon his coming to St. Andrews, and the Cardinal not coming out of his caſtle to meet him, he cauſed him to be proclaimed a rebel openly in his town of St. Andrews; which had ſuch an effect upon Sir Ralph Sadler, that he really expected that a civil war would have broke out, and therefore wrote very earneſtly into England, to procure aſſiſtance for the Governor (62). In a very few days, however, it appeared very clearly that all this was a mere contrivance; for, upon the 3d of September, the Governor having received a meſſage from the Cardinal, by Sir James Campbell of Lundy and the Abbot of Pittenweem, gave out that his Lady was fallen in labour at Blackneſs, and under that pretence went out of town the next day to Calendar, where the Cardinal and the Earl of Murray met him, and after a long conference they ſet out together for Stirling, where they entered into the cloſeſt engagements with each other, and from that time forward the Cardinal had the ear and confidence of the Governor, as much as he ever had of the King his maſter (63). Theſe are the plain facts. But let us enter a little behind the curtain, and penetrate as far as we may into the cauſes of them; which were no other than the arts of the Cardinal, who, ſtep by ſtep, increaſed his own power, and diminiſhed that of thoſe who oppoſed him, till for their own ſakes they were glad to come to an agreement with him, to have that Head on their ſide, which had been too hard for all their force. As ſoon as he had drawn over the Lord Seaton to his party, he adviſed him to inſinuate to the Governor, that it was for his intereſt the Cardinal ſhould go to St. Andrews, becauſe this would put him in poſſeſſion of that caſtle, and all the wealth that he had in it. When he was got thither, he gave the Governor to underſtand, that as he was ſenſible he conſented to the late treaties with England through want of power and of money, ſo if he would conſent to an aſſembly of the Clergy there, it might be a means of procuring for him ſuch a ſupply, as might enable him to act as he thought proper (64). In the mean time, he had ſent for two perſons over from France, one or other of whom he knew muſt anſwer his purpoſe. The one was the Earl of Lenox, ſon to that Earl of Lenox who had been killed endeavouring to reſcue his maſter, King James, out of the hands of the Douglaſſes, which induced that Prince to have ſuch a kindneſs for his ſon, as to promiſe that he would ſettle the crown upon him, in caſe his own iſſue failed. The other was Mr. John Hamilton, Abbot of Paiſley, the Governor's natural brother, a

downright

(58) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 72.

(59) Hume's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Douglas, p. 265. Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 39, 40. Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 123.

(60) Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 41. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 74. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 70.

(61) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. l. x. Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 74.

(62) Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 350, 351.

(63) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 74. Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 356, 357. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 31.

(64) Spotſwood, Crawfurd, Keith, *&c.*

doubtedly one of the moſt ſingular turns that ever happened in any government, and is very expreſſive of this great Stateſman's genius and character, who knew how to court and manage factions ſo well, that, from being excluded the Court and impriſoned, he, upon the young Queen's coronation, was again admitted of the Council, and, at the requeſt as well as by the conſent of the Regent, aſſumed the high office of Chancellor, out of which the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow was turned to make way for him. Some authors, indeed, ſuggeſt, he ſhewed uncommon haughtineſs, or rather inſolence, in the manner of his accepting this great office (*g*); but this ought to be regarded as a miſtake at leaſt, if not a calumny [*K*]. His intereſt was now ſo great with the Regent, and ſo well eſtabliſhed, that he might be ſaid to have as much influence over him as he had over the King, which manifeſtly appeared, by his procuring him to ſolicit the Court of Rome to extend his already almoſt boundleſs authority, by appointing him Legate *à latere* from the Pope, which was done accordingly, and in all probability was a leſs favour then, than it is uſually

(*g*) Crawfurd's Lives of Great Officers, p. 80.

downright creature of France, and wholly devoted to the Cardinal. The firſt of theſe two the Cardinal carried to Stirling, gave him hopes of marrying the Queen Dowager, and made him believe himſelf the moſt powerful perſon in the kingdom. The other he ſent to the Governor, to let him know he did this very unwillingly, that the Cardinal and his friends were ambitious of nothing ſo much as his friendſhip, and that by coming over to them he would have the whole kingdom at his devotion (65). The Abbot repreſented farther to his brother, that he would find no real ſupport from England; ſince King Henry did not acknowledge him in quality of Governor, but ſtiled him in his letters, the *Earl of* Arran *occupying the place of Governor*; that by deſiring to have the young Queen and the Cardinal delivered up to him, he meant to deprive him of all power, and to render him odious to the Nobility, and to the common people; that while he depended thus upon England, he muſt ever remain in a dangerous and precarious ſituation; whereas, by joining with the Cardinal, he would have the whole Scots nation at his devotion, and might be ſure of what ſupport he pleaſed from France. The Governor having once reliſhed theſe notions, ſuffered the Cardinal to make trial of what force he could raiſe, and when he ſaw that the aſſembly at Stirling was become very powerful, he threw off his diſguiſe, and went directly into the Cardinal's meaſures (66). At their firſt conference at Calendar, the Cardinal ſhewed the Governor, that by ſiding with the friends of the Reformation, he was ruining himſelf and his family; for as there were two divorces in his family, the one of his father, and the other of his grandmother, which depended entirely upon papal authority, if that ſhould once be taken away, his claim to the crown might be queſtioned, and even his title to the Earldom of Arran, and his private eſtate, both which would devolve upon the Earl of Lenox, who, upon the Governor's joining the Cardinal, had gone over to the Engliſh party, and was ſo well received by King Henry, who gave him his niece, the Lady Margaret Douglas, in marriage, that the Governor ſaw plainly it was impoſſible for him to retreat (67). Thus the reader ſees clearly, that by his ſuperior knowledge of men and things, by his great art in turning every circumſtance and event to his advantage, and his prodigious dexterity in applying to the paſſions and intereſts of mankind, the Cardinal extricated himſelf out of all his difficulties, and in the ſpace of eight months, from being the Governor's priſoner at Blackneſs, became maſter of the Governor and of the whole kingdom; for on the 23d of January 1542-43, the Council came to a reſolution of ſeizing his perſon; and on the 3d of September 1543, the Governor left Edinburgh to go and join the Cardinal, and the Lords of his party, at Stirling. And thus, in as few words as poſſible, we have unravelled as dark an intrigue as is to be met with in the hiſtory of Scotland.

(65) Buchanan, Knox, Spotſwood, Crawfurd, and Keith.

(66) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. *Hiſtory of the* Reformation in Scotland, p. 42. Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 74. Sadler's Letters and Negociations, p. 356, 357.

(67) Theſe facts are already mentioned ſeparately, and by different authorities ſupported.

[*K*] *As a miſtake at leaſt, if not a calumny.*] The Archbiſhop of Glaſgow had continued Chancellor of Scotland from the time that the ſeals were given him, upon the retreat of the Earl of Angus into England, to the latter end of the year 1543, and then we are told that they were taken from him in a very ungracious manner, to put them into the hands of the Cardinal. We find ſeveral authors hinting this, but Mr. Crawfurd affirms it more poſitively than any of the reſt, and attempts to prove it by record. His words are theſe (68): 'The Cardinal having now all 'the ſway, that he might the more eaſily carry his 'deſigns, and have the greater authority in the kingdom, the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow was laid aſide 'from being Lord Chancellor, and the Cardinal 'came in his place in a very haughty manner; for 'both before and ſince that time, when any alterations were made in that high office, the record bears 'ſuch a perſon to have been made Chancellor; but 'ſuch was the pride and ambition of the Cardinal, 'that it is entered in the record of Parliament, '*That* '*my Lord Cardinal has* accepted *the office of Chancellor* '*in and upon him, at the deſire of my Lord Governor* '*and Lords of Council*, though I ſee he gave his oath '*de fideli*, upon the delivery to him of the great ſeal, '*liely (honeſtly) and truly to miniſter in the ſaid office* '*during the time he ſhall happen to haif (have) the* '*ſamin*.' Though this is ſeemingly very clear, and very poſitive, yet perhaps there may be good cauſe ſhewn why none of theſe facts ſhould be conſidered as certain. For, firſt, as to the Chancellor Dunbar, his office might be, and probably was, inconvenient and troubleſome to him in many reſpects, ſo as that he might be well enough pleaſed to part with it; and this will have the greater appearance of truth, if we conſider that the two Archbiſhops continued very good friends ever afterwards, which could ſcarce be ſuppoſed if the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow had been ſo ill treated in the buſineſs of having the ſeals taken from him. In the next place, as to the pride and haughtineſs expreſſed by the Cardinal in his manner of taking the great ſeal, we ſhall the better know what to think of it when we have caſt our eyes upon the entry in the public records of the delivery of the great ſeal to George Earl of Huntley in full parliament (69), June the 10th, 1546. 'The whilk day 'my Lord Governor, in preſens of the Queenis Grace 'and Lordis of Counſaile, has choſen George Earle 'of Huntlie Chancellor of the realme of Scotland, 'wha has *accepit* the ſaid office in and upon him, and 'has ſworne that he ſall leilely and treulie miniſter 'in the ſaid office after his wit, cunyng, and knowlage, like as outher Chancelluris has done, and 'uſit the ſaid office in tymes biganis, and the Queenis 'Grace and Lordis of Counſale thought him able 'therfor, and in ſigne and takin thereof my ſaid Lord 'Governor has, in preſence of the Queenis Grace 'and Lordis forſaids, deliver it to the ſaid Earl our 'Sovereign Ladyis grete ſele, and has ordainit the 'Kingis quarter ſele, whom God aſſolzie (pardon) 'to be broken, off the whilk that ane half was cuttit 'in preſens of the Queenis Grace and my Lordis of 'Counſale.' It appears very clearly from hence, that there was nothing of arrogance or preſumption in the manner of the Cardinal's accepting of the great ſeal, but that he received it in the ordinary form, and had thereupon the ſame entry made on the records as was uſual; though it muſt be confeſſed, that, at the firſt reading, the words, in which his receiving the great ſeal are entered, ſeem very lofty and aſſuming. But the bottom of the buſineſs was certainly this, the Governor was deſirous that his brother the Abbot of Paiſley ſhould have ſome good employment, and he had no leſs a mind that the Cardinal ſhould be Lord Chancellor; upon receiving which high office, he willingly reſigned his former poſt of Lord Privy-Seal to his friend the Abbot of Paiſley, as the reward of that pains and diligence he had uſed, in bringing about the agreement between his brother the Governor and the Cardinal, and the daily endeavours uſed by him to ſerve the latter with the former, and hinder the ſtories told by his enemies to the Governor from making any impreſſion (70).

(68) Crawfurd's Lives of the Great Officers, p. 80.

(69) See the Records of Parliament, preſerved at Edinburgh.

(70) Buchanan, Knox, Spotſwood, Keith, Crawfurd, &c.

accounted,

accounted, as being with no other view procured, than to ſuſtain and promote the cauſe of the religion and See of Rome (*b*). As ſoon as he obtained this new dignity, he ſhewed plainly enough, to what end it had been both ſought and granted; for he immediately proceeded to a moſt ſevere perſecution of thoſe he ſtiled Heretics, to countenance which he had addreſs enough to procure ſuch numbers of perſons of high rank and diſtinction to be preſent at, and to attend him in, his judicatories, that inſtead of appearing an act of his own, or the effect of his intrigues, it looked rather as a thing impoſed upon him, and in which he acted with the approbation of the nobility and gentry, as well as clergy of the kingdom. Such was the wonderful dexterity of this man, and ſuch the zeal with which, to the very utmoſt of his power, he promoted the cauſe of Popery (*i*) [*L*]. It was with a view to ſerve this cauſe ſtill more effectually, that he ſummoned, in the beginning of 1546, a Provincial aſſembly of the Clergy, at the Black-Friers in Edinburgh (*k*). He propoſed to himſelf doing great things at this meeting of the Clergy, and at the opening thereof he made a ſpeech, in which he ſhewed, that Religion was in great danger from the prevailing of Hereſy, for which he ſaid he knew but two remedies; the firſt of theſe was, to proceed vigorouſly againſt ſuch, as either adhered to, or encouraged the new opinions; and the other was, to reform the ſcandalous and immoral lives of the clergy, which gave the greateſt pretence for men to ſeparate from the Church (*l*). How far they proceeded in that affair remains altogether uncertain; but it is generally agreed, that the Cardinal was diverted from the purpoſes he had then in hand, by the information he received, that Mr. George Wiſhart, the moſt famous Proteſtant preacher in Scotland, was then at the houſe of Mr. Cockburn, of Ormiſton in Eaſt Lothian. The Cardinal upon this immediately applied to the Governor, to cauſe him to be apprehended, with which, after great perſuaſion, and much againſt his will, he complied. The Cardinal went in perſon with the Earl of Bothwell, who was Sheriff of the county, to ſee him apprehended, and ſtaid about a mile from the place, while the Earl went and took him into cuſtody (*m*). After this was done, the Cardinal procured an order, or, as they call it in Scotland, an Act of Council, requiring the Earl of Bothwell to deliver his priſoner to the Lord Governor (*n*). Purſuant to this, he was firſt carried to the houſe of Elphinſton, where the Cardinal then was, from thence to the caſtle of Edinburgh, and by the Queen-Dowager's perſuaſion, the Governor cauſed him to be transferred to the caſtle of St. Andrews (*o*). As ſoon as the Cardinal had him there, he reſolved to proceed without delay to his trial, and in order thereto, ſummoned the Prelates to meet in the city before mentioned, on the twenty-ſeventh of February following. When they were accordingly met, the Archbiſhop of Glaſ-

(*b*) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Geſt. Scot. lib. ii. p. 88.

(*i*) Keith'sHiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 45.

(*k*) Keith'sHiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 41.

(*l*) Supplement to Dempſter.

(*m*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Spotſwood'sHiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 78. Petrie's Church Hiſtory, P. ii. p. 178.

(*n*) This order, dated January 1545-6, is extant in Keith's Hiſtory.

(*o*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 79.

[*L*] *He promoted the cauſe of Popery.*] It is a full proof that the Cardinal had gained an entire aſcendency over the Governor, ſince he was able to engage him to apply to the court of Rome, in order to his being promoted to the rank of Legate *à Latere*, to which he had always aſpired, but which he could never obtain till now. The Bull for this promotion is ſtill extant, but there ſeems to be ſome diſpute about the date (71). In the printed copy we have it in words at length 1543, which, as it does not at all agree with hiſtory, ſo it is likewiſe inconſiſtent with the other part of the date in the Bull itſelf, for it is ſaid to be in the tenth year of the Pontificate of Paul III.; now that Pope being created October 12, 1534, it is very evident that January 30, 1543, was in the ninth, and not in the tenth year of his reign. It may not be amiſs to take notice in this place of the different kinds of Legates, in order to render this note the clearer. A *Legate*, ſimply taken, is an Ambaſſador or Repreſentative of the Pope. The *Legate à latere*, i. e. from the Pope's ſide, is always a Cardinal, veſted with the fulleſt powers that can be given him, and in ſome meaſure capable of doing as much in the name, and by the authority, of the Pope, as if his Holineſs were preſent he could do himſelf. The *Legate de latere* has, or may have, the ſame power, but is not a Cardinal; and as to the *Legati nati*, or Legates born, they are ſo only *virtute officii*, or in right of their dignity in the church, as our Cardinal was from his being Archbiſhop of St. Andrews (72). It is plain therefore, that by obtaining this dignity the Cardinal reached the utmoſt ſtep of preferment, unleſs he had acquired the papacy itſelf; and there is no doubt, that when it was deſired from the court of Rome, there was a promiſe made that the Cardinal ſhould make good uſe of the power beſtowed upon him for the ſervice of the Church. So indeed he did; for in the cloſe of the year 1545, he went in the moſt ſolemn manner to viſit his dioceſe, agreeably to a law of his own procuring, as well as to the promiſe made, as before mentioned, to the court of Rome. He was attended in this viſitation by the Lord Governor, the Earl of Argyle, Lord Juſtice-General, the Lord Borthwick, the Biſhops of Dumblain and Orkney, Sir John Campbell of Lundy, and ſeveral other gentlemen (73). When they came to Perth, ſeveral perſons were accuſed of Hereſy, being indicted particularly for breaking the act of parliament of 1542-3, by which the people were forbidden to argue or diſpute concerning the ſenſe of the Holy Scriptures. They were quickly found guilty, and theſe following were condemned to die, *viz.* William Anderſon, Robert Lamb, James Ronald, James Hunter, James Finlayſon, and Helen Stark his wife. Mr. Knox tells us, in his *Hiſtory of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*, that they were convicted of nothing but only a ſuſpicion of having eaten a gooſe on a Friday (74). Great interceſſion was made for a pardon, but nothing would prevail, ſo that the men were executed by hanging, and the woman drowned, though, as Buchanan informs us, ſhe was then big with child (75). ‘ Perhaps, ſays Mr. *Keith*, the ‘ Cardinal was the more inexorable, that he might ‘ caſt a copy for the other Prelates what they ought ‘ to do in their ſeveral dioceſes; or perhaps he ‘ thought, by this exemplary puniſhment, to put an ‘ effectual ſtop to the growing of Hereſy throughout ‘ the kingdom, ſeeing that town, and the country ‘ thereabouts, was more infected therewith than other ‘ parts of the nation (76).’ Sir Henry Elder, Walter Piper, Laurence Pullar, with ſome other Burgeſſes, were baniſhed, and the Lord Ruthven, Provoſt of the town, was removed from his office as a favourer of the Reformers. He likewiſe cauſed John Rogers, a black Frier, who had preached the reformed doctrines in Angus and Mearns, to be murdered in priſon at St. Andrews, as Knox ſays (77); or as Spotſwood (78) relates it, he was charged therewith, becauſe the body of this man was found at the bottom of a wall behind the place of his confinement; but he leaves it doubtful whether he fell in the endeavour to make his eſcape, or, as the report went, was murdered. By this viſitation, we very plainly diſcover to what end all the honours our Cardinal received were heaped upon him; as every acceſſion of power produced alſo freſh inſtances of clerical ſeverity, inconſiſtent with true Chriſtianity.

(71) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. ii. Appendix, p. 271.

(72) Antiquit. Eccleſ. Rom. lib. iii. cap. 13.

(73) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Hiſt. of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland, p. 42, 43. Petrie's Church Hiſtory, P. ii. p. 182, 183.

(74) Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 44. Petrie's Church Hiſtory, P. ii. p. 182, 183. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 75.

(75) Rerum Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv.

(76) Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 41.

(77) Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 45.

(78) Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 76.

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gow very wiſely and prudently adviſed, that they ſhould apply to the Governor to grant a commiſſion, to ſome man of quality, to try ſo famous a priſoner, that the whole blame might not fall on the clergy; to which the Cardinal agreed, and application was accordingly made *(p)*. The Governor at firſt made no great ſcruple of the thing; but Mr. Hamilton of Preſton interpoſing, ſhewed him ſo clearly the folly of taking the thorn out of another man's foot, to thruſt it into his own, that in the end he returned the Cardinal this anſwer, *That he would do well not to precipitate this man's trial, but delay it until his coming, for as to himſelf, he would not conſent to his death before the cauſe was very well examined, and if the Cardinal ſhould do otherwiſe, he would make proteſtation, that the blood of this man ſhould be required at his hands.* When the Cardinal received this meſſage, he was equally angry and perplexed; yet determined however to go on, and therefore ſent this return to the Governor, *That he had not written to him about this matter, as ſuppoſing himſelf to be any way dependant upon his authority, but from a deſire that the proſecution and conviction of Heretics might have a ſhew of public conſent, which ſince he could not this way obtain, he would proceed in that way which to him appeared the moſt proper (q).* Accordingly he went on to try Mr. Wiſhart upon eighteen articles, notwithſtanding his appeal, as being the Governor's priſoner, to a temporal judicatory; and having condemned, cauſed him to be burnt at St. Andrews, on the ſecond of March, forbidding likewiſe all perſons to pray for him, whom he ſtyled an obſtinate Heretic, under pain of incurring the ſevereſt cenſures of the Church *(r)*. He died with great firmneſs, conſtancy, and Chriſtian courage; and, if we may believe many of the writers of thoſe times, propheſied in the midſt of the flames, not only the approaching death of the Cardinal, but the circumſtances alſo that ſhould attend it; which, however, has been called in queſtion by others, who treat it as a ſtory invented after his and the Cardinal's death *(s)* [*M*]. The boldneſs of this

proceeding

(p) Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 41.

(q) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 79.

(r) Spotſwood, Petrie, and Keith.

(s) See this point diſcuſſed in the notes.

[*M*] *As a ſtory invented after his and the Cardinal's death.*] It muſt be allowed, that the diſcuſſing of this fact is one of the moſt curious points in the hiſtory of our Cardinal, and therefore it ſeems but requiſite to give as clear and fair account of it as may be. And as we find none in any of our authors which can anſwer this purpoſe ſo well, we ſhall preſent the reader with that of Mr. George Buchanan, of which indeed moſt of the reſt ſeem to be but copies, and thoſe too, in all reſpects, very far inferior to their original. Our author, having given an account of the manner in which Mr. George Wiſhart ſpent the morning of his execution, proceeds thus (79). ‘ A while after, two ‘ executioners were ſent to him by the Cardinal; one ‘ of them put a black linen ſhirt upon him, and the ‘ other bound many little bags of gunpowder to all ‘ the parts of his body. In this dreſs they brought ‘ him forth, and commanded him to ſtay in the Go‘ vernor's outer-chamber, and at the ſame time they ‘ erected a wooden ſcaffold in the court before the ‘ caſtle, and made up a pile of wood. The windows ‘ and balconies over againſt it were all hung with ta‘ peſtry and ſilk hangings, with cuſhions for the Car‘ dinal, and his train to behold, and take pleaſure in ‘ the joyful ſight, even the torture of an innocent ‘ man. Thus courting the favour of the people as ‘ the author of ſo notable a deed. There was alſo ‘ a great guard of ſoldiers, not ſo much to ſecure ‘ the execution, as for a vain oſtentation of power. ‘ And beſide, braſs guns were placed up and down ‘ in all convenient places of the caſtle. Thus, while ‘ the trumpets ſounded, George was brought forth, ‘ mounted the ſcaffold, and was faſtened with a cord ‘ to the ſtake, and having ſcarcely obtained liberty to ‘ pray for the Church of God, the executioners fired ‘ the wood, which immediately taking hold of the ‘ powder that was tied about him, blew it up into ‘ flame and ſmoke. The governor of the caſtle, who ‘ ſtood ſo near that he was ſinged with the flame, ex‘ horted him in a few words to be of good cheer, and ‘ to aſk pardon of God for his offences. To whom he ‘ replied, This flame occaſions trouble to my body ‘ indeed, but it hath in nowiſe broken my ſpirit. But ‘ he who now ſo proudly looks down upon me from ‘ yonder lofty place (pointing to the Cardinal), ſhall ‘ ere long be as ignominiouſly thrown down, as now ‘ he proudly lolls at his eaſe. Having thus ſpoken, ‘ they ſtraitened the rope which was tied about his ‘ neck, and ſo ſtrangled him, his body in a few ‘ hours being conſumed to aſhes in the flame. The ‘ Biſhops being yet mad with heat and rage, forbad ‘ every body, upon great penalties, to pray for the ‘ deceaſed.’ We have the ſame ſtory told at large by Archbiſhop Spotſwood, and more briefly by Petrie; but it is evident that they copied all they ſay from Buchanan. On the other ſide the queſtion, the Reverend Mr. Keith ſuggeſts that the ſtory is very doubtful, if not plainly falſe. As this is a very tender point, and ſeems to bear very hard, not only upon the authority of Buchanan, but upon the judgment of all the writers that have tranſcribed him, I ſhall cite the words of my author, that I may not either weaken or ſtrengthen his arguments by a different manner of expreſſing them (80). ‘ I confeſs I give ‘ but ſmall credit to this, and to ſome other things ‘ related of thoſe perſons that ſuffered for religion in ‘ our country, and which upon that account I have ‘ all along omitted to narrate. I own I think them ‘ ridiculous enough, and ſeemingly contrived, at leaſt ‘ magnified, on purpoſe to render the judges and ‘ clergymen of that time odious and deſpicable in the ‘ eyes of men. And as to this paſſage concerning ‘ Mr. Wiſhart, it may be noticed, that there is not ‘ one word of it to be met with in the firſt edition of ‘ Mr. Knox's hiſtory; and if the thing had been true ‘ in fact, I cannot ſee how Mr. Knox, who was ſo ‘ good an acquaintance of Mr. Wiſhart's, and no ‘ farther diſtance from the place of his execution than ‘ Eaſt Lothian, and who continued ſome months along ‘ with the murderers of Cardinal Beton in the caſtle ‘ of St. Andrews, could neither be ignorant of the ‘ ſtory, nor neglect to inſert in his hiſtory ſo remark‘ able a prediction. And it has even its own weight, ‘ that Sir David Lindſay, who lived at that time, and ‘ wrote a poem, called *The Tragedy of Cardinal Beton*, ‘ in which he rakes together all the worſt things that ‘ could be ſuggeſted againſt this Prelate, yet makes ‘ no mention either of his glutting himſelf inhumanly ‘ with the ſpectacle of Mr. Wiſhart's death, nor of ‘ any prophetical intermination made by Mr. Wiſhart ‘ concerning the Cardinal; nor doth Mr. Fox take ‘ notice of either of theſe circumſtances; ſo that I ‘ am much of the mind, that it has been a ſtory ‘ trumped up a good time after the murder.’ The language of this author is a little uncouth, but his obſervations are very weighty. As to the hiſtory aſcribed to Mr. Knox, it is undoubtedly none of his, but was ſo called becauſe in ſome meaſure a hiſtory of his actions, and becauſe taken from his books, papers and ſermons (81). It was firſt printed in octavo, in 1570, and ſuppreſſed by order of Queen Elizabeth, next in quarto (82), and again in folio in 1644, where we have this very paſſage at full length, which ſhews evidently the liberties taken with this *Hiſtory of the Reformation in Scotland*, which in the main however is a very uſeful work, and contains many things from Knox. I therefore think that the want of theſe paſſages in the firſt edition is a good proof that John Knox knew nothing either of the Cardinal's looking out of the window, or of Mr. Wiſhart's prophecy. His arguments from Lindſay and Fox are likewiſe very ſtrong; for Sir David Lindſay hated the Cardi-

nal,

(79) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. p. 294.

(80) Hiſtory of the Church and State of Scotland, p. 42.

(81) See the preface to the laſt edition of Knox's Hiſt. of the Reformation.

(82) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 123.

proceeding made a mighty noiſe throughout the whole kingdom. Such as were zealous Papiſts, magnified the ſpirit and ſteadineſs of the Cardinal, manifeſt in this execution; while others of more moderation cenſured it, as a raſh and very imprudent action, which could not but be attended with very diſmal conſequences; and the friends to the Reformation openly declared, that as it was done without due courſe of law, it ought to be conſidered as a murder (*t*), which if unqueſtioned by the State, private men might revenge. As for the Cardinal, he did not ſeem to be highly concerned at the rumours which his conduct in this matter had raiſed. He was ſo much perſuaded in himſelf of his great intereſt among the nobility, that he did not apprehend any ſort of danger from the Governor's diſpleaſure; and, on the other hand, he thought, that having embarked the whole clergy of Scotland in the ſame cauſe with himſelf, by engaging them ſo deeply in this proſecution, he was ſure of their aſſiſtance, and of all the intereſt they had among the people (*u*). There is a circumſtance mentioned by ſeveral hiſtorians, which very plainly proves, that the Cardinal was at this time at the height of his fortune and wiſhes, and that he was intent upon nothing, but the means of adding to and ſecuring this proſperity for the future. For it was in order to this, that he went, ſoon after the death of Mr. Wiſhart, to Finhaven, the ſeat of the Earl of Crawfurd, to ſolemnize a marriage, between the eldeſt ſon of that nobleman, and his own natural daughter Margaret, which was performed with great pomp and ſplendour (*w*). This fact is the cleareſt proof that the Cardinal had no dread or terror upon his mind, but thought his ſtate and condition as ſafe and ſecure, if not more ſo, than ever; and it likewiſe proves, that he ſtood in very high credit with the principal nobility of Scotland, when he was able to marry his natural daughter, to the heir apparent of one of the moſt ancient and honourable families in that kingdom. But while he was thus employed, and in the midſt of the rejoicings occaſioned by this match, he had intelligence that an Engliſh ſquadron was upon the coaſt, and that conſequently an invaſion was to be feared. The Cardinal upon this returned immediately to St. Andrews, and appointed a day for the nobility and gentry of that country, which is very open, and much expoſed to the ſea, to meet and conſult about the proper means of raiſing ſuch a force, as might be ſufficient to ſecure them from any attempt of that nature (*x*). He began, likewiſe, to ſtrengthen the fortifications of his own caſtle at that city, into which he was at any time able to put a garriſon of his own, ſufficient to defend it. But the time of meeting not being come, and no farther news being heard of the Engliſh fleet, he was more intent upon rendering this caſtle tenable againſt a foreign force, than ſolicitous about aſſembling ſuch a number of men, or taking ſuch other precautions, as might ſecure him from being ſurpriſed by his enemies at home, of which, for any thing that appears in hiſtory, he does not ſeem to have had the leaſt ſuſpicion (*y*). But while he was buſy about theſe matters, there came to him the eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Rothes, Mr. Norman Leſley, a gentleman with whom he had a very intimate friendſhip, and who expected from him on that account ſome favour, which the Cardinal abſolutely refuſed him, and provoked him thereby to ſuch a degree, that they parted in great diſpleaſure (*z*). It happened that this gentleman's uncle, Mr. John Leſley, was one of the moſt violent enemies the Cardinal had in the world, and he knowing his nephew's paſſionate temper and daring ſpirit, repaired to him immediately, aggravated the injury done him by the Cardinal, and brought with him ſeveral other perſons who thought themſelves wronged by that Prelate; and after a ſhort conference together, it was reſolved to cut him off.

(*t*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol i. p. 336, 337. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 82.

(*u*) Buchan. *ubi ſupra.* Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, *Vol.* i. p. 42.

(*w*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 82. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, p. 42.

(*x*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv.

(*y*) Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 70. Buchan. Rerum Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv.

(*z*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. *Hiſtory of the* Reformation in Scotland, p. 70. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 88.

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nal, who drove him from court; was a friend to the Reformation, and a hearer of Wiſhart's, and wrote immediately after the Cardinal's death. As for Fox, he had the beſt informations from Scotland that could be, and he always quotes them, ſo that theſe paſſages being wanting in his work, is very ſtrong evidence they were not then heard of in Scotland: if they had, unqueſtionably they would have been ſent to him. But there is ſtill ſomething more to be added on this head, that will add to the weight of Mr. Keith's objection, which is this, that our famous John Bale has given us an article of Cardinal Beaton (8), in which the burning of Mr. Wiſhart, and the murder of the Cardinal are both mentioned, but not one word of the Cardinal's beholding the execution, or of the Martyr's prophecy. Yet John Bale wrote his fourteenth Century of learned men to include the Scots, dedicated it to Alexander Ales and John Knox, of whoſe friendſhip to him, and their communications in a literary way, he makes honourable mention, having had their company long in exile, into which John Knox was driven for adhering to the Cardinal's murderers. This ſeems a very ſtrong proof that neither he nor they ever heard of this wonderful prophecy, or the manner in which it was ſo ſurpriſingly fulfilled; ſince, if they had, ſuch as are acquainted with the characters of the men and their writings, will ſcarcely believe they could be omitted. But there is ſtill one circumſtance more, which ſeems abſolutely concluſive. Bale has added to his article of Cardinal Beaton an appendix, for the ſake of giving us from Hall an account of his firſt viſitation, when he condemned Sir John Borthwick, May 28, 1540, for Hereſy; and in the cloſe of this account we are told, that by the juſt judgment of God, ſix years afterwards, the ſaid Cardinal on the ſame month, day, and hour, was killed, and afterwards ſhamefully hanged out at a window of his own caſtle, in all the pompous habiliments of his dignity. *Sed ecce mirum divinæ providentiæ judicium ſexto poſt anno eiſdemq; menſe die et hora, occiſus præfatus Cardinalis fuit, probro expoſitus, et ad feneſtram ſui caſtri, in ſolenni Cardinalatus apparatu ſuſpenſus ut dictum eſt.* Bale printed this, as appears by the colophon of his book in February 1559, which is but thirteen years after the fact, and in that ſpace he had converſed long with John Knox, who acted as paſtor and preacher to thoſe, who after they had killed the Cardinal held out the caſtle of St. Andrews againſt the Government, and who knowing both Bale's deſign of writing, and all the circumſtances of the Cardinal's death, would never have ſuffered him to make ſuch a miſtake as this about the judgment viſible therein. On the other hand, however, ſome who favoured the Cardinal, to combat this prophecy of George Wiſhart the martyr, have invented a ſtory that he was privy to the conſpiracy formed to murder him, and ſo might foretel his end without inſpiration (84). A notion as indifferently ſupported by proof, though as roundly aſſerted as the former.

(83) Scriptor. Britan. Cent. XIV. N. 70.

(84) Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, Vol. iii. p. 23.

There were but a very few concerned in this conſpiracy, and of them the principal perſons were, Norman Leſley, John Leſley, William Kircaldy of Grange, Peter Carmichael of Fife, and James Melvile (*a*). The ſcheme they laid, was to meet at St. Andrews with as much privacy as was poſſible, and to ſurpriſe the caſtle in the morning, before the Cardinal's ſervants were ſtirring; and they entered into an agreement under their hands, to be at that city on the twenty-eighth of May, and to behave in the mean time in ſuch a manner, as to afford no room for ſuſpicion. Accordingly, at the time agreed on, Norman Leſley came, with no more than five perſons, and went to the place where he uſually lodged; William Kircaldy was there a day before; but John Leſley, becauſe he was known to be the Cardinal's avowed enemy, did not come till it was almoſt dark. On Saturday morning the twenty-ninth of May, they met in the abbey church yard about three o'clock, being no more than twelve in all (*b*). There they agreed, that Kircaldy ſhould take ſix perſons with him and ſecure the gate, that the reſt might enter, which he accordingly did, entertaining the porter with ſome diſcourſe, about the time when the Cardinal would be ſtirring and might be ſpoke with; then came Norman Leſley and two more; and laſtly John Leſley with the other two, upon the ſight of whom, the porter made towards the draw-bridge, but they ſeized him, took the keys from him, and ſecured the gate (*c*). The next thing they did, was to ſend four perſons to watch the Cardinal's chamber, that he might have no notice given him of what was doing: they afterwards went and called up the ſervants, to whom they were very well known, and turned them, to the number of fifty, out at the gate, as they did above an hundred workmen employed in repairing the caſtle; but the eldeſt ſon of the Regent, who was with the Cardinal, they kept for their own ſecurity. All this they did with ſo little noiſe, that the Cardinal was not waked till they knocked at his chamber door, upon which he cried out, Who is there? John Leſley anſwered, My name is Leſley; Which Leſley? replied the Cardinal, Is it Norman? Anſwer was made him, That he muſt open the door to thoſe who were there; inſtead of doing which he ſecured it the beſt he could (*d*). They then called for fire, and while it was fetching he conferred with them, and upon promiſe made him that no violence ſhould be uſed towards his perſon, he opened the door, when ruſhing in with their ſwords drawn, they without any regard to their promiſe given immediately murdered him (*e*). Thus fell the great Cardinal of St. Andrews, by a ſmall number of private enemies, after he had managed, in a manner abſolutely, all the affairs of Scotland for ſeven years, and had overcome ſeveral powerful oppoſitions formed againſt him. The circumſtances of his death have been differently reported, and variouſly cenſured, according to the ſentiments of thoſe by whom they are recorded (*f*) [*N*]. As for the

(*a*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Spotſwood's Church Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 83. Petrie's Church Hiſtory, P. ii. p. 183.

(*b*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 83.

(*c*) Hiſtory of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 71. Petrie's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 183.

(*d*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 71. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 83.

(*e*) Sir David Lindſay's Tragedy of Cardinal Beaton. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 83.

(*f*) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 88. Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Hiſt. of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland, p. 71, 72. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 83. Petrie's Church Hiſtory, P. ii. p. 183, 184. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 43.

[*N*] *According to the ſentiments of thoſe by whom they are recorded.*] In the account of the Cardinal's death we have given in the text, we depend chiefly on the authority of Archbiſhop Spotſwood, which agrees very well with that of Buchanan, excepting that there are ſome ſtrokes of bitterneſs in the one, which are very prudently left out in the other. It is, however, very material to ſee the colours which Buchanan gives to this action, becauſe there is no doubt but that he, who was well acquainted with the principal perſons concerned therein, had as good intelligence as it was poſſible, both of the real grounds upon which this action was committed, and the pretences given out to ſave appearances in the world, and to juſtify the conduct of thoſe concerned in it, as far as poſſible. Buchanan having related the manner of Wiſhart's ſuffering, and the reputation the Cardinal acquired thereby with the popiſh party, proceeds thus (85): 'This 'luxuriant and ſuperlative joy of the prieſts for their obtained victory, rather irritated than diſcouraged the 'minds not only of the promiſcuous vulgar, but even 'of ſome great and noble perſons too. They fretted 'that things were come to that paſs by their puſillanimity and cowardice, and now they thought ſome 'bold act or other was to be attempted and hazarded, 'or elſe they muſt remain ſlaves for ever. Led by 'this ſame motive, more company came in to them, 'whoſe grief forced them to break out into complaints 'againſt the Cardinal; ſo they encouraged one another to rid this Prieſt out of the way, and either to 'recover their liberty, or loſe their lives. For what 'hopes of thriving, ſaid they, can there be under ſo 'arrogant a prieſt, and ſo cruel a tyrant, who makes 'war againſt God as well as man, and thoſe not his 'enemies only, as were all ſuch as had eſtates, or 'were any way pious, but for a ſmall grudge he will 'haul a man as a hog out of the ſty to be ſacrificed to 'his luſts? And beſides, he is a public encourager 'and maintainer of war both at home and abroad, 'and in his private capacity he mixeth the love of 'harlots with lawful marriages, legitimate wedlock 'he diſſolves at pleaſure, at home he wallows in luſt 'among his minions, and abroad he ravages to de'ſtroy the innocent.' As for Biſhop Leſly, he gives but a very ſhort account of the matter: but, however, he obſerves that the murder was committed by men, who, whatever they might pretend of zeal for the public good, were in reality highly incenſed againſt the Cardinal from private and particular motives (86). Norman Leſly was angry becauſe the eſtate of Eaſter Weems was taken from him upon Lord Colvin's being pardoned, which had been given to him upon that Lord's forfeiting. John Leſly had borne an old grudge againſt the Cardinal, and had publicly vowed revenge. As for Kircaldy of Grange, he was moved to it by his reſentment for his father's being removed from the poſt of treaſurer in the late King's reign, which he had executed with great advantage to himſelf, and with much ſatisfaction to the people. In reſpect to Carmichael, he too had a diſpute with the Cardinal about lands, for which he hated him mortally. As for the reſt of the people concerned in the fact, they were either dependants upon, or ſervants to, the gentlemen before mentioned, and at their command would have done the ſame thing againſt any other perſon. The account of the Cardinal's death, which is inſerted in his hiſtory of his own times by the famous Preſident de Thou, better known by his Latin name Thuanus, is taken from Buchanan, upon whoſe credit he relates at large the circumſtance of Mr. Wiſhart's prophecy, and the accompliſhment of it in ſuch a manner, as very plainly ſhews that he firmly believed it (87). But it is very remarkable, that William Harriſon, or whoever compiled the hiſtory of Scotland, which is inſerted in the firſt volume of Holinſhed's Chronicle, though he takes the whole of the ſtory from Buchanan, yet omits that circumſtance (88); and though in another place he gives ſome account of the life of Cardinal Beaton, Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, yet he ſays nothing therein either of Wiſhart's foretelling his death, or of its being looked upon as the judgment of God on the Cardinal for that

(85) Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv.

(86) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. p. 481.

(87) Thuan. Hiſt. ſui Temp. lib. iii.

(88) Holinſhed's Hiſt. of Scotland, in his Chronicle, Vol. i. p. 359.

the character of this famous man, it may beſt be collected from his actions. That he had great parts is certain, and that his pride and ambition were boundleſs is no leſs certain; that

that pious man's ſuffering (89), which is the more extraordinary, becauſe Buchanan inſiſts ſo much upon it, and makes it the chief reaſon why the people of St. Andrews diſperſed and raiſed the ſiege of the caſtle immediately after the fact was committed (90). In *The Hiſtory of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*, which, as we have ſaid, is commonly aſcribed to John Knox, as being for the moſt part taken from his papers, there is a very full relation of this tranſaction, and with circumſtances ſo different from thoſe that are contained in the other accounts, that it deſerves the reader's particular notice, the rather becauſe it is this very paſſage which induced Archbiſhop Spotſwood to maintain, that great injury was done to Mr. Knox in publiſhing that book under his name (91). But if it be conſidered, that Mr. Knox of his own accord went into the caſtle of St. Andrews, and preached for many months to the perſons concerned, we can hardly ſuppoſe that if he left any papers relating to the hiſtory of the Church, he ſhould omit ſo remarkable a paſſage as this, with the particulars of which ſcarcely any man could be ſo well acquainted as himſelf. The account before mentioned (92) runs thus. ‘Many purpoſes were deviſed how that wicked man might have been taken away, but all failed till Friday the 28th of May, 1546, when the aforeſaid Norman came at night to St. Andrews, William Kirkaldy of Grange Younger was in the town before, waiting upon the purpoſe; laſt came John Leſly aforeſaid, who was moſt ſuſpected. What concluſion they took that night it was not known but by the iſſue that followed. But early upon the Saturday in the morning, the 29th of May, were they in ſundry companies in the Abbey church-yard, not far diſtant from the caſtle. Firſt, the gates being open, and the draw-bridge let down for receiving of lime and ſtone, and other things neceſſaries for building (for Babylon was almoſt finiſhed), firſt, we ſay, aſſayed William Kirkaldy of Grange Younger, and with him ſix perſons, and getting entry, held purpoſe with the porter if my Lord Cardinal was waking? Who anſwered, No; and ſo it was indeed, for he had been buſy at his accounts with Mrs. Marion Ogilby that night, who was eſpied to depart from him by the privy poſtern that morning, and therefore quietneſs, after the rules of phyſic, and a morning ſleep, was requiſite for my Lord. While the ſaid William and the porter talked, and his ſervants made them to look to the work and the workmen, approached Norman Leſly with his company, and becauſe they were no great number, they eaſily got entry. They advanced to the midſt of the court, and immediately came John Leſly ſomewhat rudely, and four perſons with him. The porter fearing, would have drawn the bridge, but the ſaid John being entered therein, ſtaid it and leaped in, and while the porter made him for defence, his head was broke, the keys were taken from him, and he caſt into the ditch, and ſo the place was ſeized. The workmen, to the number of more than an hundred, ran to the walls, and were without hurt put forth at the wicket-gate. The firſt thing that ever was done, William Kirkaldy took the guard of the privy poſtern, fearing that the fox ſhould have eſcaped. Then go the reſt to the gentlemen's chambers, and without violence done to any man, they put more than fifty perſons to the gate. The number that enterpriſed, and did this, was but ſixteen perſons. The Cardinal waking with the ſhouts, aſked from his window, What meant that noiſe? It was anſwered, That Norman Leſly had taken his caſtle; which underſtood, he run to the poſtern, but perceiving the paſſage to be kept without, he returned quickly to his chamber, and took his two-handed ſword, and cauſed his chamberlain to caſt cheſts and other impediments to the door. In the mean time came forth John Leſly unto it, and bids *open*. The Cardinal aſking, *Who calls?* He anſwered, *My name is Leſly*. He demands again, *Is that Norman?* The other ſays, *No, my name is John*. *I will have Norman*, ſays the Cardinal, *for he is my friend*. *Content yourſelf with ſuch as are here, for others ſhall you get none*. There were with the ſaid John, James Melvin, a man familiarly acquainted with Maſter George Wiſcharde, and Peter Charmichael, a ſtout gentleman. In the mean time, while they force at the door, the Cardinal hides a box of gold under coals that were laid in a ſecret corner. At length he aſks, *Will ye ſave my life?* The ſaid John anſwers, *It may be that we will*. *Nay* (ſaid the Cardinal), *ſwear unto me by God's wounds, and I will open you*. Then anſwered the ſaid John, *It that was ſaid is unſaid*, and ſo cried, *Fire! fire!* (for the door was very ſtrong), and ſo was brought a chimney full of burning coal, which perceived, the Cardinal, or his chamberlain (it is uncertain), opened the door, and the Cardinal ſat down in a chair, and cried, *I am a Prieſt! I am a Prieſt! ye will not ſlay me*. The ſaid John Leſly (according to his former vows) ſtroke him once or twice, and ſo did the ſaid Peter. But James Melvin (a man of nature moſt gentele and moſt modeſt) perceiving them both in choler, withdrew them, and ſaid, *This work and judgment of* God *(although it be ſecret) ought to be done with greater gravity*; and preſenting unto him the point of the ſword, ſaid, *Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but eſpecially of the ſhedding of the blood of that notable inſtrument of* God, *Mr.* George Wiſcharde, *which albeit the flame of fire conſumed before men, yet cries it for vengeance upon thee, and we from God are ſent to revenge it*; *for here, before my God, I proteſt, that neither the hatred of thy perſon, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou could have to me in particular, moved or moveth me to ſtrike thee, but only becauſe thou haſt been, and remained an obſtinate enemy againſt* Chriſt Jeſus *and the holy goſpel*. And ſo he ſtroke him twice or thrice through with a ſtag ſword, and ſo he fell, never heard word out of his mouth, but *I am a Prieſt! Fie! fie! all is gone!* While they were buſied with the Cardinal, the fray roſe in the town, the Provoſt raiſed the commonalty, and comes to the houſe ſide, crying, *What have you done with my Lord Cardinal? Where is my Lord Cardinal? Have ye ſlain my Lord Cardinal?* They that were within anſwered gently, *Beſt it were for you to return to your own houſes, for the man ye call the Cardinal has received the reward, and in his own perſon will trouble the world no more*. But then they more inragedly cry out, we ſhall never depart till we ſee him, and ſo was he brought to the Eaſt Block-houſe head, and ſhewed dead over the wall to the faithleſs multitude, which would not believe before they ſaw, and ſo they departed without, *Requiem æternam et requieſcat in pace*, ſung for his ſoul. Now becauſe the weather was hot (for it was in May, as ye have heard) and his funerals could not ſoon be prepared, it was thought beſt to keep him from ſtinking to give him great ſalt enough, a cope of lead, and a corner in the bottom of the ſea tower (a place wherein many of God's children have been impriſoned before), to wait what exequies his brethren the Biſhops would prepare for him. Theſe things we write merrily, but we would that the reader ſhould obſerve God's juſt judgments, and how he can deprehend the worldly wiſe in their own opinion, make their table to be a ſnare to trap their own feet, and their purpoſed ſtrength to be their own deſtruction. Theſe are the works of our God, whereby he would admoniſh the tyrants of this earth, that in the end he will be revenged of their cruelty what ſtrength ſoever they make to the contrary. But ſuch is the blindneſs of man (as David ſaith), that the poſterity doth ever follow the footſteps of their wicked fathers, and principally in their impiety, for how little differs the cruelty of that baſtard, that yet is called Biſhop of St. Andrews, from the cruelty of the former, we will after hear.’ It ſeems from this laſt paſſage, that this account was written very ſoon after the thing happened, and while all the circumſtances were freſh in the writer's mind, which renders it ſo much the more probable it was really penned by John Knox; and another circumſtance which makes it ſtill more likely is, that the whole relation is found in the firſt octavo edition.

(89) *Id. ibid.* p. 452.

(90) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. *ubi ſupra*.

(91) Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 85.

(92) Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 71, 72.

that he was a zealous friend to the Popiſh religion cannot be doubted, and that this zeal of his altered his natural temper is very probable; for excepting in matters of religion, he was ſo far from acting with ſeverity, that he ſeems to have carried every thing rather by perſuaſion than by force. Though he was not remarkable for his learning by any writings that he publiſhed, yet he was very far from being deficient in that point; and though he is grievouſly cenſured by ſome, as well as highly extolled by others, yet it ſeems to be a thing agreed by all, that his abilities were no way inferior to his fortune (g) [O]. He was a great friend to his family, and though a Prieſt, left behind him poſterity, which yet maintain

tion. But whereas in that edition againſt the recital of James Melvin's killing the Cardinal, there was this marginal note 'the *goldly* fact and words of 'James Melvin;' the word *goldly* in the quarto and folio editions is left out. We muſt conſider this however as a compliance with the milder diſpoſition of the times, for Mr. Fox the Martyrologiſt ſcruples not ſaying, *the gentlemen were ſtirred up by the Lord* (93). Mr. Calderwood (94) alſo tells us, in the ſame ſpirit with Mr. Fox, *the* Cardinal *intended further if the* Lord *had not ſtirred up ſome men of courage to cut him off in time.* Upon theſe inſinuations the Reverend Mr. Jeremy Collier reflects very ſeverely, and ſays it is ſtrange to aſtoniſhment men ſhould defend ſuch things (95). The right Reverend Biſhop Burnet ſpeaks of this tranſaction thus (96). 'This fact 'was differently cenſured, ſome juſtified it, and ſaid 'it was only killing a mighty robber; others, that 'were glad he was out of the way, yet condemned 'the manner of it as treacherous and inhuman; and 'though ſome of the preachers did afterwards fly to 'that caſtle as a ſanctuary, yet none of them were 'neither actors or conſenters to it. It is true they 'did generally extenuate it, yet I do not find that 'any of them juſtified it. The exemplary and ſignal 'ends of almoſt all the conſpirators, ſcarce any of 'them dying an ordinary death, made all people the 'more inclined to condemn it.' It is not at all ſtrange, that even men of ſenſe and learning ſhould differ in their opinions of this fact: but it is very ſtrange, that amongſt all the Hiſtorians that have mentioned it, there are ſcarcely two that fix it upon the ſame day. To begin with Buchanan: He ſays the days were then very long, for it was about the Nones, i. e. the 7th of May. Biſhop Leſly places it on the 30th of May. Dempſter tells us he ſuffered on the 28th of May. John Bale ſays the ſame. Petrie, in his Church Hiſtory, ſays poſitively it was on the 7th of May in the morning. In Holinſhed's Chronicle he is ſaid to have been killed on the 13th; but in the *Hiſtory of the Reformation of Scotland,* both the day of the week and the day of the month are fixed, viz. Saturday, May the 29th, which is followed by Archbiſhop Spotſwood, and by Mr. Keith. I am the rather inclined to think that this is a right date, becauſe I find that the 29th of May fell that year upon a Saturday, and that the Cardinal was killed on that day of the week, is ſet down in ſeveral collections of thoſe times. The reader will the leſs wonder at this, when he is told that the death of King James V., and indeed the moſt remarkable dates in the Scotch hiſtory, are not at all better fixed than this; ſo that there cannot well be a more troubleſome taſk aſſigned, than to put the memoirs of any remarkable perſon of that nation into tolerable order, more eſpecially if the facts relating to him are mentioned by ſeveral Hiſtorians, who in this, as well as in other points, ſeldom or never agree.

[O] *His abilities were no way inferior to his fortune.*] It has been already ſhewn, in what light Buchanan would have the Cardinal conſidered in the deſcription he gives us of him, before he proceeds to the account of his death (97). Biſhop Leſly ſpeaks of him with great reverence and reſpect, but without giving us any large or full character of him (98). In the *Hiſtory of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland,* he is repreſented as a moſt barbarous and bloody man, and he is ſcarcely mentioned in that book without ſome mark of infamy and reproach. It is hinted that he poiſoned his maſter, it is ſuggeſted that he had an intrigue with the Queen, it is poſitively affirmed he more than once contrived to have Mr. Wiſhart murdered (99). But there is ſo much heat and paſſion expreſſed, that it is impoſſible to give any great credit to what is aſſerted there without proof. Spotſwood, though he relates his actions largely, yet declines ſaying any thing of his conduct or behaviour, excepting where he condemns him for cruelty, for perſecuting the favourers of the Reformation. Paulus Jovius, in his deſcription of Scotland, ſpeaking of St. Andrews, delivers himſelf thus (100). *In which See* David Beaton *at preſent preſides, honoured with the purple, and no leſs diſtinguiſhed by the luſtre of his great actions, and the ſuperiority of his genius.* John Bale beſtows on him a very indifferent character; but ſuch an one as it is the reader ſhall have it in his own words (101). 'David Beaton deſcended from no extraordinary fa'mily in Scotland, was, at his ſetting out in the 'world, a young man of a bold and wicked ſpirit, 'and, firſt in his own country, afterwards in Paris, 'gave himſelf over entirely to flattery, ambition, 'and luxury, and the finding out ſome means for 'the ſupport of theſe. He wrought in ſuch a man'ner, that after ſome embaſſies to Francis I. and 'Paul III., he was preferred to be Archbiſhop of St. 'Andrews, and Primate of Scotland, that he might 'extinguiſh the goſpel of Chriſt, which began to be 'preached there by thoſe who came out of England. 'Such was his behaviour in this ſtation, and he ſo 'perſecuted the godly, that by the ſame Paul III. he 'was made Cardinal Prieſt, and Apoſtolick Legate, '&c.' Dempſter only ſays, '*That having merited 'exceedingly of the Catholick religion, and of his coun'try, he was promoted to theſe dignities.*' But I have ſeen a ſupplement to Dempſter, in which there is the following account of this great man, which in my judgment comes very near the truth. 'It frequently 'happens, that the ſame great qualities of mind 'which enable a man to diſtinguiſh himſelf by the 'ſplendour of his virtues, are ſo over-ſtrained or cor'rupted, as to render him no leſs notorious for his 'vices. Of this we have many inſtances in ancient 'writers, but none by which it is more clearly diſ'played, than in the character of the Cardinal Arch'biſhop of St. Andrews, David Beaton, who from 'his very childhood was extremely remarkable, and 'whoſe violent death had this in it ſingular, that his 'enemies knew no way to remove him from his ab'ſolute authority but that. When he was but ten 'years of age he ſpoke with ſo much eaſe and gravity, 'with ſo much good ſenſe, and freedom from affec'tation, as ſurprized all who heard him. When he 'was little more than twenty, he became known to 'the Duke of Albany and to the court of France, 'where he tranſacted affairs of the greateſt import'ance, at an age when others begin to be acquainted 'with them only in books. Before he was thirty he 'had merited the confidence of the Regent, the at'tention of the French King, and the favour of his 'maſter, ſo that they were all ſuitors to the court of 'Rome in his behalf. He was ſoon after made Lord 'Privy-Seal, and appointed by act of parliament to 'attend the young King at his Majeſty's own deſire. 'Before he attained the forty-fifth year of his age he 'was Biſhop of Mirepoix in France, Cardinal of the 'Roman Church, Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, and 'Primate of Scotland, to which high dignities he 'added, before he was fifty, thoſe of Lord High-'Chancellor, and Legate *à latere.* His behaviour 'was ſo taking, that he never addicted himſelf to the 'ſervice of any Prince or perſon, but he abſolutely 'obtained their confidence, and this power he had 'over the minds of others, he managed with ſo much 'prudence and diſcretion, that his intereſt never 'weakened or decayed. He was the favourite of the 'Regent Duke of Albany, and of his pupil James V., 'as long as they lived; and the French King and 'the Governor of Scotland equally regretted his loſs. 'He was indefatigable in buſineſs, and yet managed 'it with great eaſe. He underſtood the intereſts of 'the courts of Rome, France, and Scotland, better 'than any man of his time, and he was perfectly acquainted

(g) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. Bale, de Scriptor. Britan. Cent. XIV. Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 88. Paul. Jovius Deſcrip. Scot.

(93) Martyrology, Vol. ii. p. 621.

(94) Hiſt. of the Church, p. 2.

(95) Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Great Britain, Vol. ii. p. 209.

(96) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. i. p. 337.

(97) See the quotation from Buchanan, in the remark [N].

(98) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. ix. p. 450. lib. x. p. 481.

(99) Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 34. 41. 47. 50. 53.

(100) In Deſcrip. Scot.

(101) De Script. Britan. Cent. XIV. N. 70.

maintain an honourable rank in their native country (*b*) [*P*]. He was ſo well beloved by the people of St. Andrews, that as ſoon as they knew the caſtle was ſeized, they roſe in hopes of delivering him; but his dead body being expoſed from a window, their hearts failed them, and they diſperſed. The conſpirators in the caſtle were ſoon joined by many of their friends, who enabled them to hold out for a long time, and to make a tolerable capitulation at laſt, in conſequence of which they were tranſported to France; but the caſtle was afterwards demoliſhed, the true reaſon of which the reader will find in the notes (*i*) [*Q*]. What Dempſter ſays, as to the apparent judgment of God upon Norman Leſley,

quainted with the temper, influence, and weight, of all the nobility in his own country. In time of danger he ſhewed great prudence and ſteadineſs of mind, and in his higheſt proſperity diſcovered nothing of vanity or giddineſs. He was a zealous churchman, and thought ſeverity the only weapon which could combat Hereſy. He loved to live magnificently, though not profuſely; for at the time of his death he was rich, and yet had provided plentifully for his family. But his failings were many, and his vices ſcandalous. His pride was ſo great, that he quarrelled with the old Archbiſhop of Glaſgow in his own city, and puſhed this quarrel ſo far, that their men fought in the very church. His ambition was boundleſs, for he took into his own hands the entire management of the affairs of the kingdom, civil and eccleſiaſtical, and treated the Engliſh Ambaſſador as if he had been a ſovereign Prince. He made no ſcruple of ſowing diſcord amongſt his enemies, that he might reap ſecurity from their diſputes. His jealouſy of the Governor was ſuch, that he kept his eldeſt ſon as a hoſtage in his houſe, under pretence of taking care of his education. In point of chaſtity he was very deficient; for though we ſhould ſet aſide as calumnies many of thoſe things which his enemies have reported of his intrigues, yet the poſterity he left behind him, plainly proves that he violated thoſe vows to gratify his paſſions, which he obliged others to hold ſacred on the penalty of their lives. In a word, had his probity been equal to his parts, had his virtues come up to his abilities, his end had been leſs fatal, and his memory without blemiſh. As it is, we ought to conſider him as an eminent inſtance of the frailty of the brighteſt human faculties, and the inſtability of what the world calls Fortune.'

He wrote, if we may depend upon Dempſter (102), *Memoirs of his own Embaſſies*; *a Treatiſe of* Peter's *Primacy*, which had been ſeen by William Barclay, and *Letters to ſeveral perſons*: Of theſe laſt there are ſtill ſome copies, ſaid to be preſerved in the library of the French King.

[*P*] *Yet maintain an honourable rank in their native country.*] The lady who lived with the Cardinal as his concubine, was Mrs. Marion Ogilby, by whom he had ſix children; three ſons, to each of whom he gave a good eſtate in land; and three daughters, who were married into three as good families as any in Scotland (103). Mrs. Ogilby was of that family, which has ſince born the honourable title of Earls of *Airly*, and lived many years after the deceaſe of the Cardinal, in great credit and reſpect. One of the ſons was Mr. Alexander Bethune, Arch-Deacon of Lothian, and Laird of Carſgouny, who turned Proteſtant, married and eſtabliſhed the family of Nether-Tarvit, who bear quarterly, *firſt* and *fourth* azure, on a *feſs* between *lozenges* Or, *a leaf of betony* (alluding to the name Bethune) *ſlipped* Vert, *ſecond* and *third*, the arms of *Balfour*; creſt, *a Phyſician's ſquare-cap*; motto, *Reſolutio cauta* (104): From whence it ſhould ſeem, that Mr. Petrie was miſinformed, as to the falling of all theſe families to decay. The eldeſt daughter married the ſon and heir apparent of the Earl of Crawfurd, and the marriage contract is ſtill in being, dated at St. Andrews, April the 10th, 1546; in which the Cardinal expreſly ſtyles the bride, *my daughter* (105). The fortune he gave with her, was 4000 marks Scots, which muſt have been a very conſiderable ſum in thoſe days; ſince King Henry VIII. gave his niece, Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter to the Queen-Dowager of Scotland, by the Earl of Angus, when he married her to Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, no more than 6800 marks (106). But then it is to be conſidered, that the proportion between Engliſh and Scotch money was not the ſame that it is at preſent; for whereas the Scotch mark is now but thirteen pence and one third of a penny, it was then three ſhillings and four pence; or in other words, whereas eighteen Scotch marks now make a Scotch pound ſterling, there were then in it no more than ſix; ſo that the Cardinal gave his daughter a thouſand marks ſterling, which is ſix hundred ſixty-ſix pounds thirteen ſhillings and four pence. His other two daughters married into the houſes of Nairn and Kelly, which, if we may depend upon Mr. Petrie, were ruined and come to nothing in his time (107). All theſe obſervations of his are calculated to ſhew, that the wrath of heaven purſued the Cardinal's family, which is a notion equally irreconcilable to the principles of the Chriſtian religion, to thoſe of common ſenſe, or to matters of fact.

[*Q*] *The true reaſon of which the reader will find in the notes.*] The evening of that day in which the Cardinal was killed, there came in about one hundred and forty perſons to join thoſe concerned in the action, and to aſſiſt them in defending the place, congratulating them upon the ſucceſs of their enterprize, and applauding them as the deliverers of their country (108). On the other hand, the government of Scotland ſummoned them to appear, and anſwer in a judicial way, for what they had done. In this ſituation things remained from May to November, when the Governor, wearied out by the clamours of the Queen and of the Clergy, marched at length with a body of forces to beſiege the caſtle, which he did for ſomewhat more than three months, but to no purpoſe; and therefore he raiſed it, in order to go to Edinburgh to hold a convention of the Eſtates, which he had ſummoned to be held in February. It may ſeem ſtrange, that ſo ſmall a body of men ſhould be ſo long able to hold out ſuch a place againſt the force of a whole kingdom; but then we are to conſider, that at the very time they ſeized it, the Cardinal had juſt repaired and fortified the place, and had filled the magazines, that it might be in a condition to reſiſt the Engliſh, in caſe they ſhould land upon that coaſt. Beſides this, they were very well ſupplied from England, whither they ſent Mr. Henry Balnaves as their agent; and they had alſo another ſecurity againſt the Governor, which was their finding his eldeſt ſon in the caſtle, whom they kept for their ſecurity, and in the nature of a hoſtage, as the Cardinal had formerly done for his (109). But that theſe men were not ſuch virtuous and godly people, as the Hiſtory of the Reformation, and ſome other writers repreſent them, appears very clearly from what Mr. Buchanan tells us of their behaviour, after the Governor had raiſed his ſiege. 'They who held the caſtle, ſays he, being thus out of all fear of their enemy, did not only make frequent excurſions into the neighbouring parts, and commit depredations with fire and ſword all round, but as if the liberty gotten by their arms, were to be ſpent in whoredom, adulteries, and ſuch vices, they ran into all wickedneſs which idle perſons are ſubject to; for they meaſured right or wrong by no other rule but their own luſt, neither could they be reclaimed by John Knox, who then came to them, and often warned them that God would not be mocked, but would take ſevere puniſhments on thoſe who were violators of his laws, even by thoſe whom they leaſt dreamed of; yet his exhortations could not ſtop the courſe of their impiety (110).' The ſucceſs they had in defending themſelves, did not hinder their liſtening to propoſitions made them for ſurrendering the place upon reaſonable conditions, amongſt which one was, that they ſhould have an abſolution from Rome, which came over in June 1547, conceived, in other reſpects, in very ſtrong terms, but becauſe the crime of which they had been guilty was ſtyled *irremiſſible*, they refuſed to accept it, alleging, that

(*b*) See this explained in the note [*P*].

(*i*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scotor. lib. ix.

(102) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 88.

(103) Petrie's Hiſtory of the Catholic Church, P. ii. p. 184.

(104) Neſbit's Heraldry, Vol. i. p. 214.

(105) Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, Vol. iii. p. 28.

(106) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. xv. p. 31.

(107) Petrie's Hiſtory of the Catholic Church, P. ii. p. 184.

(108) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 73.

(109) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 87, 88. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. i. p. 337, 338. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, p. 47.

(110) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv.

Leſley, is evidently falſe, and was no doubt contrived to pleaſe the Romaniſts, and to pay his court to the Cardinals and other Eccleſiaſtics (*k*) [*R*]. But Archbiſhop Spotſwood,

that if the crime was unpardonable, they could reap no benefit from a pardon. The truth of the matter was, that they had now from England ſettled pay for the ſoldiers in the caſtle, at the rate of 1180l. for the half year, beſides good penſions for the principal perſons, ſo that they thought there was no haſte neceſſary in making terms (111). But it was not long before they changed their opinions; for, when they leaſt expected it, a fleet arrived from France, commanded by Leon Strozzi, who blocked up the caſtle on one ſide, as the Governor did with his army on the other. They were now in earneſt to reduce the place, and therefore planted ſome of their artillery in the ſteeples, which had a terrible effect, and what increaſed their calamity was, the breaking out of the plague in the place itſelf, by which many were carried off. Theſe misfortunes drove them to ſuch diſtreſs, that by the end of July they were content to ſurrender, but choſe to do it by capitulation with the French, who granted them no other terms than preſerving their lives and carrying them over to France, where they were to be ſet at liberty to go where they would (112). By this agreement the French became poſſeſſed not only of all the Cardinal's wealth and rich furniture, but of all that many of theſe people had in the world, which from a notion of ſecurity they had brought into the caſtle. As ſoon as they had evacuated the place, and the French fleet was ſailed, the caſtle of St. Andrews, in purſuance of an act of council, was demoliſhed, out of reſpect, as was generally given out, to an injunction of the canon law, which directs, that the place where a Cardinal has been ſlain, ſhall be ruined and laid level with the ground. The Governor and Council, however, proceeded on a much better and more ſubſtantial reaſon, which was an apprehenſion that the Engliſh, who at this time invaded their country both by land and ſea, might make themſelves maſters of this fortreſs, and from thence infeſt and deſtroy all the neighbouring country, which was very open and defenceleſs (113).

[*R*] *His court to the Cardinals and other Eccleſiaſticks.*] The humour of diſcovering God's judgments in all remarkable events was very ſtrong at this time, as has been largely ſhewn in the courſe of this article; but it muſt be allowed that Dempſter outdoes all the attempts of this kind in the following inſtance (114). 'This great Prelate, as he tells us, 'being ſlain by barbarous Hereticks in his bedchamber, his principal perſecutor *Leſly* piſſed in his 'mouth, and afterwards cauſed his dead body, in his 'Cardinal's robes, to be hanged againſt a wall, and 'expoſed it to ſacrilegious inſults; for which, however, God afterwards inflicted due puniſhments, 'ſince none of theſe wicked murderers eſcaped a violent death: As for Leſly himſelf falling dead from 'his ſteed, the horſe, which was a wonderful thing, 'ſtaled in his mouth, ſhewing thereby the certainty 'and ſeverity (though ſometimes delayed) of divine 'vengeance.' It falls out, not a little unluckily for Dempſter, that he fixes on the only perſon, who, ſuppoſing this doctrine to have ſome foundation, was moſt likely to have eſcaped ſuch a particular judgment, and that for this plain reaſon; that, ſo far as we know, he was the only one concerned in the Cardinal's murder, who gave public marks of his ſincere repentance. For Biſhop Leſley (115) tells us, that he was wrought on while in heat of paſſion to reſolve upon this action, and that being ever afterwards diſturbed with a remorſe of conſcience, he laboured by all means poſſible to atone for what was paſſed, by doing good to the friends and relations of the deceaſed Cardinal. But to ſhew the falſehood of the fact, and thereby remove entirely the credit of this ſtrange ſtory, it will be requiſite to give a ſhort account of what became of Norman Lord Leſly to the time of his death. While he remained in the caſtle, he had a penſion allowed him by King Henry VIII. of two hundred and eighty pounds, which he alſo enjoyed during the reign of King Edward VI.; but upon the acceſſion of Queen Mary an order of council was made, not only to ſtop the payment of all Scotch penſions, but alſo to oblige ſuch as had received them to leave the kingdom by a day certain, upon which he ſent over a gentleman to offer his ſervice to King Henry the Second of France in his wars againſt the Emperor (116), which was readily accepted on account of his known reputation for perſonal courage; and Biſhop Leſley tells us expreſsly, that he did this with a view to wipe off the ſtain he had brought upon his family, by being engaged in the ſlaughter of the Cardinal, for which his father the Earl of Rothes had been brought to his trial, and acquitted. In theſe wars he diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt remarkably, and we have the following account of the manner of his death from Sir James Melvil *, a man of great honour, and an eye-witneſs of it. 'The Conſtable of France, *ſays he*, having beſieged 'the city of Reny, and the Emperor having come to 'their relief, Norman Leſly, Maſter of Rothes, won 'great reputation, for with thirty Scotſmen he rode 'up the hill upon a fair grey gelding; he had above 'his coat of black velvet his coat of armour, with 'two broad white croſſes, the one before, and the 'other behind, with ſleeves of mail, and a red bonnet upon his head, whereby he was known and 'ſeen afar off by the Conſtable, the Duke of Anguin, and the Prince of Conde, where with his 'thirty he charged upon ſixty horſe with culverines, 'followed but with ſeven of his number. He in our 'ſight ſtruck five of them from their horſes with his 'ſpear before it broke, then he drew his ſword, and 'run in amongſt them, not valuing their continual 'ſhooting, to the admiration of all the beholders. 'He ſlew divers of them, and at length, when he 'ſaw a company of ſpearmen coming down againſt 'him, he gave his horſe the ſpurs, who carried him 'to the Conſtable, and there fell down dead, for he 'had many ſhots, and worthy Norman was alſo ſhot 'in divers parts, whereof he died fifteen days after. 'He was firſt carried to the King's own tent, where 'the Duke of Anguin and Prince of Conde told his 'Majeſty, That Hector of Troy was not more valiant 'than the ſaid Norman, whom the ſaid King would 'ſee dreſſed by his own Chirurgeons, and made great 'moan for him, and ſo did the Conſtable and all the 'reſt of the Princes, but no man made more lamentation than the Laird of Grange, who came to the 'camp the next day after.' As we have mentioned Sir James Melvil's memoirs upon this occaſion, it may not be amiſs to give an account from them alſo of the death of the Cardinal, which he poſitively aſcribes to King Henry the Eighth, who, he ſays, perceiving clearly that all his deſigns on that kingdom were defeated by that man (117), 'he, to be revenged on that Cardinal, dealt with Sir George 'Douglas and the Earl of Angus, who were but 'lately returned out of England, where they had reſided during the time of their baniſhment till the 'death of King James V. Theſe two brothers appearing to be of the Reformed Religion, perſuaded 'Norman Leſly, Maſter of Rothes, the young Laird 'of Grange, and John Leſly of Park-hill, who had 'been perſecuted by the ſaid Cardinal for religion, 'after he had taken their preacher Mr. George Wiſhart, 'and burnt him at St. Andrews. Theſe, I ſay, 'were eaſily ſtirred up to ſlay him, whom they were 'perſuaded to be an enemy to the true religion, to 'the welfare of the country, and to themſelves in 'particular. This proud Cardinal was ſlain then in 'his caſtle of St. Andrews; ſo ended all his practices, having obtained nothing but vain travel for 'his pretences, and ſudden death.' If we may give credit to this, the putting the Cardinal to death was no act of patriotiſm, as Buchanan repreſents it, but a downright conſpiracy againſt a man that ſtood in their way, by a few bold Politicians who had very little, if any, religion. This was Archbiſhop Spotſwood's opinion, who, though he was too honeſt a man to frame, like Dempſter, a falſe ſtory to ſerve his purpoſe, yet he has made no ſcruple of treating the death of Sir William Kircaldy of Grange, who in 1573 was hanged in the Graſs-market of Edinburgh, for holding out the caſtle againſt the Earl of Morton, then Regent, as a judgment upon him for the ſhare he had in the death of the Cardinal. His words, which are very remarkable, are theſe (118). 'Such was the 'end of Sir William Kirkaldie of Grange, a man 'full of valour and courage, who had ſometimes

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(*k*) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 88.

(111) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. ii. p. 8.

(112) Buchan. Leſl. Keith, Burnet.

(113) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church, p. 88.

(114) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 88.

(115) De Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. p. 482.

(116) Mackenzie's Lives of Scotch Writers, Vol. iii. p. 28.

(*) Melvil's Memoirs, p. 17.

(117) *Id. ibid.* p. 7.

(118) Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 252.

wood, though he does not ſpeak at all favourably of the Cardinal, ſeems to give into this opinion, concluding his account of that great Prelate's death with this obſervation (*l*). *Indeed, few or none of thoſe who had an hand in that work eſcaped an extraordinary judgment, God thereby declaring, that howſoever it pleaſe him, in the execution of his judgments, to uſe ſometimes the miniſtry and ſervice of men, yet he doth not allow of their wicked diſpoſition, and for the moſt part, faileth not to reward them with the ſame, or the like, that they do unto others.*

(*l*) Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 84.

‘ done good ſervice to his country againſt the French, and purchaſed by that means great honour: But ſeeking ambitiouſly to raiſe his fortunes, and hearkening to perverſe counſel, he did break his faith to the Regent who had put him in truſt, and thereby loſt all his former eſteem, and drew upon himſelf theſe troubles, wherein he periſhed. His part was foul in the death of the Cardinal; and for it when he was in his beſt eſtate, many did foredeem that he ſhould not eſcape ſome misfortune.’ Biſhop Burnet ſeems to have been governed in his opinion of this action by the ſame kind of obſervation, for having ſtated very fairly what was ſaid for and againſt it, he concludes (119). *The exemplary and ſignal ends of almoſt all the conſpirators, ſcarce any of them dying an ordinary death, made all people more inclined to condemn it.* C.

(119) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. i. p. 337.

⁂ [There is, in general, great merit in the preceding article of Cardinal Beaton. Our ingenious predeceſſor hath taken much pains with it, and has thrown no ſmall degree of light on ſeveral obſcure points in the Scottiſh hiſtory. But, after all, we are afraid that it is one of the articles which gives ſomewhat too favourable an account of the perſon to whom it relates. Though Cardinal Beaton's political abilities were undoubtedly of the higheſt kind, and ſome falſe ſtories may have been told concerning him, it is certain that his ambition was unbounded, that his inſolence was carried to the greateſt pitch, and that his character, on the whole, was extremely deteſtable. His violence, as a perſecutor, muſt ever cauſe his memory to be held in abhorrence, by all who have any feelings of humanity, or any regard for religious liberty. It is to the honour of Mr. Guthrie, that, in his Hiſtory of Scotland, he uſually ſpeaks of our Prelate with indignation.

Notwithſtanding what is ſaid in the note [*H*], to invalidate the ſtory of Cardinal Beaton's having forged King James the Fifth's will, the fact is conſidered as an undoubted one, by the generality of modern, as well as the more early hiſtorians. Dr. Robertſon and Mr. Guthrie both ſpeak of it in this light. Mr. Hume, in the following words, hath expreſſed himſelf with a certain degree of caution upon the ſubject. ‘ He (Beaton) forged, it is ſaid, a will for the King, appointing himſelf, and three noblemen, Regents of the kingdom during the minority of the infant Princeſs: At leaſt, for hiſtorians are not well agreed in the circumſtances of the fact, he had read to James a paper of that import, to which that Monarch, during the delirium which preceded his death, had given an imperfect aſſent and approbation (120).’

(120) Hiſt. of England, Vol. iv. p. 251. Edit. 1763.

With regard to the account (mentioned in note [*L*]) of ſeveral perſons having been condemned, though they were convicted of nothing but a ſuſpicion of having eaten a gooſe on a Friday, the fact is denied by Walter Goodal. It is obſerved, alſo, by Goodal, that Buchanan has miſtaken the ſenſe of Lindſay of Pitſcottie, as it is to be found in the MSS. copies: for that the woman was brought to bed; and not the child, but herſelf only, put to death (121). The words of Lindſay, as we have them in the late edition of his hiſtory, are theſe: ‘ In the end of February (1546), the Queen, Governor, Cardinal, and Lords held a convention in St. Johnſtown. There they cauſed hang four honeſt men for eating of a gooſe on a Friday, and drowned a young woman, becauſe ſhe refuſed to pray to our Lady, in her birth (122).’

(121) From a valuable correſpondent.

(122) Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 293.

No notice is taken, in the preceding article, of a public affront which, in 1545, was put upon Beaton, by Monſ. de Lorges Montgomery, who commanded the French forces at that time in Scotland. One of this gentleman's inſtructions was to enquire into the cauſe of the Earl of Lenox's defection from France. De Lorges, thinking the Cardinal to blame, upbraided him with having deceived both Lenox and the French King. Beaton gave De Lorges the lie, which the latter returned with a blow on the face; and had not the Lords preſent interpoſed, he would have ſtabbed the Cardinal on the ſpot, calling him a falſe whoreſon Prieſt. The Queen Mother endeavoured to reconcile the parties; but De Lorges was ſo much exaſperated, that he never would again come to court while Beaton was there (123).

(123) Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 291, 292. Guthrie's Ditto, Vol. v. p. 284, 285.

The ſtory of Wiſhart's prediction, concerning the fate of his malignant perſecutor, ſeems to be controverted on good grounds. If there be any thing in the fact, it certainly was not a prophecy properly ſo called, but a mere denunciation of the divine vengeance, which Wiſhart might naturally think would fall upon the Cardinal for his iniquities. He could not but know, too, how hateful Beaton was to many perſons, and that he might be expected to become a victim to his arrogance and cruelty. Mr. Hume, who admits the prediction, ſays that it was probably the immediate cauſe of the event which it foretold (124). Whatever becomes of this part of the ſtory concerning Wiſhart's martyrdom, the other part of it, relative to the Cardinal's viewing the execution from a window, is highly credible, and perfectly ſuitable to his character.

(124) Hume, *ubi ſupra*, p. 318.

The ſons of the Archbiſhop were James, Alexander, and John. They were all legitimated in his own life-time, and are termed the natural ſons of the Right Reverend, &c. Records, B. XXVI. N°. 330 (125).

(125) From the correſpondent before mentioned.

We ſhall add Dr. Robertſon's character of our Prelate, when he mentions his pretenſions to the Regency. ‘ The Cardinal was by nature of immoderate ambition; by long experience he had acquired addreſs and refinement; and inſolence grew upon him from continual ſucceſs. His high ſtation in the Church placed him in the way of great employments; his abilities were equal to the greateſt of theſe; nor did he reckon any of them to be above his merit. As his own eminence was founded upon the power of the Church of Rome, he was a zealous defender of that ſuperſtition, and for the ſame reaſon an avowed enemy to the doctrine of the Reformers. Political motives alone determined him to ſupport the one or to oppoſe the other. His early application to public buſineſs kept him unacquainted with the learning and controverſies of the age: He gave judgment, however, upon all points in diſpute, with a precipitancy, violence, and rigour, which cotemporary hiſtorians mention with indignation (126).’ We are not entirely ſatisfied with Dr. Robertſon's remark, that *political motives alone* determined Cardinal Beaton to ſupport the Romiſh ſuperſtition, and to oppoſe the Reformers. It might be ſo: but, at the ſame time, it is very poſſible, eſpecially when we conſider the period in which he lived, that a real bigotry in favour of Popery might mix itſelf with the principles and views of ambition and policy. The death of the Cardinal, as is juſtly obſerved by the elegant hiſtorian laſt cited, was fatal to the Catholic religion, and to the French intereſt in Scotland (127). So great was the ignorance of the Popiſh Clergy of Scotland at this time, that moſt of them imagined the New Teſtament to be a compoſition of Luther's, and aſſerted that the Old alone was the word of God (128).] K.

(126) Hiſt. of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 97.

(127) *Ibid.* p. 113.

(128) Hume, *ubi ſupra*, p. 316. Spotſwood, p. 75, 76.

BEATON, BETON, or rather BETHUNE (JAMES) Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, nephew to the former, being the ſon of his elder brother, Mr. Beaton or Bethune of Balfour (*a*); a Prelate of great prudence, moderation, and learning, as appears

(*a*) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scotor. ib. ii. p. 125.

pears by the high character given him by all his contemporaries, though many differed from him in ſentiments, both with reſpect to Politics and Religion. He was educated with great care both at home and abroad, but chiefly at Paris, under the eye of Abbot Bethune, then Reſident or Miniſter from James V. to Francis I. (*b*) By this means he came very early into buſineſs, and was employed in matters of the greateſt importance by his uncle, when he came in a manner to govern Scotland. Yet it does not appear, by what intermediate ſteps he was raiſed to the great preferment of Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, to which he was conſecrated in 1552, as ſome writers tell us, at Rome, whither very probably he was ſent, to lay before the Pope an account of the ſituation of eccleſiaſtical affairs after the murder of his uncle (*c*). The authors of the common Hiſtories of Scotland mention him as the immediate ſucceſſor of Gawen Dunbar in that See, in which they are right, but it was after a long vacancy, of which they take not the leaſt notice. For Archbiſhop Dunbar died June 30, 1547 (*d*), ſo that our Prelate did not ſucceed him till five years afterwards. He was no ſooner advanced to this dignity, than he began to be conſidered as one of the ableſt, and at the ſame time one of the moſt powerful, perſons in the kingdom (*e*). He had the confidence of the Earl of Arran, then Regent; his niece, Mrs. Mary Beaton, was the Queen's favourite in France; and in regard to his uncle's memory, as well as his own perſonal merit, he was highly eſteemed by the Queen-Dowager, who was endeavouring to gain the regency of the kingdom, to which, before herſelf, no woman had ever aſpired (*f*). In order to carry this point, it was judged neceſſary to procure the conſent of the States, to the marriage of the young Queen to the Dauphin, which was accordingly done, though ſecretly oppoſed by the Regent; and in the month of December 1557, the ſame Parliament which had conſented to the marriage, appointed alſo certain Commiſſioners to be preſent at it (*g*). Theſe Commiſſioners were James Beton, Archbiſhop of Glaſgow; David Panter, Biſhop of Roſs, then Secretary of State; Robert Reid, Biſhop of Orkney, then Preſident of the Seſſion; George Leſly, Earl of Rothes, of the Privy Council; Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Caſſilis, Lord High-Treaſurer; James Lord Fleming, High-Chamberlain; George Lord Seton; James Stewart, Prior of St. Andrews, the Queen's baſtard brother; and James Erſkine of Dun (*h*). They had very large and ſtrict inſtructions given them, in reference to the contracts, and other inſtruments that were to be ſigned before the marriage; and moſt evident it is from them, that the States conſidered this as one of the moſt arduous commiſſions, and of the greateſt conſequence to the nation, ever intruſted to any ſubjects [*A*]. In diſcharge of this commiſſion, moſt of the perſons before mentioned embarked at Leith the February following, and not without ſuffering ſome loſs, and being expoſed to

(*b*) Supplement to Spotſwood's Hiſtory.

(*c*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 477.

(*d*) This appears by a donation to Lord Somerville of the bailiwick of Lileſclewther, in the crown by the Archbiſhop's demiſe.

(*e*) Buchan. Leſl. Spotſwood, Knox, Keith, &c.

(*f*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xvi. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. p. 518. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 478.

(*g*) Keith's Hiſt. of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 72.

(*h*) Buchan. Leſl. Spotſwood.

[*A*] *Of the greateſt conſequence to the nation ever intruſted to any ſubjects.*] We muſt, in order clearly to comprehend this, conſider the ſituation of things in that kingdom when this commiſſion was given, and next the nature and deſign of the commiſſion itſelf. The young Queen Mary was the laſt of the line of Stuart, and by her marriage the kingdom was either to obtain much good and a powerful ally, or muſt be expoſed to many and great dangers. We find the States agreed to her marriage with Francis, Dauphin of France, and the buſineſs was to provide, that this ſtep might procure as many benefits, and expoſe the kingdom to as few inconveniencies, as poſſible; to which end theſe commiſſioners were choſen and inſtructed. Their commiſſion, which is ſtill preſerved, bears date the 14th of December 1557, and is ſubſcribed by the Governor, the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, many of the Nobility, and ſome of the Commons; and the principal points in their inſtructions were, I. To obtain from their Sovereign Lady Queen Mary, by and with the conſent of her Curators, before the marriage, and by and with the advice and conſent of the King of France her father-in-law, and the Dauphin her huſband afterwards, a full and ample ratification of the act paſſed in the parliament held in the convent near Haddington, July 7, 1548, for the transferring the perſon of her Majeſty to France. II. To obtain from the King of France a ratification of the promiſes made to the Duke of Chaſtelherault, for ſo the Governor James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, had been created in that kingdom, for ſupporting him in his claim to the ſucceſſion, in caſe the Queen's Majeſty ſhould chance to die without children; to obtain farther, after the marriage, a declaration to the ſame purpoſe from the Queen and her huſband the Dauphin, alſo a full diſcharge to the ſaid Duke for the diſpoſitions he had made of the public money, &c. during the time of his regency. III. To obtain from the Queen and Dauphin a promiſe, in the moſt ample form, to preſerve and keep all the liberties and privileges of the realm of Scotland, and the laws of the ſame, whole and entire, as in the days of her Majeſty's royal anceſtors, Kings of Scotland. IV. To obtain from the Queen and her future huſband, an ample commiſſion for a Regent to govern the ſaid kingdom of Scotland, according to the laws and privileges above mentioned. Theſe they did accordingly obtain, in as full and ample manner as they were inſtructed. But ſuch were the baſeneſs and perfidy of the French court, in the midſt of all this ſeeming candour and fair dealing, that they contrived to defeat theſe very grants and conceſſions while they were making. For notwithſtanding all the ſolemn declarations made by that King, and his ſon the Dauphin, to the Queen, yet in one day, viz. the 4th of April, they made the poor young Queen ſubſcribe the three following papers, viz. one, wherein ſhe makes over the kingdom of Scotland in free gift to the King of France, to be enjoyed by him and his heirs, in caſe ſhe ſhall happen to die without children. Another, in which ſhe is made to aſſign to the King of France the poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Scotland, after her deceaſe without children, until he ſhall be reimburſed of a million of pieces of gold, or of any great ſum that he ſhall be found to have expended on her entertainment and education during her abode in France. And a third (the worſt of all), by which the Queen declares, that although both before her marriage and after it, in compliance with the deſire of her Parliament, ſhe ſhall ſign a declaration touching the lineal ſucceſſion of her Crown; yet ſhe proteſts that the genuine ſenſe of her mind is only contained in the two preceding papers. There are authentic copies of all theſe inſtruments in a large fair manuſcript, preſerved in the Advocates' library in Edinburgh, which manuſcript contains all the treaties and other public tranſactions between the Crowns of France and Scotland, and was by the order of Louis XIV. tranſcribed from the public records, for, and beſtowed on, the Lord Viſcount Preſton, when Ambaſſador to him from King Charles II., in lieu of a conſiderable (but uſual) preſent in gold offered him at his departure, and by him ſo depoſited, for preſerving theſe memorable pieces for the ſatisfaction and benefit of lateſt poſterity.

much danger, arrived at Paris, where, after many diſputes, they were preſent, at laſt, at the propoſed marriage, between Francis Dauphin of France and Mary Queen of Scots, which was celebrated April 24, 1558, in the cathedral church of *Nôtre Dame*, the ceremony being performed by the Archbiſhop of Rouen (*i*). On the twenty-eighth, the Commiſſioners took an oath of allegiance to King Francis and Queen Mary; but when the French Court endeavoured to draw them into farther compliances, they ſhewed a juſt firmneſs to their truſt, and could not by any means be brought to yield in any thing, to what was inconſiſtent with their inſtructions; by which ſteadineſs of theirs all the French ſchemes were entirely defeated (*k*) [*B*]. After all their buſineſs was diſpatched, they began to provide for their return to Scotland; but before they were able to proceed from Dieppe, they loſt no leſs than four of their number, and many likewiſe of their ſervants, which happening in a very healthy ſeaſon, and when there was no ſickneſs in the country, occaſioned a very ſtrong ſuſpicion of poiſon, and the more ſo, as thoſe died, who declared themſelves with moſt heat againſt the projects of the French Miniſtry (*l*). The Archbiſhop, with the reſt of the ſurviving Commiſſioners, arriving on the ninth of October 1558, at Montroſe, a Parliament was immediately ſummoned to meet at Edinburgh on the twenty-ninth of November following. To this Parliament the Archbiſhop and his three colleagues repaired, and exhibited to the States the ſeveral inſtruments they brought with them from France, as alſo, a general Act of Naturalization in favour of all Scotſmen; which papers being read and conſidered, an Act paſſed for the general naturalization of the French in Scotland, and then an Act declaring the Parliament's entire and abſolute approbation of the Commiſſioners' conduct in every reſpect (*m*). The Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, after his return, acted as a Privy-Counſellor to the Queen Dowager, appointed Regent of the kingdom of Scotland by her daughter, and laboured all he could to maintain peace by fair and equal meaſures, to which, according to the accounts given us by the beſt hiſtorians, that Princeſs was ſincerely inclined. But by the arts of ſome, and the open violence of others, the kingdom for the ſpace of three years after, was a ſcene of fury, faction, fraud, and folly, ſo that all things ran into confuſion, and this chiefly on the ſcore of religion, for which, while in words both ſides expreſſed much zeal, their actions ſhewed it was little regarded by either; for the Papiſts on one hand did all they could to blow up again the flames of perſecution, and on the other,

(*i*) Pere Daniel Hiſt. de France, Tom. viii. p. 136.

(*k*) See this matter explained in note [*B*].

(*l*) Hiſtoire de France, par Mezeray.

(*m*) See the Records of Parliament, in which all that regards this tranſaction is ſtill extant.

[*B*] *All the French ſchemes were entirely defeated.*] The French upon this, as well as other great occaſions, affected a great ſhew of candour and good faith in public tranſactions, though at the ſame time they meant nothing leſs. Thus, ſoon after the arrival of the commiſſioners, they proceeded to ſign with them the marriage-contract, agreeably to a new commiſſion granted them by the Queen for that purpoſe, that her own and the Parliament's commiſſioners for this great affair might be the ſame. This contract bears date April 19, 1557 (1), and appoints the Sunday following, viz. the 24th, for the celebration of the marriage, upon which day it was accordingly performed. The jointure aſſigned by it to the Queen is 60,000 Livres, in caſe the Dauphin ſhall die King of France, or a greater ſum if ſuch ſhall be found to have been ever given to a Queen of France. And it provides 30,000 livres in caſe her huſband ſhall die, being only Dauphin. The eldeſt ſon of the marriage to be King of France and Scotland: The eldeſt daughter (in caſe there be no ſons) to be Queen of Scotland only, and to be given in marriage by the advice of the King of France and the Eſtates of Scotland; and beſides her inheritance of this kingdom, to have, as a daughter of France, 400,000 crowns in portion, and each younger daughter 300,000 crowns: After the death of her huſband, the Queen to be at liberty either to remain in France, or to return into Scotland at her pleaſure, and to carry along with her her ſervants, cloaths, jewels, and ſuch other things as belong to a Queen of France, and to have her jointure duly paid her in what place ſoever ſhe ſhall chuſe to abide: The commiſſioners from Scotland to give preſently after the marriage, in name of the Eſtates of Scotland, an oath of fidelity to the Dauphin during the ſubſiſting of the marriage; and the Dauphin ſhall bear the name and title of King of Scotland, and have his arms quartered with thoſe of Scotland; and when he comes to be King of France, ſhall bear the title and arms of the two kingdoms of France and Scotland united under one crown. And to this all parties concerned did likewiſe promiſe and ſwear. The marriage being celebrated, it was now thought time to try what might be done with the commiſſioners, in order to bring them to promote the great deſign of the Guiſes, which was under colour of this marriage to gain the entire poſſeſſion of Scotland. The whole is ſuccinctly related by a great Hiſtorian thus (2): ‘The court of France, ſays he, for ſome days being tranſported with the nuptial revels, when they came to themſelves called the Scots Ambaſſadors into council, where the Chancellor of France dealt with them to produce the crown and the other enſigns of royalty, and that the Queen's huſband ſhould be created King of Scotland according to cuſtom. To whom the Ambaſſadors anſwered in ſhort, That they had received no commands concerning thoſe matters. The Chancellor replied, That no more was deſired of them at preſent than what was in their power, viz. That when this matter came to be debated in the parliament of Scotland, they would give their ſuffrages in the affirmative, and give it under their hands that they would do ſo. That demand ſeemed to be fuller of peremptorineſs than the former, and therefore they thought it beſt to reject it with great vehemence and diſguſt, inſomuch that their anſwer was, *That their embaſſy was limited by certain inſtructions and bounds, which they neither could or would tranſgreſs; but if they had been left free without any reſtriction at all, yet it was not the part of faithful friends to require that of them which they could not grant without certain infamy and treachery, though there were no danger of life in the caſe: That they were willing to gratify the French, their old allies, as far as the juſt laws of amity required, and therefore they deſired them to keep within the ſame bounds of moderation in making their demands.*’ This is a very clear teſtimony to the honour and fidelity of the Archbiſhop and the reſt of the commiſſioners; and from the ſame author we have a farther account of what happened to them afterwards, which we ſhall give the reader in his own words (3). ‘Thus the Ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed the court, and though they haſtened home as ſoon as they could, yet before they went a ſhipboard, four of the chief of them, Gilbert Kennedy, George Leſly, Robert Reid, and James Fleming, all brave men and true patriots, departed this life, as did likewiſe many of their retinue, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon. It was thought that James, the Queen's brother, had alſo taken the ſame doſe; for although by reaſon of the ſtrength of his conſtitution and his youth, he eſcaped death at that time, yet he lay under a conſtant weakneſs of ſtomach as long as he lived.’

(1) See a copy of this contract in Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, in the Appendix.

(2) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xvi.

(3) *Id. ibid.*

the Reformers proceeded with ſuch violence, that they ſeemed bent upon deſtroying all monuments of antiquity, under colour of rooting out ſuperſtition (*n*). It was from this diſpoſition, that the Duke of Chaſtelherault, whom Cardinal Beaton drew from the Reformers, and who was now gone over to them again, came with a great force to Glaſgow, in the month of November 1559, and under pretence of pulling down images committed great havoc in the cathedral, and alſo took poſſeſſion of the caſtle (*o*): But the Archbiſhop, with the aſſiſtance of a few French ſoldiers, ſoon recovered the place; but perceiving (that conſidering his principles) it was not probable he ſhould be able to remain there long in quiet, he began to prepare for a retreat into France, reſolving to carry with him the treaſures and records of his archiepiſcopal See, which accordingly he did, in the month of July 1560 (*p*), and carefully depoſited what he carried, in the Scots college at Paris [*C*]. On his arrival in France, he was extremely well received by Queen Mary, now Sovereign alſo of that country, and by all the Court of France to whom he was before known. Immediately after his departure, the Proteſtants in Scotland named Mr. John Willock to preach at Glaſgow, ſeized all the revenues of the archbiſhopric, and afterwards proceeded againſt the perſon of our Prelate (*q*). As his return to his own country was by this means rendered in a manner impracticable, and as his fidelity and capacity were well known to the Queen his miſtreſs, ſhe reſolved, after the death of the King her conſort, and her going back to her hereditary dominions, to leave her affairs in France in his hands (*r*). Accordingly, in 1561, he was declared her Ambaſſador to the moſt Chriſtian King, and on the firſt of June 1564, that commiſſion was renewed (*s*), under which he acted as long as her Majeſty lived, and having moſt carefully preſerved her letters, thoſe of her Miniſters, and other papers of ſtate communicated to him during that time; theſe form at once the moſt complete, the moſt curious, and moſt authentic memoirs of that unfortunate reign, that are ſtill any where remaining (*t*). The publiſhing this collection entire, would be unqueſtionably a great and acceptable ſervice to the lovers of true and genuine Hiſtory [*D*]. While he remained at Paris in quality of Ambaſſador

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[*C*] *Carefully depoſited what he carried, in the Scots college at Paris.*] It was certainly a very wiſe and prudent ſtep in the Archbiſhop to ſecure his church-plate from being plundered under pretence of Reformation. The violences of thoſe times were ſuch, that it was with much difficulty private property was preſerved, and as to public offices and preferments, they were coveted only for the ſake of what went along with them; and though there might be many zealous in words, yet very few in their hearts had any real concern for the good of their country. The Archbiſhop ſaw and conſidered this, which induced him to take advantage of the going over of the French troops out of Scotland, in purſuance of a ſolemn agreement for that purpoſe, to tranſport himſelf, his effects, and the treaſury of his church, which it would have been very difficult, if not impracticable for him to have carried away at another time (4). It is impoſſible for us to give any exact account of what was then taken away; but the beſt writers agree, that the church of Glaſgow was very rich in plate of all ſorts, and we are particularly told that they had an image of Jeſus Chriſt made of gold, and the twelve Apoſtles in ſilver (5). Beſides the plate, he carried away all the writings, evidences, and records, belonging to his See, which by this means were preſerved from deſtruction: Amongſt theſe there were two chartularies, one of which, from its character, as well as its contents, is judged to be above five hundred years old; and the other, commonly called *The Red Book of Glaſgow*, was certainly written in the time of King Robert III. There were beſides many original charters, particularly one of King David I., with the ſeal well preſerved, as alſo bulls from the Popes, and the grants to and from the Biſhops of this See, from the time of its firſt erection (6). All theſe the Archbiſhop, ſoon after his arrival in France, placed in the monaſtery of the Carthuſians, founded by a Biſhop of Murray in 1325, and which has been ſince known to the world by the name of the Scotch College at Paris, to which he was himſelf ſo liberal a benefactor, that he has been eſteemed a ſecond founder, and beſides what he beſtowed in his lifetime, beſtowed upon it at his death no leſs a ſum than 80,000 livres for the maintenance of poor ſcholars of his own nation (7). Theſe are certainly very ample and authentic marks of a diſpoſition in that Prelate very ſuitable to his dignity; and it was this behaviour that gave him ſuch credit at the French court as he could never have obtained by leſs honeſt arts. This procured for him a rich abbey in Poictou, the treaſurerſhip of St. Hilary the Great in the capital of that province, and the priory of St. Peter's, which furniſhed him with the means of living decently, and affording ſome aſſiſtance to ſuch of his countrymen as were driven by the confuſions at home to ſeek for ſafety and a ſubſiſtence abroad (8). His behaviour in all reſpects was ſo prudent, and ſo free from any imputations of pride, ſelf-intereſt and revenge, that though he always continued faithful to the Queen his miſtreſs, and expreſſed the greateſt zeal upon all occaſions for her ſervice, yet we find little or nothing ſaid to his prejudice by ſuch as were enemies to her and to all her adherents, which is a manifeſt proof that virtue is its own reward, and that men who behave with duty to their benefactors, moderation towards the reſt of the world, and are charitable in their opinions of ſuch as differ from them, may not only ſecure peace and tranquillity in the place of their exile, but alſo raiſe to themſelves a reputation equal, if not ſuperior, to what would have waited upon them in better fortune. There is one thing ought to be added before I cloſe this note, which is, that the Archbiſhop, at the time he depoſited the valuable effects of his See with the Carthuſians at Paris, took care to make a declaration that it was in truſt only, and for the benefit of his ſucceſſors, in caſe that any time thereafter the Romiſh religion ſhould prevail in Scotland (9), of which he was too wiſe a man to have any great hopes then; and as there is no ſort of probability of it now, it would be well if the papers there, of a public nature, were committed to the preſs, the only way by which they can be made uſeful.

[*D*] *To the lovers of true and genuine hiſtory.*] As the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow reſided in quality of Ambaſſador from Queen Mary and King James, from 1560 to 1603, and was all that time in the higheſt confidence with thoſe Princes, it might well be ſuppoſed that his papers would afford a curious and authentic collection of the moſt important facts relating to the hiſtory of thoſe times, from which moſt of the printed hiſtories might receive, what it is plain they very much want, correction; and in this reſpect our Prelate was no leſs careful, than he had been with regard to the records of his Church, though it ſhould ſeem that equal attention was not paid to this laſt collection of papers, by which they have ſuffered much, though they are ſtill very valuable, and are capable of affording us many particulars not to be met with elſewhere. The beſt account that can be given the reader of theſe memoirs, in the condition they are now in, is the following letter from a perſon reſident in the Scotch college to the Reverend Mr. Keith, dated Paris, May 25, 1733 (10). ‘For your farther ‘information

(*n*) Con. de duplici ſtatu Religionis apud Scotos, lib. ii. p. 117, & *ſeq.* Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 146.

(*o*) Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Hiſt. of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 140. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 136.

(*p*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 141. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 151.

(*q*) Supplement to Spotſwood.

(*r*) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. lib. x. p. 579. Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 151.

(*s*) This Commiſſion is ſtill extant amongſt the Archbiſhop's MSS.

(*t*) See this explained and ſupported in note [*D*].

(4) Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xv. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scotor. lib. x.

(5) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 477.

(6) Biſhop Nicolſon's Scotch Library, p. 77.

(7) Con. de duplici ſtatu Religionis apud Scotos, lib. ii. p. 165.

(8) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccl. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 125.

(9) Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 151.

(10) Keith's Hiſt. of the Church and State of Scotland, Appendix to the firſt Volume, p. 146.

baſſador of Scotland, he received very little, if any thing, from thence: for we find Mr. James Boyd appointed Superintendant of that dioceſe after the death of Mr. Willock, and upon the death of Mr. Boyd in 1578, it was beſtowed on Mr. Robert Montgomery, who, though a zealous Proteſtant, was ſo perſecuted by his brethren for accepting a biſhoprick, that in 1587 he reſigned it to Mr. Erſkine, by whom the beſt part of the revenues of the See were granted away to the family of Lenox (*u*). But not long after, King James VI. becoming of age, and having a full account of our author's fidelity to his mother, reſtored him both to the title and eſtate of his archbiſhopric, of which he had been ſo long deprived. Before this, however, he had obtained ſeveral eccleſiaſtical preferments in France (*w*), for the ſupport of his dignity, which he enjoyed as long as he lived, King James continuing him there as his Ambaſſador, to whom he rendered many, and thoſe too important ſervices. He was univerſally and deſervedly eſteemed for his learning, loyalty, and hearty affection to his country (*x*). He was uniform in his conduct, ſincere in his religion, and unblameable in his morals. He was unfortunate in many reſpects, but more eſpecially in being driven from the cathedral chair, and from his country; but wonderfully happy in this, that he lived in credit abroad, beloved and admired by all parties, and left his memory unſtained to poſterity [*E*]. He died April 24, 1603, aged eighty-ſix, and was ſucceeded in his See by that grave and worthy Prelate Mr. John Spotſwood.

(*u*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 364.

(*w*) Dempſter Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 125.

(*x*) Con. de duplici Statu Religionis apud Scot. lib. ii. p. 165. Dempſter. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 125, 126. Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 477.

‘ information as to the remains of the laſt Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, our ſecond founder, I muſt tell you, that though all or almoſt all his papers and letters of negotiations ſhould naturally have come to this houſe, to which he left the ſmall remains of his fortune, to wit, his moveables, yet it happens that many of theſe papers were ſcattered and wanting before our time by ſeveral chances, and 'tis even much that there is even ſo many remaining as yet. The firſt time I had occaſion to ſee them here, in or about *A. D.* 1686 or 1687, they were lying in confuſed heaps or bundles in old trunks without locks, in a wardrobe expoſed to all hands, and thus they had lain for about eighty years after the Archbiſhop's death; and beſides that, many of them were carried off by curious or unſkilled people during that time, as I found by ſome important papers found in a Scots gentleman's houſe in the country, the remains of which I recovered. Beſides, I ſay, accidents which happened to them ſince the Archbiſhop's death, I find by Counſellor Blackwood's letter to the Archbiſhop, that he had the uſe of many important pieces concerning Queen Mary in the Archbiſhop's own time, whilſt he was writing at Poictiers the apology for that Queen, and ſo of others. But, as I formerly wrote to you, to prevent farther dilapidations of theſe papers in time to come, after reading them all over, and ranging them in order of time, we have cauſed to bind them up in volumes, and cyphered the pages. The chief reaſon why I take notice to you of the loſs made before our time of many of them, by the little concern and care our predeceſſors had of them, is to anſwer an objection made to me more than once, That it would ſeem that Queen Mary's cauſe was not ſufficiently juſtifiable, ſince there were no more important pieces for her juſtification to be met with now among the Archbiſhop her truſtee's papers. And I doubt not but that there were many and more important pieces among them when the Archbiſhop died than now remain.’ From the nature and the value of this collection, it certainly deſerves the character given it by a learned and ingenious Prelate, who has done great juſtice to the hiſtories and antiquities of Scotland, and who, ſpeaking of the papers in the Scots college at Paris, makes uſe of theſe words, viz. (11). ‘ There are alſo letters and minutes of the ſaid Archbiſhop (digeſted in a good orderly manner), which might furniſh out a valuable hiſtory of the troubled face of affairs during all his miniſtry, and (conſequently) afford ſome of the beſt lights for the hiſtory of a couple of reigns which were both full of extraordinary occurrences.’ It might be added, that from theſe papers moſt of the dates in which the printed hiſtories are ſo remarkably perplexed and deficient, may be ſet right, which alone would be a ſingular conveniency, and would contribute more than could well be imagined to the clearing up of things within that period of time, by ſhewing what facts might poſſibly be true, and what could not be ſo, let there be what authorities there will to ſupport them; for the hiſtorians of thoſe times, writing moſtly in a declamatory ſtile, very frequently join facts of a like nature, though long ſpaces of time intervened between them.

[*E*] *Left his memory unſtained to poſterity.*] If our Archbiſhop was reſtored to the revenues of his See, as ſome writers ſuggeſt, for the ten or twelve laſt years of his life, he might have grown rich, ſince, according to the beſt accounts I have been able to meet with, thoſe revenues might amount at that time to about four thouſand pounds a year Scots money; but I rather believe that he received but a part, and that the family of Lenox kept the reſt. His benefices in France muſt likewiſe have ſuffered during the civil wars in that kingdom, and without doubt his intereſt was not ſo great under the reign of Henry IV., upon account of his connections with the houſe of Guiſe, from which, by the mother's ſide, the Queen his miſtreſs was deſcended. His age and experience made him, however, reſpected to the laſt; for in theſe he had ſcarcely any equal, as his epitaph takes notice (12): for he had ſat Archbiſhop of Glaſgow fifty-one years, and had been forty-two honoured with a public character at the court of France, where he had ſeen a ſucceſſion of ſix Kings, and had tranſacted public affairs under five of them. He was likewiſe ſo fortunate as to ſee that accompliſhed which had been long the object of his wiſhes, that is to ſay, the ſucceſſion of King James to the crown of England, very ſoon after which he died. The Popiſh writers give him, as we may naturally expect, a very high character; but that which ſeems to do him moſt honour, is, the account which remains of him in his ſucceſſor Archbiſhop Spotſwood's writings (13). ‘ A man, *ſays he*, honourably diſpoſed, faithful to the Queen while ſhe lived, and to the King her ſon; a lover of his country, and liberal, according to his means, to all his countrymen. In his laſt will he bequeathed all his means to pious uſes, leaving, as was ſaid, ten thouſand crowns for the education of poor ſcholars, being Scotſmen born. The evidences, veſſels, and ornaments to the See of Glaſgow, he conſigned in the hands of the Carthuſians of Paris, appointing the ſame to be re-delivered how ſoon Glaſgow ſhould become catholic, and this year, being the ſixty-ſixth of his age, departed peaceably this life.’ The reader will obſerve, that here is a miſtake of no leſs than twenty years as to the age of our Prelate, who, at the time of his deceaſe, inſtead of *ſixty* was *eighty-ſix*; and faults of the like kind occur very frequently in the works of this author, which however are not to be aſcribed to any negligence in him, but to the books being printed from a very incorrect copy, that which the Archbiſhop had prepared himſelf for the preſs, and which is ſtill preſerved, being remarkably fair and perfectly exact. Mr. Middleton, who wrote an appendix to Spotſwood's hiſtory, ſpeaks therein of Archbiſhop Beaton in the following terms (14): ‘ He was a perſon honourably diſpoſed, faithful to Queen Mary while ſhe lived, and to King James, whoſe Ambaſſador he was, a lover of his country, and liberal, according to his means, to all his country-

(11) Biſhop Nicolſon's Scotch Hiſtorical Library, p. 77.

(12) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 125.

(13) Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 477.

(14) Appendix to Spotſwood's Hiſt. p. 9.

‘ men. He died 1603, a full jubilee of years from ‘ his conſecration.’ We might add many more authorities of the ſame kind if they were neceſſary. As he had much time upon his hands, eſpecially in the latter part of his life, he compoſed ſeveral books, which are ſtill preſerved, though none of them have been ever publiſhed. Their titles are (15), I. *Commentary on the* Books *of* Kings. II. *A Lamentation for the Kingdom of* Scotland. III. *A Book of* Controverſies *againſt the* Sectaries. IV. *Obſervations upon* Gratian's *Decretals*. V. *A Collection of* Scotch Proverbs. Theſe we have upon the credit of Dempſter, who was very likely to be well acquainted with what relates to this Prelate, conſidering how long he reſided himſelf at Paris, and the opportunities he had of enquiring into all the facts he has ſet down concerning him. Thus we have given the reader a much larger and more diſtinct account of this remarkable family of the Beatons, than hath been until now any where publiſhed, and have ſet a great many facts, that have hitherto been miſrepreſented, in their proper lights, which we hope will be ſo much the more ſatisfactory to the learned and inquiſitive reader, as we have thereby had an opportunity to clear up many perplexed points of hiſtory within the compaſs of one hundred years, which will therefore excuſe the length of theſe articles, as they could not have been curtailed without omitting many uſeful and curious particulars that lay ſcattered in a multitude of books that required much time to peruſe, and could not have been collected without difficulty. C.

(15) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 126.

BEAUCHAMP, in Latin *de Bello Campo*, a very noble Engliſh family, tranſplanted hither from Normandy at the Conqueſt (*a*). One of the firſt of this race mentioned in our hiſtories, is Hugh de Beauchamp, who received from Duke William, after he ſubdued this kingdom, lands of great extent; for by the general ſurvey it appears, that he was poſſeſſed of Belinghou, in Hertfordſhire; Linclade, Solebery, and Catebery, in Buckinghamſhire; and of forty-three lordſhips in Bedfordſhire (*b*). Another nobleman of this family was Walter de Beauchamp, who had likewiſe large grants made him, and whoſe capital ſeat was Elmley in Worceſterſhire. This Walter, as we learn from an author of good credit, was related to the Conqueror, who therefore enriched him, as he did others of his countrymen, at the expence of the Engliſh (*c*). There ſeems, indeed, to be no doubt, that Hugh and Walter de Beauchamp were of the ſame family, and they appear to have been equally favoured by Duke William their maſter: yet their fortunes were very different; for the family of the former ſoon extinguiſhed in the male line of the eldeſt branch; and the deſcendants of a younger branch, ſo divided and diminiſhed the lands that came to them from their anceſtors, as to loſe the degree of Barons, ſo that we know very little or nothing of their poſterity (*d*). But in regard to Walter de Beauchamp, he married a lady of the name of Talbot, and by her had ſeveral children, whoſe poſterity came to have large eſtates, and to be honoured with many high titles (*e*) in this kingdom, though the male line ſeems to be now extinct. We might be thought inexcuſable if we ſhould take no notice of the great men of this family, who at ſeveral times bore the titles of Earls and Dukes of Warwick, Lords Bergavenny, Powyke, Holt, Bletſho, St. Amand, Eſſex, and Hacch; and at the ſame time, if we ſhould pretend to give an exact account of all theſe, it would ſwell this work beyond its due bounds. We ſhall therefore endeavour to avoid both theſe inconveniencies, by giving a conciſe account of ſuch of this noble family as make the greateſt figure in our Hiſtories, and refer the reader for an account of the reſt to Sir William Dugdale, who has treated of them largely in his *Baronage of England* (*f*).

(*a*) Chroniques de Normandie, fol. 95.

(*b*) Domeſd. in iiſdem Com.

(*c*) Leland. in Collectan. Tom. iii. p. 127.

(*d*) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. i. p. 225.

(*e*) Leland, *ubi ſupra*. Dugdale, as before.

(*f*) Vol. i. p. 223—254.

BEAUCHAMP (RICHARD DE) Earl of Warwick, and one of the moſt conſiderable perſons in this kingdom in the XVth century, was deſcended from a ſeries of illuſtrious anceſtors both by father and mother, and enjoyed, in virtue of that deſcent, very large eſtates in different parts of the kingdom (*a*) [*A*]. He was born January 28, 1381,

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. i. p. 243. Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. i. p. 405. Hiſtory of the Earls of Warwick.

[*A*] *Very large eſtates in different parts of the kingdom.*] In order to keep this article as much within bounds as it is poſſible, we have choſen to give an account of this noble Earl's deſcent in a note. Walter de Beauchamp, of Helmely-caſtle, mentioned in the former article, had a ſon named William, who in the wars, after the death of King Henry I. adhered to the Empreſs Maud againſt King Stephen. He was hereditary Sheriff of Worceſterſhire, which deſcended to him from his mother, and he had a grant of the town and caſtle of Tamworth in Warwickſhire for the good ſervices he did the Princeſs before mentioned. He was alſo in great favour with King Henry the Second, and executed various high offices in his reign (1). He was ſucceeded by his ſon of the ſame name, of whom we find nothing remarkable. His ſon Walter, in the time of King John, was Governor of Hanley-caſtle in Worceſterſhire, but afterwards took part with the Barons againſt that Prince, and his ſon King Henry III. but was at length reconciled to him, and died in the year 1236 (2). He was ſucceeded in all his poſſeſſions by his ſon William, who was in great favour with King Henry. This William de Beauchamp married Iſabella, ſiſter to William Mauduit Earl of Warwick, and by her had iſſue another William de Beauchamp, who upon the death of the ſaid Earl took the title of Warwick in his father's lifetime, which Sir William Dugdale thinks was by the King's ſpecial favour, for that otherwiſe he could not have borne it till the death of his mother (3). We do not know exactly the time of this Lord Beauchamp of Helmely's death; but we find, that on the 9th of February, 1268, William Earl of Warwick did homage to King Henry III. for the lands deſcended to him by his father's death (4). This Earl, during the reign of King Edward I. was principally employed in awing the Welſh, with whom he had many engagements, and in the year 1295 gave them a great defeat near Montgomery (5). He afterwards ſerved the King in his wars againſt the Scots and French with great reputation. He married the daughter of Richard Fitz-John, Juſtice of Ireland, and had by her ſeveral manors in Wiltſhire, Northamptonſhire, and Bucks, beſides a large eſtate in Thomond (6). He departed this life in May, 1298, leaving his ſon Guy, ſo called, no doubt, from the famous Saxon Guy Earl of Warwick, aged 26 years. He, the very ſame year that his father died, attended the King into Scotland, and was preſent at the battle of Falkirk, where he behaved ſo well, that the King gave him all the lands, of which three Scots Lords were poſſeſſed, on the day upon which it was fought, which was the 22d of July (7). He ſerved that Monarch ſeveral years after in that country with ſuch fidelity and ſucceſs, that, as a reward for his ſervices, he obtained a grant to himſelf

(1) Henr. Huntingd. p. 226.

(2) Rot. Pip. 6 R. I. Wigorn.

(3) Baronage of England, Vol. i. p. 223. Cartular. War. Com. fol. 131. a.

(4) Rot. Fin. 52 Hen. III. m. 9.

(5) MS. in Biblioth. Bodl. K. 84.

(6) Rot. Fin. 27 E. I. m. 1. 3.

(7) Thom. Walſing. p. 42.

1381, at the manor-houſe of Salwarpe in the county of Worceſter, and had for his godfathers, King Richard II. and Richard Scroope, then Biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield, and afterwards Archbiſhop of York (*b*). He was made Knight of the Bath at the coronation of King Henry IV. in the year 1399 (*c*), and in the fourth year of the ſame reign he had livery of his lands, and was retained to ſerve the King one whole year, with one hundred men at arms, and three hundred archers (*d*). The next year, which was 1404, on the coronation of the Queen, he kept, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, Juſts, in which he behaved himſelf very gallantly. He was called the ſame year to do the crown more ſerious ſervice, in that dangerous rebellion raiſed by Owen Glendower, againſt whom he behaved bravely, and took his ſtandard in open battle. He was, likewiſe, in the famous battle at Shrewſbury, againſt the Percies, where he gained great honour (*e*), and was, not long after, made Knight of the Garter (*f*). In 1408, he obtained a licence from King Henry IV. to viſit the Holy Sepulchre at Jeruſalem, in purſuance of a vow he had made, and ſet out with a ſplendid retinue for that purpoſe. He took the Court of Bar in his way, the Duke being his couſin, by whom he was nobly entertained

(*b*) Hiſt. MS. de Geſtis ejus in Biblioth. Cotton.

(*c*) *Ibid.*

(*d*) Thom. Walſingham, p. 407.

(*e*) Hiſt. MS. *ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) *Id. ibid.* But this I take to be an error; ſee note [*G*].

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and his heirs of Bernard-caſtle in the Biſhopric of Durham, together with the town and lordſhip, with the manor of Middleton and the chaces thereto belonging, and the manor of Gainsford, which lands were held for life by the wife of Hugh de Baliol, as alſo all the lands held by the wife of Alexander de Baliol, which were to have deſcended to John de Baliol, then the King's enemy and rebel (8). In the reign of King Edward II. he was one of the nobility who ſeized Piers Garveſton, the King's favourite, at Scardeburgh; of which the King having notice, he ſent to deſire they would ſpare his life, which the Lords, at the requeſt of the Earl of Pembroke, agreed to do, and thereupon delivered him into the hands of that Earl, who ſent him to Wallingford, from whence he was again taken by our Earl Guy, who carried him back to Warwick-caſtle, where, having conferred with ſome of the Lords, and perſuaded them they could not be ſafe while this man lived, he cauſed him to be conveyed to Blacklow-hill, about a mile from Warwick, and there cut off his head. It ſeems this great favourite had a particular ſpleen to the Earl, and was wont to call him in deriſion *the Black Dog of Arden*, for which, as we have ſeen, he paid with his life (9). The Earl thought fit, notwithſtanding this bold ſtep, to demand a pardon from the King, who was obliged to grant it him, but never loved him afterwards (10). They did not, however, live long together; for, on the 12th of Auguſt, 1315, the Earl died at his caſtle of Warwick, as ſome inſinuate of poiſon (11). He left behind him by Alice his wife, ſiſter and heir of Robert de Tony (by whom another great eſtate was brought into the family), ſeveral children, particularly two ſons, Thomas and John, the former of which was ſcarcely two years old at his father's death; and therefore the King's great favourite, Hugh le Deſpencer, had the cuſtody of his lands, and probably of his perſon: but after the ruin of that great favourite, in the beginning of the next reign, the Lord Mortimer obtained the cuſtody of Warwick-caſtle, and the reſt of this young Lord's lands, on account of a marriage intended between him and a daughter of that Lord's (12). And two years afterwards the King received his homage by ſpecial favour, as if he had been of full age, though only in his ſeventeenth year, when he took upon him his hereditary offices of Sheriff of Worceſterſhire, and Chamberlain of the Exchequer (13). Before he was twenty, the King made him Governor of Guernſey, and the little iſlands adjacent (14). He attended the King in his wars in Scotland and in France, and was preſent and did great ſervice in the famous ſea-fight in 1340 (15). In the eighteenth of Edward III. he was conſtituted Sheriff of Warwick and Leiceſterſhire for life, and the very ſame year was created Earl Marſhal of England (16). At the famous battle of Creſſey he commanded the van of the Engliſh army, and afterwards, for the great ſervice he performed at the ſiege of Calais, he had a thouſand marks a year granted him during life. He was preſent after this in the famous battle of Poictiers, where the King of France was taken priſoner, and where our Earl fought ſo long, that his hand was extremely galled with uſing his ſword and poll-axe; but he had the good fortune to take priſoner William de Meleun, Archbiſhop of Seinz, for whom he received as a ranſom eight thouſand pounds (17). He attended Edward the *Black Prince* in ſeveral campaigns after this, and in the year 1360 he paſſed through France with a train of ſix hundred horſe in his paſſage to the eaſt, where he made war againſt the Infidels for three years, and at his return into England brought with him the ſon of the Prince of Lithuania, who was chriſtened at London by the name of Thomas, the Earl being his godfather (18). This noble Earl and his brother John were two of the firſt Knights of the Garter, and we find that he continued in high favour with the Sovereign, and in the exerciſe of his military virtues, to the time of his deceaſe, which happened on November 13, 1369, of the plague, at the time that he commanded the King's army in France (19). He had by his Counteſs Catherine, daughter of Roger Earl of March, five ſons and nine daughters. His eldeſt ſon Guy died in his lifetime; the third ſon, Reynburne, died a little after him; William, his fourth ſon, was created Lord Bergavenny, and married the ſiſter and coheireſs of Thomas Earl of Arundel; his fifth ſon, Roger, died young. Seven of his daughters married into the greateſt families in the kingdom; Catherine, the youngeſt but one, became a Nun at Wroxhall, and Juliana died a maid (20). Thomas, his ſecond ſon, who ſucceeded him as Earl of Warwick, ſerved King Edward III. in his wars with great reputation, and ſucceeded his father as Governor of the iſland of Guernſey. In the third year of Richard II. he was choſen by the Commons in parliament to be Governor of the King, who was then young (21); and when that Prince afterwards took the government into his own hands, he treated this noble Lord ſo ill, that he was conſtrained to join with Thomas Earl of Glouceſter, the King's uncle, to compel him to rule by law; in which, though he ſucceeded at that time, yet the King gave him afterwards ſuch marks of his diſpleaſure, as induced him to retire to his own eſtate (22). At this time he built the ſtately tower at the north-eaſt corner of Warwick-caſtle, the coſt of which amounted to (23) *three hundred ninety-five pounds, five ſhillings, and two-pence.* But though he no longer intermeddled with public affairs, yet the hatred the King bare him was ſo ſtrong, that having, by an invitation to dinner, got him into his power (24), he intended to put him to death, but was afterwards prevailed upon by the Earl of Saliſbury to ſend him priſoner to the Iſle of Man, from whence he was very ſoon removed to the Tower of London, and the King granted his fine caſtle of Warwick to Thomas Holland Duke of Surrey (25). After King Richard was depoſed, he recovered his liberty, was reſtored to his eſtate, and had a grant of all the goods which the Duke of Surrey had at Warwick (26). This noble Earl, who was alſo a Knight of the Garter, ſpent the remainder of his days in peace, having a great reputation for his valour, public ſpirit, piety, and charity, as ſaith John Rous the Hiſtorian of this family, and departed this life April 8, 1401 (27), lying buried under a noble monument in the ſouth part of the collegiate church at Warwick, built by himſelf, and wherein alſo lies his Counteſs Margaret, daughter of William Ferrers, of Groby (28), by whom he had Richard de Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, his only ſon, who is the ſubject of this article, to whom deſcended all the great eſtates this family had acquired by marriage, and which by the ſame means he much augmented, as will be ſhewn in its proper place.

(8) Cartular. War. Com. fol. 172. a.

(9) Thom. Walſingham, p. 76.

(10) Pat. 7 E. II. p. 1. m. 15. in cedula.

(11) Thom. Walſingham, p. 78. Rot. Johan. Rous.

(12) Pat. 11 E. II. p. 2. m. 24. Rot. Fin. 1 E. III. p. 1. m. 23.

(13) Clauſ. 4 E. III. m. 4. *Ibid.* m. 42.

(14) Pat. 5 E. III. p. 2. m. 2.

(15) Thom. Walſingh. p. 134.

(16) Rot. Fin. 18 E. III. m. 21. Pat. 18 E. III. p. 1. m. 18.

(17) Thom. Walſingham, p. 162. 164. Pat. 37 E. III. p. 1. m. 25. MS. in Biblioth. Bodl. Cantuar. K. 84. 123.

(18) Hiſt. MS. John Rous.

(19) Thom. Walſingham, p. 178.

(20) See the Accurate Genealogical Table of this Family, in Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. i. p. 387, 388.

(21) Thom. Walſingham, p. 243.

(22) Plac. Parl. coram Rege 21 R. II. n. 12.

(23) Ex comp. Ball. War. Com. An. 17 Rich. II. penes S. Archer. Equ. Aurat.

(24) Thom. Walſingham, p. 364.

(25) Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. IV. m. 112.

(26) Pat. 1 Hen. IV. p. 5. m. 14.

(27) Hiſt. MS. de Geſt. &c.

(28) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. i. p. 404.

for a week, and then that Prince accompanied him to Paris (g), where he was very graciouſly received by Charles VI. King of France, with whom he dined on a high feſtival, and at his departure was attended by a Herald, who was charged to conduct him ſafely through that realm (h). Upon his entering Lombardy, he was met by another Herald from Sir Pandulph Malacet, or Malet, with a challenge to perform certain feats of arms with him at Verona, upon a day aſſigned, for the Order of the Garter, which he accepted; and having performed his pilgrimage at Rome, returned to that city, where, in the preſence of Sir Galeot of Mantua, he firſt engaged Sir Pandulph with ſpears, and afterwards with battle-axes, in which combat Sir Pandulph received a dangerous wound on the ſhoulder, and had been killed outright, if Sir Galeot had not interpoſed and cried *Peace* (i). He went from thence to Venice, where he was moſt nobly entertained by the Doge; and then purſued his journey to Jeruſalem. He had much reſpect ſhewn him in that city by the Patriarch's Deputy, and having performed his devotions and offerings at the Holy Sepulchre, he ſet up his arms on the north ſide of the Temple, where they long after remained (k). He was alſo very reſpectfully treated by the Soldan's Deputy, and between them there paſſed many reciprocal acts of kindneſs [B]. From Jeruſalem he came back to Venice, and was there nobly received. Thence he travelled into Ruſſia, Lithuania, Poland, Pruſſia, Weſtphalia, and ſome countries of Germany, ſhewing great valour in divers tournaments whilſt he was in thoſe parts (l). No ſooner was he returned into England, than he was, by indenture dated 2d October, 12 Hen. IV. retained with Henry Prince of Wales, afterwards King by the name of Henry V. to ſerve him as well in times of peace as war, both in this realm, upon, and beyond the ſeas; and two hundred and fifty marks *per annum* were beſtowed upon him, to be paid out of the Prince's Exchequer at Caermarthen, at Eaſter and Michaelmas, by even portions: and whenſoever he ſhould be in that Prince's Court, he was to have four Eſquires and ſix Yeomen with him, and diet there for them all; provided that the Prince, in ſervice of war, ſhould have the third part of what he got in battle, and the third of the thirds of what his men at arms ſhould gain; and in caſe he took any great commander, fort, or caſtle, the Prince likewiſe to have them, giving him reaſonable ſatisfaction (m). He was alſo appointed, in conjunction with the Biſhop of Durham and others, the ſame year, to manage a treaty with the King of Scots (n). At the ceremony of the new King's coronation, he was conſtituted Lord High Steward, as the patent expreſſes it, *for his known wiſdom and indefatigable induſtry* (o). One would have imagined, that by theſe great employments he ſhould have been ſufficiently engaged; and yet, in this ſame year 1413, we find him one of the King's Commiſſioners into France, to treat of a ſolid peace between the two kingdoms, to be ſtrengthened and cemented by a marriage between the King his maſter and the Princeſs Catherine, daughter to the King of France (p). In the ſecond year of Henry V. when the Lollards, as they were then called, created ſome diſturbances, the Earl, amongſt others of the nobility, took up arms on that occaſion, and was very inſtrumental in reducing them to their duty (q). In the year 1415, he was declared Captain of Calais, an office of great truſt and honour in thoſe days, and never conferred but upon a man of known abilities as a ſoldier, and of a clear unqueſtionable character in point of fidelity; and in ſuch caſe, there was a contract in writing between the King and this Captain, whereby the former undertook to pay, and the latter to keep in conſtant order and readineſs, ſuch a garriſon as was thought requiſite; by which means it was very eaſy to diſcover where the fault lay, if any miſcarriage happened; and, on the other hand, a Governor had it always in his power to demonſtrate his innocence, if maliciouſly accuſed by his enemies of ill conduct (r) [C]. While the Earl of Warwick com-

(g) Clauſ. 9 Hen. IV. m. 17.

(h) Hiſt. MS. *ubi ſupra.*

(i) *Ibid.*

(k) *Ibid.*

(l) *Ibid.*

(m) Penes Cler. Pell.

(n) Rot. Scacc. 12 Hen. IV. m. 6.

(o) Pat. 1 Hen. V. p. 1. m. 36.

(p) Hiſt. MS. de Geſt. ejus.

(q) Thom. de Elmham, Vita Hen. V. cap. xvi. p. 31. T. Livii Foro-Julienſis Vita Henrici V. p. 7. Thom. Walſingham, p. 430.

(r) See this explained in the note [C].

[B] *Between them there paſſed many reciprocal acts of kindneſs.*] This part of the ſtory is thus given us by Sir William Dugdale, from the memoirs of John Rous (29). 'At the time of his being thus at Jeruſalem, a noble perſon, called Baltredam (the Soldan's Lieutenant), hearing that he was deſcended from the famous Guy of Warwick, whoſe ſtory they had in books of their own language, invited him to his palace, and royally feaſted him, preſented him with three precious ſtones of great value, beſides divers cloths of ſilk and gold given to his ſervants, where this Baltredam told him privately, that he faithfully believed, as he did, though he durſt not diſcover himſelf, and rehearſed the articles of the Creed. But on the morrow he feaſted Sir Baltredam's ſervants, and gave them ſcarlet, with other Engliſh cloth, which being ſhewed to Sir Baltredam, he returned again to him, and ſaid he would wear his livery and be marſhal of his hall. Whereupon he gave Sir Baltredam a gown of black peak furred, and had much diſcourſe with him, for he was ſkilful in ſundry languages.' There are many circumſtances in this ſhort tale that ſeem to render it fabulous; and therefore I did not inſert it in the text.

[C] *If maliciouſly accuſed by his enemies of ill conduct.*] It may not be amiſs to give the reader an inſtance of this manner of proceeding from the preſent caſe. Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, by indenture (30) bearing date June 19, in the third of Henry V., covenanted to ſerve the King to February 3, 1416, as Captain of Calais, and to have with him in the time of truce or peace, for the ſafeguard thereof, thirty men at arms, himſelf and three Knights, accounted as part of that number, thirty Archers on horſeback, two hundred Foot-ſoldiers, and two hundred Archers, all of his own retinue, beſides ten men at arms, and ten Archers on horſeback, belonging to the treaſurer of Calais, for which ſervice he was to receive for himſelf ſix ſhillings and eight-pence *per diem*, for his Knights two ſhillings a-piece, for the reſt of the horſe twelve-pence, for every Archer on horſeback and Foot-ſoldier eight-pence, and for every Archer on foot ſix-pence *per diem* for their wages: In which town there was alſo to be at the King's charge forty Croſs-bow men, twenty Carpenters, and five Maſons, beſides Bowyers, with other officers and penſioners; and in time of war, to have one hundred and forty men on horſeback, himſelf, and ſixty Knights, accounted part, and one hundred and fifty Archers on horſeback, one hundred Foot-ſoldiers, one hundred and eighty-four Archers on foot, and four Scouts on horſeback, for his own retinue, over and above twenty men at arms, and ten Archers on horſeback, as alſo ten Archers on foot, belonging to the ſame Treaſurer, beſides Baliſters, Carpenters, &c.

(29) Baronage of England, Vol. i. p. 243.

(30) Ex Autograph. penes Cler. Pell.

manded in Calais, there was a report, that the French were drawing troops together with a view to beſiege that fortreſs, which occaſioned his putting himſelf haſtily into a poſture of defence; but learning afterwards that this was an alarm only, and that the French forces were actually marched another way, he, to cover his former preparations, and to prevent the French from perceiving his miſtake, gave out, that he meant no more than to exerciſe ſome feats of chivalry, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, and ſo turned this accident into a means of acquiring great honour and reputation (*s*) [*D*]. The Council of Conſtance ſitting during the time of his reſidence in Calais, and the King's ſending thither the Biſhops of Saliſbury, Coventry and Litchfield, Bath and Wells, Norwich, Hereford, and St. David's, the Abbot of Weſtminſter, Prior of Worceſter, and other learned men; the Earl of Warwick, for their greater honour, eſcorted them thither, their whole train conſiſting of eight hundred horſe (*t*). While he remained at Conſtance, he received a challenge from a great Duke for his Lady's ſake, ſlew the Duke in juſting, whereupon the Empreſs took his livery, *viz.* the *Bear*, from one of his Knight's ſhoulders, and for great favour to him ſet it on her own ſhoulder. But he having notice thereof, made one of pearl and precious ſtones; which being preſented to her, ſhe received with great reſpect (*u*). Here alſo it was, that the Emperor Sigiſmund gave him his ſword to bear, and offered him the heart of St. George (the Engliſhman's tutelary Saint) to bring over into this realm; but hearing the Emperor ſay, that he would come in perſon into England, he reſtored it to him, ſaying, *That the delivery thereof with his own hand would be much more acceptable.* Nor was it long after that the Emperor did come over accordingly; and being then inſtalled Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, offered the holy heart at Windſor, which was there kept in great eſteem. Upon his paſſage hither and return, he was ſumptuouſly entertained at Calais by the Earl, then Captain there, whoſe behaviour was ſuch, that the Emperor told King Henry, 'That no Chriſtian 'Prince had ſuch another Knight, for wiſdom, courtlineſs, and manhood; adding, that 'if all courteſy were loſt, yet might it be found again in him;' inſomuch as ever after, by the ſame Emperor's authority, he was called *the Father of Courteſy* (*w*). In his return from Calais at that time, he took at ſea two great carricks. In 4 Henry V. his commiſſion for Captain of Calais, and Governor of the Marches of Picardy, was again renewed. In the ſame year he was one of the chief commanders at the ſiege of Caen in Normandy, the King himſelf being there with a great army (*x*). In 1417, he was conſtituted one of the King's Commiſſioners for ſettling the capitulation of that caſtle: the ſame year he was likewiſe empowered to reduce and receive into the King's obedience ſeveral other ſtrong places in that country, which he performed to the great ſatisfaction of the King, and with great credit to himſelf (*y*). In the ſame year he attended Thomas, Duke of Clarence, General of the King's army, into France, where he gave freſh marks of valour, and did ſeveral eminent ſervices; for having taken Dampfront, he was the firſt who entered Caen, which was taken by ſtorm, and ſet the King's and the Duke of Clarence's enſigns on the walls (z). Then he laid ſiege to Caudebeck on the river Seine, blocked

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(*s*) Hiſt. MS. de Geſt. ejus.

(*t*) Thom. Walſingh. p. 433.

(*u*) Hiſt. MS. de Geſtis, &c.

(*w*) *Ibid.*

(*x*) Rot. Franc. 5 Hen. V. m. 22. Thom. de Elmham Vita Hen. V. cap. xlii. p. 101.

(*y*) Thom. Walſingh. p. 445.

(*z*) Hiſt. MS. de Geſtis, &c.

[*D*] *A means of acquiring great honour and reputation.*] The reader cannot help perceiving, by what has been already related, that this was an age in which knight-errantry flouriſhed, and when even the greateſt perſons in the kingdom, and thoſe too diſtinguiſhed by prudence and conduct, as well as intrepidity and courage, thought fit to diſtinguiſh themſelves in this way: and indeed, as this was the caſe, the Earl of Warwick was to be commended for deceiving the French by ſo well-contrived a ſtratagem, rather than allow them to think they could not march a body of troops on any ſide, without alarming the Governor of Calais. The method he took was this (31). He cauſed three ſhields to be made, and in each of them a Lady painted, the firſt harping at the end of a Bedſtead, with a grate of gold on her left ſleeve, and her Knight, called the *Green Knight*, with a black quarter, who was ready to juſt with any Knight of France, twelve Courſes having two ſhields of Purveyance, and his letter ſealed with the ſeal of his arms, the field *ſilver*, a manch *gules*. The ſecond pavice on the ſhield had a Lady ſitting at a covered board working pearls, and on her ſleeve a glove of plate tacked, her Knight being called Chevalier Vert, having his letter ſealed with theſe arms. The field *ſilver*, two bars of *gules*, who was to juſt fifteen courſes, and that ſhould be ſaddles of chains. The third pavice had a Lady ſitting in a garden making a chaplet, and on her ſleeve a polein with a rivet, her knight being called Chevalier Attendant, who with his fellow muſt run and courſe with ſharp ſpears, his letter being ſealed with *gold*, and *gules* quarterly, and a border *Vert*; which letter was ſent to the King's court of France, where three French Knights received them, and promiſed their fellows to meet at a day and place aſſigned, whereof the firſt was a Knight, called Sir Gerard Horbaumis, who called himſelf Le Chevalier *Rouge*; the ſecond a famous Knight, named Sir Hugh Launey, calling himſelf Le Chevalier *Blank*; and the third a Knight, named Sir Collard Fines: Twelfth-day in Chriſtmas being appointed for the time that they ſhould meet in the land called the Park-hedge of Gynes. On which day this Earl came into the field with his face covered, a plume of Oſtrich feathers upon his head, and his horſe trapped with the Lord Toney's arms (one of his anceſtors), viz. *Argent* a manch *gules*, where firſt encountering with the Chevalier *Rouge*, at the third courſe he unhorſed him, and ſo returned with cloſe vizor unknown to his pavilion, whence he ſent to that Knight a good courſer. The next day he came into the field with his vizor cloſe, a chaplet on his helmet, and a plume of Oſtrich feathers aloft, his horſe trapped with the arms of Hanſlap, viz. *Silver* two bars *gules*, where he met with the *Blank* Knight, with whom he encountered, ſmote off his vizor thrice, broke his biſagurs and other harneſs, and returned victoriouſly to his pavilion with all his habiliments ſafe, and as yet not known to any; from whence he ſent this *Blank* Knight, Sir Hugh Launey, a good courſer. But the morrow after, *viz.* the laſt day of the juſts, he came with his face open, and his helmet, as the day before, ſave that the chaplet was rich with pearl and precious ſtones, and in his coat of arms of Guy and Beauchamp quarterly, having the arms of Toney and Hanſlap on his trappers, and ſaid, that as he had in his own perſon performed the ſervice the two days before, ſo with God's grace he would the third. Whereupon, encountering with Sir Collard Fines, at every ſtroke he bore him backward to his horſe, inſomuch that the Frenchman, ſaying that he himſelf was bound to his ſaddle, he alighted, and preſently got up again. But all being ended, he returned to his pavilion, ſent to Sir Collard Fines a fair courſer, feaſted all the people, gave to thoſe three Knights great rewards, and ſo rode to Calais with great honour.

(31) Hiſt. MS. de Geſtis ejus.

up the city of Roan by land and water, and reduced Mount Saint Michael, and other ſtrong places; as a reward for which ſervices, the King created him Earl of Aumarle, or, as we uſually call it, Albemarle (*a*). At the ſiege of Roan his tent ſtood between the King's pavilion and St. Catherine's; which laſt place being taken, he was appointed to keep port Martevile (*b*). In the month of May, King Henry ſent him to the King of France, attended by a thouſand men at arms, to treat of a marriage between him and that King's daughter, the Lady Catherine: but the Dauphin knowing that this marriage was intended to defeat his ſucceſſion, he ſent a body of five thouſand men, under the command of the Earls of Vendoſme and Lymoſin, to obſtruct his paſſage, to whom the Earl gave battle, in which both thoſe noblemen were killed, and one of them fell by the Earl of Warwick's own hand, and about two thouſand of their troops were either ſlain or taken (*c*). He then proceeded on his embaſſy, in which, notwithſtanding the difficulties he had to ſtruggle with, he very happily ſucceeded, to the King's great ſatiſfaction (*d*) [*E*]. But as many places in France, immediately after this treaty, declared for the Dauphin, it was thought requiſite to take the ſtrongeſt of them, which was Melun, in order to ſet an example to the reſt; which place this noble Earl reduced in fourteen weeks and four days, to the great amazement of the French, who had flattered themſelves that it was impregnable (*e*). In the laſt year of the victorious Henry V. he attended John, Duke of Bedford, the King's brother, who marched with an army to the relief of a town belonging to the Duke of Burgundy, which the Dauphin had beſieged: but the reputation of theſe Noblemen did all that was expected from their army; for the French no ſooner heard of their coming, than they retired from before the place (*f*). King Henry dying ſoon after this, gave, by his will, the higheſt teſtimony a Prince could give, of his reſpect for, and confidence in, the Earl of Warwick, by directing that he ſhould have the tutelage of his ſon, then an infant, till he arrived at the age of ſixteen, which was afterwards confirmed by Parliament (*g*). In the firſt of Henry VI. he was by indenture retained to be Captain of Calais for two years; which fortreſs being beſieged by Philip, Duke of Burgundy, now reconciled to the French, this noble Earl, aſſiſted by Humphrey Duke of Glouceſter, and Humphrey Earl of Stafford, ſo gallantly defended it, that, after a long ſiege and great loſs, the Duke of Burgundy was forced to riſe from before it (*h*). Upon the death of the Duke of Bedford, who was Regent of France for King Henry, the Earl of Warwick was judged by the King's uncles, and the principal nobility of the realm, the only perſon that could repair his loſs; and therefore he was diſcharged from the care of the King's perſon, and conſtituted Lieutenant-General of the realm of France and dutchy of Normandy, the higheſt honour a ſubject of England could receive (*i*). He embarked thereupon with his lady and ſon, in order to paſs the ſeas to his charge; but meeting with a dangerous ſtorm in his paſſage, he cauſed himſelf and both of them to be bound to the main maſt of the ſhip, to the intent that if they had periſhed, and were afterwards found, being known by his coat of arms, they might have been buried together (*k*). He had with him in this voyage a peculiar officer at arms, called Warwick Herald, who received from him an annuity of ten marks a year (*l*). There are ſtill extant the articles of agreement made between this noble Earl and the King, on his going over to govern France, dated the 11th of May in the fifth year of Henry VI. which being of a great length, we could not inſert here (*m*). He executed this great and difficult employment with his uſual wiſdom and diligence, for the four laſt years of his life, and died in poſſeſſion thereof in the caſtle of Roan, April the 30th, 1439 (*n*); leaving iſſue by Elizabeth his firſt wife, daughter and heireſs to Thomas Lord Berkeley, three daughters, *viz.* Margaret, married to John Talbot, Earl of Shrewſbury; Eleonora, married to the Lord Roſs, and afterwards to Edmund Beaufort, Marquis of Dorſet and Duke of Somerſet; and Elizabeth, who eſpouſed George Nevil, Lord Latimer. Our great Earl took to his ſecond wife, by ſpecial diſpenſation from the Pope,

(*a*) Hiſt. MS. de Geſt. ejus; and it plainly appears that he had this title by his ſtyle in all his writings afterwards.

(*b*) Hiſt. MS. *ubi ſupra.*

(*c*) *Id. ibid. ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) Thom. de Elmham, Vita Henric. V. cap. lxxviii. p. 246.

(*e*) Titi Livii Foro Jul. Vita Hen. V. p. 79. Thom. de Elmham, Vita Hen. V. cap. xcv. p. 275. Hiſt. MS. de Geſt. ejus.

(*f*) Thom. de Elmham, Vita Hen. V. cap. xcix. p. 281. Hiſt. MS. de Geſt. ejus.

(*g*) Hiſt. MS. de Geſt. ejus. Pat. 14 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 19.

(*h*) Hiſt. MS. *ubi ſupra.*

(*i*) Pat. 14 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 19.

(*k*) Hiſt. MS. de Geſt. ejus.

(*l*) *Ibid.*

(*m*) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. i. p. 245. See the articles at large in his Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. i. p. 408—411.

(*n*) See his epitaph in note [*H*].

[*E*] *He very happily ſucceeded to the King's ſatiſfaction.*] We are told, by the author of the life of King Henry, that this treaty was firſt propoſed to that Prince by Philip, Duke of Burgundy (32), and that he ſolicited his Majeſty to ſend a Nobleman, in whom he had the greateſt confidence, to confer with and ſettle preliminaries of peace with the miniſters of Charles VI. of France, who, by reaſon of his having been long diſordered in his ſenſes, was not able to tranſact the great affairs of his kingdom in perſon; and he tells us, that the Earl of Warwick was thereupon made choice of for his ſingular abilities in negotiation, and that he was attended by ſeveral of the King's miniſters, who were to aſſiſt him in this important affair. He accordingly adjuſted the principal points of this moſt remarkable treaty, which was of the greateſt conſequence by far, of any, in which a ſubject of England had been employed; and by his advice it was agreed, that there ſhould be an interview between the two Kings, in order to ſettle the remaining points, which accordingly took place at Troyes (33). There this treaty, of which that writer gives us a copy at large, was concluded and ratified in the cathedral church of St. Peter, under the great ſeals of the reſpective Kings, on the 21ſt of May, 1420. By this treaty King Charles appoints and acknowledges King Henry heir to the crown of France: but it is agreed, that Henry ſhould not bear the title of King of France till the death of Charles, but ſhould content himſelf with the title of Regent, and the managing all public affairs. The two kingdoms of France and England were to remain under one Prince, *viz.* Henry, and his heirs, but were to be independent of each other, and to be governed each by its own laws; the privileges and rights of all perſons and eſtates were to be preſerved, and no treaty of accommodation with the Dauphin was to be made, but by the conſent of the two Kings, the Duke of Burgundy, and the three Eſtates of both realms (34). Such were the terms of this treaty, by which the crown of France, after the death of the before-mentioned Charles VI. was ſet upon the head of our King Henry VI. ſon to Henry V. by the Lady Catherine.

(32) Thom. de Elmham. Vit. Hen. V. p. 245—266.

(33) Titi Livii Foro-Jul. Vit. Hen. V. p. 81—89.

(34) Mezerav Abrege de l'Hiſtoire de France, Tom. iii. p. 209, 210.

becauſe ſhe was the widow of Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Worceſter, his uncle's ſon, Iſabel, daughter to Thomas le Deſpenſer, Earl of Glouceſter, and, by the death of her brother Richard, and her elder ſiſter Elizabeth, without iſſue, heireſs of all his lands (*o*). By this his ſecond Counteſs, Richard Earl of Warwick had a ſon and a daughter: the name of the former was Henry, of whom in our next article; at the cloſe of which we ſhall ſpeak of his ſiſter, whoſe name was Anne. This noble Earl of Warwick, who was the fifth of his family who bore that title, died poſſeſſed of a vaſt eſtate in lands, from the conſideration of which, and of the nature of tenures in thoſe times, we may very eaſily form an idea of his great power and influence [*F*]. We are certainly much indebted to the hiſtorian of the family, John Rous, for the particulars he has preſerved in relation to this famous Earl's life and actions, with reſpect to moſt of which, there ſeems to be no reaſon to doubt of his veracity, ſince we find them fully confirmed by contemporary hiſtorians: but in one thing he ſeems to have been much miſtaken, which is with regard to the time of his being made Knight of the Garter, at leaſt if there be any dependence on the regiſter of the Order in thoſe times [*G*]. One might have reaſonably expected to have had this matter cleared up by the inſcription on his monument, which remains undefaced in the collegiate church of Warwick, and of which there is a very fine cut by the famous William Hollar, preſerved in Dugdale (*p*); but there is not a word of it. However, as this inſcription is but ſhort, and withal very curious, I thought the reader might be pleaſed to ſee it, and therefore it is placed in the notes [*H*]. His

(*o*) Ex Hiſt. MS. Abb. de Tewkſbury, in Leland. Itin. Tom. vi. p. 88, 89.

(*p*) Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. i. p. 410.

[*F*] *An idea of his great power and influence.*] We have already ſeen how the eſtates of ſeveral noble families came to the Beauchamps, and what vaſt grants they received from the crown, in gratitude for the ſervices performed by them; ſo that we may well credit what Sir William Dugdale tells us upon this ſubject, though he has not given us the roll of the Earl's eſtates, which, I apprehend, would have been more ſatisfactory than the Painter's bill, upon the Earl's going to France, which he has twice exhibited. He has, however, given us the ſubſtance of that roll, which ſhall be preſented in his own words (35). ‘The lands whereof he was poſſeſſed were very vaſt, as may be ſeen by the computation of their yearly value, extracted from the accounts of his ſeveral bailiffs through England and Wales in 12 Henry VI. (36), amounting to no leſs than eight thouſand ſix hundred and ſix marks, eleven ſhillings, eleven pence halfpenny, which, ſetting aſide the good pennyworths that his tenants had of what they then held, would, in the days we live, augment the ſum ſix-fold at leaſt, conſidering about that time barley was ſold for four ſhillings and two pence a quarter, oats at two ſhillings and one penny halfpenny, capons at three pence a piece, and hens at one penny halfpenny, as by certain accounts of his houſhold officers appeareth (37).’

(35) Baronage of England, Vol. i. p. 247.

(36) Ex Rot. penes Franc. Netherſole, Equ. Aurat.

(37) De An. 7 Hen. IV. et 38 Hen. VI. penes S. Archer. Equ. Aur.

[*G*] *Any dependence on the regiſter of the Order in thoſe times.*] Sir William Dugdale introduces his Memoirs of this noble Earl by theſe elegant obſervations (38): ‘If the leaving behind us an honourable fame, which lives in the memories of all good men, when theſe mortal bodies of ours are turned to duſt, be accounted ſome happineſs, as doubtleſs it is, and hath therefore excited divers noble ſpirits to bold and high adventures, whereof we want not manifold teſtimonies, then ſurely the tranſmitting a remembrance of our virtuous actions to poſterity by a faithful regiſter, muſt needs be a thing moſt acceptable to thoſe whoſe memories are ſo preſerved, as the like by *Polybius* of *Scipio Africanus* was, as alſo a ſingular eſtimation with after-ages, which are ſo much quickened we ſee by ſuch notable examples; and therefore I cannot but obſerve, that the advantage which this Earl had herein was much more than any of his anceſtors, by reaſon that Rous being his contemporary, and ſo well affected to hiſtory in general, out of the ſpecial relation he had to this family, hath with great diligence obſerved the moſt remarkable paſſages of his life, which with no leſs art than induſtry are ſet forth by him in curious pictures, hiſtorically repreſenting them in order of time from his birth to his death, and which has added much to the luſtre of his hiſtory, as by and by will appear.’ All this we allow to be handſomely ſaid. But for all this John Rous cannot paſs for an accurate writer, of which we cannot well have a ſtronger proof, than his aſſerting that the Earl of Warwick was honoured with the Garter early in the reign of Henry IV. The plain reaſon for his ſaying ſo is, to give him greater luſtre in his tournament at Verona againſt Sir Pandulph Malet, who, he inſinuates, had offered combat to any of the Knights of this order, the honour of which was glorioſly ſuſtained by the Earl of Warwick. But in the regiſters of the Order, which contain the names of twenty-five Knights, elected companions during that reign, we meet with nothing of this Earl of Warwick. It muſt, indeed, be allowed, that theſe regiſters were not ſo complete as could be wiſhed, becauſe we have the names only of the Knights, and not the dates of their election. But from the beginning of the reign of Henry V. they became more regular, and though the dates of their elections were not then added, yet their names were ſet down in the order in which they were elected. It is from hence we have ſome light as to the time when the Earl of Warwick was really elected; for we find him the fourteenth Knight companion elected in this reign, and the hundred and twenty-fourth of the Order from its firſt inſtitution (39). It is, therefore, clear enough, all circumſtances conſidered, that inſtead of obtaining this honour in 1403, he did not attain it before 1420. I might take notice of ſome other ſmall ſlips of this nature; but as they are not of great conſequence, and ſeem to proceed purely from his exceſs of zeal for this noble family, from whom he received his living, I ſhall not detain the reader longer upon this ſubject.

(38) Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. i. p. 405.

(39) Aſhmole's Order of the Garter, p. 630.

[*H*] *I thought the reader might be pleaſed to ſee it, and therefore it is placed in the notes.*] This noble Earl, by his laſt will and teſtament, bearing date at Caverſham in Oxfordſhire, appointed, that firſt, and in all haſte poſſible, after his deceaſe, there ſhould be five thouſand maſſes ſaid for his ſoul; next, his debts to be truly paid; and then, that till the new chapel adjoining to the collegiate church of Warwick ſhould be finiſhed, his body ſhould be laid in a cheſt of ſtone before the altar, on the right hand of his father's tomb, and afterwards to be removed into the chapel before mentioned, where he directed three maſſes every day to be ſung as long as the world ſhould endure (40). We have a copy of the epitaph inſcribed on this monument in Leland, which is very exact (41). But it ſeems a little ſtrange that he does not take any notice of an odd circumſtance therein, which is, that, inſtead of the uſual ſtops, we find the figure of a bear, or of a ragged ſtaff, through the whole inſcription, which runs thus (42).

‘Pray devoutly for the ſowle whom God aſſoyle of one of the moaſt worſhipfull Knyghtes in his dayes of manhod and connynge, Richarde Beauchampe, late Earl of Warwicke, Lord Deſpencer of Bergeveny, and of mony other greate Lordſhips, who's body reſtithe here under this tombe in a full feire vaulte of ſtone ſet in the bare roche; the whiche viſyted with long ſyckneſs in the caſtle of Rohan, therin deceaſyd full chriſtianly the laſt day of Aprile, the yere of owr Lord God, A. D. 1439, he beinge at that tyme Livetenaunt Generall, and Governer of Fraunce and of the Duchye of Normandye by ſufficien auctorite of owr Sovereigne Kynge Harry ‘the

(40) Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. i. p. 411.

(41) Leland's Itiner. Vol. viii. p. 60, 61.

(42) Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. i. p. 410.

His ſecond Counteſs, Iſabel, on her return from France, retired to the monaſtery of Southwyke, where ſhe did not long ſurvive him, as appears by her monument in the chapel of the abbey of Tewkeſbury, her own foundation, the inſcription on which ſays, that ſhe died on the 24th of June, 1439 (*q*). As to the pious legacies and foundations of this great Earl and his Counteſs, the reader may find an account of them in the books mentioned in the margin.

(*q*) See the inſcription, in Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. i. p. 412.

'the VI; the whiche body, with great deliberation 'and ful worſhipfull conducte by ſea and by land, 'was brought to Warwyke the fowrthe of Octobar 'the yere aboveſayde, and was leyde with full ſoleme exequies in a fayre chuſt made of ſtone in this 'chirche, afore the weſt doore of this chapell, according to his laſt wylle and teſtament, therein to 'reſt tyll this chapell by hym deviſid in his life wer 'made, al the whiche chapelle foundyd on this roche, 'and all the members ther of his executors, dyd fully 'make and apparil by the aucthorytie of his laſt will 'and teſtament, and thereafter by the ſayde authorietie they dyd tranſlate ful worſhipfullye the ſade 'Body into the vout aboveſayde. Honouryd be God 'therefore.' C.

⁂ [With regard to the number of employments held by the Earl of Warwick in the ſame year (1413), it hath been obſerved to us, that the office of Lord High Steward at a coronation could not take up many days; and that if the Earl was at the ſame time commiſſioner for a treaty with Scotland and with France, which, however, does not appear, he either did not act in both capacities, or France and Scotland, as was natural, treated jointly.

If the fine ſtory in the note [*D*], ſays an ingenious correſpondent, 'be true, which I greatly doubt, it 'may be preſumed that the three Knights were perſons tricked up for the purpoſe. At leaſt, the 'Prize-Fighters in thoſe days muſt have agreed, as 'their ſucceſſors at Broughton's are ſuppoſed to have 'done, not to ſtrike harder or deeper than muſt be 'ſufficient to amuſe the mob. For is it to be ſuppoſed that the Governor of Calais would, if in his 'right wits, venture his life, and neglect the duties 'of his office, in a pageant ſo unmeaning and unconſequential?' It ought, however, to be remembered, that when the ſpirit of Knight-errantry ran ſo high, it would give riſe to many events, which, though abſurd in our eſtimation, would be ſo far from being eſteemed ſuch in thoſe days, that they would be conſidered as highly honourable, even by men of the firſt eminence and abilities. It is ſcarcely neceſſary to inform our readers, that the ſubject of chivalry, and its influence on the minds, manners, and compoſitions of the times in and after which it flouriſhed, have, of late years, among other feudal objects, engaged the attention of ſeveral beautiful pens, both in France and England.] K.

BEAUCHAMP (HENRY DE) ſon to Richard Earl of Warwick, of whom in the foregoing article. He was born at Hanley caſtle in Worceſterſhire, on the 22d of March, 1424, and baptized two days afterwards; the famous Henry Beaufort, Cardinal Biſhop of Wincheſter, being one of his god-fathers, and Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, the other; his god-mother, Joan, Lady Bergavenny (*a*). At the time of his father's deceaſe he was very little above fourteen years of age, and yet he had been for ſome time married; for his father having formed a deſign of allying himſelf to the houſe of Saliſbury, he made a double match between this only ſon of his, then ſtyled Lord Deſpencer, and Cecily, daughter to Richard Nevil, Earl of Saliſbury, with whom he had a portion of 4700 marks, and at the ſame time gave his younger daughter, Ann, to Sir Richard Nevil, ſon to the Earl before mentioned (*b*). This Henry, Earl of Warwick, being a young Nobleman of great ſpirit and courage, offered his ſervice before he was full nineteen for the defence of Normandy, with which the King was ſo well pleaſed, that, by his charter, bearing date the ſecond of April in the twenty-ſecond year of his reign, he created him Primier Earl of England, and for a diſtinction between him and all other Earls, he farther granted him, and the heirs male of his body, leave to wear a gold coronet upon his head, as well in his own preſence as elſewhere, in all ſuch aſſemblies, and upon all feaſts in which the like ornaments were worn (*c*). Within three days after this he advanced him to the rank of Duke of Warwick, in conſideration of the many virtues and great ſervices of his father, granting him place in Parliament and at all other meetings, next after the Duke of Norfolk, before the Duke of Buckingham; beſtowing likewiſe a penſion of forty pounds *per ann.* to be paid by the Sheriffs of Warwickſhire and Leiceſterſhire out of the revenues of thoſe counties, towards the better ſupport of that honour (*d*). But this extraordinary mark of the royal favour was not more kindly and gratefully received by the young Duke of Warwick, than it was hatefully and enviouſly looked upon by the Duke of Buckingham, who thought himſelf extremely injured thereby. In that reign every thing was apprehended from the feuds and diſputes of the nobility; and therefore, to prevent any ill conſequences that might ariſe from the differences between theſe two noblemen, this point was ſettled by an act of parliament; which declared, *that for appeaſing the contention and ſtrife moved betwixt them for that pre-eminence*, it was eſtabliſhed, that from the ſecond of December then next enſuing, they ſhould take place of each other by turns, one that year, and the other the next, and ſo on as long as they ſhould live together; the Duke of Warwick to have the firſt year's precedency, and he which ſhould ſurvive, to take place of the other's heir male as long as he lived; and from that time the heir male of each was to take place of the other, according as it ſhould happen, that he had livery of his lands before him (*e*). Beſides theſe additional titles and marks of honour, the King gave Henry, Duke of Warwick, more ſubſtantial proofs of his affection and gratitude, by granting him the reverſion, after the death of the Duke of Glouceſter, of the iſlands of Guernſey, Jerſey, Sark, Erm, and Alderney, for the yearly tribute of a roſe, to be paid at the feaſt of St. John the Baptiſt (*f*), as alſo of the manor and hundred of Briſtol in Glouceſterſhire, for the yearly farm of ſixty pounds, as alſo the caſtles and manors of the King within the foreſt of Dene, yielding and paying the yearly

(*a*) Leland. Itin. Vol. vi. p. 9. Rot. J. Rous.

(*b*) Ex veter. membran. penes Fr. Netherſole, Eq. Aur.

(*c*) Cart. ab an. 21 uſque an. 24. Hen. VI. n. 35.

(*d*) *Ibid.* n. 24.

(*e*) Ex Bund. Petit. in Parl. 23 Hen. VI. n. 12.

(*f*) Pat. 24 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 20.

rent of one hundred pounds *(g)*. But, as if all theſe honours and grants had been ſtill inſufficient to expreſs the King's affection for this young nobleman, and his remembrance and reſpect for his father's ſervices, Henry VI. went ſtill farther, even to the utmoſt verge and extent of his prerogative, by declaring the ſaid Henry Duke of Warwick King of the Iſland of Wight, and placing the crown upon his head with his own hands *(h)*. As this was the higheſt honour the King could beſtow, ſo it proved the laſt favour the Duke could receive; ſince he was taken off in the flower of his age, at the caſtle of Hanley, where he was born, on the eleventh of June 1445, in the twenty-ſecond year of his age *(i)*. He was buried in the abbey of Tewkſbury, leaving behind him an only daughter, Anne, Counteſs of Warwick, born at Kaerdiff in February 1443 *(k)*. This young lady was firſt under the tutelage of Queen Margaret (Conſort to Henry VI.); afterwards ſhe was committed to the care of William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk; at whoſe manor of Newelme in the county of Oxford, ſhe deceaſed January 3, 1449, having not quite attained ſix years of age *(l)*. She was afterwards buried in the abbey of Reading, near the body of her great-grandmother Conſtance Lady Deſpenſer, daughter of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York *(m)*. As for Cicely, Ducheſs of Warwick, ſhe afterwards eſpouſed John Lord Tiptoff, Earl of Worceſter, but did not long live with him, deceaſing in the month of July 1450, and was buried in the abbey church of Tewkſbury *(n)*. In order to complete our account of this moſt noble family, we muſt farther obſerve, that upon the demiſe of Anne, Counteſs of Warwick, in her childhood, Anne, ſiſter to Henry Duke of Warwick, of the whole blood, became his ſole heir, and her huſband, Richard Nevil Earl of Saliſbury, took in her right the title of Warwick *(o)*. This title was afterwards confirmed to him by patent dated July 23, 1445, with all the preheminences enjoyed by any of his wife's anceſtors, before her brother Henry was created Duke of Warwick. After this, Richard Earl of Warwick and Anne his Counteſs, levied a fine xv Trin. 28 Hen. VI. by which they entailed the caſtle of Warwick, with a great number of fine lordſhips, in that and ſixteen other counties, upon the iſſue of their bodies lawfully begotten, and for default thereof upon the iſſue of her, with the remainder to the heirs of Richard Beauchamp late Earl of Warwick, *&c.* *(p)* Thus we have ſhewn how this high honour deſcended from the Mauduits to the Beauchamps, and from them in the ſame manner to the Nevils. At preſent we are to proceed with other honourable branches, from this great ſtock of the Beauchamps Earls of Warwick; and firſt of

BEAUCHAMP (JOHN DE) Baron of Kidderminſter in the reign of Richard II. and the firſt Baron created by patent in this kingdom. He was the ſon of Sir Richard Beauchamp of Holt, who was the grandſon of William de Beauchamp of Elmeley, and brother to William de Beauchamp the firſt Earl of Warwick of that family. He was born in 1320, and by the death of his father inherited the lands of Holt in Worceſterſhire, 1 Edward III. *(a)* He was early in the ſervice of his Prince; for 12 Edward III. when he was not more than twenty, he was in the expedition to Flanders, and in 20 Edw. III. in France, and acquired reputation in both *(b)*. In 1353 he was in Gaſcoigne, in the retinue of Thomas Earl of Warwick, and continued there all the next year *(c)*. In the thirty-third of the ſame reign he ſerved again in France with much honour. In the forty-ſecond of that King, he went over into that realm on the ſame account *(d)*; and in 46 Edward III. he attended the King's ſon, John Duke of Lancaſter, in his expedition into Spain *(e)*. By theſe long and faithful ſervices to the Crown, he ſo raiſed his credit at Court, that in the ſixth of Richard II. being then one of the Eſquires of the King's chamber, he had a grant of twenty marks *per annum*, out of the manor of Sutton, in the foreſt of Macclesfield in Cheſhire *(f)*. But growing more and more into the King's favour, he, in the ninth of the ſame reign, from the like conſiderations, and becauſe he had received the honour of knighthood, under the King's banner diſplayed againſt Scotland, had an annuity granted him of one hundred marks, out of the King's rents and revenue in North Wales *(g)*. But ſoon after he made a ſurrender of this annuity, and, inſtead thereof, had a conſiderable grant made him in Caermarthenſhire, and was alſo appointed Chief-Juſtice of North-Wales, both for term of his life. He had alſo a ſpecial charter of divers liberties and privileges, as well in vert and veniſon, as other things, in his lordſhip of Kidderminſter, in the county of Worceſter, granted him, much about the ſame time *(h)*. By theſe repeated teſtimonies of royal kindneſs, Sir John Beauchamp, who was now advanced to be Steward of the King's houſhold, and one of his chief favourites, was encouraged to procure new gifts from the Crown; and, therefore, in the eleventh year of King Richard, laying hold of the breaking out of a French war, Sir John Beauchamp obtained for himſelf, a grant of all the manors and lands belonging to the priory of Deerhurſt in the county of Glouceſter, then ſeized into the King's hands; as all other priories-alien were *(i)*. By ſuch grants he acquired a good eſtate; and to add an augmentation of honour to thoſe of fortune, he procured himſelf to be created Baron Kidderminſter by patent, limiting that honour to his heirs male; which became the precedent for all future creations *(k)* [*A*]. It was thought that the King intended him farther honours, and one hiſtorian

(g) Pat. 24 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 20.

(h) Leland's Itiner. Vol. vi. p. 91.

(i) Ibid.

(k) Leland's Itin. as before.

(l) Pat. 27 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 27.

(m) Rot. Johan. Rous.

(n) Leland's Itin. as before.

(o) Pat. 27 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 1.

(p) Penes Camer. Scac. (Recordat. oct. m. 6 E. IV.)

(a) Eſch. 1 Ed. III. n. 20.

(b) Rot. Franc. 20 Ed. III. p. 1. m. 5. Rot. Alem. 12 Ed. III. m. 7.

(c) Rot. Gaſcon. 27 Ed. III. m. 1.

(d) Rot. Franc. 42 E. III. m. 3.

(e) Rot. Franc. 46 E. III. m. 14.

(f) Pat. 9 R. II. p. 1. m. 31.

(g) Ibid.

(h) Pat. 9 R. II. p. 1. m. 5. Cart. 9 & 10 R. II. n. 9.

(i) Pat. 11 R. II. p. 1. m. 23.

(k) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. iii. p. 195.

[*A*] *Which became the precedent for all future creations.*] It was this circumſtance of his being the firſt Baron created by patent, which induced us to inſert his article preferable to others of his noble family, of whom enough might be collected from our hiſtories to fill a volume. But in order to conceive the reaſon of this, hiſtorian tells us particularly, that he was to have had the title of Bridgnorth (*l*), if a ſudden reverſe of fortune had not put a ſtop to his maſter's power, and to his proſperity. This happened in the ſame, or the next, year, *viz.* 1388, when the Duke of Glouceſter, and other powerful Lords, having firſt defeated the army raiſed by the King's favourite, whom he had created Duke of Ireland, marched on to London, and forced him to call a Parliament, which for the ſtrange and extraordinary things done therein, and thereby, was called the ***Wonder-working Parliament*** (*m*). Amongſt other noble perſons then called to account for their paſt behaviour, our Lord Beauchamp was one, who was firſt removed from his office of Treaſurer of the King's houſehold, then ſent priſoner to Dover-caſtle, and laſtly condemned and executed for high-treaſon upon Tower-Hill (*n*) [*B*]. Thus died

(*l*) Stowe's Annals, p. 304.

(*m*) Tho. Walſingh. p. 365.

(*n*) H. Knyghton, p. 2075.

this, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomewhat of the different kinds of Barons and Baronies amongſt us. He who would ſee all the ancient learning upon this ſubject, and has a mind to judge for himſelf as to the moſt probable etymology of the word, and its various ſignifications, may conſult the learned Selden (1), or the no leſs learned Spelman (2), who have undoubtedly ſhewn as much labour, reading, and judgment, on the ſubject, as any man can expect. In reſpect to our preſent purpoſe, it is ſufficient to ſay, that as at his entrance into this kingdom, William Duke of Normandy ſubjected moſt lands to military or honorary tenures, as in making hereditary Earls, ſo he inveſted others in ſmaller territories, and with lower juriſdiction; theſe were *Barons* (3). Such perſons might, and did grant lands to others, to hold of them as they of the King, and if the number and value of theſe amounted to 13⅓ Knights fees, then ſuch a one was *Baro Regis*, and might ſit in parliament. Thus it is clear our firſt Barons had their dignity *à cenſu* from their poſſeſſions, or, as things ſtood then, from their tenures; for whoever held land to the value of four hundred marks immediately from the King, was *his Baron* (4). But Baronies were not only held from the King, but from Earls and other ſuperior nobility; and if ſuch as held under them attained the limited ſum of four hundred marks, then he became a *Baron's Peer*, or one having equal privileges with a Baron; and thus we plainly ſee the ſenſe of *Barones* and *Pares Baronum* (5). But beſides theſe there were yet another kind of Barons, that is, ſuch as held lands with mean juriſdiction, but not to this value; in plain Engliſh, every Lord of a manor to whom as ſuch a *Court-Baron* belonged. In ancient times therefore, that is, before the forty-eighth of Henry III. upon the King's calling a parliament, all who had a right to ſit therein, came of their own accord: but at that time we are told, the King having made his peace with Simon de Montfort, it was agreed that ſuch of the Barons only ſhould reſort to Parliament as the King ſummoned (6). By this means came in the ſecond ſort of Barons, who are from thence ſtiled *Barons by writ*. But of theſe there have been diſtinguiſhed two kinds, *viz.* Barons by *writ* and *tenure*, and by *writ only*: for the King might if he pleaſed ſummon others as well as Barons to Parliament; but this did not give their poſterity, or indeed themſelves, a right to ſit in Parliament independently of the ſummons from the Crown, whence ſome have taken a new diſtinction between *Barons* and *Peers* (7); eſteeming the former, ſuch as were ſo by tenure, as well as ſummons, and the latter ſuch as obtained their ſeats in Parliament by their writs only. As to the third kind of *Barons* by *patent*, our John de Beauchamp being the firſt, and this now being as uſual a method, or rather more ſo, of creating Barons, than the other by writ, it may not be amiſs (eſpecially as they are ſhort) to inſert the King's letters patents on this occaſion (8).

(1) Selden's Titles of Honour, Lond. 1672, fol. p. 569—620.

(2) Spelman. Gloſſograph. voce *Baro*.

(3) See Sir William Dugdale's Preface to the firſt and ſecond Volumes of his Baronage of England.

(4) The old Record *Modus tenend' Parliament.*

(5) Selden's Titles of Honour, Lond. 1604, 4*to*. p. 274, 275. He afterwards changed his opinion of this matter entirely, as appears from what is ſaid in the ſubſequent editions in folio; but the reaſon of the thing, and the authority on which it was founded, remain, and will always remain the ſame.

(6) Camd. Britan. p. 122.

(7) See Dugdale's Preface before cited.

(8) Pat. 11 R. II. p. 1. m. 12.

RICHARDUS, &c. *Sciatis quod, pro bonis et gratuitis ſervitiis quæ dilectus et fidelis miles noſter* Johannes de Beauchamp de HOLT *ſeneſchallus hoſpicii noſtri nobis impendit, ac loco per ipſum Tempore Coronationis noſtræ hucuſque impenſo et quem pro nobis tenere poterit in futurum in noſtris Conſiliis et Parliamentis, nec non pro nobili et fideli genere unde deſcendit, ac pro ſuis magnificis ſenſu et circumſpectione, ipſum* Johannem *in unicum Parium ac Baronum Regni noſtri* Angliæ *præficimus, volentes quod idem* Johannes *et heredes maſculi de corpore ſuo exeuntes ſtatum Baronis obtineat ac Domini de* Beauchamp, *et Barones de* Kidermyſter, *nuncupentur. In cujus rei, &c.* T.

The form of theſe Patents hath been ſince often varied, but this before us ſeems to be remarkably clear, ſuccinct, and to the purpoſe, agreeing very well with the account which we have before given of the ſtate and degree of *Barons* of this realm, until this method of creation took place. With reſpect to the other ceremonies uſed in conferring this dignity, Sir William Dugdale diſcourſes thus: 'That the ſolemn 'inveſtiture of this John, and all other the Barons 'who were thenceforth created by patent, was per'formed by the King himſelf, by putting on a robe 'of ſcarlet, as alſo a mantle (with two guards on the 'left ſhoulder), and a hood all furred with minever, 'there is no doubt. Which form of creation conti'nued, until the thirteenth year of King James, that 'Sir James Hay (a Scotſman) was advanced to the 'dignity of a Baron of this realm, by letters patent, 'bearing date the 29th of June, by the title of Lord 'Hay of Sauley, in Com. Ebor. the Lawyers then 'declaring, that the delivery of the letters patent 'was ſufficient without any ceremony. But now be'ſides this honourable Robe, through the ſpecial fa'vour of our preſent ſovereign King Charles II. there 'hath been granted to the Barons a coronet of gold, 'with ſix pearls placed upon the circle thereof, as by 'a ſpecial inſtrument under his Majeſty's royal ſignet, 'bearing date upon the 6th day of July, 1661, in the 'thirteenth year of his reign, appeareth, the form of 'which is by divers Painters and Carvers already ſo 'much miſtaken, as that they commonly advance the 'pearls thereon in ſuch ſort, as thoſe are wherewith 'the Earls coronets be regularly adorned, though not '(as yet) to the full height, whereas they being de'viſed in imitation of the Viſcounts coronets, the 'pearls ought to ſtand as they do, without any ad'vancing at all.'

[*B*] *Condemned and executed for high-treaſon upon Tower-hill.*] The circumſtances of this Nobleman's unhappy fate are but confuſedly reported in our general hiſtories, and the dates very differently ſet down; but from the beſt authorities we can procure, this tranſaction ſeems to have happened thus. King Richard II. was a Prince of great condeſcenſion and good nature, which made him too eaſy towards ſuch, as by being long in his ſervice, and gratifying his humours, had found a way to conciliate his good graces (9). Sir John Beauchamp, of Holt, was one cloſely allied by all the ties of friendſhip, gratitude, and intereſt, to thoſe about the King, who were moſt obnoxious to the Lords, ſuch as Alexander Nevil, Archbiſhop of York; Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland; and Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and for their ſervice had conſulted and acted in all the ſteps taken to preſerve the King's miniſters, and to bring the patriot Lords under the imputation of treaſon, for what they had done in Parliament for the King's ſervice and the public good. It was very probably for this conduct, and ill-turned zeal for the King's inclination againſt his intereſt, that he was, October 10, 1387, raiſed to the dignity of Lord Beauchamp of Kidderminſter (*). But the tide ſoon turned, for the five great Lords, Thomas, Duke of Glouceſter; Henry, Earl of Derby; Richard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey; Thomas, Earl of Warwick; and Thomas, Earl Marſhal, ſeeing plainly that ſince Sir Robert Treſilian and the reſt of the Judges had, at the inſtigation of the King and his favourites, declared them traitors, there was no way to avoid being treated as ſuch, but by having recourſe to force; immediately began to arm, and hearing that the King was got to London before them, where he had a ſtrong party, they aſſembled their forces at Haringay-Park, near Highgate, where they appeared to be

(9) Thom. Walſingh. p. 365. H. Knyghton, col. 2700, & ſeq.

(*) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. iii. p. 195.

died Richard Beauchamp, Baron of Kidderminſter, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, leaving, by Joan his wife, daughter and heir to Robert le Fitzwith (o), John, his ſon and heir, about ten years of age, during whoſe minority the lordſhip of Holt was committed to the cuſtody of Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, from whom it was held (p). When this John de Beauchamp came to man's eſtate, he attended King Richard II. in his voyage to Ireland (q), but it does not appear that he was reſtored to his father's honours [C]. In the eighth of Henry IV. we find that he executed the office of Eſcheator for the county of Worceſter (r), which he likewiſe had in the reign of Henry V. (s), and in the eighth year of that King died poſſeſſed of four manors in Warwickſhire, and two in Worceſterſhire, which eſtate deſcended to his daughter and ſole heireſs Margaret (t), then twenty years of age, who was married firſt to John Pauncefort, and afterwards to John Wyſham (u), of whoſe poſterity I find no account.

(o) Clauſ. 49 E. III. m. 21.

(p) Clauſ. 12 R. II m. 33.

(q) Pat. 22 R. II. p. 3 m. 37.

(r) Rot. Fin. 8. Hen. IV. m. 22.

(s) Rot. Fin. 1. Hen. V. p. 8. m. 8.

(t) Eſch. 8 Hen. V. n. 70.

(u) Ibid. n. 71.

40,000 ſtrong (10). The King uſed all the means he could deviſe, to ſave when he could no longer ſupport his creatures; and ſending moſt of them out of the way, he conſented at laſt to a conference with the Lords in the Tower, at which he promiſed to come the next day to Weſtminſter, to conſider of the beſt means for ſettling public affairs, now in the utmoſt diſtraction. Before the next morning, however, he changed his mind: but upon the Lords giving him to underſtand, that if he would not come and countenance their counſels with his preſence, they would take other meaſures, implying they would elect another Prince, he was conſtrained to go, and when amongſt them, gave up all his Miniſters, who were ſoon after ſeized, and ſent to ſeveral priſons, and amongſt the reſt Lord Beauchamp was transferred to Dover-caſtle (11), there to be kept till he ſhould abide the judgment of the next Parliament (that wonderful Parliament mentioned in the text), which was ſummoned to meet upon the third of February next following (12). The firſt ſtep taken when this Parliament did meet, was a ſolemn claim made therein by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, that whatever was moved therein, or in future Parliaments, touching Peers, ſhould be diſcuſſed and decided not by the civil law or common law of the land, but by the law and cuſtom of Parliament, which by the King was cheerfully granted. In conſequence of this, the five great Lords before mentioned, as appellants, accuſed or impeached the Archbiſhop of York, the Duke of Ireland, and the Earl of Suffolk, of various treaſons, and they being fled were condemned for want of anſwer (13). On the twelfth of March following, Simon Burley, John Beauchamp of Holt, John Saliſbury, and James Berners, Knights, were impeached by the Commons of various treaſons, as being engaged with, and aſſiſting in the contrivances of the great Lords before mentioned. Theſe articles, in number ſixteen, have nothing in them very remarkable, except that Sir John Beauchamp is charged with having been unfaithful to his old maſter King Edward III. and to Lionel Duke of Clarence (14), whence an old Monkiſh hiſtorian (15) takes upon him to ſtyle this unfortunate Lord *an old falſe Traitor*, which however is not juſtified by any proof. To this impeachment the perſons accuſed pleaded *Not guilty*; the Commons joined iſſue, and the Lords took time to conſider, adjourning to the twentieth of that month, then to the thirteenth of April, and laſtly to the fifth of May, when they gave judgment, as is uſual in caſes of high-treaſon, on Sir Simon Burley: but in regard he was a Knight of the Garter, his father's old ſervant, and his own, the King remitted all but the beheading, which he ſuffered on Tower-hill (16). On the twelfth of May the Lord Beauchamp, Sir John Saliſbury, and Sir James Berners, received the like ſentence. Beauchamp and Berners were the ſame day beheaded, and Sir John Saliſbury ſuffered according to his ſentence at the common place of execution (17). After all theſe ſeverities (which had been extorted from the King) were over, ſome new demands were formed to prevent ſuch a turn as had happened once before in this reign, which were, that no judgments given in this Parliament ſhould be reverſed, none of the ſtatutes made contravened, and none of the parties attainted pardoned, which the King promiſed (18). He likewiſe, to ſatisfy the people more effectually, and to re-ſettle the crown upon his head, renewed his coronation-oath, hoping after theſe great ſacrifices to reign happily, in which however he was, chiefly through the unſteadineſs of his own nature, miſerably diſappointed.

⁂ [Such of our readers as wiſh to ſee a full and particular account of the proceedings of the *Wonder-working Parliament*, may have recourſe to the Parliamentary Hiſtory, Volume the Firſt, p. 437—466.] K.

[C] *But it does not appear that he was reſtored to his father's honours.*] It was the great misfortune of this unhappy Monarch, Richard II. that he was ready to riſk any thing for his favourites when they were preſent, but did not ſo much regard thoſe who ſuffered from their attachment to him, when either baniſhed or dead. Thus, notwithſtanding all his affection for the Duke of Ireland, and the hazards he had run to ſupport him, when he eſcaped to the Low-Countries, he let him remain there in ſo low and poor a condition, that he broke his heart (19). It is true, that afterwards, in the twenty-firſt year of his reign, *A. D.* 1398, when he had brought matters ſo about as to have all things done in the Parliament, held in the 11th of his reign, declared null and void; and thoſe who had acted moſt in them, attainted on that ſcore of high-treaſon, he procured an expreſs repeal of all forfeitures incurred by judgments then given (20): yet we do not find that this young man was reſtored to his honour of Kidderminſter, or that he had any benefit of the royal grants made to his father. But perhaps we want ſufficient memoirs of thoſe times to enable us to ſpeak with certainty on that head. It is very remarkable, that on the execution of Sir Simon Burley, the Earl of Arundel interpoſed ſo warmly with the Duke of Glouceſter to ſave his life, that a quarrel had very nearly happened on his refuſal; but we hear nothing of any application made by Thomas Earl of Warwick in behalf of his near relation the Lord Beauchamp, though upon his unfortunate death he had his eſtate and ſon committed to his care. But upon the new and ſtrange turn in 1398, this very Earl of Warwick was, by the ſame kind of proceſs, appealed and convicted of treaſon, and received (though remitted) the ſame ſentence with Lord Beauchamp (21). Such ſudden and violent revolutions was this age ſubject to, from the rage of parties, the power of faction, and the ſcandalous corruptions of Parliaments; ſo that no man knew how to be ſafe, or by what means to diſtinguiſh loyalty from treaſon. C.

(10) H. Knyghton, col. 2701.

(11) Tho. Walſingh. p. 365. n. 30. 40.

(12) Rot. Parl. 11 R. II. n. 1. p. 2.

(13) H. Knyghton, *ubi ſupra*.

(14) Tho. Walſingham, p. 365. n. 40.

(15) Hiſtor. Vitæ & Regni Rich. II. a monacho quodam de Eveſham congus nata, p. 102.

(16) H. Knyghton, *ubi ſupra*.

(17) Chron. Godſtovianum MS. p. 121.

(18) H. Knyghton, *ubi ſupra*.

(19) H. Knyghton, col. 2075.

(20) Placit. Coron. 21 R. II. n. 50, 51.

(21) *Ibid.*

BEAUCHAMP (JOHN DE) ſon to Sir William de Beauchamp, Conſtable of the caſtle of Glouceſter, by Catherine, daughter to Gerard de Uſflete, was, on the death of Richard de Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, conſtituted one of the guardians of his ſon Henry (a). He purchaſed from Thomas de Botreax, the moiety of the manor of Alceſtor, and obtained from King Henry VI. a charter for various privileges and immunities to that place, as alſo the grant of another fair to be held there on the eve of St. Dunſtan, and to continue for two days following (b). He was in ſo great credit with that Monarch, that in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, he was advanced by him to the dignity of Lord Beauchamp of Powyke, and had an annuity of ſixty pounds, out of the fee-

(a) Rot. Fin. 17 Hen. VI. m. 10.

(b) Cart. 25 & 26 Hen. VI. n. 20.

fee-farm of the city of Glouceſter (c). He was alſo conſtituted Juſtice of South Wales, with power to execute that office by himſelf, or his ſufficient Deputy (d). About three years after this, by the kindneſs of the ſame Prince, he was promoted to the office of Lord-High Treaſurer of England, which he did not hold full two years (e), but retiring to a private life, died at a good old age, in the year 1475 (f), leaving his ſon Sir Richard Beauchamp then forty years of age, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Humphrey Stafford, Knt. in the private chapel of his manor houſe of Beauchamp's Court, by virtue of a ſpecial licence from the Biſhop of Worceſter (g), by which lady he had three daughters coheireſſes, the eldeſt, Elizabeth, married Sir Robert Willoughby, Lord Brooke; the ſecond, Anne, to Richard Ligon; and the third, Margaret, to William Rede (h). C.

BEAUCHAMP (William de) Lord Bergavenny. He was the younger ſon of Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and Catherine Mortimer, as has been before ſhewn (a); and there are no memoirs extant of any one of this noble family better worth notice, than thoſe of this Lord Bergavenny. He ſeems to have made his firſt campaign in 1366 under the famous John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter (b), in his expedition into Caſtile, who, when the armies were in fight, is recorded to have ſaid, *Sir* William, *yonder are our enemies, this day ſhall you gain the name of a ſucceſsful Knight, or elſe die in the quarrel.* He ſerved continually after this through that whole reign, moſtly under John Duke of Lancaſter, ſometimes in Spain, ſometimes in France, by land ſometimes, and ſometimes by ſea (c). For theſe great ſervices and others expected from him, we find that in the firſt of Richard II. he was appointed Governor of the caſtle and county of Pembroke, and in the fourth of the ſame King, Lord Chamberlain, with an annual penſion of two hundred pounds for life (d). The ſame year he was retained to ſerve by indenture with two hundred men at arms, and two hundred archers, under Edmund de Langley, Earl of Cambridge, in Spain (e). In the ſixth of that King, he ſhould have ſerved under that martial Prelate, Henry Spencer, Biſhop of Norwich, then victorious in Flanders; but not receiving, according to the terms of his agreement, the full ſum of five hundred marks, Lord Bergavenny declined the ſervice (f). In the ſeventh of that King, he was retained in the manner before deſcribed, to ſerve as Captain of Calais for two years, and was alſo appointed a Commiſſioner to treat with the crown of France about a peace. His conduct in this important employment, was not only every way irreproachable, but ſo highly eſteemed and approved, that his commiſſion was continued for three years more, in which ſpace he took from the French no leſs than forty-eight veſſels, two of which were laden with ſpices, and ſome with white herrings bound for Flanders (g). In the ninth of King Richard, he again attended the Duke of Lancaſter into Spain, to ſupport his pretenſions to the crown of Caſtile. He was the next year conſtituted Captain of the caſtles of Pembroke and Kilgaran in Wales, and holding ſtill his command of Calais, was appointed the King's Commiſſioner to treat with the Earl of Flanders (h). It was at this juncture he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a manner ſo particular, that it deſerves to be for ever remembered. Amongſt other baſe ſchemes put into the head of King Richard II. by his favourites, one was, to retire, when the Duke of Glouceſter and the other Lords were near London with an army, to France, and there purchaſe the aſſiſtance of that Monarch, by giving up to him moſt of the fortreſſes he then held in that realm (i). If it be ſome ſcandal to our country, that it produced men baſe enough to betray a young and inconſiderate Prince into ſo foul a contrivance; we muſt allow that it is no leſs honourable for us, that this gallant Lord Bergavenny had the courage to ſtand in the gap to ſecure our poſſeſſions from being ſo ſhamefully given up, and, at the hazard of his life, to ſerve the King againſt his will, and merit his confidence by a noble act of diſobedience. For when all things were ready at home for carrying this dark deſign into execution, and the King ſent orders to this Lord to quit his command, and tranſmit certain letters to the court of France, he ſtoutly refuſed both (k). He declared with reſpect to the former, that he was intruſted with this important fortreſs, with the advice and conſent of the nobility, and without their conſent he would not render up his command. As for the letters (gueſſing at their tenor), inſtead of ſending them to Paris, he tranſmitted them to the Duke of Glouceſter in England. He went ſtill farther than this: for when John de la Pole, brother to the great favourite Suffolk, came with the King's orders to take from him the command of Calais, he not only refuſed to yield it into his hands, but ſeized him and carried him over priſoner to England, which at that time incenſed the King to ſuch a degree, as it entirely ruined the ſcheme of his miniſters, that he cauſed the Lord Bergavenny immediately after his arrival, to be arreſted and committed to cloſe cuſtody; but ſoon after, either through fear or choice, cauſed him to be ſet at liberty again (l). But I do not find (and I ſpeak it to his honour) that after this, he was much employed during that reign. But in the very firſt of Henry IV. we find him conſtituted Juſtice of South Wales for life, and reſtored to the government of the town and caſtle of Pembroke and Lordſhip of Tineby, with the addition of the caſtle and lordſhip of Kilgaran, and county of Oſterlowe alſo for life, paying into the Exchequer ſeventy marks *per ann.* (m) This noble Lord deceaſed about 1411, poſſeſſed of a very large eſtate, which deſcended to his only ſon by Joan, one of the daughters of Richard, Earl of Arundel, one of the ſiſters and coheireſſes of Thomas,

Earl

(c) Pat. 22 Hen. VI p. 3. m. 33.

(d) *Ibid.*

(e) Pat. 28 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 19.

(f) Eſch. 15 E. IV. n. 1.

(g) Carpenter, Vol. i. f. 47. a.

(h) Eſch 16 H. VIII n. 3.

(a) See before in BEAUCHAMP (Richard) Earl of Warwick, note [*A*].

(b) Froiſard, lib. i. p. 138.

(c) Rot. Franc. 5 R. II. m. 4. Rot. Franc. 6 R. II. m. 30.

(d) Pat. 4 Rich. II. p. 1. m. 5.

(e) Ex Autogr. penes cleric. pell.

(f) Tho. Walſingh. p. 365. n. 10.

(g) Rot. Franc. 7 R. II. m. 24. Hen. Knyghton, col. 2676. n. 20.

(h) Rot. Franc. 11 R. II. m. 6.

(i) Vita Richard II. p. 77.

(k) H. Knyghton, col. 2698. n. 10.

(l) *Id. ibid.*

(m) Pat. 1 H. IV. p. 4. m. 11.

Earl of Arundel, and widow of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Eſſex, and Northampton (*n*). The name of this only ſon and ſucceſſor of the Lord Bergavenny was Richard, who married the Lady Iſabel Deſpenſer very ſoon after his father's death, and had by her a very large eſtate in land (*o*). In the fourth year of Henry V., we find him retained to ſerve the King abroad in his wars, where he behaved with ſuch courage, wiſdom, and ſucceſs, and rendered the King ſo many and ſo important ſervices, that in reward of his zeal and fidelity, that Monarch advanced him, in the eighth year of his reign, to the title of Earl of Worceſter (*p*); and for the better ſupport of that dignity, made him large grants of land in Normandy and other parts of France (*q*). It was not long that he ſurvived to enjoy theſe marks of Royal favour; for very ſoon after, he was wounded by a ſtone from a ſling at Nuſembry in France, of which he languiſhed for ſome time and then died: His body was interred at Tewkſbury with great ſolemnity (*r*), and in him ended this branch of the family. He left an only daughter Elizabeth, born at Hanley caſtle, December 16, 1415, who afterwards married Edward Nevill, a younger ſon of Ralph Nevill, Earl of Weſtmoreland (*s*). The beſt part of his paternal eſtate deſcended, by virtue of a ſpecial entail, to Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who obſerving that his widow Iſabel, Counteſs of Worceſter, had a very large eſtate, and a fair proſpect of increaſing it, he applied to the court of Rome for a ſpecial diſpenſation to enable him to marry her, who had been his uncle's ſon's wife; which having obtained, he eſpouſed her (*t*), and had by her, as we have already ſhewn, Henry, Duke of Warwick; and a daughter, Anne, by whom this title was transferred to the family of Nevill. We might add to theſe many other illuſtrious perſons of this great and noble family, ſuch as Roger Beauchamp of Bletſho, from whom the St. Johns, Barons of Bletſho, are deſcended (*u*); Biſhop Beauchamp of Hereford (*w*), Richard Beauchamp, Lord St. Amand, who died in the reign of Henry VII., and was buried in the Black-Friars church near Ludgate (*x*). But the bounds we have preſcribed to ourſelves in this work, will not admit of our proſecuting our account of this family any farther; nor had we inſiſted on it ſo long, but as it affords variety of circumſtances neceſſary to be referred to in many ſubſequent articles. C.

(*n*) Eſch. 4 H. V. n. 54.

(*o*) Rot. Fin. 4 H. V. m. 8.

(*p*) Rot. Franc. 5 Hen. V. m. 15. Rot. Franc. 7 Hen. V. m. 11.

(*q*) Pat. Norman. 9 Hen. V. m. 30. Monaſt. Anglic. Vol. i. p. 158. n. 50.

(*r*) Leland's Itin. Vol. vi. p. 89.

(*s*) *Ibid.*

(*t*) Monaſt. Anglican. Vol. i. p. 158.

(*u*) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. i. p. 251, 252.

(*w*) Godwin, de Præſul.

(*x*) Regiſtr. Bennet, p. 2.

⁂ [In Edmondſon's Hiſtorical and Genealogical Account of the noble family of Greville, including the Earls of Warwick, there is a conciſe and well written Hiſtory of the Beauchamp family, p. 26—53. We think it ſufficient barely to refer to this work, as the preceding articles, though curious and pleaſing, have in them, in our opinion, too much of the nature of a peerage. Were the Biographia Britannica to give a ſimilar detail of many other great families, it would not only depart, in a certain degree, from its more immediate deſign, but be extended to a very improper length.] K.

BEAVER (John), otherwiſe named *Bever*, and in Latin *Fiber*, *Fiberius*, *Caſtor*, and *Caſtorius* (*a*), was a Benedictine Monk in Weſtminſter-Abbey, and flouriſhed about the beginning of the XIVth century (*b*). He was a man of quick parts, and of great diligence and ingenuity (*c*): But he applied himſelf particularly to the ſtudy of the Hiſtory and Antiquities of England, and became a great maſter of both. Among other things, he wrote a *Chronicle of the Britiſh and Engliſh Affairs*, from the coming in of Brute to his own time [*A*]. He alſo wrote a book *De Rebus cœnobii Weſtmonarienſis*, of Weſtminſter-Abbey, and the ſeveral Tranſactions relating thereto (*d*). Leland commends him (*e*) as an hiſtorian of good credit; and he is alſo cited with reſpect by J. Stow in his Survey of London and Weſtminſter (*f*). Bale ſays (*g*), he doth not give a ſlight or ſuperficial account, but a full and judicious relation, of things; and takes proper notice of the virtues and vices of the perſons mentioned in his Hiſtory.

There was another of the ſame name, a Monk of St. Alban's; who left behind him a collection of ſome treatiſes that are of no great value. They are extant in the King's Library (*h*).

(*a*) Baleus Script. Britan. Cent. IV. n. 80. Pits, de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. an. 1306.

(*b*) In 1306, ſays Pits, *ibid.*

(*c*) Bale & Pits, *ibid.*

(*d*) Bale & Pits, *ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) Aſſert. Regis Arthuri; & Comment. in Cygn. Cant.

(*f*) See Biſhop Nicolſon's Engliſh Hiſtoric. Library, edit. Lond. 1736, fol. p. 63.

(*g*) *Ubi ſupra.*

(*h*) 2 F. VII.

[*A*] *He wrote a Chronicle of the Britiſh and Engliſh affairs.*] It was never publiſhed, but remains in manuſcript in ſeveral places, particularly in the Cottonian library (1). In the fire there, it was pretty much damaged, but may ſtill be uſed. Mr. Hearne publiſhed, in 1735, propoſals for the printing of it; but his death put a ſtop to the publication (2). M.

(1) Vitellius, E. XVII. 4.

(2) See the article HEARNE (Thomas).

BEAUFORT, was at firſt the *Surname*, and became afterwards the *Title*, of a noble family, which hath produced ſeveral eminent perſons of both ſexes. It was taken from the caſtle of Beaufort in Anjou (*a*), which came to the Houſe of Lancaſter, by Blanche of Artois, Queen of Navarre, wife to Edmund Crouch-back, ſecond ſon of King Henry III., and firſt Earl of Lancaſter. The children to whom that SURNAME was firſt given, were John, Henry, Thomas, and Joan; being the natural iſſue of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter (fourth ſon of King Edward III.), by Catherine, daughter of Sir Payn Roet, Knight, Guyenne King of Arms, and widow of Sir Otes (*b*) Swinford, then Governeſs to the Ladies Philippa and Elizabeth, daughters of the ſaid Earl of Lancaſter (*c*); and afterwards married to him, being his third wife (*d*). Thoſe children were

legitimated

(*a*) Catalog. of the Nobil. by R. B. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 121. Sandford and Stebbing's Genealogic. Hiſt. Book IV. c. 8. Lond. 1707, p. 322.

(*b*) Dugdale calls him Sir Hugh. Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 119.

(*c*) Sandford, *ibid.* p. 253.

(*d*) Dugdale and Sandford, *ubi ſupra.*

legitimated by Act of Parliament [*A*], bearing date February 9, 1396-7, the twentieth of Richard II., and exemplified afterwards by King Henry IV., on February 10, 1406-7 (*e*); by which legitimation they were rendered capable of all offices and honours whatſoever, the royal dignity excepted. In purſuance of this, John was created Earl of Somerſet; Henry became Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Cardinal of St. Euſebius; and Thomas was made Earl of Dorſet, and Duke of Exeter (*f*). Joan was married, firſt to Robert, ſon of Robert Lord Ferrers, and afterwards to Ralph Neville, the firſt Earl of Weſtmoreland. The grandſon of John Earl of Somerſet, was Henry Duke of Somerſet, who being beheaded April 3, 1463, for his adherence to the Houſe of Lancaſter, left iſſue by Joan Hill, or De la Montaign, an only natural ſon named Charles, who aſſumed the ſurname of Somerſet. Deſcended from him in the fifth generation, was Edward Somerſet Marquis of Worceſter; on whom King Charles I. conferred the TITLE of Baron *Beaufort* (*g*), as King Charles II. did that of Duke of *Beaufort* (December 2, 1682) on his ſon Henry Somerſet, great-great-great-grandfather of the preſent Duke of Beaufort, who is the fifth Duke of that name, the firſt Duke having been ſucceeded by his grandſon.

(*e*) This act is at length in Sandford and Stebbing before quoted, p. 322, 323. and in G. Buck's Life of Richard III. Book II.

(*f*) *Idem*, p. 260, &c. Dugdale, p. 121, &c.

(*g*) Sandford and Stebbing, p. 357. Peerage of England, by Arth. Collins, Vol. i. p. 75, &c. edit. 1735.]

[*A*] *Thoſe children were legitimated by act of parliament.*] There is an obſervation at the beginning of this act, made by Dr. Edmund Stafford, Biſhop of Exeter, and Lord-Chancellor of England, intimating, that Pope Urban VI., at the earneſt requeſt of King Richard II., had before legitimated theſe children (1).

(1) Life of Richard III. by G. Buck, in Compleat Hiſt. Lond. 1706, Vol. i. p. 536.

BEAUFORT (JOHN) eldeſt ſon of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, by Catherine Swinford, as is above related, was born in Beaufort-caſtle in Anjou. In 1394, being then a Knight, he accompanied his father into Gaſcogne (*). He was advanced to the honour of Earl of Somerſet, in a Parliament held at Weſtminſter (*a*), by creation, bearing date 1396-7; and on September 29, in a Parliament held at the ſame place, was created Marquis of Dorſet [*A*]; but this laſt honour being vacated, he was created the ſame day, Sept. 29, Marquis of Somerſet (*b*): notwithſtanding which, he was ſummoned to Parliament (*c*) by the title only of Marquis of Dorſet; and by that denomination was made Conſtable of Wallingford caſtle, and Steward of the Honour of Wallingford, November 22, 1397 (*d*); as alſo Conſtable of Dover-caſtle, and Warden of the Cinque-ports, on the 5th of February following (*e*); and not long after, King Richard the Second's Lieutenant in Aquitain (*f*). He was likewiſe, on the 2d of February the ſame year, conſtituted Admiral of all the King's fleet, both to the north and weſt (*g*). In 1397, he was one of thoſe Lords, who, at the great Council at Nottingham, impeached Thomas Duke of Glouceſter, &c. of treaſon (*h*); for which he and the reſt of them were adjudged, in the firſt Parliament of King Henry IV., to loſe their titles, and the eſtates that had been given them, at or ſince the laſt Parliament, belonging to any of thoſe perſons they had impeached, or ſuch as they enjoyed at the time of the Duke of Glouceſter's impriſonment (*i*). By this means, John Beaufort loſt the title of Marquis of Dorſet, and retained only that of Earl of Somerſet; but ſoon ingratiating himſelf with the new King, who was his brother by the father's ſide, he was conſtituted by him Chamberlain of England for life (*k*), Feb 9, 1399-1400. In 1401 he was retained by indenture to ſerve the King as Governor of the town of Caermardhyn (*l*), and had his eſtate reſtored to him (*m*). He was alſo made Captain of Calais, with its marches. In 1401, or 1402, he was commiſſioned with others, to treat of a league of amity between the King of England and the Duke of Gueldres (*n*). In 1402, the Commons in Parliament petitioned for his reſtitution to the dignity of Marquis; which he ſeemed unwilling to reſume, becauſe that title was new in this kingdom, he being the ſecond on whom it was conferred: however, he accepted of it at laſt (*o*). In the year 1404, he had an aſſignation of the Iſle of Thanet, for the ſupport of himſelf, and the garriſon of Calais, which conſiſted of his ſoldiers (*p*); and was appointed Embaſſador to treat of a peace with the French (*q*). He alſo was one of the Commiſſioners empowered to receive ſuch ſums of money as then remained unpaid for the ranſom of John, King of France, taken priſoner at the battle of Creſſy (*r*). And finally, in the eighth year of King Henry IV., was conſtituted Admiral of the King's whole fleet, as well for the north as weſt (*s*). Having thus paſſed through many honourable employments, he departed this life on the 21ſt of April 1410, and was buried in St. Michael's chapel, on the ſouth ſide of Canterbury cathedral (*t*). He married Margaret Holland, third daughter of Thomas, and ſiſter and coheir to Edmund, both Earls of Kent, by whom he had four ſons, Henry, John, Edmund, and Thomas (of whom, and their poſterity, I ſhall give an account in the note [*B*]), and two daughters: Joan, married to James I. King of Scotland; and Margaret, to Thomas Courtney, the ſeventh Earl of Devonſhire (*u*).

(*) Rot. Vaſco. 18 Ric. II. m. 7.

(*a*) Rot. Parl. 20 Ric. II. n. 28, 29. Carta 22 Ric. II. n. 1. as quoted by Dugdale in Baron. Vol. ii. p. 121, &c.

(*b*) Rot. Parl. 21 Ric. II. n. 5. Carta 21 Ric. II. n. 18, 23.

(*c*) An. 21 & 23 Ric. II. & 1 Henr. IV.

(*d*) Pat. 21 Ric. II. p. 2. m. 20.

(*e*) *Ibid.* m. 9.

(*f*) Rot. Vaſcon. 21 Ric. II. m. 8.

(*g*) Rot. Franc. 21 Ric. II. m. 4.

(*h*) Placit. Parl. 21 Ric. II. Walſingham Hiſt. Angl. p. 354, edit. Francof. 1603.

(*i*) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. ii. p. 513. Tho. Walſingham, *ubi ſupra*, p. 361.

(*k*) Pat. 1 Henr. IV. p. 3. See Sandford & Stebbing, *ubi ſupra*, p. 324.

(*l*) Penes Cler. Pell.

(*m*) Rot. Parl. 2 Hen. IV. n. 33.

(*n*) Rot. Franc. 3 Hen. IV. m. 6.

(*o*) Rot. Parl. 4 Hen. IV. n. 18.

(*p*) Pat. 5 Hen. IV. p. 2. m. 26.

(*q*) Rot. Franc. 5 Hen. IV. m. 4.

(*r*) *Ibid.* m. 16.

(*s*) Pat. 8 Hen. IV. p. 2. m. 17.

(*t*) Sandford & Stebbing, *ubi ſupra*, 324. 311.

(*u*) *Ibid.* Dugdale's Baron. Vol. ii. p. 122.

[*A*] *Was created Marquis of Dorſet.*] With the ceremonies uſed in thoſe times, namely *per gladii cincturam, et circuli aurei ſuo capiti impoſitionem*, by girding a ſword on, and putting a golden circle or coronet on the head. See Rot. Parl. 21 Ric. II. n. 5.

[*B*] *He had four ſons, Henry, John, Edmund, and Thomas*, &c.] Henry dying young, and unmarried, was ſucceeded in the earldom of Somerſet by his brother JOHN; who, in 1443, was created Duke of Somerſet and Earl of Kendal (1), and conſtituted Lieutenant and Captain-General of Aquitaine; as alſo of the whole realm of France, and dutchy of Normandy (2). He was taken priſoner at the battle of Baugy in 1421, and was not releaſed till ſome years after (3). Dying May 27, 1444, he left iſſue by his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir John Beauchamp of Bletſho, an only daughter named *Margaret*, of whom I ſhall give an account in a particular article. ——

(1) Carta 21 Hen. VI. n. 45.

(2) Rot. Franc. 21 Hen. VI.

(3) Sandford, *ubi ſupra*, p. 327.

To him ſucceeded his next brother EDMUND, who, before that time, had the title of Earl of Mortain in Normandy, and the Lordſhip of Chirkland in the marches of Wales (4); and had alſo, Aug. 20, 1442, been created Earl, as he was on June 24, 1443, Marquis of Dorſet (5); and finally, after his brother's deceaſe, Duke of Somerſet, March 31, 1448 (6). He had at ſeveral times the regency of France and government of Normandy; and behaved with great bravery there at the taking of Harfleur, though he loſt afterwards a great deal of his glory upon the ſurrendering of Caen and Roan (7). Being recalled to England by King Henry VI., to make head againſt the Yorkiſts, he was ſlain at the firſt battle of St. Alban's, May 22, 1455 (8). His wife was, Eleanor, ſecond daughter and coheir to Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, by whom he had four ſons and five daughters. Of the daughters, Eleanor was the ſecond wife of James Butler Earl of Ormond and Wiltſhire; Joan was married firſt to the Lord of Howth in Ireland, and next to Sir Richard Fry, Kt.; Anne was the wife of Sir William Paſton of Norfolk, Kt.; Margaret was firſt married to Humphry Stafford Earl of Stafford, and ſecondly to Sir Richard Darrel, Kt. and Elizabeth was married to Sir Henry Lewis, Kt. (9). The ſons were HENRY Duke of Somerſet, who being taken priſoner at the battle of Hexham in 1463, was there beheaded on the 3d of April. EDMUND, that ſucceeded him, ſailed into France, where he lived in great miſery. But returning again to England, he was in the ſecond battle of Barnet, and in that of Tewkſbury; after which laſt, being taken priſoner, he was beheaded May 6, 1471 (10). *John*, his next brother, was ſlain in the ſame battle of Tewkſbury, May 4 (11), and *Thomas*, the fourth ſon, died young (1). But to return to *Henry*, the elder brother, mentioned a little above: He bore the title of Earl of Mortain in his father's life-time, and gained great honour in the French wars (13). In the 36th of Henry VI., he was conſtituted Lieutenant and Governor of the Iſle of Wight and Careſbrooke-caſtle (14); and the next year made Governor of Calais. But being recalled to England, he was made General to Queen Margaret, and led her main battle at Wakefield. He was alſo Commander in Chief for King Henry VI., at the bloody fight of Towton, March 12, 1461; after which, ſeeing this poor King's affairs deſperate, he ſubmitted to the conqueror, Edward IV., though he turned afterwards againſt him (15), for which he was beheaded after the battle of Hexham, as is above related; leaving only a natural ſon, named Charles, who took the ſurname of Somerſet. M.

(4) Sandford, *ubi ſupra*, p. 331.

(5) Cart. from 1 to 20 of Hen. VI. n. 3.—and from 20 to 24. n. 46.

(6) *Ibid.* from 25 to 27. n. 9.

(7) Holinſhed, p. 615. 630, &c.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 643.

(9) Sandford & Stebbing, p. 332.

(10) Holinſhed, p. 667.

(11) Sandford & Stebbing, *ubi ſupra*, p. 336.

(12) *Ibid.* p. 333.

(13) Page 335.

(14) Pat. 36 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 10.

(15) Sandford & Stebbing, *ubi ſupra*, p. 335. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 124.

BEAUFORT (HENRY), Biſhop of Winchester, and Cardinal Prieſt of the Roman Church, was the ſon of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter, by his third wife, Catherine Swinford [*A*]. He ſtudied for ſome years at Oxford, but had his education chiefly at Aix

[*A*] *He was the ſon of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter, by his third wife, Catherine Swinford.*] John of Gaunt's third wife, Speed tells us (1), ‘ was Catherine, the widow of Sir Hugh Swinford, a Knight of Lincolnſhire, eldeſt daughter and coheir of Payn Roet, a Gaſcoigne, called Guien King of Arms for that country, his younger daughter being married to Sir Geoffrey Chaucer our Laureat Poet. By her he had iſſue (born before matrimony, and made legitimate afterwards by parliament holden in the twentieth year of King Richard the Second) John Earl of Somerſet, Thomas Duke of Exeter, Henry Biſhop of Winchester and Cardinal, and Joan, who was firſt married to Robert Ferrers (Baron of Wemme and Oueſly, in the counties of Salop and Warwick), and ſecondly to Ralph Nevill, the firſt Earl of Weſtmorland. She and all her brethren were ſirnamed BEAUFORT, of a caſtle which the Duke had in France, where they were all born; and in regard thereof bare the *Portcullis* of a caſtle for the cognizance of their family.’ We ſhall produce the charter of legitimation of the *Beauforts*, after having obſerved that the preamble of the Act of Parliament (2), which confirmed it (drawn up by Dr. Edmund Stafford, Biſhop of Exeter, and Lord-Chancellor of England), intimates, that Pope Urban VI., at the earneſt requeſt of the King, vouchſafes to legitimate theſe *Beauforts*, the natural children of the Duke of Lancaſter; and that the King alſo, having power to legitimate and enable baſtards in as ample a manner as the Emperor hath or had, was pleaſed, at the humble requeſt and ſuit of the Duke their father, to make them not only legitimate, but alſo capable of lands, heritages, titles, honours, offices, dignities, &c. and that the King, for the more authority thereof, craved allowance and favourable aſſent of the Barons in Parliament; which was accordingly granted. The charter (3) runs thus:

Charta Legitimationis Spuriorum *Joannis* Ducis *Lancaſtriæ*.

Richardus Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ, Franciæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, chariſſimis Conſanguineis noſtris, Nobilibus Viris Joanni *de* Beaufort *Militi*, Henrico *de* Beaufort *Clerico*, Thomæ *de* Beaufort *Domicello, et nobili mulieri* Joannæ Beaufort *Domicellæ, præclariſſimi Patrui noſtri Nobilis Viri* Joannis *Ducis* Aquitaniæ *et* Lancaſtriæ *Germanis Natis et Liegis noſtris, Salutem. Nos pro honore et meritis,* &c. *avunculi noſtri, proprio arbitratu, et meritorum ſuorum intuitu, vos, quia magno probitatis ingenio, ac vitæ ac morum honeſtate fulgetis, et ex regali eſtis proſapia propagati,* &c. *hinc eſt quod* Joannis, &c. *Avunculi noſtri, Genitoris veſtri, precibus inclinati vobis (cum, ut aſſeritur, defectum natalium patimini) hujuſmodi defectum et ejuſdem qualitates quaſcunque abolere preſentes, vos haberi volumus pro ſufficientibus ad quoſcunque honores, dignitatis præeminentias, ſtatus, gradus, et officia publica et privata, tam perpetua quam temporalia, atque judicialia et nobilia, quibuſcunque nominibus nuncupentur, etiam ſi Ducatus, Principatus, Comitatus, Baroniæ, vel alia Feuda fuerint, etiamſi mediatè vel immediatè à nobis dependeant ſeu teneantur, præfici, promoveri, eligi, aſſumi, et admitti, illaque recipere proinde liberè ac licitè valeatis, ac ſi de legitimo thoro nati exiſteritis, quibuſcunque Statutis, ſeu conſuetudinibus regni noſtri Angliæ in contrarium editis ſeu obſervatis, quæ hic habemus pro totaliter expreſſis, nequaquam obſtantibus, de plenitudine noſtræ regalis poteſtatis, et de aſſenſo Parliamenti noſtri, tenore præſentium diſpenſamus, voſque et quemlibet veſtrûm natalibus reſtituimus et legitimamus —— Die Feb. Anno Regni* 20 *R.* 2.

In Engliſh, as follows.

A Charter of Legitimation of the Baſtards of John Duke of Lancaſter.

‘ Richard, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland; To our moſt dear Couſins, the illuſtrious *John Beaufort*, Knight, *Henry Beaufort*, Clerk, *Thomas Beaufort* Gentleman, and *Joanna Beaufort*, Gentlewoman, of our moſt renowned Uncle, the noble *John* Duke of Guienne and Lancaſter, Children German, and our Lieges, Greeting. We, for honour and merits, &c. of our Uncle, of our own good pleaſure, and in conſideration of his deſerts, becauſe you are conſpicuous for your virtuous inclinations, and honeſty of life and manners, and deſcended of Royal Progenitors, &c. Hence it is, that, moved by the earneſt intreaties of our Uncle your parent, to remove from you (for, as is ſaid, there is a defect in your birth) this defect, and all its preſent conſequences, we will that you be, and be reputed, capable to be preferred, promoted, elected, aſſumed and admitted, to any honours, dignities, ſtates, degrees, offices public and private, as well perpetual as temporary, and judicial and noble, by what appellations ſoever diſtinguiſhed, whether Dukedoms, Principalities, Earldoms, Baronies, and Feuds, whether mediately or immediately depending or holding of Us, and them to take hold of, and enjoy, as freely and rightfully, as if you had been born in lawful Matrimony, all Statutes and Cuſtoms of our Kingdom of England, to the contrary

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(1) Hiſtory of Great Britain, edit. Lond. 1632. p. 709.

(2) Records preſerved in the Tower of London.

(3) *It is extant in* George Buck's Life of Richard III. *à ud* Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. i. p. 536, 537.

Aix la Chapelle, where he applied himſelf to the Civil and Common Law (*a*). Being of royal extraction, he was advanced very young to the prelacy, and was elected Biſhop of Lincoln in 1397 (*b*), in the room of John Buckingham, who reſigned [*B*]. In 1399, he was Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, and at the ſame time Dean of Wells (*c*) He was Lord High Chancellor of England in 1404, the fifth of his brother Henry IV. The next year he ſucceeded William of Wickham, by Papal proviſion, in the See of Wincheſter, and received the ſpiritualities from the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the Biſhop of London's palace, the 18th of March. He was again Lord-Chancellor in 1414, the ſecond of his nephew King Henry V (*d*). The ſame year, he went over one of the King's Embaſſadors into France, to demand in marriage Catherine, the daughter of Charles VI. (*e*) [*C*]. He was a third time Lord-Chancellor in 1417, the fifth of Henry V (*f*). The ſame year he lent the King his nephew twenty thouſand pounds (a prodigious ſum in thoſe

‘trary enacted or obſerved, as if they were here mentioned at length, notwithſtanding; with which, out of the fulneſs of our Royal Power, and with conſent of our Parliament, by the tenor of theſe Preſents, We diſpenſe, and you, and every one of you, to Birth reſtore and legitimate ——— Day of February, in the 20th year of our Reign. R. II.’

Notwithſtanding this Act of Legitimation, it was afterwards diſputed (eſpecially in the reign of Richard III., when, after the death of Edward Prince of Wales, the affair of the Succeſſion came to be conſidered), whether the *Beauforts* were of the Houſe of Lancaſter, or not; as alſo whether King Richard the Second's Charter conferred on them any title to the Crown. Upon which we ſhall ſubjoin the obſervations of George Buck, who, though otherwiſe a writer of little weight, may be allowed to ſpeak upon this ſubject, which concerns a matter of right, rather than of fact. After reciting the above-mentioned Charter, he goes on. ‘Here we find large Graces, Honours, and Privileges conferred upon theſe *Beauforts*; for the King calls them *conſanguineos ſuos*, and not only confirms their legitimation, but makes them, by the help of the Parliament, capable of Baronies, Earldoms, Dukedoms, and Principalities; enableth them for all offices public and private, temporary and perpetual, to take hold of, and enjoy, all Feuds, as well noble as other, all lands and ſeignories hereditary, as lawfully, firmly, and rightfully, as if they had been born in lawful matrimony; but yet confers no Royal title nor intereſt in the crown, at the leaſt to the obſervation of thoſe, who allow not the claim of the *Beauforts* and *Somerſets*, and ſay, that, to reach that, there muſt be words of higher intent, words of Empire, Majeſty, and Sovereignty; ſuch as *Regni ſumma Poteſtas, Corona. Sceptrum, Diadema, Purpura, Majeſtas*, and the like; neither of theſe, nor any importing their extent, being in this Grant, ſo no title to the Crown or Sovereignty could paſs to them. To which the other ſide replies, that there is a word in the Charter that comprehendeth Empire, Reign, and Sovereignty; that is, *Principatus*, whereof the King and Parliament make the *Beauforts* capable, *Principatus* being the State of *Princeps*, a title of the moſt abſolute ſovereign power; for the Roman Emperors in their greateſt height were called *Principes*; therefore *Princeps* is thus defined: *Princeps eſt penes quem ſumma reipublicæ poteſtas eſt, et qui primus omnium dominatur*; and *Principatus* and *Dominatus* are uſed as ſynonymies. But it is conceived an error now, to take *Principatus* for *Regnum* or *Supremus Dominatus*, being the word *Principatus* long before, and in the age of Richard II., alſo ever ſince, hath been reſtrained to the Eſtate of *Primogenitus*, and Heir Apparent, not only of Kings, but alſo of Dukes and Marquiſſes, as well Feudal as Sovereign. And the next King, Henry IV., a wiſe, diſcreet, and wary Prince, though he was much inclined to theſe *Beauforts* (as being his natural brethren by the paternal ſide, and willing to advance them all he could), yet he diſcovered clearly enough by that certain Charter, in which he entailed the Crown ſucceſſively to his four ſons, and to the heirs of their bodies, that he reputed not the *Beauforts* to be *Lancaſtrians*, or near the Crown; neither is there the leaſt clauſe or mention to leave any Remainder therein to them. Firſt, he entailed the Crown to his eldeſt ſon Henry Prince of Wales; after him, to the Heirs of his body; if they fail, then to Thomas of Lancaſter his ſecond ſon, and to the heirs of his body; ſo to his third ſon John of Lancaſter, and to the heirs of his body. Laſtly, to his fourth ſon Humphrey, and to the heirs of his body. The words are, *poſt ipſum ſucceſſivè hæredibus ſuis de ipſius corpore* legitime *procreandis*; which is implicatively an expreſs excluſion of the *Beauforts* (4).’ Our author adds in the margin, *This Charter I ſaw in the hands of* Sir Robert Cotton, *and from it took theſe ſummary notes.*

[*B*] *He was elected Biſhop of Lincoln, in the room of John Buckingham, who reſigned.*] On occaſion of this promotion, Godwin complains (5) of the tyranny exerciſed at that time by the court of Rome. He tells us, that the Popes not only appointed Biſhops in England, but deprived them at pleaſure; which they generally effected by tranſlating perſons, without their conſent, to other Sees, from which it was well known they could reap little or no advantage. Thus Urban VI. extorted the archbiſhopric of York from Alexander Nevill, whom he tranſlated, whether he would or no, to that of St. Andrews in Scotland, from which, receiving no benefit, he lived in extreme poverty. In the ſame manner, the ſame Pope deprived Thomas Merks of the See of Carliſle; and Alexander V. turned out Lewis from that of Bangor, *thruſting them* (ſays my author) *into certain ſhadowy Biſhoprics* *. And Boniface IX. intended to have tranſlated John Buckingham to the See of Litchfield, to make room for Henry Beaufort; but that Prelate, to make the injury done him the more glaring and notorious, choſe rather to be without both, and, abdicating the See of Lincoln, retired to the monaſtery of Canterbury, where he took the habit, and lived a Biſhop without a Biſhopric to the day of his death.

[*C*] *He went over —— into France, to demand in marriage Catherine the daughter of Charles* VI.] A French writer, cited by M. Aubery (6), tells us, that this year, 1414, the Duke of York, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and the Earl of Somerſet, the King's uncles, with ſome other perſons of diſtinction, came to Paris, to demand the King's daughter Catherine for the King of England. They were ſplendidly entertained by the King at his palace of the Louvre; but received for anſwer, that his Majeſty could not for the preſent take the affair into his conſideration. The embaſſadors being to return home, and knowing that King Henry's intent was to make a deſcent with a powerful army in Normandy, deſired to be conducted to Harfleur, and from thence to embark for England; but their real deſign was to take a view of that town and its fortifications. We ſhall ſet down the original, becauſe it wants a little correction: *Celui an vindrent à Paris, par ſauf-conduit, le Duc d'Yorch* *, *l'Archeueſque de Vinceſtre, et le Compte* † *Dorſec, Oncles du Roy d'Angleterre, le Sire de Cornouaille, et autres Cheualiers Anglois, et Gens de Conſeil, pour demander à auoir en mariage, pour ledit Roy d'Angleterre, Madame Katherine fille du Roy: leſquels Ambaſſadeurs furent moult grandement feſtoyez du Roy, en ſon Chaſtel du Louure a Paris, et auſſi Monſeigneur de Berry en ſon Hoſtel de Neelle. Et fut donneè reſponſe auſdits Ambaſſadeurs, que l' on ne pouuoit entendre a cette maticre pour le preſent, et ainſi ſ'en retournerent. Et pour ce qu' ils ſcauoient que l'intention de leur Roy etoit de venir deſcendre en grande armèe en Normandie, requirent qu'on les amenaſt monter en mer à Harfleu pour aller en Angleterre. Mais le principal point etoit, pour regarder la ville, et comment elle etoit fortifiée.*

days)

(*a*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Winton *an.* 1405.

(*b*) Id. ibid. *inter* Epiſc. Lincoln, *an.* 1397.

(*c*) Succeſſio Decan. Wellenſ. *ap.* Wharton. Angl. Sacra, P. I. p. 589.

(*d*) Continuat. Hiſt. Winton. *apud* Wharton, *ibid.* p. 318.

(*e*) Aubery, Hiſt. Generale des Cardinaux, edit. Paris, 1643, Tom. II. p. 123, 124.

(*f*) Continuat. Hiſt Winton. *ubi ſupra.*

(4) George Buck's *Life of* Richard III., *ubi ſupra.*

(5) De Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Winton. *an.* 1405.

(*) In umbraticos neſcio quos epiſcopatus.

(6) Alain Chartier, Hiſt. de Charles VI. *apud* Aubery, Hiſt. Generale, des Cardinaux; edit. Paris, 1643; T. II. p. 124.

(*) *It ſhould be* eveſque.

(†) *It ſhould be* Somerſet.

days) towards carrying on his expedition againſt France [*D*], and had the crown in pawn as a ſecurity for the money *(g)*. This year alſo he took a journey to the Holy Land; and in his way, being arrived at Conſtance, where was held a General Council, he exhorted the Prelates to union and agreement in the election of a Pope; and his remonſtrances contributed not a little to haſten the preparations for the Conclave, in which Martin III. was elected (*h*). We have no farther account of what happened to our Prelate in this expedition. In 1421 he had the honour to be godfather, jointly with John Duke of Bedford, and Jacqueline, Counteſs of Holland, to Prince Henry, eldeſt ſon of his nephew Henry V., and Catherine of France, afterwards Henry VI. (*i*) M. Aubery pretends, that James, King of Scots, who had been ſeveral years a priſoner in England, owed his deliverance to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who prevailed with the government to ſet him free, on condition of his marrying his niece, the grand-daughter of Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Somerſet (*k*). This Prelate was one of King Henry VI.th's guardians during his minority; and in 1424, the third of the young King's reign, he was a fourth time Lord-Chancellor of England (*l*). There were perpetual jealouſies and quarrels between the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and the Protector, Humphrey Duke of Glouceſter [*E*], which ended in the ruin and death of the latter (*m*). Their diſſenſions began to appear publicly in the year 1425 (*n*), and roſe to ſuch an height [*F*], that Beaufort thought it neceſſary to write a letter to his nephew the Duke of Bedford [*G*], Regent of France, deſiring his preſence in England, to accommodate matters between them. The Regent accordingly arriving in England the 20th of December (*o*), was met at his landing by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, with a numerous train *(p)*, and ſoon after convoked an aſſembly of the Nobility at St. Alban's [*H*], to hear and determine the affair. But the animoſity on this occaſion

(g) Speed's *Hiſt. of* Great Britain, edit. Lond. 1632, p. 803.

(h) Th. Walſingham, Chronic. edit. Lond. 1574, p. 396.

(i) Ibid. p. 406.

(k) Aubery, *ubi ſupra.*

(l) Continuat. Hiſt. Winton. *ubi ſupra.*

(m) See the article of that Nobleman.

(n) Speed's Hiſt of Great Britain, p. 815.

(o) Rymer's *Fœd.* &c. Vol. x. p. 359.

(p) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. i. p. 352.

[*D*] *He lent the King* 20,000 *l. towards his expedition againſt France.*] ‘In the month of May (Speed tells us) a Parliament was held at Weſtminſter, whoſe chiefeſt intent was to have meanes to continue the King's conqueſt in France; but ſuch was the ſtate of thoſe laviſh times, that, to ſtop the current of this melting mint, ſome, minding more the heaps of their money than the ſpreading abroad of England's faire monarchy, exhibited their bills unto the three Eſtates in Parliament, and petitioned the King to commiſerate the poverty of the Commons, which (as they ſaid) were beggered by theſe wars. For which cauſe, as it ſeemeth, no ſubſidy or ayde was demanded; but the King, pawning his Crown to his uncle Beaufort, the rich * Cardinal, for twenty thouſand pounds, before the ſaid month was expired, with foure thouſand horſe, and foure and twenty thouſand foot, returned into France to follow thoſe warres (7).’ Biſhop Godwin tells us, that King Henry V., a little before his death, having, by his continual and expenſive wars, contracted large debts, began to caſt his eyes upon the wealth of the Church, which was then arrived at its higheſt pitch, and was even adviſed to ſupply his wants out of the ſpoils thereof. But the Biſhop of Wincheſter, to ſtop this miſchief in the birth, lent his nephew the above-mentioned ſum out of his own pocket. *Henricus Quintus Rex, paulo ante exitum, per continua maximaque bella ære alieno ingenti contracto, in opes Eccleſiæ (quæ id temporis ad ſummum pervenerant) oculos cœpit conjicere: neque deerant permulti, qui ex ſpoliis ejuſdem inopiam ſuam ſublevaret, hortarentur. Quapropter Præſul hic noſter, ut huic malo tum primum pullulanti obviam iret, viginti librarum millia ex ſuis loculis deprompta, nepoti Regi mutuo dedit* (8).

(*) *The Hiſtorian, through miſtake, anticipates the title of* Cardinal, *which was not conferred on* Beaufort *till the year* 1426, *nine years after the date of this loan.*

(7) Hiſt of Great Britain, p. 803.

(8) Godwin, *ubi ſupra.*

[*E*] *There were perpetual jealouſies and quarrels between the Biſhop of Wincheſter and the Duke of Glouceſter.*] The grounds of their diſſenſion are not certainly known; whether it was that the Biſhop of Wincheſter was diſguſted at the preference given to the Duke of Glouceſter in the government of the kingdom; or that the Duke conceived an averſion to the Biſhop on account of his perpetually oppoſing the exceſs of authority he would annex to the office of Protector.

[*F*] *Their diſſenſions——roſe to ſuch an height*, &c.] ‘About Michaelmas 1425 (an hiſtorian writes), Peter Duke of Coimbra, eldeſt ſon of the King of Portugal, came into England, and finding a kind and generous entertainment from the Protector and Nobles, ſtaid the whole year, to inform himſelf of the cuſtoms, and enjoy the pleaſures of the country. In the time of his abode here, there happened a fierce and mighty quarrel between the Protector and the rich Biſhop of Wincheſter, *Henry Beaufort*, the King's great uncle, the Engliſh Pope, who in his magnificence and grandeur ſeemed ſo much to outſhine the Protector himſelf, though on the throne almoſt, that he drew his *Odium* and hatred upon him; which was ſo increaſed by the haughty ſpirit of the Biſhop, who being the Protector's uncle, and the Pope's Legate (*), carried himſelf as if he were much above him both in nature and grace, that the Protector could not endure his pride; and ſo an implacable enmity grew between them, and great parties were raiſed on both ſides for each other's defence, the Biſhop's dependencies, money, and Church-power, making him able to contend with the Protector himſelf. The Duke of Coimbra, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury interpoſed themſelves to reconcile them, and were ſo zealous to heal this dangerous breach, that they went from the one to the other ten times in one day; but all proved to no purpoſe. No mediations could pacify the mind of the Protector; and Wincheſter would yield no farther than was becoming his place and ſtate, though he was willing, for the good of the nation, that the difference might be compoſed without arms (9).’ M. Rapin relates (10), that the Duke of Glouceſter, going one day to the Tower, was refuſed admittance by Richard Woodvill the governor, at the inſtigation of the Biſhop of Wincheſter; and a French writer (*), cited by that hiſtorian, pretends the quarrel roſe ſo high thereupon, that the Biſhop was forced to take refuge in the Tower, and that five or ſix of his attendants were killed by thoſe of the Duke. But this is not probable, ſince there was no mention made of it in their mutual complaints before the Parliament the year following.

(*) *He was not as yet the Pope's Legate.*

(9) *Complete Hiſt. of England*, Vol. i. p. 351, 352. *See the remark* [*K*].

(10) Hiſt. d'Angleterre, *ſub an.* 1425.

(*) Monſtrelet.

[*G*] *He wrote a letter to the Duke of Bedford.*] It is extant in Holinſhed's Chronicles (11), and is as follows.

(*) *Right High and Mighty Prince, and my Right noble and after One, Leiueſt* [*Earthly*] *Lord. I recommend me unto you,* [*Your Grace*] *with all my heart, And as you deſire the Welfare of the King our Sovereign Lord, and of his Realms of England and France, your own Weal* [*Health*] *with all yours* [*with Ours alſo*] *haſte you hither: For by my Troth, if* [*and*] *you tarry* [*long*] *we ſhall put this land in jeopardy* [*adventure*] *with a Feild; ſuch a brother you have here, God make him a good man. For your wiſdome well knoweth, that the Profit of France ſtandeth in the Welfare of England,* &c. *The bleſſed Trinity keep you. Written in great haſte at London on Allhollowen-Even. By your Servant to my Lives end.*

HENRY, Wincheſter.

This letter was ſent over to the Regent by his chamberlain Sir Robert Butler.

(11) Page 591.

(*) The words incloſed thus [ ] ſhew the difference of the copies of this Letter.

[*H*] *The Regent convoked an aſſembly of the nobility at St. Alban's.*] The Duke of Bedford had a nice affair occaſion was ſo great on both ſides, that it was thought proper to refer the deciſion to the Parliament, which was appointed to be held at Leiceſter the 25th of March following. The Parliament being met [*I*], the Duke of Glouceſter produced ſix articles of accuſation againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who put in his anſwers ſeverally [*K*]; and a Committee appointed for that purpoſe having examined the allegations, the Biſhop was

fair upon his hands. If he had ſided with the Duke his brother, as the ties of blood ſeemed to demand, he would have been a very improper perſon to diſcharge the office of mediator. And, beſides the characters of brother and nephew, he had another to ſupport, in order to act agreeably to his own duty and the juſt expectations of the people; namely, that of Protector, who ought to prefer the good of the State to the obligations of kindred. He, therefore, very judiciouſly threw the buſineſs off his own ſhoulders upon a general aſſembly of the Nobles.

[*I*] *The Parliament being met*, &c.] ‘ The meeting of the Parliament drawing nigh, when it was uſual for the Lords to come with great numbers of ſervants and attendants, and it being feared that the great trains of the Protector and the Biſhop of Wincheſter might fall into open war with one another, if no reſtraint were laid upon them; it was therefore thought fit, that the King ſhould ſtrictly forbid any perſon coming to it with ſwords or other warlike weapons: Which order, though it was literally obſerved, yet the Lords attendants came with *Bats*, or great clubs, on their ſhoulders, from whence this Parliament was called *The Parliament of Bats*; but this, as ſoon as it was taken notice of, was alſo prohibited (12).’

(12) Complete *Hiſt. of England*, *ubi ſupra.*

[*K*] *The Duke of Glouceſter exhibited ſix articles againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who put in his anſwers ſeverally.*] As theſe articles were thought not unworthy the Parliament's notice, they may not be beneath the reader's peruſal, and are as follows (13).

(13) *See* Holinſhed, p. 591. and Complete *Hiſt. of England*, Vol. i. p. 353.

ARTICLES *of Accuſation preſented to the Parliament by the Duke of* Glouceſter, *againſt* Henry, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *with his* ANSWERS *to them ſeverally.*

I. That Richard Woodvile, Eſq; Keeper of the Tower of London, did, by the inſtigation and encouragement of the ſaid Biſhop of Wincheſter, deny admittance to him the ſaid Duke of Glouceſter, then being Protector of the kingdom, into the Tower, contrary to reaſon and duty, and in derogation to the King's authority.

To this Article the Biſhop anſwered, ‘ That while the Duke of Glouceſter was gone into Hainault, it happened that many Pamphlets and Reports being diſperſed up and down the city of London, tending to Rebellion, it was ordered by the Lords of his Majeſty's Council, that Richard Woodvile, Eſq. ſhould, with a ſufficient number of armed men, have the keeping of the Tower, and ſhould not permit any man to come into the Tower ſtronger than himſelf, without the ſpecial commandment of the King, by the advice of his Council. After this ſtrict charge, the Duke of Glouceſter, returning out of Hainault, and not approving the fortifying the Tower, told the citizens, who were diſſatisfied at it, *that had he been in England, it ſhould not have been ſo*; and immediately going to the Tower, demanded admittance; but Woodvile, not daring to give him entrance, came to the Biſhop of Wincheſter for advice; who told him, *that the Duke of Glouceſter took upon him greater authority than he ought, and that before he admitted him into the Tower, he ought to provide himſelf a ſufficient warrant of the Council and King for his ſo doing, contrary to the former order.*’

II. That my Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter, without the advice and conſent of my Lord Duke of Glouceſter, or of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, contrived and purpoſed to lay hands of his Majeſty's perſon, and to have removed him from *Eltham*, the place he was then in, to *Windſor*, there to put him under the government of ſuch perſons as he pleaſed.

The Biſhop's Anſwer to this Article was, ‘ That he never could propound to himſelf any advantage, by removing the King, or taking him into his cuſtody or charge; nor did ever intend to meddle with any thing about the King's perſon, without the advice of the Privy-Council, as in time and place he could prove.’

III. That my Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter, knowing that the Duke of Glouceſter had reſolved to prevent his deſign of ſeizing the King's perſon at *Eltham*, laid wait for him, by placing armed men at the end of London-Bridge, and in the windows of the chambers and cellars in Southwark to have killed him, if he had paſſed that way; all which is againſt the King's peace, and duty of a true ſubject.

The Biſhop's defence to this heavy charge was this: ‘ That true indeed it is, that he did provide a certain number of armed men, and ſet them at the foot of London-Bridge, and other places, without any intention to do any bodily harm to the Duke of Glouceſter, but merely for his own ſafety and defence; being informed by ſeveral credible perſons, that my Lord Duke of Glouceſter had purpoſed bodily harm to him, and gathered together a company of citizens for that end.’

IV. That the late King Henry the Fifth told him, that when he was Prince, a man was ſeized in his chamber, who was hid behind the hangings, and confeſſed, after his apprehenſion, that he was ſet at work by the Biſhop of Wincheſter to kill the Prince in his bed. He was delivered to the Earl of Arundel, who drowned him in a ſack in the Thames.

To this Accuſation the Biſhop replied, ‘ That he was ever a true and faithful ſubject to his Sovereigns, and never purpoſed or contrived any treaſon againſt any of their perſons, and eſpecially againſt his Sovereign Lord King Henry the Fifth. And this he thought was ſufficiently evident to any that conſidered the great wiſdom and courage of the ſaid King, and the great truſt he repoſed in him ſo long as he remained King, which he would not have done, had he found him guilty of ſuch unfaithfulneſs to him while he was Prince.’

V. That the Biſhop of Wincheſter, in the ſickneſs of King Henry the Fourth, adviſed his ſon Prince Henry to aſſume the government of the nation before his father's death, as the ſaid Prince himſelf told him.

The Biſhop replied, ‘ That this was mere calumny, which could not be proved; and he hoped the Parliament would appoint them judges, that he might vindicate his honour, or elſe leave him to ſue out his right before ſuitable judges.’

VI. That my Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter had, in his letter to the Duke of Bedford, plainly declared his malicious purpoſe of aſſembling the people, and ſtirring up a Rebellion in the nation, contrary to the King's peace.

The Biſhop's Anſwer to this Accuſation was, ‘ That he never had any intention to diſturb the peace of the nation, or raiſe any Rebellion, but ſent to the Duke of Bedford to come over in haſte, to ſettle all things that were prejudicial to the peace; and though he had indeed written in the letter, *that if he tarried, we ſhall put the land in adventure by a field, ſuch a brother ye have here*, he did not mean it of any deſign of his own, but concerning the ſeditious aſſemblies of Maſons, Carpenters, Tilers, and Plaiſterers, who being diſtaſted by the late Act of Parliament againſt exceſſive wages of thoſe trades, had given out many ſeditious ſpeeches and menaces againſt the Great Men, which tended much to Rebellion; and yet the Duke of Glouceſter did not uſe his endeavour, as he ought to have done in his place, to ſuppreſs ſuch unlawful aſſemblies, ſo that he feared the King and his good ſubjects muſt have made a field to withſtand them; to prevent which he chiefly deſired the Duke of Bedford to come over.’

acquitted [*L*]. The Duke of Bedford however, to give ſome ſatisfaction to the Protector, took away the Great-ſeal from his uncle (*q*). Two years after, the Duke of Bedford, returning into France, was accompanied to Calais by the Biſhop of Wincheſter (*r*), who, on the 25th of March, received there with great ſolemnity, in the church of Our Lady, the Cardinal's hat [*M*], with the title of *St. Euſebius*, ſent him by Pope Martin V. (*s*) In September 1428, the new Cardinal returned into England, with the character of the *Pope's Legate* lately conferred on him; and in his way to London, he was met by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and the principal citizens on horſeback, who conducted him with great honour and reſpect to his lodgings in Southwark (*t*); but he was forced, for the preſent, to wave his Legantine power, being forbidden the exerciſe of it by a proclamation publiſhed in the King's name [*N*]. Cardinal Beaufort was appointed, by the Pope's bull, bearing date March 25, 1427-8 (*u*), his Holineſs's Legate in Germany, and General of the Cruſade againſt the Huſſites, or Heretics of Bohemia [*O*]. Having communicated the Pope's intentions to the Parliament, he obtained a grant of money, and a conſiderable body of forces, under certain reſtrictions [*P*]; but juſt as he was preparing to embark, the Duke of Bedford having ſent to demand a ſupply of men for the French war, it was reſolved in Council, that Cardinal Beaufort ſhould ſerve under the Regent [*Q*], with the troops of the Cruſade, to the end of the month of December, on condition that

(*q*) M. Rapin, *Acta Regia*, tranſlated into Engliſh. Lond. 1726, Vol. ii. p. 258.

(*r*) Polyd. Vergil, Hiſt. Angl. l. xxiii. p. 594, edit. Lugd. Batav. 1651.

(*s*) Aubery, *ubi ſupra*, p. 125.

(*t*) *Complete Hiſt. of* England, *ib.* p. 360.

(*u*) Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. *ib.* p. 414.

[*L*] *The Biſhop was acquitted.*] The Committee, appointed by the Parliament for examining the Allegations and Anſwers, were, Henry Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Thomas Duke of Exeter, John Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Biſhop of Durham, Philip Biſhop of Worceſter, John Biſhop of Bath and Wells, Humphrey Earl of Stafford, Ralph Lord Cornwall, and Mr. Alnwicke, Keeper of the Privy-Seal; who, having thoroughly examined all the matters, acquitted the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and by a formal award enjoined the two Princes to be firm friends for the future; and by ſuch inducements wrought upon them, that they ſhook hands, and parted with all outward ſigns of perfect love and agreement; which gave mighty ſatisfaction to all people, both of the Clergy and Laity. And the King, by the advice of his Council, made a magnificent feaſt at Whitſuntide, to rejoice for this happy reconciliation (14). Speed tells us (15), the Duke and the Biſhop ſwore friendſhip, the one upon his *prince-hood*, and the other upon his *prieſt-hood*.

[*M*] *He received——the Cardinal's Hat.*] The late King Henry V. oppoſed Beaufort's promotion to the dignity of a Cardinal as long as he lived; but in this reign, the King being very young, and the Duke of Bedford his friend, he was at liberty to obtain his ambitious purpoſe. The Regent ſtaid ſome time at Calais to ſee the ceremony of his uncle's Inauguration; which being over, that Prince, taking the new Cardinal by his right hand, conveyed him with great reſpect to his lodging, and there entertained him, and the Lords with him, at a magnificent banquet (16).

[*N*] *He was forbidden to exerciſe the Legantine power, by a proclamation publiſhed in the King's name.*] His return with ſuch an increaſe of dignity and power was not at all pleaſing to the Duke of Glouceſter, who, as ſoon as he heard he was landed, cauſed a Proclamation to be publiſhed in the King's name, declaring, that *Whereas the Moſt Chriſtian King Henry* VI., *and his Progenitors, Kings before him of this Realm of England, have been heretofore poſſeſſed time out of mind with a ſpecial privilege and cuſtom uſed and obſerved in this realm, from time to time, that no Legate from the Apoſtolic See ſhall enter this land, or any of the King's dominions, without the Calling, Petition, Requeſt, Invitation, or Deſire of the King; and foraſmuch as* Henry, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *and* Cardinal *of* St. Euſebius, *hath preſumed to enter as Legate from the Pope, being neither called nor deſired by the King; therefore the King, by his Procurator* Richard Caudray, *doth proteſt, by this inſtrument, that it ſtandeth not with the King's mind or intent, by the advice of his Council, to admit, approve, or ratify, the coming of the ſaid Legate in any wiſe, in derogation of the rights and cuſtoms of this realm, or to allow and aſſent to any exerciſe of his Legantine power, or to any Acts attempted by him, contrary to the ſaid laws* (17).

[*O*] *He was appointed —— the Pope's Legate —— againſt the Huſſites, or Heretics of Bohemia.*] Theſe Heretics, as they were called, having thrown off their ſubjection to the Pope, not only fortified themſelves in Bohemia, but began to make war upon their neighbours. Whereupon Pope Martin V. ſent Embaſſadors into Germany, to ſtir up the Catholic Princes againſt them, and at the ſame time appointed Cardinal Beaufort his Legate, granting him a tenth of the eccleſiaſtical revenues in England for the maintenance of the forces he ſhould raiſe (18). In the Bull for this purpoſe, his Holineſs implored him by the wounds of Chriſt, his zeal for the Church, and as he tendered his own ſalvation, to contribute his utmoſt aſſiſtance to extirpate thoſe Heretics, who had ſo long withſtood the Emperor and other Princes of Europe (19). The Cardinal had alſo ſome unuſual powers in his commiſſion; for he was allowed to relax the cuſtomary penance of thoſe who had debauched Nuns; to diſpenſe with matrimony in the fourth degree of conſanguinity; to confer orders and benefices under the age preſcribed by the Canons; and, in ſhort, to superſede the diſcipline and conſtitutions of the Church in ſeveral other inſtances (20). M. Rapin conjectures (21), that the Pope might have another view beſides that of extirpating Heretics. As he was inclined to favour King Charles of France, he might hope to weaken England by drawing from thence money and troops under pretence of a Cruſade.

[*P*] *The Parliament granted him a ſum of money, and a conſiderable body of forces, under certain reſtrictions.*] The conditions, upon which the Cardinal's petition was granted, are dated at *Weſtminſter, June* 18, 1429 (22). Theſe were the chief; That *the money, which the King's ſubjects give for the ſervice of the Cruſade, ſhall be raiſed by commiſſioners to be appointed by the King:* That *the Gold and Silver ſhall not be carried out of the Realm, but employed in merchandiſe:* That *the Cardinal ſhall raiſe in all but* 250 *Spear-men, and* 2500 *Bow-men, including therein all that are inclined to ſerve without pay:* That *the Pope ſhall impoſe no tax for this cauſe, either upon the Laity or Clergy, but ſhall be content with every perſon's voluntary contribution:* That, *before the departure of the troops, ſufficient ſecurity be given to the Council for their return:* That *it ſhall be ſaid expreſsly in the Proclamation of the Cruſade, that the ſame is publiſhed by the conſent of the King:* That *the perſon, who is to command thoſe troops, as alſo all the officers, ſhall have their commiſſions from the King:* That, *in caſe the Cruſade does not take place, the money received of the ſubjects ſhall be converted to no uſe, which has not the King's expreſs approbation.* All theſe articles are plainly ſo many precautions againſt the pretenſions of the Popes, and to prevent the abuſes of former Cruſades.

[*Q*] *It was reſolved——that the Cardinal ſhould ſerve under the Regent.*] The CONVENTION between the King and the Cardinal, by which the latter engaged to ſerve ſix months in France, with the troops raiſed for the Cruſade, under the command of the Duke of Bedford, is dated at *Rocheſter*, July 1, 1429 (23). This ſhews that the Cardinal did not go to Germany till the year 1430, at the ſooneſt; though Mechovius, and after him Spondanus, ſay he went thither in 1428. This miſtake ſeems to have ariſen from the date of Martin the Fifth's Bull, appointing the Cardinal of Wincheſter his Legate; which was dated March 25, 1427-8, but was not received by the Cardinal till June 1429.

they

(14) *Complete Hiſtory of* England, *ib.* p. 354.

(15) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 805.

(16) *Complete Hiſtory*, &c. *ib.* p. 355.

(17) Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 649.

(18) Polyd. Verg. Hiſt. Angl. l. xxiii. p. 604, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1651.

(19) *Complete Hiſt. of* England, *ib.* p. 362.

(20) Duck, *in Vita Archiep.* Chichley, p. 38.

(21) Hiſt. d'Angleterre, liv. xii. *ſub an.* 1429.

(22) Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. *ib.* p. 419, 420.

(23) *Ib.* p. 421.

they ſhould not be employed in any ſiege (*w*). The Cardinal complied, though not without reluctance, and accordingly joined the Duke of Bedford at Paris (*x*). After a ſtay of forty five days in France [*R*], he marched into Bohemia, where he conducted the Cruſade [*S*] till he was recalled by the Pope [*T*], and Cardinal Julian ſent in his place with a larger army (*y*). The next year, 1430, the Cardinal accompanied King Henry into France (*z*), being inveſted with the title of the King's *Principal Counſellor* (*a*), and had the honour to perform the ceremony of crowning the young Monarch in the church of *Nôtre Dame* at Paris (*b*); where he had ſome diſpute with James du Chaſtellier, the Archbiſhop, who claimed the right of officiating on that occaſion (*c*). During his ſtay in France, he ſtood godfather to the Duke of Burgundy's ſon. He was preſent at the Congreſs of Arras for concluding a peace between the Kings of England and France, and had a conference for that purpoſe with the Dutcheſs of Burgundy, between Calais and Gravelines, which had no effect, and was remarkable only for the Cardinal's magnificence [*U*], who came thither with a moſt ſplendid train (*d*). In the mean time the Duke of Glouceſter took advantage in England of the Cardinal's abſence to give him freſh mortification. For firſt, having repreſented to the Council, that the Biſhop of Wincheſter intended to leave the King, and come back into England to reſume his ſeat in Council, in order to excite new troubles in the kingdom, and that his intentions were the more criminal, in that he made uſe of the Pope's authority to free himſelf from the obligations of aſſiſting the King in France; he procured an order of Council forbidding all the King's ſubjects, of what condition ſoever, to accompany the Cardinal, if he ſhould leave the King, without expreſs permiſſion (*e*). The next ſtep the Protector took againſt him, was an attempt to deprive him of his biſhopric, as inconſiſtent with the dignity of Cardinal [*W*]; but the affair having been a long time debated in Council, it was reſolved that the Cardinal ſhould be heard, and the Judges conſulted, before any deciſion (*f*). Being returned into England, he thought it neceſſary to take ſome precaution againſt theſe repeated attacks; wherefore he prevailed with the King, through the interceſſion of the Commons, to grant him letters of pardon for all offences by him committed contrary to the ſtatute of *Proviſors*, and other acts of *Præmunire*. This pardon is dated at *Weſtminſter*, *July* 19, 1432 (*g*). Five years after, he procured another pardon under the Great-Seal for all ſorts of crimes whatever, from the creation of the world to the 26th of July 1437 (*h*). Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, the Duke of Glouceſter, in 1442, drew up articles of impeachment againſt the Cardinal [*X*], and preſented them with his own hands

to

(*w*) Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. *ib.* p. 421.

(*x*) Polyd. Vergil, *ubi ſupra*, p. 604.

(*y*) *Ib.* p. 605.

(*z*) Polyd. Vergil, *ib.* p. 608.

(*a*) Rapin, *Acta Regia*, *ubi ſupra*, p. 260.

(*b*) Polyd. Vergil, *ibid.*

(*c*) Aubery, *ubi ſupra*, p. 126.

(*d*) *Id. ib.* p. 127.

(*e*) Rymer's *Fœd.* &c. *ib.* p. 472.

(*f*) Rapin, Hiſt. d'Angleterre, liv. xii. *ſub an.* 1431.

(*g*) Rymer, *ib.* p. 516.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 670.

[*R*] *He ſtaid forty-five days in France.*] Polydore Vergil informs us (24), that the Duke of Bedford, being joined by the forces under Cardinal Beaufort, reſolved to hazard a general battle, and for that purpoſe marched againſt the enemy; but finding that King Charles declined as much as poſſible coming to an engagement, he returned with his army to Paris, and the Cardinal was at liberty to purſue his intended expedition.

[*S*] *He conducted the Cruſade.*] The author laſt cited tells us (25), the Cardinal did ſignal ſervice to the Chriſtian (he ſhould have ſaid the *Papal*) cauſe, during the few months he continued in Bohemia, and that he behaved with great gallantry in that Holy war. *Quo ubi pervenit, cum omnia flagrare bello reperiſſet, rem Chriſtianam pro virili parte fortiter juvare cœpit, manſitque in Boëmis aliquot per menſes.——Ac ita Henricus, poſt egregiam ſacro bello enavatam operam, domum incolumis rediit.* M. Aubery repreſents the ſucceſs of this expedition very differently. He tells us (26), the Germans raiſed three bodies of forces under the command of the Duke of Saxony, the Marquis of Brandenburgh, and the Archbiſhop of Treves; which entering Bohemia at three different places were attacked and put to flight by the Bohemians; and that Cardinal Beaufort coming up, endeavoured in vain to rally them, and was forced to retreat with them, to avoid being taken priſoner.

[*T*] *He was recalled by the Pope.*] This circumſtance ſeems to confirm M. Aubery's account of the Cardinal's ill ſucceſs in the Bohemian war. But it is not true, what the author adds (27), that he immediately returned into England, and raiſed freſh forces for carrying on that war; which, inſtead of employing againſt the enemies of the Holy See, he turned againſt the King of France; and that the Pope thereupon wrote to him ſharply, reproaching him for undertaking a Cruſade againſt the firſt kingdom of Chriſtendom. For it does not appear, that there was a ſecond levy of troops in England for that Cruſade; and, if there were, yet the Cardinal's ſerving in France evidently belongs to the firſt expedition.

[*U*] *The conference was remarkable only for the Cardinal's magnificence.*] The old French writer (28), cited by M. Aubery (29), tells us, the Engliſh came with great pomp, and very richly dreſſed; and particularly the Cardinal of Wincheſter had ordered ſeveral rich tents and pavillions finely adorned to be brought thither, and a great quantity of gold and ſilver plate; and that he gave a moſt ſplendid entertainment to the Dutcheſs of Burgundy, his great niece. *Et quant eſt aux Anglois, ils y eſtoient venus en grande pompe et boubant, et moult richement habilez. Et par deſſus ledit Cardinal de Vinceſtre y auoit fait venir de moult riches tentes et pauillons bien parez et aornez, et de tout ce qui y failloit tant de vaiſſelle d'or et d'argent, comme d'autres beſonges neceſſaires et duyſables. Et fiſt à ladite Ducheſſe ſa belle niepce moult joyeuſe chiere et reception, et la feſtoya tres-honnorablement.*

[*W*] *The Protector attempted to deprive him of his Biſhopric, as inconſiſtent with the dignity of Cardinal.*] There is extant in Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. (30) the petition of the King's Attorney-General, praying that the Cardinal of Wincheſter may be deprived of his Biſhopric, dated *November* the 6th, 1431. He ſupported his demand by the examples of Simon Langham and Robert Kilwardi, formerly Archbiſhops of Canterbury, who, being made Cardinals, did thereupon reſign the Archbiſhopric. It appears likewiſe by this petition, that the Cardinal had obtained of the court of Rome an exemption from the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's juriſdiction, for himſelf, for the city, and for the whole dioceſe of Wincheſter. And this was what the Duke of Glouceſter made a handle of againſt him, in order to convince the Council of the inconveniency there was in permitting Cardinals to enjoy Biſhoprics in England.

[*X*] *He was impeached by the Protector.*] The impeachment conſiſted of fourteen Articles (31), as follows:

I. That the Biſhop of Wincheſter had not only taken upon himſelf the dignity and title of a Cardinal, contrary to the expreſs command of King Henry the Fifth, and in derogation to the Church of Canterbury: But,

II. Having forfeited his Biſhopric thereby by the Act of Proviſions, he had procured a Bull from the Pope to ſecure his Biſhopric ſtill to him, contrary to

(24) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 604, 605.

(25) *Ibid.*

(26) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 126.

(27) *Ibid.*

(28) Monſtrelet.

(29) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 127.

(30) Tom. X. p. 497.

(31) *See* Complete Hiſt. of *England*, *ib.* p. 390.

to the King, deſiring that judgment might paſs upon him according to his crimes. The King referred the matter to his Council; which, being compoſed chiefly of eccleſiaſtical perſons, and conſequently inclined to favour the Cardinal, deferred the examination thereof ſo long, that the Protector, grown weary of their delays, let fall the proſecution, and ſo the Cardinal eſcaped (*i*). This famous Prelate died the 11th of June 1447 (*k*); having ſurvived the Duke of Glouceſter not above a month, of whoſe murder he was ſuſpected to have been one of the contrivers. It is ſaid, that he expreſſed great impatience and uneaſineſs of mind at the approach of death, and died in a ſort of deſpair [*Y*]. He

(*i*) *Complete Hiſt. of* England, *ib.* p. 390, 391.

(*k*) Contin. Hiſt. Winton. *ubi ſupra.*

the laws of the realm, which made it *Præmunire* ſo to do.

III. That the ſaid Cardinal, with John Kemp, Archbiſhop of York, had aſſumed the government of the King's perſon and the realm, which no ſubject could do without a treaſonable uſurpation.

IV. That the ſaid Biſhop had defrauded the King of his jewels.——This article, probably, was founded upon Beaufort's taking the Crown in pawn for the 20,000l. he lent King Henry V.

V. That being Chancellor of England, he had againſt Law ſet at liberty the King of Scots, and forgiven him part of his ranſom upon condition the ſaid King ſhould marry his niece.

VI. That the ſaid Biſhop had defrauded the King by taking the cuſtoms of wool, and other merchandizes, at the Port of Southampton.——Probably, he repaid himſelf this way the ſums he had lent the King.

VII. That notwithſtanding the ſaid Cardinal neither hath, nor can have, any title to the Crown, yet he preſumeth to take upon him the Royal Dignity, in ſummoning and calling perſons before him, in derogation of the King's authority, being without his permiſſion or command.——This article muſt refer to the Cardinal's behaviour in quality of the Pope's Legate.

VIII. That the ſaid Cardinal had obtained a pardon from Rome, to exempt his dioceſe from paying of tenths to the State, and ſo had given both an ill example to the other Biſhops to do the like, and laid the whole burthen upon the Laity, to the great diſcontent of the kingdom.

IX. That the ſaid Cardinal had been a means of uniting the French and the Duke of Burgundy, and this latter with the Duke of Orleans, to the great damage of the Realm, and benefit of our adverſaries the French.

X. That the ſaid Cardinal, after communication had with our enemies, ſent the Archbiſhop of York to the King, to perſuade him to quit his right and title to the Crown and kingdom of France for certain years, and be content with writing himſelf *Rex Angliæ*, &c. to the great diſgrace of the King and his Progenitors.

XI. That the releaſe of the Duke of Orleans was brought to paſs only by the mediation and procurement of the ſaid Cardinal and the Duke of York, contrary to the will of King Henry the Fifth.

XII. That being Chancellor, he had, inſtead of promoting the good of the King, bought his lands and manors of him.

XIII. That the ſaid Cardinal, by ſending ſuch Captains and Soldiers into France as he thought fit, hath been the cauſe that ſo much of Normandy and other parts are loſt.

XIV. That the Cardinal hath ſold commiſſions of Captains and other officers for money in France, whereby unfit perſons have been put into the army, to the loſs of the King's dominions there.

It is ſaid the Duke of Glouceſter was extremely incenſed againſt Cardinal Beaufort for inſtigating (as was generally thought) certain perſons to accuſe and proſecute his Dutcheſs for treaſon, witchcraft, and other notorious crimes; and that revenge for this injury put him upon taking a ſtrict review of that Prelate's conduct for many years paſt, and of drawing up the above-recited articles; which amounted to no leſs than a charge of high-treaſon, and which, the Protector maintained, could not come within the intention of the Amneſties heretofore granted him by the King.

[*Y*] *He died in a ſort of deſpair.*] Harpsfield tells us (32), that in his laſt ſickneſs, being confined to his bed, he uttered ſuch complaints as theſe: *And muſt I then dye? Will not all my riches ſave me? I could purchaſe the kingdom, if that would prolong my life. What! is there no bribing of death? When my nephew the Duke of Bedford died, I thought my happineſs and my authority greatly increaſed; but the Duke of Glouceſter's death raiſed me in fancy to a level with Kings, and I thought of nothing but accumulating ſtill greater wealth, to purchaſe at laſt the triple crown. Alas! how are my hopes diſappointed! Wherefore, O my friends, let me earneſtly beſeech you to pray for me, and recommend my departing ſoul to God.* 'Cum enim 'ex ſuprema ægritudine lecto affigeretur, ad hunc 'modum queſtus fertur. Cur ego tantis rerum copiis cumulate affluens, ſupremum diem obirem? Si 'vel ipſum regnum vitam meam redimere valeret, 'aut ingenio illud, aut pecunia comparare poſſem. 'Quid! An pecunia ad depellendam mortem nullas 'habet vires? Cum nepos meus Bedfordienſis Dux 'fato functus eſſet, putabam magnam felicitati et 'authoritati meæ acceſſionem adjunctam; at poſt 'Gloceſtrenſis obitum, parem me etiam regibus cenſebam, majoreſque accumulare opes cogitabam, ut 'triplici illa tandem tiara pontificia potirer. Sed 'video inſigniter me circumventum. Quare à vobis 'poſtulo, ut egreſſuram animam Deo veſtris precibus 'commendetis.' Next to the Hiſtorian's, let us ſet down the Poet's deſcription of Cardinal Beaufort's death, which is painted in ſuch lively colours, that the reader, I am ſure, will not be diſpleaſed with the length of the citation.

SCENE *the* Cardinal's *Bed-chamber* (33).

Enter King Henry, Saliſbury, *and* Warwick, *to the* Cardinal *in bed.*

K. Henry. How fares my Lord, Speak, Beaufort, to thy Sovereign.
Card. If thou beeſt Death, I'll give thee England's treaſure,
Enough to purchaſe ſuch another Iſland,
So thou wilt let me live, and feel no pain.
K. Henry. Ah! what a ſign it is of evil life,
Where death's approach is ſeen ſo terrible!
War. Beaufort, it is thy Sovereign ſpeaks to thee.
Card. Bring me unto my tryal, when you will.
Dy'd he * not in his bed? where ſhou'd he dye?
Can I make men live whe're they will or no?
Oh, torture me no more, I will confeſs——
Alive again? then ſhew me, where he is:
I'll give a thouſand pound to look upon him——
He hath no eyes, the duſt hath blinded them:
Comb down his hair; look! look! it ſtands upright
Like lime-twigs ſet to catch my winged ſoul.
Give me ſome drink, and bid th' Apothecary
Bring the ſtrong poiſon that I bought of him.
K. Henry. O thou Eternal Mover of the Heav'ns,
Look with a gentle eye upon this wretch;
Oh, beat away the buſie, meddling, fiend,
That lays ſtrong ſiege unto this wretch's ſoul,
And from his boſom purge this black deſpair.
War. See how the pangs of death do make him grin.
Sal. Diſturb him not, let him paſs peaceably.
K. Henry. Peace to his Soul, if God's good pleaſure be!
Lord Cardinal, if thou think'ſt on Heaven's bliſs,
Lift up thy hand, make ſignal of thy hope.
—— He dies, and makes no ſign. —— O God forgive him.
War. So bad a death argues a monſtrous life.
K. Henry. Forbear to judge, for we are ſinners all.
Cloſe up his eyes, and draw the curtain cloſe,
And let us all to meditation.

(32) Hiſt. Eccleſ. edit. Duaci 1622, p. 643, 644.

(33) Shakeſpear's *Second Part of King* Henry VI. *Act* III. *Scene ult.*

* Meaning the Duke of Glouceſter.

lies buried under a fair monument on the ſouth ſide of the high altar of the cathedral church of Wincheſter [Z]. Godwin tells us (*l*), that Cardinal Beaufort, in his youth, had a daughter named Jane, by Alice the daughter of Richard Earl of Arundel, and ſiſter of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury; whom he afterwards gave in marriage to Sir Edward Stradling of Glamorganſhire. He left an immenſe ſum by will to pious and charitable uſes; particularly (if Harpsfield is to be believed) 400,000 l. * to the priſons of London. He ordered ten thouſand maſſes to be ſaid for his ſoul. He diſtributed two thouſand marks to the poorer tenants of the biſhopric, and forgave the reſt all that was due to him at the time of his death (*m*). Beſides theſe benefactions, he founded an hoſpital near that of St. Croſs at Wincheſter, and ſettled an eſtate upon it of 158 l. 13 s. 4 d. *per annum*, according to the then valuation of money, beſides the lands belonging to the college of Fordinbridge, for the maintenance of a maſter, two Chaplains, thirty-five poor men, and three nurſes (*n*). He left to almoſt every cathedral church and monaſtery in England, jewels and plate of a conſiderable value; and particularly to the church of Wells, of which he had been Dean, 283 ounces of gilt plate, and 148 l. in money (*o*). He is uſually diſtinguiſhed by the title of *The rich Cardinal of Wincheſter*; but in our public records, he is every where ſtiled *The Cardinal of England*, doubtleſs becauſe he was of Royal extraction. Though the generality of our hiſtorians give Beaufort the character of an ambitious, haughty, and turbulent Prelate, yet they ſeem to agree, that by his death the King loſt one of his faithfulleſt and beſt counſellors, and that the ſtate of affairs from that time grew every day worſe and worſe (*p*). B.

(*l*) *Ubi ſupra.*

(*) CCCC *Librarum millia.* There muſt be ſome miſtake in this account, the ſum being incredibly large, whether we conſider it in itſelf, or with reſpect to its application.

(*m*) Harpsfield, Hiſt. Eccleſ. edit. Duaci, 1622, p. 643.

(*n*) Godwin, *ubi ſupra.*

(*o*) Continuat. Hiſt. Winton. *ibid.*

(*p*) Polyd. Vergil, *ubi ſupra*, p. 627, & Harpsfield, *ubi ſupra.*

[Z] *He lies buried —— in the cathedral church of Wincheſter.*] Nothing remains of the inſcription on his tomb, but the following words (34):

TRIBULARER SI NESCIREM MISERICORDIAS TUAS. B.

(34) Godwin, *ubi ſupra.*

⁂ [In the Parliamentary Hiſtory we meet with ſeveral circumſtances concerning Henry Beaufort which do not occur in the preceding article; but which are not important enough to require any material enlargement. We find, in particular, the heads of the ſpeeches made by him, when Chancellor, at the openings of various Parliaments. Theſe ſpeeches are nine in number, and were delivered in the years 1404, 1405, 1413, 1414, 1415, 1415-16, 1416, 1425, and 1426. They are taken, according to the faſhion of the age, from texts of Scripture, are occaſionally intermixed with Latin quotations of the ſame kind, and contain ſundry ſcholaſtic diviſions (35). Beſides theſe ſpeeches, two more are mentioned; one, when he declared the cauſe of ſummons at the meeting of the Parliament in 1410, there being then no Chancellor; and another, which he made in 1415, upon the Parliament's aſſembling together again, after an adjournment of a few weeks (36).

(35) Parliamentary Hiſtory, Vol. ii. p. 76. 83. 128, 129. 144, 145. 148. 151. 155. 192. 200.

(36) *Ibid.* p. 110, 111, 152.

Our learned predeceſſor appears to have been miſtaken in ſuppoſing that the Biſhop was appointed Chancellor four diſtinct times. It is evident, from the preceding ſpeeches, that he was Chancellor in 1413, and that he continued ſo through the years 1414, 1415, and 1416. He could not, therefore, have been diſtinctly appointed to this dignity in 1414 and 1417; for in 1417, Thomas Langley, Biſhop of Durham, who had ſuſtained the ſame office in 1406, was raiſed to it again, and continued in it ſix years (37). There is no doubt about the firſt and laſt appointments of Henry Beaufort to the Chancellorſhip of England.

(37) *Ibid.* p. 91. 157. Richardſon's Godwin de Præſul. p. 751.

Whatever faults our celebrated Prelate might be guilty of, the charges exhibited againſt him by the Duke of Glouceſter are either, comparatively, trifling, or wholly unſupported, and ſeem plainly to have been the reſult of the greateſt perſonal animoſity.

It is certain that Cardinal Beaufort was either in high favour with, or, at leaſt, had great influence over the Lower Houſe of Parliament. In 1421, a petition was promoted by the Commons to the King and Lords, intimating, 'That whereas the Biſhop 'of Wincheſter had lent his Majeſty, on his late 'preſſing occaſions, *and for the eaſe of his poor Commons*, 14,000 l. over and above the ſum of 8,306 l. '18 s. 8 d. formerly borrowed of him; for which the 'Biſhop had the King's Letters Patent granted him 'for his ſecurity; the Commons now pray that the 'ſaid Letters Patent may be ratified and confirmed 'in this Parliament, for the greater ſecurity of 'the ſaid Biſhop, and that they might be entered 'on the Rolls of the ſame.' Accordingly, theſe Letters Patent are found on the Rolls of Parliament (38).

(38) Parliam. Hiſt. *ubi ſupra*, p. 169, 170.

The cauſe of our Prelate's popularity, in the preceding inſtance, is obvious; and that he retained it for a number of years, will be apparent from what we have farther to relate. In the latter end of the year 1429, after the Commons had voted a ſupply of one whole tenth, and one fifteenth, to be levied on the Laity, they granted another tenth and a fifteenth at the ſpecial inſtance and deſire of the Biſhop of Wincheſter. They gave alſo, to the King, a grant of tonnage and poundage, to continue till the next Parliament (39).

(39) *Ibid.* p. 215, 216.

The Cardinal, in the following ſpring, was in ſuch high eſtimation with the Houſe of Commons, that they unanimouſly joined in a petition to the King, that, in conſideration of the great and notable ſervices he had done the Crown, both under the preſent King and his father, that his Majeſty would grant him a full pardon for whatever he had acted contrary to the laws; particularly in regard to the ſtatute of præmunire. The petition was granted; and two acts were, alſo, at the ſame time, paſſed in the Cardinal's favour, relating to ſome loans of money he had lent the King on his jewels (40). This is a different tranſaction from what is mentioned in the text, as having happened in the year 1432.

(40) *Ibid.* p. 216, 217.

Mr. Hume deſcribes Henry Beaufort as a Prelate of great capacity and experience, but of an intriguing and dangerous character (41).] K.

(41) Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 141. 8vo. edit. 1763.

BEAUFORT (JOAN), Queen of Scotland, was the eldeſt daughter of John Beaufort Earl of Somerſet (ſon of John of Gaunt), by Margaret, daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent (*a*), and niece to the famous Henry Beaufort, Cardinal of St. Euſebius, and Biſhop of Wincheſter. The time and place of her birth are unknown. In February 1423 ſhe was married, with great ſolemnity, in the church of St. Mary Overrey in Southwark, to James the Firſt, King of Scotland (*b*), who had been priſoner in England ever ſince the thirtieth of March 1404 [A]. Her portion was forty thouſand marks.

(*a*) Sandford's Genealogic Hiſtory, with S. Stebbing's Continuat. Lond. 1707, fol. p. 325.

(*b*) *Ibid.* Holinſhed's Chron edit. 1587, Vol. ii. p. 587.

[A] *James* I., *King of Scotland, who had been priſoner in England ever ſince March* 30, 1404.] The manner of his being taken, and the reaſon of his being detained priſoner in England, were very cruel, and extremely diſhonourable to the Engliſh court. His father, Robert III., King of Scotland, being a weak man, marks (*c*). This match was procured by her uncle, the Biſhop of Wincheſter above mentioned, in order to ſtrengthen and ſupport his family by an alliance with the kingdom of Scotland (*d*). She ſet out, with the King her huſband, for Scotland, in March 1423, being attended as far as Berwick by her father, and her uncle the Cardinal; and, on the twentieth of that month, arrived at Edinburgh (*e*). She was crowned with him the twenty-ſecond of May 1424 (*f*). Through her merciful interceſſion with the King in 1427, ſhe ſaved the life of Alexander Lord of the Iſles, who had committed ſome acts of hoſtility; and in 1431, that of Archibald Earl of Douglas, who was ſuſpected of treaſon (*g*). The ſixteenth day of October 1430, ſhe was delivered at Stirling of two ſons at one birth; which were baptized by the names of Alexander and James. Alexander died young, but James lived to ſucceed his father (*h*). In the year 1437, ſhe received an information of a conſpiracy forming againſt the King her huſband's life; upon which ſhe went poſt to him to Roxburgh, and informed him thereof (*i*): but, notwithſtanding her precaution, the King was moſt cruelly murdered in the Dominicans abbey at Perth, by the faction of Walter, Earl of Athol, his uncle [*B*], on the twenty-firſt of February 1436-7, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and was buried in the Charter-Houſe at Perth, which he had founded. When the ruffians ruſhed into the room, the Queen, to her everlaſting honour, ſo long ſhrowded the King from the aſſaſſins with her own body, that ſhe received two wounds before ſhe could be drawn off him.——She married to her ſecond huſband James Stewart, called the Black Knight, ſon to the Lord of Lorne; and dying in the year 1446, was buried at Perth, near the King her firſt huſband (*k*). By her ſecond huſband, ſhe had a ſon, named John, who was afterwards Earl of Athol (*l*). M.

man, and entirely governed by his ambitious and haughty brother, the Duke of Albany, who aſpired to the Crown, and had ſtarved to death the eldeſt Prince, David; the King reſolved to put his younger ſon Prince James out of that treacherous man's power, by ſending him into France to be educated, and accordingly put him on board a veſſel. The young Prince ſailing near the coaſt of Norfolk, and finding himſelf ſea-ſick, went on ſhore for refreſhment; but he was no ſooner landed, than ſeized by ſome mariners of Clay, and brought to the King (*), who was ſo cruel as to confine him in the Tower. In vain did the Scotch Prince deliver King Henry a letter from the King his father, in caſe any accident ſhould oblige him to land in his dominions. Henry only anſwered with a poor jeſt, telling him, There was no occaſion to go to Paris to learn French, for he underſtood it himſelf, and would teach it him (1). The King of Scotland dying ſoon after, the Duke of Albany, and the other Regents of that kingdom, found it too much for their advantage to have the young King kept at a diſtance from his dominions, to attempt to ranſom him; though they ſent, for form-ſake, Embaſſadors almoſt every year, under pretence of ſoliciting his liberty (2). On the third of Auguſt 1413, he was removed from the Tower to Windſor caſtle (3); and in 1416 had leave to go and ſpend ſome time in his own kingdom, having given ſecurity for his return. Accordingly he came back, and in 1419 accompanied King Henry V. into France, in order to ſend back 7000 Scots, that aſſiſted the French there againſt the Engliſh; but they refuſed to obey his orders. At length, troubles ariſing in Scotland about the year 1423, the States of that kingdom agreed to ſend Embaſſadors to treat of their King's ranſom; and he was accordingly ſet at liberty, upon engaging to pay forty thouſand pounds, namely, 10,000 marks within ſix months after his return to Scotland, and 10,000 marks every year till the whole was paid (4); but, in conſideration of his marriage, 10,000 marks of that ſum were abated (5). Though King Henry uſed him extremely ill, in barbarouſly impriſoning him againſt all law and equity, yet it muſt be owned, that he took care to give him a princely education, and by procuring him the beſt maſters in all ſciences, rendered him a very accompliſhed perſon (6).

[*B*] *He was moſt cruelly murdered* ——— *by the faction of Walter, Earl of Athol, his uncle.*] This Walter was King Robert the Second's eldeſt ſon by his ſecond marriage, and was a moſt cruel, wicked, and ſubtile man. Having been told by a wizard, 'That before his death he ſhould be crowned in a 'great concourſe of people,' he formed the project of taking off the King by poiſon, in order to ſeize his crown; but the plot being diſcovered, and the King having left ſuddenly, upon that account, the ſiege of Roxburgh, in which he was engaged, and repaired to Perth, where he lodged himſelf in the Dominicans abbey, near the walls of the town, for the ſafety of his perſon; Walter determined to murder him that very night: For that purpoſe he bribed one of the King's domeſtic ſervants, who gave him and his accomplices admittance into the King's chamber, where they executed their villanous deſign. But Walter was moſt ſeverely puniſhed, during three days, for his moſt deteſtable crime. The firſt day he had his body all disjointed by an engine, fixed on a cart. The ſecond day, he was put upon an high pillory like a throne, and had a red hot iron crown put on his head, with this motto, *The King of all Traitors*. The third day, he was dragged through the ſtreets on a hurdle, bowelled, beheaded, and then quartered (7). M.

(*c*) Buchanan and D. Scott's Hiſt. of Scotland, ed. Weſtminſter, fol. 1728, p. 226.

(*d*) Sandford, &c. *ubi ſupra*.

(*e*) Scott, *ubi ſupra*.

(*f*) *Ibid.*

(*g*) *Idem*, p. 227, 228.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 228.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 232.

(*k*) Sandford, *ubi ſupra*.

(*l*) Royal Genealogies, &c. by J. Anderſon, Lond. 1732, p. 744.

(*) King Henry IV.

(1) Walſingham, Hiſt. Angliæ, edit. Francofurti, 1603, fol. p. 375. Buchanan. Rapin's Hiſt. of England, fol. edit. 1732, Vol. i. p. 498, 499.

(2) See Rymer's Fœdera, &c. Vol. ix. p. 5, 6. 45. 71. 79. 113. 125. 145. 417, 418. 591. 913.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 44, 45.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 307. 321, &c.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) D. Scott, *ubi ſupra*, p. 222.

(7) Buchanan and Scott's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 232, 233.

BEAUFORT (MARGARET), the foundreſs of Chriſt's and St. John's colleges in Cambridge, was the only daughter and heir of John Beaufort [*A*], Duke of Somerſet (grandſon of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter), and of Margaret Beauchamp his wife (*a*). She was born at Bletſhoe in Bedfordſhire [*B*], in the year 1441 (*b*). About the fifteenth year of her age, ſhe was married to Edmund of Haddam, Earl of Richmond, by whom ſhe had a ſon named Henry, who was afterwards King, by the title of HENRY VII (*c*). Some time after, ſhe took for her ſecond huſband Sir Henry Stafford, ſecond ſon to Henry Duke of Buckingham, by whom ſhe had no children. He dying about the year 1481 (*d*), ſhe had for her third huſband Thomas Lord Stanley, afterwards Earl of

[*A*] *Daughter and heir of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerſet.*] Biſhop Fiſher, in his funeral ſermon upon her, ſays (1), 'That, what by lynege, what by af-'finite, ſhe had thirty Kings and Queens, within the 'four degree of marryage unto her, beſides Erles, 'Markyſes, Dukes, and Princes.'

[*B*] *She was born at Bletſhoe in Bedfordſhire.*] Her mother was the daughter of Sir John Beauchamp of Bletſhoe, Kt., and ſiſter and heir to John Beauchamp. She had been firſt married to Sir Oliver St. John of Bletſhoe, Kt. (2), as ſhe was, after the Duke of Somerſet's deceaſe, married a third time to Leonard Lord Wells.

(*a*) Sandford's and Stebbing's Genealogic. Hiſt. Lond. 1707, fol. p. 328.

(*b*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. ii. p. 123. Her father died May 27, 1444, and ſhe was then three years old, *ibid.* Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambr. p. 94.

(*c*) Dugdale, *ubi ſupra*. Her huſband died November 3, 1456, leaving his ſon but fifteen weeks old, p. 237.

(*d*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. i. p. 248. Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. ii. p. 678.

(1) Page 9, edit. Lond. 1708, 8vo. By T. Baker, B. D.

(2) Sandford's and Stebbing's Geneal. Hiſt. p. 327. and Dugdale's Baron. Vol. ii. p. 123.

Derby,

Derby, who had no iſſue by her (*e*): He died in the year 1504 (*f*). This good and pious Lady performed, all her lifetime, ſo many noble acts and charitable deeds, that, as Stow expreſſes it (*g*), they cannot be expreſſed in a ſmall volume. Avarice ſhe hated (*h*), and therefore was daily diſpenſing all ſuitable relief and aſſiſtance to the diſtreſſed and the indigent. In particular, ſhe kept conſtantly in her houſe twelve poor people, whom ſhe provided with lodging, victuals, and clothes (*i*). She was alſo a mother to the Students in both the univerſities, and a patroneſs to all the learned men of England (*k*). And ſhe manifeſted her great regard for them, by her munificent foundations for the encouragement of learning: For, on the 8th of September, 1502, ſhe inſtituted two perpetual public Lectures in Divinity, one at Oxford, and the other at Cambridge (*l*); each of which ſhe endowed with twenty marks a year [*C*]. In 1504, October 30, ſhe founded a perpetual public preacher at Cambridge, with a ſalary of ten pounds a year [*D*], whoſe duty was, to preach at leaſt ſix ſermons every year, at ſeveral churches (ſpecified in the foundation) in the dioceſes of London, Ely, and Lincoln (*m*). She alſo founded a perpetual chantry in the church of Winburne-minſter in Dorſetſhire [*E*], for one Prieſt to teach Grammar freely, to all that would come, while the world ſhould endure (*n*), with a ſtipend of ten pounds a year. But her nobleſt foundations were, the colleges of Chriſt, and St. John, in Cambridge; the former, founded in the year 1505 (*o*), for one Maſter, twelve Fellows, and forty-ſeven Scholars [*F*]; the latter in the year 1508, for a Maſter, and fifty Fellows and Scholars [*G*]. But this being juſt begun, or rather only deſigned, before her deceaſe, was completed and finiſhed by her executors, the chief of whom was John Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter. The charter of foundation bears date April 9, 1511 (*p*); and the college was opened July 29, 1516 (*q*). The worthy foundreſs was eminent not only for her charity, but alſo for her exemplary piety, according to the manner of thoſe ſuperſtitious times [*H*]; and after having lived ſixty-eight years an ornament to her ſex, and a public benefit to mankind, ſhe departed this life at Weſtminſter the 29th of June, 1509, in the firſt year of her grandſon King Henry the VIIIth's reign (*r*); and was buried in the ſouth iſle of the beautiful chapel, erected by her ſon King Henry VII., adjoining to Weſtminſter-Abbey. Her monument, of black marble and touchſtone, is yet extant and entire; whereon lies her effigies of gilt copper, in robes doubled with ermine, and the head encircled with a coronet (*s*). Round the verge, on a fillet of braſs, is an inſcription (given in the note [*I*] below), which, as we are informed (*t*), was compoſed by the moſt renowned Eraſmus. M.

⁂ [We

[*C*] *Each of which ſhe endowed with twenty marks a year.*] This might be augmented to 20 l. a year (3), as that at Cambridge was, July 5, 1566 (4), and to it was annexed by King James I. Aug. 26, 1605, the Rectory of Terrington in Norfolk (5). The Prælectors. or Profeſſors, are choſen, every two years, in full convocation, by the Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity (6). See a liſt of the Profeſſors, both at Cambridge and Oxford, before her funeral ſermon; and in A. Wood.

[*D*] *A perpetual public preacher at Cambridge,* &c.] See a catalogue of all the preachers to the year 1708, before the Lady Margaret's funeral ſermon, mentioned above. The inſtitution hath been altered, by royal diſpenſation, from ſix ſermons in three ſeveral dioceſes (as mentioned above), to one ſermon before the univerſity, at the beginning of Eaſter-Term (7). The Lady Margaret did not appoint ſuch a preacher at Oxford, as Mr. Wood imagines (8).

[*E*] *She alſo founded a perpetual chantry in the church of Winburne.*] Where her father and mother lay buried. See Sandford's and Stebbing's Genealogical Hiſtory (9).

[*F*] *Chriſt's-college —— founded in the year* 1505, &c.] It was built in the place where ſtood *God's houſe*, a ſmall hoſtel erected by King Henry VI. wherein he had placed four Fellows, which he intended to augment to the number of ſixty (10). The Counteſs of Richmond endowed her college with — the manors of Malton, Meldred, and Beach, and ſeveral other lands and rents, all in Cambridgeſhire: — The manor of Diteſworth, with lands and tenements in Diteſworth, Kegworth, Hathern, and Wolton, in Leiceſterſhire: — The abbey of Creke in Norfolk: — The manor of Royden in Eſſex, exchanged afterwards with King Edward VI. for the revenues of Bromwell Abbey: — And the impropriation of Manibire in Wales. King Edward VI. added one Fellowſhip, upon a complaint made to him, that the maſter and the twelve fellows contained a ſuperſtitious alluſion to Chriſt and his twelve Apoſtles. He alſo added three Scholarſhips, by the benefaction of J. Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, Sir Walter Mildmay, Richard Bunting, and others; it contains at preſent fifteen Fellows, and fifty-ſix Scholars (11).

[*G*] *The latter (St. John's college) in the year* 1508.] It was built in the place where ſtood an hoſpital for Canons regular, erected by Nigel, ſecond Biſhop of Ely, in 1134, and converted afterwards, by his ſucceſſor Hugh de Balſham, into a Priory, dedicated to St. John the Evangeliſt (12). The foundreſs endowed it, by her will, with the iſſues, profits, and revenues of her eſtate and lands, in the counties of Devon, Somerſet, and Northampton, to the value of 400 l. a year and upwards (13); beſides the revenues of the Priory on which it was built, amounting to 80 l. 1 s. 10 d. *ob. per ann.* and a licence of mortmain for 50 l. a year more. But the King, as heir at law, ſuing for, and recovering the foundreſs's eſtate (14), the original foundation of this college conſiſted only of part of the Counteſs of Richmond's eſtate at Fordham in Cambridgeſhire; the revenues of the diſſolved Priory on which it was erected; and the hoſpital of Oſpring in Kent, valued at 70 l. a year, and procured by Biſhop Fiſher (15). The expence of new building the college amounted to betwixt four and five thouſand pounds (16). This houſe, though ſo very ſmall in its beginning, is, by the munificence of ſeveral benefactors, particularly Archbiſhop Morton, and Archbiſhop Williams, become one of the largeſt and moſt conſiderable in the univerſity, and conſiſts at preſent of fifty-nine Fellows, and one hundred and fifteen Scholars (17).

[*H*] *She was eminent for her exemplary piety.*] She uſed to riſe about five o'clock in the morning, and from that hour till dinner-time (which was then *ten o'clock)* ſhe continued, almoſt without ceaſing, in meditation and prayer; which ſhe reſumed again after dinner, as the curious reader may ſee in her funeral ſermon (18). She alſo tranſlated ſome books of devotion from French into Engliſh (19).

[*I*] *Round the verge, on a fillet of braſs, is an inſcription.*] Which is as follows: *Margaretae. Richemondiae. Septimi. Henrici. Matri. Octavi. Aviae. Quae. Stipendia. Conſtituit. Trib. Hoc. Coenobio. Monachis. Et. Doctori. Grammatices. Apud. Wymborn. Perq; Angliam. Totam. Divini. Verbi. Praeconi. Duobus. Item. Inter. Praetib: Litterar: Sacrar: Alteri. Oxoniis. Alteri. Cantabrigie. Vbi. Et. Collegia. Dno. Chriſto. Et. Joanni. Diſcipulo. Ejus. Struxit. Moritur. An. Dom. M. D. IX.*

III.

(*e*) *Idem*, Vol. ii. p. 249.

(*f*) *Ibid.*

(*g*) General Chronicle, Edit. 1631, fol. p. 487.

(*h*) The Funeral Sermon of Margaret Counteſs of Richmond, &c by Biſhop Fiſher, reprinted at London, 1708, 8*vo*, p. 5.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 16.

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 22.

(*l*) Preface to that Funeral Sermon, p. vii. and A. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 32.

(*m*) Preface, as above, p. viii.

(*n*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. ii. p. 237.

(*o*) Preface to the Sermon, as above, p. xi. J. Caii Hiſtor. Cantabr. Acad. l. i. p. 73—77. T. Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſ. of Cambridge, p. 90—96. R. Parker's Hiſt. of Cambridge.

(*p*) Preface to Fun. Sermon, as above, p. xxxiii.

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. xlix. See alſo at the end of the book, p. 43.

(*r*) Stow's Chronicle, p. 487.

(*s*) Sandford's and Stebbing's Genealog. Hiſt. p. 329, 330.

(*t*) Preface, *ubi ſupra*, p. xix. We are told there, that Eraſmus had 20 ſhillings for making that epitaph.

(3) A. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 33.

(4) Catalogue of Profeſſors at Cambr. before *Funeral Sermon*, as above.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, p. 34.

(7) See the end of the Catalogue of Preachers: the book is not paged there.

(8) *Ubi ſupra.* See Preface to the Sermon, as above, p. x.

(9) Page 327, 328.

(10) Caii Hiſt. Cantab. Acad. p. 73. Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge Univ. p. 90, 91.

(11) Fuller, *ibid.* and Preſent State of Great Britain, Edit. 1735, Part ii. p. 245.

(12) Fuller, *ubi ſupra*, p. 94.

(13) Preface to Funer. Serm. as above, p. xxxi. xxxiii.

(14) *Ibid.* p. xxxix, xl.

(15) *Ibid.* p. xli—xliii.

(16) *Ib.* p. xxxv.

(17) Preſent State of Great Britain, *ubi ſupra.*

(18 Edit. 1708, p. 12, 13.

(19) *Ibid.*

⁂ [We ſhall add a few farther particulars relative to this illuſtrious Lady, of whom Mr. Horace Walpole obſerves, that ſhe ſeems to have willingly ceded her *no* right to the crown to her ſon, Henry VII. ‘ while ſhe employed herſelf in founding colleges, and in acts of more real devotion and goodneſs, than generally attend ſo much ſuperſtition (*u*) [*K*].’ The ſame ingenious writer gives us a curious account of the manner in which ſhe was brought to reſolve upon her firſt marriage [*L*]. It is ſaid to have been by her recommendation, that James Stanley, ſon to her huſband the Earl of Derby, by a former wife, was made Biſhop of Ely; for which ſhe has been cenſured [*M*]. It has been already obſerved, that ſhe conſtantly kept in her houſe twelve poor perſons, whom ſhe furniſhed with all neceſſaries; and it is added by Biſhop Fiſher, that whenever any of them were ſick, ſhe always viſited them, comforted them, and miniſtered unto them with her own hands. When any of them were near death, ſhe would alſo attend, and be preſent to ſee them depart, and to learn to die; and when they were dead, ſhe would attend them to the grave (*w*). Mr. Walpole has given her a place in his ‘ Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England;’ and the pieces which he attributes to her are the following: ‘ The Mirrour of Gold for the ſinful Soul, tranſlated from a French tranſlation of a book called, *Speculum aureum peccatorum*.’ Printed by Richard Pynſon, 4to, with cuts, on vellum. ‘ Tranſlation of the fourth book of Dr. J. Gerſon's treatiſe of the imitation and following the bleſſed life of our moſt merciful Saviour Chriſt.’ Printed at the end of Dr. William Atkinſon's Engliſh tranſlation of the three firſt books, 1504. A letter to her ſon is publiſhed in Howard's Collection of Letters; and ſhe alſo, by her ſon's command and authority, ‘ made the orders [yet extant] for great eſtates of Ladies and noble women, for their precedence, attires, and wearing of barbes at funerals, over the chin, and under the ſame (*x*).’ Beſides the inſcription upon her tomb in Weſtminſter-abbey, written by Eraſmus, a Latin elegy upon her death was alſo written by John Skelton, which is to be ſeen upon a tablet near her monument (*y*).] T.

III. *Kal. Julij.* (20); i. e. ‘ *To the memory* of Margaret *Counteſs* of Richmond, mother of Henry VII. grandmother of Henry VIII. who gave revenues *for the maintenance of* three Monks in this monaſtery (21), and for a ſchoolmaſter at Wymborn, and a preacher of the word of God throughout England. And alſo for two interpreters of the Holy Scriptures, one at Oxford, the other at Cambridge, where alſo ſhe founded two colleges, dedicated to Chriſt, and to his diſciple St. John. She died in the year of our Lord 1509, on the 29th of June.’ M.

⁂ [[*K*] *So much ſuperſtition.*] Mr. Ballard ſays, that ‘ with the moſt ardent zeal ſhe went through all the religious offices appointed by the church of Rome: theſe, and her private devotions, were ſo long, and frequent, as occaſioned her bodily indiſpoſitions (22).’ And we are informed by Mr. Baker, that ‘ ſhe was admitted into the fraternity of five ſeveral religious houſes (if not more), Weſtminſter, Crowland, Durham, Wynburne, and the Charter-houſe at London; which, in the ſtrain of that age, as it entitled her to the praiſe, ſo it gave her a ſhare in the merit and good works of all thoſe ſocieties: and for her chaſtity, as it was unſpotted in her marriage, ſo, ſome years before her death, ſhe took upon her the vow of celibacy (not otherwiſe to be commended, than as an efflux of the purity of her mind) from Biſhop Fiſher's hand, in a form yet extant upon our regiſters; the reaſon, I ſuppoſe, that her portraiture is uſually taken, and depicted with a veil, and in the habit of a nun (23).’ Biſhop Fiſher ſays, that ‘ as to hard cloaths wearing, ſhe had her ſhirts and girdles of hair, which, when ſhe was in health, every week ſhe failed not certain days to wear, ſometime the one, ſometime the other, that full often her ſkin, as I heard her ſay, was pierced therewith. As for chaſtity, though ſhe always continued not in her virginity, yet in her (laſt) huſband's days, ſhe obtained of him licence, and promiſed to live chaſte, in the hands of the reverend father, my lord of London; which promiſe ſhe renewed, after her huſband's death, into my hands again; whereby it may appear the diſcipline of her body (24).’ We are alſo told, that her humility was ſuch, that ſhe would often ſay, ‘ on condition that the princes of Chriſtendom would combine themſelves, and march againſt the common enemy the Turks, ſhe would moſt willingly attend them, and be their laundreſs in the camp (25).’

[*L*] *To reſolve upon her firſt marriage.*] Mr. Walpole ſays, that ‘ while ſhe was yet young, and a rich heireſs, the great Duke of Suffolk, miniſter to Henry the Sixth, or rather to Queen Margaret, ſolicited her in marriage for his ſon, though the King himſelf wooed her for his half-brother Edmund. On ſo nice a point the good young lady conſulted with an elderly gentlewoman, who thinking it too great a deciſion to take upon herſelf, recommended her to St. Nicholas, who whipping on ſome epiſcopal robes, appeared to her, and declared in favour of Edmund *. The old gentlewoman, I ſuppoſe, was dead, and St. Nicholas out of the way, for we hear nothing of the Lady Margaret conſulting either of them on the choice of two other huſbands after the death of Earl Edmund, by whom ſhe had King Henry. Sir Henry Stafford, the ſecond, bequeathed to his ſon-in-law a trappur of four new horſe harniſh of velvet; and his mother the Ducheſs of Buckingham, in conſideration of the Lady Margaret's great affection for literature, gave her the following legacy by her will: “ To my daughter Richmond a book of Engliſh, being a legend of Saints; a book of French called *Lucun*; another book of French of the epiſtles and goſpels; and a primmer with claſps of ſilver gilt, covered with purple velvet † (26).”

[*M*] *By her recommendation, James Stanley, &c. was made Biſhop of Ely; for which ſhe has been cenſured.*] It appears that application was made to Eraſmus, to be preceptor to this young gentleman, in order to qualify him for the prelacy. Dr. Jortin ſays, ‘ At this time (1496), I ſuppoſe, Eraſmus refuſed a large penſion, and larger promiſes, from a young illiterate Engliſhman, who was to be made a Biſhop, and who wanted to have him for a preceptor. He would not, as he ſays, be ſo hindered from proſecuting his ſtudies, for all the wealth in the world. This youth, as Knight informs us, ſeems to have been James Stanley, ſon of the Earl of Derby, and ſon-in-law to Margaret, the King's mother, and afterwards made Biſhop of Ely by her intereſt. *This* (ſays Knight) *ſurely was the worſt thing ſhe ever did:* and, indeed, if it be the *Catholic*, it is not the *Apoſtolic* method of beſtowing and of obtaining biſhoprics. However, it appears, that the young gentleman, though ignorant, had a deſire to learn ſomething, and to qualify himſelf, in ſome meaſure, for the ſtation in which he was to be placed (27).’]

(*u*) Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. ii. p. 175, 2d edit.

(*w*) Funeral Sermon, *ubi ſupra*.

(*x*) Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. ii. p. 178.

(*y*) Ballard, *ubi ſupra*, p. 17, 18.

(20) Sandford, and Stebbing, *ubi ſupra*, p. 329.

(21) Namely, to pray for her ſoul.

(22) Memoirs of Britiſh Ladies, p. 9.

(23) Mr. Baker's Pref. to Biſhop Fiſher's Funeral Sermon, p. 19.

(24) Funeral Sermon of Margaret Counteſs of Richmond, &c. by Biſhop Fiſher, publiſhed by Mr. Baker, .11.

(25) Ballard, p. 9.

* This ſtory is alſo related by Biſhop Fiſher, and Lord Bacon. *Vid.* Ballard's Memoirs, p. 7. 8vo edit.

† Dugdale.

(26) Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. ii. p. 176, 177.

(27) Life of Eraſmus, Vol. i. p. 6.

BEAUMONT (a) (Lewis), Biſhop of Durham in the reign of King Edward II. was deſcended from the royal blood of the Kings of France and Sicily (b), and thereby related to Queen Iſabella (c) [*A*]. He was made Treaſurer of Saliſbury in the year 1294 (d), and from thence advanced to the See of Durham in 1317 [*B*]. It was with difficulty Pope John XXII. conſented to his conſecration, for which he paid ſo large a ſum of money to the Holy See, that he was never able entirely to diſcharge the debt it involved him in (e). As he was on the road to Durham, accompanied by two Cardinals [*C*], in order to be inſtalled, he was attacked by a party of Scotch, headed by one Gilbert Middleton [*D*]; who, having plundered all their baggage, ſuffered the Cardinals to proceed, but carried the Biſhop, and his brother Henry, priſoners to Mitteford Caſtle, and obliged them to pay a large ſum of money for their ranſom, towards which the Prior of Durham was forced to ſell the habits, plate, and jewels of the church. After this, Beaumont was conſecrated at Weſtminſter, on the feaſt of the Annunciation 1318 (f). This Prelate vigorouſly defended the rights of his church, and recovered to it ſeveral eſtates, which had been alienated from it in the time of his predeceſſor Anthony Bek (g); the Judges paſſing this ſentence in his favour, that *the Biſhop of Durham ought to have the forfeitures in war* WITHIN *the liberties of his church, as the King has* WITHOUT [*E*]. In 1328, the Biſhop had a diſpute with the Metropolitan of York, concerning the right of viſitation in the juriſdiction of Allerton; and whenever the Archbiſhop came thither to viſit, the Biſhop of Durham always oppoſed him with an armed force. After much litigation and expence, the matter was at laſt accommodated; the Archbiſhop appropriating the Church of Lek for the maintenance of the Biſhop's table, with the reſerve of an annual penſion to himſelf, and another to the Chapter of York (h). Biſhop Beaumont built a hall and kitchen at Middleham, and began a chapel, but did not live to finiſh it. He died at Brentingham, in the dioceſe of York, September the 24th, 1333, having ſat fifteen years; and lies buried near the high altar of his church,

⁂ [*A*] [*And thereby related to Queen Iſabella.*] For a curious account of the family of Beaumont, *vid.* The three Letters containing Remarks on the Errors and Defects of Dugdale's Baronage, p. 162—178. The writer of theſe letters endeavours to ſhew, that the deſcent of this family from the Kings of France and Sicily cannot be reconciled to any rules or meaſures of chronology; and though he acknowledges that due reſpect ought to be paid to the credit of *Robert de Grayſtanes*, who was not only contemporary, but perſonally acquainted with *Lewis de Beaumont*, yet he ſays, that perhaps the Sub-prior might be impoſed upon by the pride and vanity of the Biſhop.

A perſon of this family, John de Beaumont, was raiſed, in the 18th year of King Henry the VIth, into the Engliſh peerage, by the title of Viſcount of Beaumont, whereby the title of Viſcount became naturalized and ennobled. Before this time, the ſtile of *Vicecomes* in England was only given to ſheriffs appointed for the adminiſtration of a ſhare of the laws and government in the ſeveral counties, inſtead of the Earls by whom they were anciently ruled under the Crown, but never ſignified any honour or dignity of Peerage. *Ibid.* p. 176, 177.] K.

[*B*] *He was advanced to the See of Durham in* 1317.] There were ſeveral candidates for the vacant biſhopric. The Earl of Lancaſter made intereſt for one John de Kynardſley, promiſing, in caſe of his election, to defend the See againſt the Scots. The Earl of Hereford puſhed for John Walwayn, a Civilian. The King, who was then at York, would have promoted the election of Thomas Charlton, a Civilian, and Keeper of his Privy-Seal; but the Queen interpoſed ſo warmly in behalf of her kinſman Lewis Beaumont, that the King was prevailed upon to write letters to the Monks in his favour. Thoſe Religious, having previouſly obtained the King's leave to proceed to an election, rejected all theſe applications, and made choice of Henry de Stamford, Prior of Finchley, an elderly man, of a fair character and pleaſing aſpect, and a good ſcholar. The King would have conſented to the election, had it not been for the Queen, who on her bare knees humbly entreated him, that her kinſman might be Biſhop of Durham. Whereupon the King refuſed to admit Henry de Stamford, and wrote to the Pope in favour of Beaumont. At the ſame time the Monks ſent the Biſhop elect to the Pope's court for his Holineſs's confirmation: but, before his arrival, the Pope, at the inſtances of the Kings and Queens of France and England, had conferred the Biſhopric on Beaumont (1). And, to make Henry ſome amends, his Holineſs gave him a grant of the Priory of Durham upon the next vacancy; but he did not live to enjoy it (2).

[*C*] *He went to Durham in company with two Cardinals.*] Their names were *Ganſelmus* and *Lucas de Fliſco.* They were ſent by the Pope to bring about a peace between England and Scotland. As their buſineſs required their preſence in Scotland, Beaumont, who had received his Bulls for conſecration, and intended to be enthroned at Durham on St. Cuthbert's day, took the opportunity of their journeying northward, and, for the greater magnificence, ſet out in company with them (3).

[*D*] *He was attacked by a party of Scotch, headed by one Gilbert Middleton.*] The Prior of Durham, it ſeems, had given him notice of his danger upon the road; but he ſlighted the advice, ſaying, that the King of Scots dared not attempt any ſuch thing, and that the Prior only wanted to delay his conſecration (4).

[*E*] *The Judges paſſed ſentence, that* the Biſhop of Durham ought to have the forfeitures in war *within* the liberties of his church, as the King had *without.*] As this ſentence of the Judges was a ſolemn confirmation of the *military rights* of the Biſhopric of Durham, it may not be improper juſt to obſerve how far thoſe privileges extended. The learned editor of Camden's *Britannia* informs us, that the Biſhop of Durham anciently had his Thanes, and afterwards his Barons, who held of him by Knights Service, and that, on occaſions of danger, he called them together in the nature of a Parliament, to adviſe, and aſſiſt him with their perſons, dependents, and money, for the public ſervice, either at home or abroad. When men and money were to be levied, it was done by writs iſſued in the Biſhop's name out of the Chancery of Durham; and he had power to raiſe able men from ſixteen to ſixty years of age, and to arm and equip them for his ſervice. He often headed his troops in perſon; and the officers acted under his commiſſion, and were accountable to him for their duty. He had a diſcretionary power of marching out againſt the Scots, or of making a truce with them. No perſon of the Palatinate could build a caſtle, or fortify his manor-houſe, without the Biſhop's licence. And as he had military power by land, ſo he had likewiſe by ſea. Ships of war were fitted out in the ports of the County Palatine by virtue of the Biſhop's writs. He had his Admiralty-Courts; he appointed, by his patents, a Vice-Admiral, Regiſter, and Marſhal or Water-bailiff, and had all the privileges, forfeitures, and profits, incident to that juriſdiction (5). How far theſe privileges of the Biſhopric have been ſince abridged, is not material to the preſent article.

(a) In Latin *De Bellomonte.*

(b) Robert de Grayſtanes, Hiſt. Dunelm. *apud* Wharton, Angl. Sacra, P. i. p. 760.

(c) *She was daughter of* Philip the Fair, *King of* France.

(d) Anglia Sacra, *ubi ſupra*, p. 757, *in notis.*

(e) R. de Grayſtanes, *ibid.* p. 758.

(f) *Ibid.*

(g) *See the article* BEK (Anthony).

(h) R. de Grayſtanes, *ibid.* p. 759, 760.

(1) Robert de Grayſtanes, Hiſt. Dunelm. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 757.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 758.

(3) *Id. ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Vide* Camden's Britannia, publiſhed by Biſhop Gibſon, laſt edit. Vol. ii. col. 937.

under a marble ſtone [*F*], ornamented with braſs plates, which he had ordered to be made in his lifetime (*i*). He was very avaricious, and at the ſame time very expenſive [*G*]; of a handſome mien, but lame in both his feet (*k*); and (which is the moſt extraordinary part of his character) ſo illiterate, that he could not read the Bull for his own conſecration [*H*].

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 761.

(*k*) *Id. ibid.* p. 706.

[*F*] *He lies buried —— under a marble ſtone.*] The inſcription on it is this :

> De Bello Monte jacet hic Ludovicus humatus,
> Nobilis ex fonte regum comitumque creatus.

[*G*] *He was very avaricious, and at the ſame time very expenſive.*] The Durham Hiſtorian (6) tells us, he was very eager after riches, but not much ſolicitous about the means of acquiring them ; which was occaſioned, he ſays, by a large family, and many ſuperfluous expences. His avarice and prodigality were ſuch, that a certain perſon told him to his face, he never ſaw a man ſo diligent in accumulating, and ſo imprudent in diſpoſing of wealth. His whole ſtudy was to extort money from the Priory and Convent. He obtained a Bull to appropriate to himſelf a fourth part of the revenues of the houſe, ſo long as the Scottiſh wars ſhould laſt. Though the Prior made him frequent preſents of horſes, &c. he conſidered it as nothing, and uſually diſmiſſed his requeſts with this anſwer : ‘ You do nothing for me, nor will I do any ‘ thing for you : pray for my death ; for ſo long as I ‘ live, your petition will not be granted.’

(6) R. de Grayſtanes, *ubi ſupra*, p. 761, 762.

⁂ [This circumſtance, in Biſhop Beaumont's character, that he was very avaricious, and at the ſame time very expenſive, is not an uncommon one, nor is it difficult of obſervation. It occurs ſo evidently with regard to ſome perſons, that it cannot well eſcape any attentive mind. Hence I have often imagined, that there is not that great merit, in point of penetration and acuteneſs, which hath ſometimes been aſcribed to the *alieni appetens*, *ſui profuſus*, of Salluſt. The character of Catiline is, indeed, finely drawn, and the particular expreſſion is juſt, pictureſque, and beautiful ; but the thought is obvious. Salluſt could not avoid it, in his delineation of that famous conſpirator ; nor did it eſcape the notice of Cicero, who, in his admirable deſcription of this incendiary, in his Oration for Cælius, ſays, *Quis in rapacitate avarior ? Quis in largitione effuſior ?* - - - Robert de Grayſtanes, though neither a Cicero nor a Salluſt, could perceive the union of covetouſneſs and extravagance in Biſhop Beaumont. In certain characters, the connection between profuſion and avarice is apparent and unavoidable ; for the ſame diſpoſition which leads them to expenſive pleaſures, will urge them to the moſt rapacious meaſures, in order to furniſh the means of gratifying their paſſions.] K.

[*H*] *He was ſo illiterate, that he could not read the Bull for his own conſecration.*] Meeting with the word *Metropoliticæ*, he heſitated a long while, and at laſt, not being able to read it, he cried out in French, *Soit pour dict* ; that is, *ſuppoſe it read* ; and coming to the word *ænigmate*, he was again at a loſs, and ſaid to the ſtanders-by, *Par Saint Louis, il n'eſt pas curtois qui lege parolle ici uſcrit* ; that is, *By St. Lewis, it was very uncivil in the perſon who wrote this word here* (7). B.

(7) *Id. ibid.*

BEAUMONT (Sir JOHN), ſon of Francis Beaumont, one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and brother of the famous dramatic Poet Mr. Francis Beaumont (*a*), was born, in the year 1582, at Grace-dieu, the family-ſeat, in Leiceſterſhire, and was admitted a Gentleman-Commoner of Broadgate's-hall in Oxford, the beginning of Lent-term 1596. After three years he left the univerſity, and entered himſelf in one of the Inns of Court. But he ſoon quitted that ſituation, and retired to the place of his nativity, where he married a wife of the family of Forteſcue [*A*]. In 1626, the ſecond of King Charles I. he had the dignity of a Baronet conferred upon him. In his youth, he applied himſelf to the Muſes [*B*] with good ſucceſs, as his poems ſtill

(*a*) *See the article* BEAUMONT and FLETCHER.

[*A*] *He married a wife of the family of Forteſcue.*] One of that family, Mr. George Forteſcue, addreſſed the following verſes to Sir John, in which the thought turns upon the near relation he bore to him.

> When lines are drawn greater than nature, art
> Commands the object and the eye to part,
> Bids them to keep at diſtance, know their place,
> Where to receive, and where to give their grace.
> I am too near thee, Beaumont, to define
> Which of thoſe lineaments is moſt divine ;
> And to ſtand farther off from thee, I chuſe
> In ſilence rather to applaud thy Muſe,
> And loſe my cenſure ; 'tis enough for me
> To joy, my pen was taught to move by thee (1).

[*B*] *He applied himſelf to the Muſes.*] He wrote *The Crown of Thorns*, a poem in eight books (2). I have not met with this piece, but find it celebrated by one Thomas Hawkins, in a copy of verſes prefixed to Sir John's poems. The lines are theſe :

> Like to the Bee, thou did'ſt thoſe flow'rs ſelect,
> That moſt the taſteful palate might affect
> With pious reliſhes of things divine,
> And diſcompoſed ſenſe with peace combine :
> Which in thy *Crown of Thorns* we may diſcern,
> Framed as a model for the beſt to learn,
> That verſe may virtue teach, as well as proſe,
> And minds with native force to good diſpoſe,
> Devotion ſtir, and quicken cold deſires,
> To entertain the warmth of holy fires.
> There may we ſee thy ſoul expatiate,
> And with true fervour ſweetly meditate
> Upon our Saviour's ſufferings, that, while
> Thou ſeek'ſt his painful torments to beguile
> With well-tuned accents of thy zealous ſong,
> Breath'd from a ſoul transfix'd, a paſſion ſtrong,
> We better knowledge of his woes attain,
> Fall into tears with thee, and then again
> Riſe with thy verſe, to celebrate the flood
> Of thoſe eternal torrents of his blood.

There is extant, beſides, a Miſcellany of Sir John Beaumont's poems, intitled, *Boſworth-field* ; *with a taſte of the variety of other Poems left by Sir John Beaumont, Baronet, deceaſed : Set forth by his Sonne, Sir John Beaumont, Baronet : And dedicated to the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty*. London, 1629. The Editor addreſſes King Charles I. in this manner : ‘ I ‘ have endeavoured without art to ſet this jewel, and ‘ render it apt for your Majeſty's acceptance ; to ‘ which boldneſs I am led by a filial duty in per‘ forming the will of my father, who, whilſt he lived, ‘ did ever intend to your Majeſty theſe Poems : Poems, ‘ in which no obſcene ſport can be found (the con‘ trary being too frequent a crime among Poets), ‘ while theſe (if not too bold I ſpeak) will challenge ‘ your Majeſty for their Patron, ſince it is moſt con‘ venient that the pureſt of Poems ſhould be directed ‘ to you, the virtuouſeſt and moſt untouched of ‘ Princes, the delight of Britain, and the wonder of ‘ Europe ; at the altar of whoſe judgment bright ‘ erected flames, not troubled fumes, dare approach.’ The Poem called *Boſworth-Field* is a deſcription of the famous battle fought there between King Richard III. and the Earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII. ; and is eſteemed by the beſt judges to be an excellent performance. The following ſimilies are very poetical :

> So when the winter to the ſpring bequeaths
> The rule of time, and mild Favonius breathes,
> A quire of Swans to that ſweet muſic ſings,
> The air reſounds the motion of their wings,

(1) *Among the* Commendatory Verſes, *printed with* Sir John's *Poems.*

(2) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. i. col. 521.

ſtill extant demonſtrate. Ben Johnſon, Michael Drayton, and others, have celebrated Sir

When over plains they fly in order'd ranks,
To ſport themſelves upon Caiſter's banks (3). (3) Boſworth-field, &c. p. 12.

So painful Bees with forward gladneſs ſtrive
To join themſelves in throngs before the hive,
And with obedience till that hour attend,
When their commander ſhall his watch-word ſend;
Then to the winds their tender ſails they yield,
Depreſs the flow'rs, depopulate the field (4). (4) Page 13.

The ſingle combat between the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Oxford is deſcribed in the true ſpirit of heroic Poetry:

Here valiant Oxford and fierce Norfolk meet,
And with their ſpears each other rudely greet;
About the air their ſhiver'd pieces play,
Then on their ſwords their noble hands they lay;
And Norfolk firſt a blow directly guides
To Oxford's head, which from his helmet ſlides
Upon his arm, and biting thro' the ſteel
Inflicts a wound, which Vere diſdains to feel:
He lifts his fauchion with a threat'ning grace,
And hews the beaver off from Howard's face.
This being done, he with compaſſion charm'd
Retires, aſham'd to ſtrike a man diſarm'd:
But ſtraight a deadly ſhaft ſent from a bow
(Whoſe maſter, tho' far off, the Duke could know)
Untimely brought this combat to an end,
And pierc'd the brain of Richard's conſtant friend.
When Oxford ſaw him ſink, his noble ſoul
Was full of grief, which made him thus condole:
Farewel, true Knight, to whom no coſtly grave
Can give due honour; wou'd my tears might ſave
Thoſe ſtreams of blood, deſerving to be ſpilt
In better ſervice: Had not Richard's guilt
Such heavy weight upon his fortune laid,
Thy glorious virtues had his ſins outweigh'd (5). (5) Page 19.

I ſhall only add the four laſt lines, in which the death of Richard is very ſtrongly painted.

His hand he then with wreaths of graſs infolds,
And bites the earth, which he ſo ſtrictly holds,
As if he wou'd have borne it with him hence,
So loth he was to loſe his right's pretence (6). (6) Page 30.

A moderate Poet would have been contented with the circumſtance of the King's *biting the earth*; but it belonged to a ſublimer imagination to paint the reluctance with which he quitted his uſurped poſſeſſion even in death.

Sir John has given us the following tranſlations from the Latin poets, all extremely well done, *viz.* Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue*; Horace's *Sixth Satire* of the *Second Book*, his *Twenty-ninth Ode* of the *Third Book*, and his *Second Epode*; Juvenal's *Tenth Satire*, and Perſius's *Second Satire*; Auſonius's *Sixteenth Idyll*, and Claudian's Epigram of the *Old Man of Verona*. As a ſpecimen of our author's genius in this branch of Poetry, I ſhall ſelect Horace's *City and Country Mouſe*, which has been tranſlated or imitated by our beſt Poets.

———— Long ſince a Country Mouſe
Receiv'd into his low and homely houſe
A City Mouſe, his friend and gueſt before;
The hoſt was ſharp, and ſparing of his ſtore,
Yet much to hoſpitality inclin'd;
For ſuch occaſions cou'd dilate his mind.
He chiches gives for winter laid aſide,
Nor are the long and ſlender oats deny'd:
Dry grapes he in his lib'ral mouth doth bear,
And bits of bacon which half-eaten were;
With various meats to pleaſe the ſtranger's pride,
Whoſe dainty teeth thro' all the diſhes ſlide.
The father of the family in ſtraw
Lies ſtretch'd along, diſdaining not to gnaw
Baſe corn or darnel, and reſerves the beſt
To make a perfect banquet for his gueſt.
To him at laſt the Citizen thus ſpake;
My friend, I muſe what pleaſure thou can'ſt take,
Or how thou can'ſt endure to ſpend thy time
In ſhady groves, and up ſteep hills to climb.
In ſavage foreſts build no more thy den;
Go to the City, there to dwell with men.
Begin this happy journey, truſt to me,
I will thee guide, thou ſhalt my fellow be.
Since earthly things are tied to mortal lives,
And ev'ry great and little creature ſtrives
In vain the certain ſtroke of death to fly,
Stay not till moments paſt thy joys deny:
Live in rich plenty and perpetual ſport,
Live ever mindful that thine age is ſhort.
The raviſh'd Field-Mouſe holds theſe words ſo ſweet,
That from his home he leaps with nimble feet.
They to the city travel with delight,
And underneath the walls they creep by night.
Now darkneſs had poſſeſs'd Heav'n's middle ſpace,
When theſe two friends their weary ſteps did place
Within a wealthy palace, where was ſpread
A ſcarlet cov'ring on an iv'ry bed:
The baſkets, ſet far off aſide, contain'd
The meats, which after plenteous meals remain'd.
The City Mouſe with courtly phraſe entreats
His country friend to reſt in purple ſeats.
With ready care the maſter of the feaſt
Runs up and down, to ſee the ſtore increas'd.
He all the duties of a ſervant ſhows,
And taſtes of ev'ry diſh that he beſtows.
The poor plain Mouſe, exalted thus in ſtate,
Glad of the change, his former life doth hate,
And ſtrives in looks and geſture to declare
With what contentment he receives this fare.
But ſtrait the ſudden creaking of a door
Shakes both theſe mice from beds into the floor:
They run about the room half dead with fear;
Thro' all the houſe the noiſe of dogs they hear.
The ſtranger now counts not the place ſo good;
He bids farewel, and ſaith; The ſilent wood
Shall me hereafter from theſe dangers ſave,
Well pleas'd with ſimple vetches in my cave (7). (7) Page 41, &c.

Whoever will compare this with the original, will find it to be a very cloſe and exact tranſlation.

The reſt of our author's pieces are either on religious ſubjects, as thoſe on the *Feſtivals*, on the *Bleſſed Trinity*, &c. or of a moral kind, as the *Dialogue between the World, a Pilgrim, and Virtue, Of the miſerable ſtate of Man, Of Sickneſs*, &c. or political, as the *Panegyric on the Coronation of King Charles*, on the *Prince's Journey* and *Return*, &c. Among theſe there is one addreſſed to King James I. *concerning the true form of Engliſh Poetry*, in which the Rules of Verſification are ſo judiciouſly laid down, and ſo well expreſſed, that I perſuade myſelf the reader will not be diſpleaſed with the following extract.

He makes ſweet muſic, who in ſerious lines
Light dancing tunes and heavy proſe declines.
When verſes like a milky torrent flow,
They equal temper in the Poet ſhow.
He paints true forms, who with a modeſt heart
Gives luſtre to his work, yet covers art.
Uneven ſwelling is no way to fame,
But ſolid joining of the perfect frame;
So that no curious finger there can find
The former chinks or nails that faſtly bind.
Yet moſt wou'd have the knots of ſtitches ſeen,
And holes where men may thruſt their hands between.
On halting feet the rugged Poem goes,
With accents neither fitting verſe nor proſe.
The ſtile mine ear with more contentment fills
Of Lawyers pleadings, or Phyſicians bills:
For tho' in terms of art their ſkill they cloſe,
And joy in darkſome words as well as thoſe;
They yet have perfect ſenſe, more pure and clear
Than envious Muſes, which ſad garlands wear
Of duſky clouds, their ſtrange conceits to hide
From human eyes; and, leſt they ſhould be ſpy'd
By ſome ſharp OEdipus, the Engliſh tongue
For this their poor ambition ſuffers wrong.
In ev'ry language now in Europe ſpoke
By nations, which the Roman empire broke,
The reliſh of the Muſe conſiſts in rhyme;
One verſe muſt meet another like a chime.
Our Saxon ſhortneſs hath peculiar grace,
And choice of words fit for the ending place,
Which leave impreſſion on the mind as well
As cloſing ſounds of ſome delightful bell.
Theſe muſt not be with diſproportion lame,
Nor ſhou'd an eccho ſtill repeat the ſame.
In many changes theſe may be expreſs'd,
But thoſe that join moſt ſimply are the beſt:

Their

Sir John's poetical genius [*C*]. This gentleman died in the winter of 1628, and was buried in the church of Grace-dieu, leaving behind him three ſons; John [*D*], who died without iſſue; Francis [*E*], afterwards a Jeſuit; and Thomas, who ſucceeded to the honour and eſtate (*b*). He had likewiſe a ſon named Gervaſe, who died at ſeven years of age [*F*]. Mr. Jacob has committed a ſtrange blunder (*c*) in placing our Poet under the reign of King Richard III.

(*b*) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. i. col. 524.

(*c*) *In his Poetical Regiſter*, &c. Vol. i. p. 4.

Their form, ſurpaſſing far the fetter'd ſtaves,
Vain care and needleſs repetition ſaves.
Theſe outward aſhes keep thoſe inward fires,
Whoſe heat the Greek and Roman works inſpires.
Pure phraſe, fit epithets, a ſober care
Of metaphors, deſcriptions clear yet rare;
Similitudes contracted, ſmooth, and round,
Not vex'd by learning, but with nature crown'd;
Strong figures drawn from deep invention's ſprings,
Conſiſting leſs in words, and more in things;
A language not affecting ancient times,
Nor Latin ſhreds, by which the pedant climbs;
A noble ſubject, which the mind may lift
To eaſy uſe of that peculiar gift,
Which Poets in their raptures hold moſt dear,
When actions by the lively ſound appear.
Give me ſuch helps, I never will deſpair,
But that our heads, which ſuck the freezing air,
As well as hotter brains, may verſe adorn,
And be their wonder, as we were their ſcorn (8).

[*C*] *Ben Johnſon, Michael Drayton, and others, have celebrated Sir John's poetical genius.*] Some of their commendatory verſes are prefixed to, and others follow after, his poems. Ben Johnſon's teſtimony is highly to our author's advantage.

This book will live; it hath a genius: This
  Above his Reader, or his Praiſer, is.
Hence then, prophane: Here needs no words expence
  In bulwarks, rav'lins, ramparts, for defence;
Such as the creeping common Pioneers uſe,
  When they do ſweat to fortify a muſe.
Tho' I confeſs a Beaumont's book to be
  The bound and frontier of our Poetry,
And doth deſerve all muniments of praiſe,
  That art, or engine, or the ſtrength can raiſe;
Yet who dares offer a redoubt a reare,
  To cut a dyke, or ſtick a ſtake up, here,
Before this work, where envy hath not caſt
  A trench againſt it, nor a batt'ry plac'd?
Stay till ſhe make her vain approaches; then,
  If maimed ſhe come off, 'tis not of men
This fort of ſo impregnable acceſs,
  But higher pow'r, as ſpight cou'd not make leſs,
Nor flatt'ry, but ſecured by th' author's name,
  Defies what's croſs to piety or good fame,
And like a hallow'd Temple, free from taint
  Of Ethniciſm, makes his Muſe a Saint (9).

Michael Drayton has dropped an obſcure hint at the cauſe of our author's death, which is not eaſily to be underſtood.

Thy care for that, which was not worth thy breath,
Brought on too ſoon thy much lamented death.
But Heav'n was kind, and would not let thee ſee
The plagues that muſt upon this nation be,
By whom the Muſes have neglected been,
Which ſhall add weight and meaſure to their ſin (10).

[*D*] —*John.*] This is the ſon, to whom we are obliged for the edition of his father's Poems, and who was himſelf no mean Poet, as appears by the following lines.

Here lives his better part, here ſhines that flame,
Which lights the entrance to eternal fame:
Theſe are his triumphs over death, this ſpring
From Aganippe's fountains he cou'd bring
Clear from all droſs, thro' pure intentions drain'd;
His draughts no ſenſual waters ever ſtain'd.
Behold he doth on ev'ry paper ſtrow
The loyal thoughts he did his Sovereign owe:
Here reſt affections to each neareſt friend,
And pious ſighs, which noble thoughts attend (11).

[*E*] — *Francis.*] This ſon, likewiſe, paid the tribute of verſe to his father's memory; of which take the following ſtanzas as a ſpecimen.

For ſhou'd I ſtrive to deck the virtue high,
  Which in theſe Poems, like fair gems appear,
I might as well add brightneſs to the ſky,
  Or with new ſplendor make the ſun more clear.

Since ev'ry line is with ſuch beauties graced,
  That nothing farther can their praiſes ſound;
And that dear name, which in the front is placed,
  Declares what ornaments within are found:

That name, I ſay, in whom the Muſes meet,
  And with ſuch heat his noble ſpirit raiſe,
That Kings admire his verſe, whilſt at his feet
  Orpheus his harp, and Phœbus caſt his bays (12).

[*F*] — Gervaſe, *who died at ſeven years of age.*] This we learn from ſome verſes of Sir John's upon the death of that ſon, whom he laments very pathetically.

Can I, who have for others oft compil'd
The ſongs of death, forget my ſweeteſt child,
Which like a flow'r cruſh'd with a blaſt is dead,
And e're full time hangs down his ſmiling head.

- -

Let his pure ſoul, ordain'd ſeven years to be
In that frail body, which was part of me,
Remain my pledge in Heav'n, as ſent to ſhow
How to this port at ev'ry ſtep I go (13).   B.

*** [It is plain, from the ſpecimens given above, that there was great harmony in Sir John Beaumont's verſification, and that it was much above the general caſt of the age. He had right notions, likewiſe, with regard to the accuracy of rhimes. It may be queried, whether the verſification of this country did not decline between the time of Spenſer, Shakeſpeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, and that of Dryden.] K.

(8) Page 108, &c.

(9) *On the honoured Poems of his honoured Friend Sir* J. B. *Bart.*

(10) *To the dear Remembrance of his noble Friend Sir* J. B. *Bart.*

(11) *A Congratulation to the Muſes, for the immortalizing his dear father by the ſacred virtue of Poetry.*

(12) *Upon the following Poems of my dear father Sir* J. B. *Bart. deceaſed.*

(13) Page 165.

BEAUMONT and FLETCHER, Two celebrated Dramatic Poets of the laſt age. Theſe gentlemen were ſo cloſely united as authors, and are ſo jointly concerned in the applauſes and cenſures beſtowed on their Plays, that it is thought proper to connect their Lives under one article.

Mr. FRANCIS BEAUMONT was deſcended from the ancient family of his name, ſeated at Grace-dieu in Leiceſterſhire (*a*), and was born about the year 1585 or 1586, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (*b*). His grandfather *John Beaumont* was Maſter of the Rolls (*c*), and his father *Francis Beaumont* one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas (*d*). His mother was Anne, daughter of George Pierrepoint, of Holme-Pierrepoint in Nottinghamſhire (*e*). Our Poet had his education at Cambridge (*f*); but in what college, we are not told. He was afterwards admitted a ſtudent in the Inner-Temple (*g*): but it does not appear, that he made any proficiency in the knowledge of the Laws: on the contrary, it is probable, that his devotion to the Muſes was too great, to ſuffer his thoughts to be employed on ſo dry and ſevere a ſcience. He died before thirty years of age, in March 1615, and was buried, the ninth of the ſame month, in the entrance of St. Benedict's chapel, within St. Peter's Weſtminſter (*h*). I meet with no inſcription upon

(*a*) Jacob's *Poetical Regiſter, or Lives and Characters of all the Engliſh Poets*, Vol. ii. p. 103.

(*b*) *This is inferred from the date of his death.*

(*c*) *Works of Mr.* Francis Beaumont *and Mr.* John Fletcher, *edit.* 1711, 8*vo*, Vol. i. *in Pref.* p. 5.

(*d*) Jacob, *ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) *Works*, &c. *ibid.*

(*f*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. i. col. 524.

(*g*) Jacob, *ubi ſupra.*

(*h*) *Id. ib.* & Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

his tomb, but I find two epitaphs on him; one written by his elder brother Sir John Beaumont, and the other by the witty Biſhop Corbet [*A*]. Our Poet left behind him one daughter, Mrs. *Frances Beaumont*, who died in Leiceſterſhire ſince the year 1700. She had been poſſeſſed of ſeveral Poems of her father's writing; but they were loſt at ſea in her voyage from Ireland, where ſhe had lived ſome time in the Duke of Ormond's family (*i*). Beſides the Plays, in which he was jointly concerned with Mr. Fletcher, he wrote a little dramatic piece, intitled, *A Maſque of Gray's-Inn Gentlemen and the Inner Temple*, a *Poetical Epiſtle to Ben Jonſon* [*B*], *Verſes to his Friend Maſter John Fletcher upon his Faithful Shepherdeſs* [*C*], and other Poems, printed together in 1653, in *octavo* (*k*). Mr. Beaumont was eſteemed ſo accurate a judge of Plays, that Ben Jonſon, while he lived, ſubmitted all his writings to his cenſure, and 'tis thought uſed his judgment in correcting, if not contriving, all his plots (*l*). What value he had for our Poet, appears by the verſes he addreſſed to him [*D*].

Mr. JOHN FLETCHER was ſon of Dr. *Richard Fletcher* Biſhop of London [*E*], and was born in Northamptonſhire in the year 1576 (*m*). He was educated at Cambridge

(*i*) *Works*, &c. p. 5, 6.

(*k*) *They are printed for* L. Blacklock.

(*l*) Dryden's *Eſſay on Dramatic Poetry*, in his *Dramatic Works*, 12*mo*, edit. 1725, Vol. i. p. 59.

(*m*) Langbaine's *Account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets*, Oxf. 1691, 8*vo*, p. 206. *and* Fuller's *Worthies of England*, Northampt. p. 288.

[*A*] *Two epitaphs on him; one written by* ——— *Sir John Beaumont, the other by* ——— *Biſhop Corbet.*] Sir John's is as follows:

An epitaph on my deare brother
FRANCIS BEAUMONT.

On death thy murderer this revenge I take:
I ſlight his terror, and juſt queſtion make,
Which of us two the beſt precedence have,
Mine to this wretched world, thine to the grave.
Thou ſhou'd'ſt have followed me, but death, to blame,
Miſcounted years, and meaſured age by fame.
So dearly haſt thou bought thy precious lines;
Their praiſe grew ſwiftly, ſo thy life declines.
Thy Muſe, the hearer's Queen, the reader's love,
All ears, all hearts (but death's) could pleaſe and
move (1).

Biſhop Corbet's is this:

On Mr. FRANCIS BEAUMONT.
(Then newly dead.)

He that hath ſuch acuteneſs, and ſuch wit,
As wou'd aſk ten good heads to huſband it;
He that can write ſo well, that no man dare
Refuſe it for the beſt, let him beware:
BEAUMONT is dead, by whoſe ſole death appears,
Wit's a diſeaſe conſumes men in few years (2).

[*B*] ——— *A poetical epiſtle to Ben Jonſon.*] We learn from the title of the epiſtle, that it was written to that Poet from the country, before the author and Mr. Fletcher came to London. In this piece Beaumont expreſſes the higheſt eſteem and friendſhip for Jonſon, eſpecially in the following lines:

Baniſht unto this home, fate once again
Bring me to thee, who canſt make ſmooth and plaine
The way of knowledge for me, and then I,
Who have no good but in thy company,
Proteſt it will my grateful comfort be
T' acknowledge all I have to flow from thee.

The epiſtle is ſubſcribed, *The Maid in the Mill*, and ſeems to have been ſent to Ben with two unfiniſhed comedies, written by Beaumont and Fletcher (3).

[*C*] *Verſes to his* friend, Maſter John Fletcher, upon his Faithful Shepherdeſs.] That Paſtoral, which was written by Fletcher alone (4), having met with but an indifferent reception upon the ſtage, Beaumont addreſſed a copy of verſes to him (5) upon that occaſion, in which he ingeniouſly repreſents the hazard of writing for the ſtage, and finely ſatirizes the audience's want of judgment, as follows:

Why ſhou'd the man, whoſe wit ne'er had a ſtain,
Upon the public ſtage preſent his vein,
And make a thouſand men in judgment ſit,
To call in queſtion his undoubted wit,
Scarce two of which can underſtand the laws
Which they ſhould judge by, nor the parties cauſe?
Among the rout there is not one that hath
In his own cenſure an explicit faith.
One company, knowing they judgment lack,
Ground their belief on the next man in black;
Others on him that makes ſigns, and is mute;
Some like as he does in the faireſt ſute;
He as his miſtreſs doth, and ſhe by chance:
Nor want there thoſe, who, as the boy doth dance
Between the acts, will cenſure the whole play;
Some, if the wax-lights be not new that day:
But multitudes there are, whoſe judgment goes
Headlong, according to the actor's cloaths.

Then having approved Fletcher's deſign of publiſhing his play, in order to convince the world how excellent a performance they had diſliked upon the ſtage, he concludes with this ſevere reflection;

Beſides, one 'vantage more in this I ſee;
Your cens'rers now muſt have the quality
Of reading, which, I am afraid, is more
Than half your ſhrewdeſt judges had before.

[*D*] Ben Jonſon's *verſes addreſſed to* Beaumont.]

How I do love thee, Beaumont, and thy Muſe,
That unto me do'ſt ſuch religion uſe!
How do I fear myſelf that am not worth
The leaſt indulgent thought thy pen drops forth!
At once thou mak'ſt me happy, and unmak'ſt;
And giving largely to me, more thou tak'ſt.
What fate is mine, that ſo itſelf bereaves?
What art is thine, that ſo thy friend deceives?
When, even there where moſt thou praiſeſt me,
For writing better I muſt envy thee (6).

[*E*] *He was ſon of Dr.* Richard Fletcher, *Biſhop of London.*] That Prelate was born in Kent, and educated at Bennet-college in Cambridge (7), of which he was ſome time Fellow (8). He was made Dean of Peterborough in 1583, and was preſent in 1586, with Mary, Queen of Scots, when ſhe was beheaded at Fotheringay in Northamptonſhire (9). He was promoted by Queen Elizabeth to the biſhopric of Briſtol, and conſecrated December 14, 1589; after that See had been vacant (excepting only whilſt it was adminiſtered by two ſucceſſive Biſhops of Glouceſter) thirty-two years (10). In 1593, he was tranſlated to Worceſter (11), and from thence to London, the year following (12). This worthy Prelate drew up ſeveral regulations for the better government of his dioceſe, and reformation of his ſpiritual courts. They are intitled, *Orders, which the Right Reverend Richard, Lord Biſhop of London, deſires to be aſſented unto, and carefully obſerved by every eccleſiaſtical officer, exerciſing eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction under him, within the dioceſe of London. Dat.* March *the* 8*th*, 1595. They are tranſcribed by Mr. Collier (13). How far they were executed, is uncertain; for they run in a form of recommendation, rather than of command. Who was Biſhop Fletcher's firſt wife, we are not told; but Anthony Wood informs us (14), that he took to him a ſecond wife (a very handſome widow) called the Lady Baker, ſiſter to George Gifford, the Penſioner; at which match, Queen Elizabeth, who highly diſapproved the marriage of the Clergy, was much diſpleaſed. The loſs of her Majeſty's favour, it ſeems, occaſioned the Biſhop's death; for Camden tells us (15), that, ' Endeavouring to ſmother the cares of an ' unlucky match in the ſmoke of tobacco, which he ' took to exceſs, and falling under the Queen's diſ' pleaſure (who thought it enough for Biſhops to be ' fathers of the Church), between the experiment and ' the miſfortune, loſt his life.' He died at his palace in London, the 15th of June 1596, and was buried in the cathedral church of St. Paul's (16). He had a brother named *Giles Fletcher*, born likewiſe in Kent, educated

(1) *Sir* John Beaumont's *Boſworth Field*, &c. Lond. 1629, 12*mo*, p. 164.

(2) Biſhop Corbet's *Poems*, Lond. 1672, p. 68.

(3) Poems, *by* Fr. Beaumont, Lond. 1653, 8*vo*. *The pages of this book are not numbered.*

(4) *See the remark* [*G*].

(5) *Printed among the* Commendatory Verſes, *prefixed to* Beaumont *and* Fletcher's *Works*, edit. 1711.

(6) Ben Jonſon's *Works*, Lond. 1716, 8*vo*, Vol. iii. p. 133.

(7) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* Vol. i. col. 107.

(8) Godwin. de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Briſtol. *an.* 1539.

(9) Wood, *ibid.*

(10) Godwin, *ib.*

(11) Id. *inter* Epiſc. Wigorn. *an.* 1593.

(12) Id. *inter* Epiſ. London, *an.* 1594.

(13) In his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt.* Vol. ii. *among the Records*, No. 95.

(14) *Ubi ſupra.*

(15) *Life and Reign of Queen* Elizabeth, apud *Complete Hiſtory of* England, Vol. ii. p. 596.

(16) Godwin, *ubi ſupra.*

Cambridge (*n*), probably in Bennet-college, to which his father was by his laſt will and teſtament a benefactor (*o*). He wrote Plays jointly with Mr. Beaumont; and we are told, he aſſiſted Ben Jonſon in writing a Comedy called *The Widow (p)*. After Beaumont's death, it is ſaid, he conſulted Mr. James Shirley in the plotting ſeveral of his Plays [*F*]. Which theſe were, it is extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, for us to determine. His *Faithful Shepherdeſs*, which, it is certain, he wrote without the aſſiſtance of his colleague, is greatly commended by the Poets [*G*], though its reception on the ſtage fell ſhort of its merit. Mr. Fletcher died of the plague, in the forty-ninth year of his age, the firſt of King Charles I. *an.* 1625, and was buried the 29th of Auguſt in St. Mary-Overy's church in Southwark (*q*). We have a Latin inſcription under his picture by the ingenious Sir John Berkenhead [*H*].

(*n*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*o*) *Works*, &c. *ubi ſupra.*

(*p*) Wood, *ibid*, col. 609.

(*q*) Langbaine, *ubi ſupra* & Wood, *ibid.* col. 524.

Beaumont and Fletcher (as has been obſerved) wrote *Plays* in concert: but what ſhare each bore in forming the plots, writing the ſcenes, *&c.* is not known. The general opinion ſeems to be, that Beaumont's judgment was chiefly employed in correcting and retrenching the ſuperfluities of Fletcher's wit [*I*]. But if what is reported of them by Mr. Winſtanley be true, the former had his ſhare likewiſe in the execution of the Drama. For that author relates, that our Poets being once at a tavern together, in order to form the rude draught of a Tragedy, Fletcher undertook to *kill the King*; which words being overheard by an officious waiter, had like to have brought on them a troubleſome affair, had it not been preſently diſcovered, that the plot was only againſt a dramatical King (*r*). The firſt Play that brought them into eſteem was *Philaſter, or Love lies a-bleeding*: for

(*r*) Winſtanley's *Lives of the moſt famous Engliſh Poets*, Lond. 1687. 8*vo*, p. 199.

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educated at Eaton ſchool, and elected ſcholar of King's college in Cambridge in 1565 (17); where he took the degree of Doctor of Laws, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a learned man and an excellent Poet. Afterwards he was ſent Commiſſioner into Scotland, Germany, and the Netherlands; and Embaſſador to Ruſſia. At length he was made Secretary to the city of London, and Maſter of the Requeſts. He wrote *The Hiſtory of Ruſſia*, &c. or, *Of the Ruſſian Commonwealth.* Lond. 1591, 8vo. which book was quickly ſuppreſſed, leſt it ſhould give offence to a Prince in amity with England. Afterwards it was reprinted in 12mo, *An.* 1643. Dr. Giles Fletcher died in the pariſh of St. Katherine, Coleman-ſtreet, in London, in the month of February 1610, leaving behind him a ſon of both his names, who took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity at Trinity college in Cambridge, and died at Alderton in Suffolk, in 1623, 'equally 'beloved of the Muſes and the Graces.' He left alſo another ſon named *Phineas Fletcher*, of King's college in the ſame univerſity, where he was accounted an excellent Poet. He was afterwards beneficed at Hilgay in Norfolk, and wrote ſeveral books; among which one is intituled, *A Father's Teſtament written for the benefit of his particular Relations.* Lond. 1670, 8vo. at which time the author had been dead ſeveral years (18).

(17) The Continuator of Tho. Hatcher's *Catalogue of Prov. Fell. and Scholl. of King's Coll. Camb.* MS. *an.* 1565.

(18) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

[*F*] *He conſulted Mr. James Shirley in the plotting ſeveral of his plays.*] The editor of *Beaumont* and *Fletcher's Works* in 1711, thinks it very probable, that Shirley did likewiſe ſupply many that were left imperfect, and that the Players gave ſome remains, or imperfect plays, of Fletcher's to Shirley to make up: And it is from hence (he tells us) that in the firſt act of *Love's Pilgrimage*, there is a ſcene of an Oſtler, tranſcribed *verbatim* out of Ben Jonſon's *New Inn*, Act 3. Sc. 1. which play was written long after Fletcher died, and tranſplanted into *Love's Pilgrimage*, after the printing the *New Inn*, which was in the year 1630. And two of the plays, printed under the name of Fletcher, *viz. The Coronation* and the *Little Thief*, have been claimed by Shirley to be his. It is probable, they were left imperfect by one, and finiſhed by the other (19).

(19) Beaumont *and* Fletcher's Works, 1711. 8*vo. in the Preface*, p. 27.

[*G*] *His* Faithful Shepherdeſs ——— *is greatly commended by the Poets.*] I have already given the reader ſome verſes addreſſed by Beaumont to Fletcher, on occaſion of the ill ſucceſs of this play (20). Honeſt Ben is very angry with the audience for their ill-treatment of it, and expreſſes himſelf with great acrimony upon this ſubject, in the follwing lines:

The wiſe and many-headed *bench*, that ſits
Upon the life and death of *Plays* and *Wits*,
(Compoſed of *Gameſter*, *Captain*, *Knight*, *Knight's Man*,
Lady, or *Puſill*, that wears maſk or fan,
Velvet or *Taffata* cap, rank'd in the dark
With the ſhop's *Foreman*, or ſome ſuch brave ſpark,
That may judge for his ſix-pence) had, before
They ſaw it half, damn'd the whole play, and more:
Their motives were, ſince it had not to do
With vices, which they look'd for, and came to.
I, that am glad thy innocence was thy guilt,
And wiſh that all the Muſes blood were ſpilt
In ſuch a *martyrdom*, to vex their eyes,
Do *crown* thy *murder'd poem*, which ſhall riſe
A *glorified work* to time, when fire,
Or moths, ſhall eat what all ſuch fools admire (21).

(20) *See the Remark* [*C*].

(21) *Among the* Commendatory Verſes, *prefixed* to Beaumont *and* Fletcher's *Works*.

Mr. Cartwright had theſe verſes of Ben Jonſon in view in the following lines, taken out ef a copy of verſes written by him *Upon the report of the printing of the Dramatical Poems of Maſter John Fletcher*, &c.

- - - - - - - - - - His *Shepherdeſs*, a piece
Even and ſmooth, ſpun from a finer fleece;
Where ſoftneſs reigns, where paſſions paſſions greet,
Gentle and high, as floods of balſam meet:
Where, dreſs'd in white expreſſions, ſit bright loves,
Drawn, like their faireſt Queen, by milky doves;
A piece, which Jonſon in a rapture bid
Come up a *glorified work*, and ſo it did (22).

(22) Cartwright's *Plays* and *Poems*, Lond. 1651, 8*vo*, p. 269.

Sir John Berkenhead ſeems likewiſe to refer to Ben's teſtimony, when he ſets ſo extravagant a value upon this performance:

Thou always beſt: if ought ſeem'd to decline,
'Twas the unjudging rout's miſtake, not thine.
Thus thy fair *Shepherdeſs*, which the bold heap
(Falſe to themſelves, and thee) did prize ſo cheap,
Was found (when underſtood) fit to be *crown'd*;
At worſt 'twas worth *two hundred thouſand pound* (23).

(23) *Among the* Commendatory Verſes, *ubi ſupra.*

There ſeems to be ſome alluſion couched in the laſt line, at which I can give no gueſs.

[*H*] *An inſcription under Mr.* Fletcher's picture, by Sir *John Berkenhead.*] It is this (24):

Felicis ævi, ac Præſulis natus, comes
Beaumontio; ſic quippe Parnaſſus biceps,
FLETCHERUS unam in pyramida furcas agens:
Struxit chorum plus ſimplicem Vates duplex,
Plus duplicem ſolus; nec ullum tranſtulit,
Nec transferendus: Dramatum æterni ſales,
Anglo theatro, orbi, ſibi, ſuperſtites.
FLETCHERE, facies abſque vultu pingitur;
Quantus! vel umbram circuit nemo tuam.

(24) Langbaine's *Account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets*, Oxf. 1691, 8*vo*, p. 206.

[*I*] *Beaumont's judgment was employed in correcting and retrenching the ſuperfluities of Fletcher's wit.*] Hence Mr. Cartwright, extolling Fletcher's genius (25), and obſerving

That 'twas his happy fault to do too much;

adds,

Who therefore wiſely did ſubmit each birth
To knowing Beaumont, ere it did come forth,
Working again until he ſaid 'twas fit,
And made him the ſobriety of his wit.

(25) Cartwright's *Plays* and *Poems*, *ubi ſupra.*

There are numberleſs paſſages among the *commendatory verſes* to the ſame purpoſe.

before that, they had written two or three very unſucceſsfully; as the like is reported of Ben Jonſon, before he wrote *Every Man in his Humour* (s). Theſe authors had, with the advantage of Shakeſpeare's wit, which was their precedent, great natural gifts improved by ſtudy. Their plots were generally more regular than Shakeſpeare's, eſpecially thoſe made after Beaumont's death; and they underſtood and imitated the converſation of gentlemen much better, whoſe wild debaucheries, and quickneſs of wit in repartees, no Poet before them ever painted as they did. Humour, it is true, which Ben Jonſon derived from particular characters, they made it not their buſineſs to deſcribe: but, in recompence of this defect, they delineated all the paſſions in a very lively manner, eſpecially that of Love. Their faults conſiſt chiefly in a certain luxuriance, or ſeldom knowing when to have done, and this notwithſtanding the ſuppoſed rigour of Mr. Beaumont's caſtigations; in frequent ſoleciſms of ſpeech, and great incorrectneſs in general; which laſt, indeed, is common to our authors with Ben Jonſon, and the immortal Shakeſpeare himſelf. However, envy cannot deny, that their wit is great, and their expreſſions often noble; and that the abſurdities they committed are rather the fault of the age, than theirs. Mr. Dryden tells us (t), that Beaumont and Fletcher's Plays, in his time, were the moſt pleaſing and frequent entertainments of the ſtage, two of theirs being acted through the year for one of Shakeſpeare's or Jonſon's; and the reaſon he aſſigns is, becauſe there is a certain gaiety in their Comedies, and a *Pathos* in their moſt ſerious Plays, which ſuits generally with all men's humours: beſides, Shakeſpeare's language is a little obſolete, and Ben Jonſon's wit comes ſhort of theirs. But however it might be when Mr. Dryden wrote, the caſe is ſince altered: for though ſeveral of Beaumont and Fletcher's Plays ſtill take their turn upon the Engliſh ſtage, and with good ſucceſs, yet (u) Shakeſpeare hath of late gained the aſcendant, more than two of his Plays being acted through the year for one of theirs.

This noble pair of authors have received applauſe from the pens of our moſt celebrated Poets [K]; and ſome of their Plays have had the honour to be ſelected, and altered for the

[K] *Have received applauſe from the pens of our moſt celebrated Poets.*] I ſhall begin with Sir Aſton Cockaine, who has theſe lines:

While Fletcher lived, who equal to him writ
Such laſting monuments of natural wit?
Others might draw their lines with ſweat, like thoſe
That, with much pains, a garriſon incloſe;
Whilſt his ſweet fluent vein did gently run,
As uncontroul'd and ſmoothly as the ſun (26).

Sir George Liſle, a kinſman of Beaumont's, celebrates both our Poets, addreſſing himſelf firſt to *Beaumont*:

I'll not pronounce how ſtrong and clean thou writ'ſt,
Nor by what new hard rules thou took'ſt thy flights;
Nor how much Greek and Latin ſome refine,
Before they can make up ſix words of thine:
But this I'll ſay, thou ſtrik'ſt our ſenſe ſo deep,
At once thou mak'ſt us bluſh, rejoice and weep.
Great father Jonſon bow'd himſelf, when he
(Thou writ'ſt ſo nobly) vow'd *he envy'd thee* (*).

A few lines after he ſays:

Behold! here's *Fletcher* too! the world ne'er knew
Two potent wits co-operate 'till you;
For ſtill your fancies are ſo wov'n and knit,
'Twas *Francis Fletcher* and *John Beaumont* writ (27).

Sir John Denham's teſtimony is very advantageous to the memory of *Fletcher*, whom he thus addreſſes:

- - - - - - - - - I need not raiſe
Trophies to thee from other men's diſpraiſe;
Nor is thy fame on leſſer ruins built,
Nor needs thy juſter title the foul guilt
Of Eaſtern Kings, who, to ſecure their reign,
Muſt have their brothers, ſons, and kindred ſlain.
Then was wit's empire at the fatal height,
When labouring and ſinking with its weight,
From thence a thouſand leſſer Poets ſprung,
Like petty princes from the fall of Rome.
When Jonſon, Shakeſpear, and thyſelf did ſit,
And ſway'd in the Triumvirate of wit - - - -
Yet what from Jonſon's oil and ſweat did flow,
Or what more eaſy nature did beſtow
On Shakeſpear's gentler Muſe, in thee full grown
Their graces both appear; yet ſo, that none
Can ſay, here nature ends, and art begins;
But mix like th' elements, and born like twins,
So interweaved, ſo like, ſo much the ſame,
None this mere nature, that mere art can name.
'Twas this the ancients meant; nature and ſkill
Are the two tops of their Parnaſſus hill (28).

Nor is *Fletcher* leſs obliged to Mr. Waller's excellent pen:

Fletcher, to thee we do not only owe
All theſe good plays, but thoſe of others too:
Thy wit repeated does ſupport the ſtage,
Credits the laſt, and entertains this age:
No worthies form'd by any Muſe but thine
Could purchaſe robes to make themſelves ſo fine.
What brave commander is not proud to ſee
Thy brave *Melantius* in his gallantry?
Our greateſt Ladies love to ſee their ſcorn
Outdone by thine, in what themſelves have worn.
Th' impatient widow ere the year be done
Sees thy *Aſpaſia* weeping in her gown.
I never yet the tragic ſtrain aſſay'd,
Deterr'd by that inimitable *Maid*:
And when I venture at the comic ſtyle,
The *Scornful Lady* ſeems to mock my toil.
Thus has thy Muſe at once improv'd and marr'd
Our ſport in plays, by rendring them too hard.
So when a ſort of luſty ſhepherds throw
The bar by turns, and none the reſt outgo
So far, but that the beſt are meaſuring caſts,
Their emulation and their paſtime laſts:
But if ſome brawny yeoman of the guard
Step in, and toſs the axel-tree a yard
Or more beyond the fartheſt mark, the reſt
Deſpairing ſtand, their ſport is at the beſt (29).

Sir John Berkenhead prefers Fletcher to Shakeſpeare:

Brave Shakeſpear flow'd, yet had his ebbings too,
Often above himſelf, ſometimes below;
Thou always beſt (*).

Again;

Shakeſpear was early up, and went ſo dreſt
As for thoſe *dawning* hours he knew was beſt;
But when the ſun ſhone forth, *you two* thought fit
To wear juſt robes, and leave off trunk-hoſe wit (30).

Mr. Cartwright gives the ſame preference to Fletcher compared with Shakeſpear; for which reaſon I here once more cite him.

Shakeſpear to thee was dull, whoſe beſt jeſt lies
I' th' Ladies queſtions, and the Fool's replies;
Old-faſhion'd wit, which walk'd from town to town
In turn'd hoſe, which our fathers call'd the *Clown*;
Whoſe wit our nice times would obſceneneſs call,
And which made bawdry paſs for comical.
Nature was all his art; thy vein was free
As his, but without his ſcurrility (31).

Whoever

(s) Dryden, *ubi ſupra*.

(t) In his *Eſſay on Dramatic Poetry*, *ubi ſupra*. This Piece was written in 1666.

(u) *Ann.* 1746. and for ſome years paſt.

(26) *Among the* Commendatory Verſes, *ubi ſupra*.

(*) *See the remark* [D].

(27) *Ibid.*

(28) *Ibid.*

(29) *Ibid.*

(*) *See the lines immediately following theſe in the remark* [G].

(30) *Ibid.*

(31) Cartwright's *Poems*, &c. p. 273.

the ſtage, by our beſt writers [*L*]. But they have not eſcaped the cenſures of the Critics, eſpecially Mr. Rymer the Hiſtoriographer, who has laboured to expoſe the faults, without taking any notice of the beauties, of *Rollo Duke of Normandy*, the *King and no King*, and the *Maid's Tragedy* [*M*]. Mr. Rymer ſent one of his books as a preſent to Mr. Dryden,

Whoever is converſant in the writings of Shakeſpeare and Fletcher, need not be told, that it is extremely unjuſt to complement the latter at the expence of the former; and that, in truth, after all the fine things ſaid of the two Poets in queſtion, and making the moſt of Shakeſpeare's faults, the preference lies greatly on his ſide; whoſe ſublimer beauties of ſentiment and poetry Beaumont and Fletcher could never reach.

[*L*] *Some of their plays have been altered for the ſtage by our beſt writers.*] Particularly *The Maid's Tragedy*, *The Chances*, and *Valentinian*; by Mr. Waller, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of Rocheſter. The *Maid's Tragedy* was very frequently acted, after the Reſtoration, and with great applauſe. But the concluſion of the play, in which the King is killed, making it, upon ſome particular occaſion, thought improper to be farther repreſented, it was by private order from the court ſilenced. This put Mr. Waller upon altering the cataſtrophe, or laſt act, as it is now printed in the edition of his poems, in 8vo, in 1711, and in all the ſubſequent editions. Upon which alteration the author of the Preface to the ſecond part of Mr. Waller's poems makes the following remark: ''Tis not to be doubted, who ſat for the two brothers characters. 'Twas agreeable to the ſweetneſs of Mr. Waller's temper, to ſoften the rigour of the tragedy, as he expreſſes it; but whether it be agreeable to the nature of tragedy itſelf, to make every thing come off eaſily, I leave to the Critics.' The Duke of Buckingham, ſo celebrated for writing the *Rehearſal*, made the two laſt acts of the *Chances* almoſt new. His Grace, we are told (32), afterwards beſtowed ſome time in altering another play of our authors, called *Philaſter*, or *Love lies a bleeding*. He made very conſiderable alterations in it, and took it with him, intending to finiſh it in the laſt journey he made to Yorkſhire in the year 1686. It is not known what is become of the play: but the Preface-writer here cited tells us, he is very well informed it was, ſince the Revolution, in the hands of Mr. Nevil Payn, who was impriſoned at Edinburgh in the year 1689. The alterations in *Valentinian*, by the Earl of Rocheſter, amount to about a third part of the whole; but his Lordſhip died before he had done all he intended to it. The play was acted in 1684, and the ſame year publiſhed by Mr. Robert Wolſly, with a preface, giving ſome account of my Lord and his writings. It is ſince printed at the end of his Lordſhip's poems in *octavo*. Beſides theſe three, Mr. Tate altered the *Iſland Princeſs*, and Mr. Dryden revived the *Propheteſs*, with alterations and additions, after the manner of an Opera.

[*M*] *Mr.* Rymer *has cenſured the faults of* Rollo Duke of Normandy, *the* King and no King, *and* The Maid's Tragedy.] This he has done in a piece, intitled *The Tragedies of the laſt Age conſidered and examined, by the practice of the Ancients, and by the common ſenſe of all ages: In a letter to Fleetwood Shepherd, Eſq*; (33). I ſhall here preſent the reader with the ſubſtance of this gentleman's criticiſms on the three plays juſt mentioned.

To begin with *Rollo Duke of Normandy*: His firſt objection lies againſt the *fable* or *plot*, as containing nothing either to move *pity* or *terror*, either to *delight* or *inſtruct*. 'It is indeed, *ſays he*, a hiſtory, and it may well be a hiſtory; for never man of common ſenſe could ſet himſelf to invent any thing ſo groſs. Poetry requires the *ben trovato*, ſomething *handſomely invented*, and leaves the *truth* to hiſtory; but never were the Muſes prophaned with a more foul, unpleaſant, and unwholſome *truth*, than this which makes the argument of *Rollo* (34).' Next to the ſtory, our Critic quarrels with the *moral*, which he makes to be this; *He that ſheds the blood of man, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed.* 'But, if this be all, *ſays he*, where's the wonder? Have we not every day cried in the ſtreets inſtances of God's *revenge* againſt *murder* more extraordinary, and more poetical, than all this comes to? If this be poetry, *Tyburn* is a better and more ingenious ſchool of virtue than the *Theatre* (35).' In the third place, he objects to the *conduct* of the *fable*; he thinks it very odd 'to ſee the firſt four ſcenes paſs, as if nothing extraordinary were toward, without any preparation, and immediately, without more ado, the two brothers, two Kings, are a fighting. The Ancients would have made the earth tremble, and the ſun ſtart out of the firmament, at a ſight ſo unnatural. Yet we make no more of them, but turn them out, like two cocks of the game, for the diverſion of the rabble (36).' He is extremely ſhocked to ſee Rollo 'fighting with his own brother and King, equal to himſelf, and attempting to poiſon him, without any remorſe; killing him in their mother's arms, without any provocation; calling the Queen their mother *Beldam*, and with drawn ſword threatening to kill both her and his ſiſter, without any ſenſe of honour or piety;' and he aſks, *Muſt we not imagine a legion of Devils in his belly* (37), which brings him to conſider the characters of this play. And here, to ſay no more of *Rollo*'s character, he obſerves, that 'neither is *Otto* (his brother) a much more taking gentleman; nothing appears in his *cue* to move pity, or any way to make the audience of his party (38).' As for *Giſbert* and *Baldwin*, Chancellor and Tutor, 'they are *devota capita*; only come on the ſtage, to make Rollo the greater ſinner by their murther (39).' *Aubrey*, who is to ſucceed to the Crown, 'is a good man, but the dulleſt good man that ever poet advanced to a throne by ſuch extraordinary means: ſomething ſhining and extravagant ought to have appeared in his character, and every ſtep of his ſhould have been attended with awe and majeſty; whereas he appears a humble endeavourer, ſpeaks honeſtly to no purpoſe, and is braved and abuſed by raſcals (40).' The characters of *Sophia* and *Matilda*, he thinks, are by no means ſupported (41); and as to *Edith* and the old *Dutcheſs*, 'when in all reaſon one might expect that ſo violent grief and paſſions would choak them, they run chattering as if the concern were no more than a *goſſipping*; theirs are not of the old cut, *Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes ſtupent* (42).' He concludes his reflections on this play with giving it as his opinion, that 'the ſucceſs of it is chiefly due to the ſcenes for laughter, the merry jigg under the gallows, and where the tragedy tumbles into the kitchen among the ſcoundrels that never ſaw buſkin in their lives before. There the Pantler and Cook give it that reliſh, which renders it the moſt followed entertainment of the town (43).'

The next tragedy cenſured by Mr. Rymer is the *King and no King*. As to the *fable* or *plot* of this play, he owns, there 'appears in it ſome proportion, ſhape, and (at the firſt ſight) an outſide fair enough (44).' But, upon examination, it is quite otherwiſe: It is full of *improbabilities*, and thoſe of the worſt ſort, becauſe they contribute nothing to the wonder. 'What more improbable, *he aſks*, than that the mother, whoſe buſineſs it was to contrive the death of the impoſtor, ſhould never caution or inform her only daughter, who had the right to the Crown, that Arbaces was none of her brother, but her vaſſal; and ſo obſtruct her love for him? Nor is it likely that Gobrias ſhould not have reſerved ſome means to let his ſon know the ſecret, that his ſon's conduct, and addreſſes to gain the Princeſs, might have been faſhioned accordingly (45).' In the next place, 'The *characters* are all *improbable* and *unproper* in the higheſt degree; beſides that both theſe, their actions, and all the lines of the play run ſo wide from the plot, that ſcarce ought could be imagined more contrary. We blunder along without the leaſt ſtreak of light, till in the laſt act we ſtumble on the plot, lying all in a lump together; neither any tolerable direction to guide us thither; nor ought ingenious, juſt, or reaſonable, that carries us from thence (46).' Mr. Rymer comes next to particular characters. He aſks, 'What find we in the *ſon* of *Gobrias* (Arbaces), that he muſt have the Princeſs, and the kingdom, for her portion, but that the knave his father will have it ſo (47)? He

(32) *Preface to* Beaumont *and* Fletcher's *Works*, edit. 1711, p. 9.

(33) *Printed in* 1678. *The motto is*:—Clament periiſſe pudorem
Cuncti pœne patres, ea quum reprehendere coner,
Quæ gravis Æſopus, quæ doctus Roſcius egit. *Hor.*

(34) Page 19.

(35) Page 25.

(36) Page 28.

(37) Page 37.

(38) Page 38.

(39) Page 39.

(40) *Ibid.*

(41) Page 41, 42.

(42) Page 44.

(43) Page 55.

(44) Page 57.

(45) Page 59.

(46) *Ibid.*

(47) Page 60.

den, who, in the blank leaves before the beginning, and after the end of the book, made ſeveral remarks, as if he deſigned an anſwer to that gentleman [*N*].

Several

‘ no ſooner comes on the ſtage, but he lays about him with his tongue at ſo nauſeous a rate, Captain *Beſſus* is all modeſty to him (48).’ Then he behaves with ſuch inſulting cruelty to his priſoner the King of Armenia, that our Critic can afford him no better appellation than *monſter of a King* (49). The indecent language this Prince uſes to the Queen-mother, whom he calls *witch* and *whore*, and to his father Gobrias, whom he loads with curſes; the inceſtuous love he makes to his ſuppoſed ſiſter Panthea; his drawing his ſword at the Queen-mother, and other outrages, are the ſum of our Hero's virtues (50). Beſides, his drolling and quibbling with Beſſus and his buffoons, and their breaking their little jeſts upon him, is, in Mr. Rymer's opinion, a great *indecorum* (51). Nor is he better pleaſed with the character of *Panthea*, of whom he ſays, ‘ One might ſwear ſhe had a knock in the cradle; ſo ſoft is ſhe at all points, and ſo ſilly. No Linſey-wolſey Shepherdeſs but muſt have more ſoul in her, and more ſenſe of decency, not to ſay honour (52).’ With reſpect to the *Queen-mother*, we might expect to find her a woman of great courage and reſolution, after we had been told, that ſhe was for removing the Uſurper by poiſon, and bringing things into the right channel again: on the contrary, ‘ we find her the varieſt *Patient-Griſſel* that ever had lain by a Monarch's ſide. She comes but thrice on the ſtage; the firſt time ſhe is rebuked by Gobrias with the ſame language that the vicar of Newgate might diſpenſe to ſome ſinner forlorn; then ſhe is on her *mary-bones* to the impoſtor without reluctancy. Laſtly, when provoked with a drawn ſword, and words more cutting, the proudeſt rant ſhe could be raiſed to, was, *Fire conſume me, if ever I was a whore* (53).’ Laſtly, Mr. Rymer finds great fault with the conduct of the inceſtuous love between Arbaces and Panthea, which he calls a *canker in the heart of this tragedy* (54).

We come laſtly to the *Maid's Tragedy*, of which he gives this general character, that ‘ nothing in *hiſtory* was ever ſo *unnatural*, nothing in *nature* was ever ſo improbable, as we find the whole conduct of this tragedy; ſo far are we from any thing accurate and philoſophical, as poetry requires (55).’ Let us hear what he ſays of the *King*. ‘ Our Poet gives to the great comical booby Callianax, the honour of a long name with a King (*) at the end of it, yet lets the King himſelf go without. But ſince he muſt be nameleſs, we may treat him with the greater freedom; and to tell my mind, certainly God never made a King with ſo little wit, nor the Devil with ſo little grace, as is this King *Anonymus* (56).’ As for *Evadne*'s part, he aſks, ‘ Did Hell ever give reception to ſuch a *monſter*, or Cerberus ever wag his tail at an *impudence* ſo ſacred (57)?’ Mr. Rymer inſtances in her ſpeech to Amintor on the wedding-night, which begins with *A maidenhead, Amintor, at my years!* He ſays farther, with reſpect to this character; ‘ Had Evadne been the injured body's ſiſter, and had married Amintor out of revenge, or had there been any foundation from circumſtances for this ſort of carriage, the character then might have been contrived plauſible enough: but both the King's behaviour and her's, uncircumſtanced as we have 'em, are every way ſo harſh and againſt nature, that every thing ſaid by them ſtrikes like a dagger to the ſoul of any reaſonable audience (58).’ Mr. Rymer declares it as his opinion, that ſuch immodeſt characters, as that of Evadne, ‘ ought not to ſtalk in tragedy on high ſhoes, but ſhould pack down with the carriers into the province of comedy, there to be kicked about and expoſed to laughter (59).’ In the next place, our Critic is very ſevere upon the abſurdity and injuſtice of the *King's murder*, whom, though a monſter, ‘ the Poet (he ſays) cuts off, ere ripe for puniſhment, and by ſuch unproper means, that to remove one guilty perſon he makes an hundred, and commits the *deadly* ſins to puniſh a *venial* (60).’ If the King muſt be killed, he thinks Amintor, as having received the higheſt provocations, the propereſt inſtrument of his puniſhment; for Melantius had no reaſon to be angry with any but his ſiſter Evadne, nor had ſhe any pretence to employ her hands againſt any life but her own (61). As for the other characters, he obſerves, that ‘ *Callianax* is an old humorous Lord, neither wiſe nor valiant, as himſelf confeſſes, and yet is intruſted with the ſtrength and keys of the kingdom; whereas, in comedy, he would ſcarce paſs for a good yeoman of the cellar. His daughter *Aſpaſia*, that gives name to this tragedy, makes alſo a very ſimple figure. Never did *Amintas* or *Paſtor-Fido* know any thing ſo tender; nor were the Arcadian hills ever watered with the tears of a creature ſo innocent. Pretty lamb! how mournfully it bleats! it needs no articulate voice to move our compaſſion; it ſeeks no ſhades but under diſmal yew, and brouzes only on willow-garlands; yet it can ſpeak for a kiſs or ſo. —— This Aſpaſia was a Lord's daughter, and bred at court, yet is in the preſence and bed-chamber of the Lady that ſupplants her, and amongſt her bride-maids, where ſhe acts her part, and fawns upon the perjured man that forſakes her. And now cannot I be perſuaded, that there is ought of nature or probability in all this. Much leſs would I think this a woman to handle a ſword, and kick Amintor, as we ſee her do ſoon after. Nor can I conceive wherein conſiſts that *bleſſing*, as ſhe calls it, which ſhe propoſed to herſelf in being killed by his hands. This may be *romance*, but not *nature* (62).’ But of all the characters, that of *Amintor*, he thinks, is the moſt unreaſonable. ‘ No reaſon (he ſays) appears why he was contracted to Aſpaſia, and leſs why he forſook her for Evadne, and leaſt of all for his diſſembling and bearing ſo patiently the greateſt provocations that could poſſibly be given (63).’ Mr. Rymer finds great fault with the famous ſcene between Melantius and Amintor in the third act. Amintor having diſcovered to Melantius the whoredom of his ſiſter Evadne, Melantius draws his ſword, and is for fighting Amintor, who upbraids him with extorting the ſecret from him, and then raging at it. Yet Melantius perſiſts, till Amintor is provoked to draw his ſword, and then Melantius puts up. ‘ *Harlequin* and *Scaramouttio* (he tells us) might do theſe things: Tragedy ſuffers 'em not; here is no place for cowards nor bullies (64). Yet far more faulty is what follows: The *counterturn* has no ſhadow of ſenſe or ſobriety. Melantius has ſwaggered away his fury, and now Amintor is all agog to be fighting; for what? to get his ſecret back again (65).’ Mr. Rymer concludes thus: ‘ We may remember (however we find this ſcene of Melantius and Amintor written in the book) that at the theatre we have a good ſcene acted; there is work cut out, and both our *Æſopus* and *Roſcius* are upon the ſtage together. Whatever defect may be in Amintor and Melantius, Mr. *Hart* and Mr. *Mohun* are wanting in nothing. To theſe we owe for what is pleaſing in the ſcene, and to this ſcene we may impute the ſucceſs of the *Maid's Tragedy* (66).’

[*N*] *Mr. Dryden —— made ſeveral remarks, as if he deſigned an anſwer to Mr. Rymer.*] Theſe remarks, we are told (67), may be ſeen, under Mr. Dryden's own hand, at the publiſher's of the edition in 1711, who has printed them in the preface to that edition. I ſhall extract from them only what is immediately oppoſed to the objections in the laſt note. *'Tis evident*, ſays Mr. Dryden, *thoſe plays, which he* (Mr. Rymer) *arraigns, have moved both thoſe paſſions* (terror *and* pity) *in a high degree upon the ſtage. To give the glory of this away from the Poet, and to place it upon the actors, ſeems unjuſt. One reaſon is, becauſe whatever actors they have found, the event has been always the ſame, the paſſions have been always moved; which ſhews, that there is ſomewhat of force and merit in the plays themſelves, conducing to the deſign of raiſing thoſe two paſſions. And ſuppoſe them ever to have been excellently acted, yet action only adds grace, vigour, and more life upon the ſtage, but cannot give it wholly where it was not before. But, ſecondly, I dare appeal to thoſe, who have never ſeen them acted, if they have not found thoſe two paſſions moved within them; and if the general voice will carry it, Mr. Rymer's prejudice will take off his ſingle teſtimony. This being matter of fact is reaſonably to be eſtabliſhed by this appeal; as if one man ſay 'tis night, when the reſt of the world con-*

clude

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(48) Page 61.

(49) Page 62.

(50) Page 62, 63.

(51) Page 64.

(52) Page 68.

(53) Page 70.

(54) Page 75.

(55) Page 107.

(*) *Anax* in Greek ſignifies a *King*.

(56) Page 107.

(57) Page 111.

(58) Page 112.

(59) Page 114.

(60) *Ibid.*

(61) Page 116.

(62) Page 123, 124.

(63) Page 125.

(64) Page 135.

(65) Page 136.

(66) Page 138.

(67) *Preface, &c. ubi ſupra*, p. 12.

Several of Beaumont and Fletcher's Plays were printed in *quarto* during the lives of the authors; and in the year 1645, twenty years after Fletcher's death, there was publiſhed

in

clude it to be day, there needs no further argument againſt him that it is ſo. —— Shakeſpear *and* Fletcher *have written to the genius of the age and nation in which they lived; for though nature, as he objects, is the ſame in all places, and reaſon too the ſame; yet the climate, the age, the diſpoſitions of the people, to whom a Poet writes, may be ſo different, that what pleaſed the Greeks would not ſatisfy an Engliſh audience.* —— *The faults, which he has found in the deſigns, are rather wittily aggravated in many places, than reaſonably urged; and as much may be returned on the Greeks by one who were as witty as himſelf. Secondly, They deſtroy not, if they are granted, the foundation of the fabric, only take away from the beauty of the ſymmetry. For example; the faults in the character of the* King and no King *are not, as he makes them, ſuch as render him deteſtable; but only imperfections which accompany human nature, and for the moſt part are excuſed by the violence of his love; ſo that they deſtroy not our pity or concernment for him. This anſwer may be applied to moſt of his objections of that kind. And* Rollo *committing many murders, when he is anſwerable but for one, is too ſeverely arraigned by him; for it adds to our horror and deteſtation of the criminal; and poetic juſtice is not neglected neither, for we ſtab him in our minds for every offence he commits; and the point which the Poet is to gain upon the audience, is not ſo much in the death of the offender, as the raiſing an horror of his crimes. That the criminal ſhould neither be wholly guilty, nor wholly innocent, but ſo participating of both, as to move both pity and terror, is certainly a good rule, but not perpetually to be obſerved, for that were to make all tragedies too much alike; which objection he foreſaw, but has not fully anſwered.* I ſhall finiſh this extract with Mr. Dryden's opinion of Mr. Rymer's book. ‘ My judgment (ſays he) of this ‘ piece is, that it is extremely learned, but that the ‘ author of it is better read in the *Greek* than in the ‘ *Engliſh* Poets; that all writers ought to ſtudy this ‘ *Critique*, as the beſt account I have ever ſeen of the ‘ Ancients; that the model of tragedy he has here ‘ given is excellent, and extremely correct; but that ‘ it is not the only model of all tragedy, becauſe it is ‘ too much circumſcribed in the plot, characters, &c. ‘ And laſtly, that we may be taught here juſtly to admire and imitate the Ancients, without giving them ‘ the preference, with this author, in prejudice to our ‘ own country.’

⁂ [It is to be regretted that ſuch a ſmall number of particulars can be collected with regard to the lives of Beaumont and Fletcher. The utmoſt diligence hath been able to diſcover no more of their perſonal hiſtory than what is written above; and it is remarkable that Langbaine, in his account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets, ſhould ſay of Mr. Beaumont, that his parentage, birth, country, education, and death, were wholly unknown to him (68). This was an inexcuſable ignorance: for if Mr. Langbaine had examined with care Beaumont's Miſcellaneous Poems, and attended to other incidental circumſtances, he could not have been ſo totally deficient in his knowlege of the life of this eminent author.

(68) Langbaine's account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets, p. 205.

But though ſo little intelligence can be obtained with relation to the lives of our two Poets, much hath been advanced concerning their genius and writings. The character of Fletcher in theſe reſpects is more eaſily determined, as we are better acquainted with his works, and are certain that many of the plays publiſhed under their joint names were his ſole compoſition. From thence we aſſuredly know, that, amidſt his other excellencies, he had a great exuberance of imagination. It is leſs eaſy to judge how far Beaumont was poſſeſſed of this quality. The general opinion is that which is mentioned in the text, that his ‘ judgment was commonly employed ‘ in correcting and retrenching the ſuperfluities of ‘ Fletcher's wit.’ This opinion, beſides the teſtimony of ſome contemporary writers, hath been handed down by ſo univerſal a tradition, that there can be little doubt of its having been founded in truth. Nevertheleſs, it may poſſibly have been admitted to a degree which hath tended to derogate from the juſt praiſes that are due to Mr. Beaumont's genius. This matter is particularly conſidered by the ingenious author of the article Beaumont in the General Dictionary; who, after reciting thoſe verſes of Mr. Cartwright, and Sir Aſton Cokayne, which aſcribe the whole merit of invention to Fletcher, and leave ſcarcely any thing to Beaumont but the exerciſe of his correcting pen, produces a number of paſſages from other poets, which repreſent them as alike eminent in dramatic writing. Dr. Jaſper Mayne hath celebrated Beaumont as highly as Fletcher. Sir John Berkenhead ſets both our poets upon a level; and ſuppoſes that they equally contributed their invention as well as judgment; that each had the ſame noble genius for comedy and tragedy; and, like different inſtruments in a concert of muſic, conſpired to make one delightful harmony. Dr. Jaſper Mayne praiſes Beaumont ſingly for his talent in comedy. And he is applauded equally and in conjunction with Fletcher, by Sir John Pettus, Sir George Liſle, Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, and Mr. Webb (69). The teſtimony of the laſt, to Mr. Beaumont's abilities as a writer, is of peculiar importance, as he appears to have lived nearer the time than Mr. Cartwright. This teſtimony, Mr. Seward obſerves, is a proper antidote againſt Mr. Cartwright's traditional opinion (70). Thus, whilſt it is univerſally agreed that Beaumont was poſſeſſed of great judgment, ſome believe that he was no leſs happy in fancy and invention. This, however, cannot now be fully aſcertained, as we do not know how far each of our two celebrated poets contributed to the contrivance of the ſeveral dramatic pieces to which both their names are prefixed (71). The only way, though an imperfect one, of forming any tolerable conception of the matter, is by examining ſuch diſtinct productions of Beaumont's as have been preſerved; the moſt conſiderable of which, at leaſt to the preſent purpoſe, is his little Maſque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn, which was undoubtedly written by him alone. Accordingly, this method is taken by the ſenſible Biographer before referred to, who, after giving a large account of the Maſque now mentioned, juſtly concludes, that it appears from it that Beaumont had ſome invention (72). We may add, that the poetical part of it is very pleaſing, and the verſification harmonious. The ſame author, with the like view of enquiring into Beaumont's genius, hath conſidered another poem of his, entitled the *Hermaphrodite*. This poem, which is not a tranſlation, but the Salmacis and Hermaphroditus of Ovid much enlarged, together with the addition of ſeveral incidents not in the original, particularly of two new epiſodes, was written by our author in the 16th or 17th year of his age, and ſhews, that, like a true ſon of Apollo, he was inſpired early. With regard to his verſe, there is generally a natural pauſe at the end of his lines; and many of them, though printed more than 176 years ago, have quite a modern caſt. The ſoftneſs with which he has drawn the images of love in this poem, ſeems to ſpeak him of an amorous complexion, and to have been as ſuſceptible of that delicate paſſion as his colleague Fletcher, who is ſo greatly applauded for his love ſcenes, by one of the poets of the laſt age (73). Upon the whole, the few diſtinct pieces remaining of Beaumont's ſufficiently ſhew that he was by no means deſtitute of poetic imagination; and an additional proof of this may be brought from the following verſes, which, we think, could not have been produced by any perſon who had not felt in himſelf the ardour of true genius. They are at the beginning of his lines to Fletcher, upon the Faithful Shepherdeſs.

(69) General Dictionary, Vol. iii. p. 111, 112, 113.

(70) Dramatic Works of Beaumont and Fletcher, Vol. i. Introductory Part, p. cix. edit. 1778.

(71) General Dictionary, *ubi ſupra*.

(72) *Ibid.* p. 113, 114.

(73) *Ibid.* p. 115, 116.

‘ I know too well, that, no more than the Man
‘ That travels through the burning Deſarts can,
‘ When he is beaten with the raging Sun,
‘ Half-ſmothered with the duſt, have power to run
‘ From a cool river, which himſelf doth find,
‘ Ere he be ſlak'd; no more can he, whoſe Mind
‘ Joys in the Muſes, hold from that Delight,
‘ When Nature and his full thoughts bid him write (74).’

(74) *Ibid.* p. 117. Beaumont and Fletcher's Works, *ubi ſupra*, p. lxxxv.

The author of the Companion to the Playhouſe thinks it probable, from the different circumſtances recorded of our two poets, that the forming of the

plots,

in *folio* a collection of ſuch of their Plays, as had not before been printed, amounting to between thirty and forty. At the beginning of this volume are inſerted a great many commendatory

plots, and contriving the conduct of the fable, the writing of the more ſerious and pathetic parts, and lopping the redundant beauties of Fletcher's wit, whoſe luxuriance frequently ſtood in need of caſtigation, might be, in general, Beaumont's portion in their joint productions; while Fletcher, whoſe converſation with the *Beau-Monde* (which, indeed, both of them, from their births and ſtations in life, had ever been accuſtomed to), added to the volatile and lively turn he poſſeſſed, rendered him perfectly maſter of dialogue and polite language, might execute the deſigns framed by the other, and raiſe the ſuperſtructure of thoſe ſpirited ſcenes of which Beaumont had only laid the foundation (75).

There is another point of no ſmall difficulty to be determined, and that is, what the particular plays are, in which Beaumont and Fletcher are jointly concerned. This matter, likewiſe, hath been greatly laboured in the article of the General Dictionary, before mentioned. But we need not tranſcribe any thing of what has been there advanced upon the ſubject; as all the information which can poſſibly be had, will be obtained from the advertiſements to each play, in the edition of 1778. Theſe we ſhall, therefore, lay before our readers; and it will appear from thence in which of the works uſually aſcribed to them, Beaumont is aſſerted, or ſuppoſed, to have united with Fletcher. It will be evident, at the ſame time, that Fletcher was by far the moſt copious writer; and that, as might be expected from the number of years which he lived after the death of his friend, many of the dramas publiſhed under their joint names were his ſole production. The following accounts will, alſo, give ſatisfactory intelligence concerning the alterations which have ſince been made in any of their pieces.

Maid's Tragedy.

‘The firſt edition of this Tragedy was printed in 1619. The commendatory verſes by Howard, Stanley, Herrick, and Waller, ſpeak of Fletcher as the ſole author of it; thoſe by Earle, aſcribe it to Beaumont; but it is generally believed to be their joint production. It always met with great applauſe till the reign of Charles II. who forbad its repreſentation. Mr. Waller then wrote a new fifth act, rendering the cataſtrophe fortunate, which is printed in a volume of that Gentleman's poems; and with which Langbaine, and all the dramatic hiſtoriographers ſince, aſſert it was again brought on the ſtage, and received as much applauſe as ever. But this revival is much doubted, becauſe Mr. Fenton, in his notes on Waller ſays, he had been aſſured by his friend Southerne, that, in the latter end of Charles II.'s reign he had ſeen this play acted at the Theatre Royal, as it was originally written by Fletcher; but never with Waller's alterations.’

Philaſter; *or, Love lies a-bleeding.*

‘The commendatory verſes by Lovelace, Stanley, and Herrick, ſpeak of Fletcher as the ſole author of this play; thoſe by Earle, of Beaumont. It is ſuppoſed, however, to have been written conjunctively. The firſt edition, we find, was printed in 1628. This was one of the plays performed at the Old Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, when the women acted alone; a prologue for it was then written by Mr. Dryden. In the reign of Charles II. ſome alterations were made in this play, by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, when it was entitled, “The Reſtoration, or Right will take place.” But ſome writers ſay, it was never brought on the ſtage. In 1695, Mr. Settle wrote a new fourth and fifth act to it, with which it was then performed. In 1766, Philaſter was a third time altered, by George Colman, Eſq; when that excellent performer, Mr. William Powell, made his firſt appearance, in the character of Philaſter.’

A King and no King.

‘The commendatory verſes by Howard and Herrick aſcribe this play to Fletcher; but Earle, to Beaumont. The firſt edition bears date 1619. Notwithſtanding its prodigious merit, it has not been performed for many years paſt; nor do we find that it ever received any alterations. The ſudden burſts, and quick tranſitions of paſſion, in the character of Arbaces, are, however, ſuppoſed to have given riſe to a burleſque drama, or parody (by Tate) ſometimes repreſented, under the title of “Duke and no Duke.”

The Scornful Lady.

‘The commendatory verſes by Waller and Stanley ſpeak of Fletcher as the author of this Comedy; in the titles of the old Copies we find the names of both our authors, and it is ſuppoſed to have been their joint production. We do not find that it was ever altered; nor has it been performed in the courſe of many years paſt; though, in the lifetime of Mrs. Oldfield, who acted the Lady, it uſed to be frequently repreſented.’

Mr. Addiſon told Mr. Theobald that he ſketched out his character of Vellum, in his Drummer, from the model of Savil, in this play (*).

The Cuſtom of the Country.

‘The commendatory verſes by Gardiner and Lovelace ſpeak ſingly of Fletcher, as author of this play; other writers ſpeak of Beaumont as ſharer in it. It was firſt printed in 1647, when ten of the principal performers collected into a folio volume thirty-five dramatic pieces of our poets, which had never before been publiſhed. Colley Cibber has founded his comedy of Love makes a Man, or the Fop's Fortune, on this play, and the elder brother of our author's.’

The Elder Brother.

‘The commendatory verſes by Hills ſpeak of Fletcher as ſole author of this Comedy; and ſome of the old quartos have his name only in the title, while others have Beaumont alſo. The prologue and the epilogue aſcribe it totally to Fletcher. The firſt copy we have ſeen was printed in 1637; which we apprehend Mr. Theobald was not poſſeſſed of, as he ſpeaks of an edition of 1640, as the oldeſt. We have heard of one bearing date 1629, but have not ſeen it, nor that of 1640; and that which is dated in 1651, is ſaid in the title to be “the ſecond edition.” Colley Cibber, as has been mentioned in our account of the Cuſtom of the Country, has introduced parts of this play into his Comedy of Love makes a Man, or the Fop's Fortune.’ Congreve, in his Love for Love, has borrowed ſome hints from this play (†).

The Spaniſh Curate.

‘The commendatory verſes by Gardiner and Lovelace attribute this Comedy wholly to Fletcher; but we ſee no more reaſon for aſſigning this play to him excluſively, than any other publiſhed in the joint names of him and Beaumont. The folio of 1647 contains the firſt printed copy. The Spaniſh Curate was revived at Drury-lane Theatre in 1749; but it has not been performed for many years paſt. Dryden (in his Spaniſh Fryar) and Congreve (in his Old Batchelor) are greatly indebted to the Comedy now before us; and it ſeems very evident, that it afforded ſome material hints towards framing a muſical entertainment, of a modern date, called the Padlock.’

Wit without Money.

‘This Comedy is univerſally allowed to be the joint production of our authors. The firſt edition was printed in 1639. It was the firſt play that was acted after burning the King's houſe in Drury-lane; a new prologue being then written for the occaſion, by Mr. Dryden. About the year 1708, it was acted at the Queen's Theatre in the Hay-market, with alterations, and, as the title-page modeſtly aſſerts, *amendments*, by ſome perſons of quality. It hath been ſince frequently repreſented at Covent-garden Theatre.’

Beggar's Buſh.

‘The commendatory verſes by Gardiner and Hills attribute this play wholly to Fletcher. It was firſt printed in 1647. Until within a few years paſt, the Comedy now before us uſed to be frequently repreſented at Covent-garden Theatre. In the

‘ year

(75) Companion to the Play-houſe, Vol. ii. Article Beaumont.

(*) Beaumont and Fletcher's Works, Vol. i. p. 317. Note.

(†) *Ibid.* Vol. ii. p. 156.

commendatory verſes, written by the moſt eminent wits of that age. This collection was publiſhed by Mr. Shirley, after the ſhutting up of the Theatres, and dedicated to the Earl

year 1768, Mr. Hull made ſome alterations in it, and, with the addition of ſeveral ſongs, brought it on the ſtage as an opera, under the title of the Royal Merchant.'

The Humorous Lieutenant.

'The commendatory verſes by Gardiner, Hills, and Lovelace, aſcribe this play wholly to Fletcher; but as theſe panegyriſts generally attribute to him only the pieces they mention, as if unaſſiſted in any of them by Beaumont, we muſt not much rely on their teſtimony. The Humorous Lieutenant was firſt printed in the folio collection of 1647; and uſed, until a few years paſt, to be ſometimes acted at the Theatre in Covent-garden.'

The Faithful Shepherdeſs.

'This paſtoral is indubitably the ſole production of Fletcher. It was condemned by the audience on the firſt night of performance, and laid aſide till Charles I. had it acted before his Court; on which occaſion Sir William Davenant wrote a dialogue-prologue. The title of the third edition runs, "The Faithful Shepherdeſs. Acted at Somerſet-houſe before the King and Queene on Twelfe Night laſt, 1633; and divers times ſince, with great applauſe, at the private Houſe in Black Friers, by his Majeſty's Servants." This is the laſt account we have of its performance; and, indeed, though the Faithful Shepherdeſs is excelled by very few pieces in the cloſet, we cannot think it well calculated for the theatre. The firſt edition bears date the ſame year in which it was firſt acted.'

'The Faithful Shepherdeſs, ſays Mr. Seward, is, of all the poems in our language, one of the greateſt *honours* and the greateſt *ſcandals* of our nation. It ſhews to what a height in every ſpecies of poetry the Britiſh genius has ſoared; it proves how dull the vulgar eye is to purſue its flight. How muſt each Briton of taſte rejoice to find all the paſtoral beauties of Italy and Arcadia tranſplanted by Fletcher, and flouriſhing in our own climate! How muſt he grieve to think that they were at firſt blaſted, and ſince ſuffered to wither in oblivion by his Gothic countrymen! The Faithful Shepherdeſs was damned at its firſt appearance; and not even a potent Monarch's patronage in the next age, nor a much greater Monarch's in poetry than King Charles the Firſt in power, Milton's great admiration and cloſe imitation of it in Comus, could recommend it to the public. The noble copy, till within theſe few years, was as little known as its original; but ſince it is now become the faſhion to admire the former, ſome deference will ſurely be paid to Milton's judgment. I ſhall therefore, in my notes on this play, not confine myſelf to mere verbal emendations, but endeavour to demonſtrate Fletcher's beauties from parallel paſſages out of Milton and other authentic poets, by which, I believe, it will appear, that Milton borrowed more from Fletcher, than Fletcher from all the ancient claſſics.'

The Mad Lover.

'The commendatory verſes by Gardiner, Hills, and Lovelace, aſcribe this play wholly to Fletcher; other writers to him and Beaumont conjunctively. The firſt publication of the Mad Lover was in the folio of 1647. We do not know of any alterations having been made in it, nor has it been acted for many years paſt.'

The Loyal Subject.

'The commendatory verſes by Hills and Gardiner give to Fletcher the ſole honour of this play. The prologue alſo (written ſoon after his demiſe, and conſequently long after Beaumont's) ſpeaks of him ſingly. It was firſt printed in the folio of 1647. In the year 1706, a Tragedy entitled The Faithful General, written by a young Lady, was acted at the Queen's Theatre in the Hay-market; but the writer in her preface declares, though her firſt intention had been to revive this play, yet that, in the progreſs of it, ſhe made ſo many alterations, that a very ſmall part of it belonged to our author. We have alſo heard of an alteration by Mr. Sheridan, ſen. but this we imagine was never printed; and it was probably acted, if at all, only in Ireland.'

Rule a Wife and Have a Wife.

'The commendatory verſes by Hills aſcribe this Comedy ſolely to Fletcher. In the title of the firſt copy, Fletcher's name is mentioned without Beaumont's; and the prologue ſpeaks ſingly of the poet. The firſt edition was printed in 1640. Many years ago, ſome judicious alterations in the cataſtrophe of this Comedy were made by David Garrick, Eſq.

The Laws of Candy.

'This play is ſuppoſed to have been the joint production of our poets; and is one of the few which are not totally aſcribed to Fletcher by the panegyriſts. Its firſt publication was in the folio of 1647. It has lain long dormant; and, we believe, never received any alterations.'

The Falſe One.

'Gardiner, the faſt friend of Fletcher, in his commendatory verſes, aſcribes this excellent Tragedy to him alone. The prologue and epilogue, which ſeem to have been written for the firſt repreſentation, and are much more to be depended on, ſpeak of "*thoſe* who penn'd this." The Falſe One was firſt printed in the folio collection of 1647. We do not know that this Tragedy ever received any alterations, or that it has been performed in the courſe of many years paſt.'

Mr. Seward has taken great pains to point out the beauties of this play, and to ſhew wherein the authors approach to Shakeſpeare, excel Corneille, and improve upon Lucan.

The Little French Lawyer.

'Gardiner, Lovelace, and Hills, in their commendatory verſes, aſcribe this Comedy to Fletcher; but more credible witneſſes, the prologue and epilogue, mention it as a joint production. Its firſt publication was in the folio of 1647. The greateſt applauſe was always beſtowed on this play, and it uſed to be frequently performed, till modern refinement baniſhed it from the theatres. In 1749 ſome of the ſcenes were ſelected for a farce, and acted under the title of this Comedy.'

The Tragedy of Valentinian.

'The commendatory verſes by Lovelace and Stanley ſpeak of Fletcher ſingly as author of this Tragedy. Its firſt publication was in the folio of 1647. About the year 1685, the Earl of Rocheſter made ſome conſiderable alterations in Valentinian, with which it was performed.'

Monſieur Thomas.

'The quarto, 1639 (the firſt edition of this excellent Comedy), mentions Fletcher's name only in the title. Monſieur Thomas has not been performed in its original ſtate for many, many years; but an alteration of it by Tom Durfey appeared in the year 1678, under the title of Trick for Trick, or the Debauch'd Hypocrite.'

The Chances.

'This play was originally printed in the folio edition of 1647, and the commendatory verſes by Gardiner, as well as the prologue, aſcribe it to Fletcher alone. The celebrated George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, made ſome conſiderable alterations to it, and in that ſtate it uſed to be frequently acted; but the licentiouſneſs of that Nobleman's pen rendering the play improper for repreſentation at this refined period, farther alterations became neceſſary; and thoſe have been made, with much judgment, by the great ornament of the Engliſh theatre, Mr. Garrick.'

The Tragedy of Rollo Duke of Normandy.

'The commendatory verſes by Gardiner and Hills aſcribe this play wholly to Fletcher, and his name alone appears in the title of the firſt copy we meet with, which was printed at Oxford, in 1640, under the name we have adopted; inſtead of which the editor of the ſecond folio calls it, 'The Bloody Brother, or Rollo, a Tragedy;' which variation the ſubſequent editors have followed. We do not know

Earl of Pembroke by ten of the moſt famous Actors. In 1679, there was an edition publiſhed of all their Plays in *folio*, containing thoſe formerly printed in *quarto*, and thoſe in

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‘know of any alterations having been made in this Tragedy; and it has been neglected at the theatres for very many years paſt.’

The Wild-Gooſe Chace.

‘The commendatory verſes by Hills aſcribe this Comedy wholly to Fletcher. In 1647 (the play-houſe copy having been lent out of the houſe, and loſt) the Wild-Gooſe Chace could not be inſerted among our authors' other plays: It was, however, afterwards recovered, and publiſhed in 1652, by Lowin and Taylor, two players. Farquhar's Inconſtant is built on this play; the mad ſcene of Oriana, and others, are almoſt tranſcribed; although both the author in his preface, and Mr. Rowe in the epilogue, aſſert that only the hint was taken from this piece of our author.’

A Wife for a Month.

‘The commendatory verſes by Gardiner aſcribe this play wholly to Fletcher; and the prologue ſpeaks of the author in the ſingular number. It was firſt printed in the folio of 1647. We do not know that it ever received any alterations; nor has it been performed in the courſe of many years paſt. And indeed, notwithſtanding the noble flights of poetry with which this Tragi-Comedy abounds, the ſubject is of ſuch a nature as muſt neceſſarily preclude its repreſentation on the modern theatre.’

The Lover's Progreſs.

‘This play is by Gardiner, in the commendatory verſes, aſcribed to Fletcher alone. It appears to have been one of thoſe pieces which were left unfiniſhed by him, and completed by another writer. From the difference in the language, and meaſure of the fifth act from the other parts of this performance, we imagine that Fletcher had no concern in the concluſion of it. As Shirley is ſaid to have ſometimes aſſiſted our author, poſſibly his unfiniſhed pieces fell into that writer's hands, and therefore we may impute the alterations to him. The Lover's Progreſs was firſt printed in the folio of 1647; and has not been acted for many years paſt.’ It ſhould ſeem, from a paſſage in Cockayne's poems, that Maſſinger was employed in completing Fletcher's unfiniſhed pieces *.

The Pilgrim.

‘The commendatory verſes by Gardiner aſcribe this play to Fletcher alone. In the year 1700, Sir John Vanbrugh altered it, at the deſire of Mr. Dryden, for whoſe benefit it was then repreſented at the Theatre-royal in Drury-lane. Mr. Dryden added to it a prologue, epilogue, dialogue and maſque, which were the laſt productions of his Muſe. The play, with Vanburgh's alterations, hath been performed at Covent-garden theatre within a very few years paſt. It was acted at Drury-lane theatre alſo, while under Mr. Garrick's management. The Pilgrim was originally printed in the folio of 1647.’

The Captain.

‘The commendatory verſes by Hills and Gardiner aſcribe this play to Fletcher alone; thoſe by Maine, to him and Beaumont. The prologue ſpeaks of but one author. This Comedy was firſt printed in the folio of 1647. We do not know of any alterations of it, or that it has been acted for many years.’

The Propheteſs.

‘The commendatory verſes by Gardiner and Hills aſcribe this play ſolely to Fletcher. It was firſt printed in the folio of 1647. Mr. Seward, on the authority of Langbaine, ſays, it was revived by Dryden: But in this particular, we apprehend, they are both miſtaken; as Downes the prompter, in his *Roſcius Anglicanus*, poſitively aſſigns the revival of it to Betterton. The piece, thus altered, after the manner of an opera, was repreſented at the Queen's theatre, and printed in quarto, 1690. Purcell compoſed the muſic, and Prieſt the dances. It appears to have been revived at a conſiderable expence, and has within a few years been performed at Covent-garden theatre.’

The Queen of Corinth.

‘The commendatory verſes by Hills aſſign this play wholly to Fletcher. It was firſt printed in the folio of 1647. We do not know of any alteration that has been made to it, nor has it been acted theſe many years.’

The Tragedy of Bonduca.

‘This Tragedy was firſt printed in the folio edition of 1647. In the year 1696, a friend of George Powell the player, but whoſe name is now unknown, made many alterations in it, and particularly in the two firſt acts. It was then acted at the Theatre-royal, and printed in quarto in the ſame year. Since that time, two other plays on the ſame ſubject have been brought on the ſtage; one by Charles Hopkins, at the Theatre-royal in Lincoln's Inn Fields, in the ſucceeding year 1697; and the other by Richard Glover, Eſq; at Drury-lane theatre, in the year 1753, under the title of Boadicea.’

The Tragedy of Bonduca hath been altered by George Colman, Eſq; and brought upon the ſtage, in the preſent year, 1778, at the Theatre-royal in the Hay-market. Mr. Colman hath effected his purpoſe, chiefly by the ſimple means of *omiſſion* and *tranſpoſition*, and has diſplayed, in his alterations, uncommon addreſs, and a deep knowledge of the drama. The few new paſſages are ſo entirely in the ſpirit of the original, that they cannot be diſtinguiſhed from it, without having recourſe to the old play.

The Knight of the Burning Peſtle.

‘This play was firſt printed in quarto in the year 1613. The title-page, edit. 1635, aſcribes it to both authors: The preface and the prologue, however, attribute it to one only. Langbaine ſays, it was in vogue ſome years ſince, being revived at the King's houſe, and a new prologue, inſtead of the old one in proſe, ſpoken by Mrs. Ellen Guin. He likewiſe conjectures, that the idea of bringing the citizen and his wife upon the ſtage was in imitation of Ben Jonſon's Staple of News. We do not know of any revival of it ſince the time Langbaine mentions above.’

Love's Pilgrimage.

‘The commendatory verſes by Gardiner aſcribe this play to Fletcher alone; the prologue to both writers. It was originally printed in the folio edition; has not been performed for many years paſt; nor do we know of its ever having received any alterations.’

The Double Marriage.

‘The commendatory verſes by Gardiner attribute this play to Fletcher alone. It was revived in the reign of King Charles II., as Langbaine aſſerts; and a prologue, then ſpoken before it, was printed in a book called Covent-garden Drollery, p. 14. Since that time, we believe, it has been entirely baniſhed from the ſtage. This Tragedy was firſt printed in the folio of 1647.’

The Maid in the Mill.

‘The commendatory verſes by Gardiner and Hills aſcribe this Comedy to Fletcher alone. It was firſt printed in the folio of 1647. Langbaine ſays, it was revived by the Company at the Duke's theatre after the Reſtoration; but we do not know of any repreſentation of it ſince that period, or that there ever was any alteration of it.’

The Knight of Malta.

‘The commendatory verſes by Gardiner aſcribe this play (which was firſt printed in 1647) to Fletcher alone. It hath not been acted within the memory of any perſon now living, nor do we know of any alteration of it.’

Love's Cure; or, The Martial Maid.

‘This play is by Gardiner, in his commendatory verſes, aſcribed to Fletcher ſingly; but the prologue ſpeaks of it as the production of both authors, although again the epilogue takes notice of but one. There never were any alterations made in this Comedy, nor has it been acted for many years paſt.’

Women pleaſed.

‘The commendatory verſes by Gardiner and Hills aſcribe this play (which was firſt printed in the fo-

* Communicated by Mr. Reed of Staple's Inn, to whom, we believe, the public is indebted for the accurate account here given of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays.

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

in the firſt *folio* edition. Several of the commendatory verſes are left out in that impreſſion. In 1711, an edition of their Plays was publiſhed by Mr. Tonſon, in ſeven volumes in

lio of 1647) to Fletcher alone. Part of it is founded on Boccace's Decameron, on which Chaucer has built a tale, which Dryden has modernized. There has been no repreſentation of it at either theatre for many years, nor do we know of any alteration of it.'

The Night-walker; *or*, *The little Thief.*

'The firſt edition of this play, in 1640, has the name of Fletcher alone to it, and it was probably therefore his production, without any aſſiſtance from his partner Beaumont. It uſed to be acted frequently in the laſt century; but we have not heard of any alteration or repreſentation of it theſe many years.'

The Iſland Princeſs.

'The commendatory verſes by Gardiner attribute this play wholly to Fletcher. Its firſt publication was in the folio of 1647. In the year 1687, Tate made ſome alterations in this piece, with which it was printed; and Peter Motteux, about ten years afterwards, brought it forward as an opera, under the title of 'The Iſland Princeſs, or the generous Portugueſe."'

The Woman's Prize; *or the Tamer tamed.*

'This Comedy appears to be one of the performances which Fletcher wrote, without the aſſiſtance of Beaumont. The commendatory verſes by Gardiner and Lovelace, as well as the prologue, aſcribe it to him alone. We believe an alteration of part of it was acted about twenty years ago at Drury-lane theatre, as an after-piece, for the benefit of the late Mrs. Pritchard, or one of her family.'

The Noble Gentleman.

'The commendatory verſes by Gardiner aſcribe this play ſolely to Fletcher; but the prologue ſpeaks of it as the production of both authors. It was altered and reviſed by Durfey, in the year 1688, under the title of The Fool's Preferment, or the Three Dukes of Dunſtable, and acted at the Queen's theatre in Dorſet-gardens.'

The Coronation.

'The firſt edition of this play was printed in quarto in the year 1640, and has the name of John Fletcher prefixed to it, as the author. Upon this authority we have retained it in the preſent edition, notwithſtanding there is evidence of equal weight to authorize us to aſcribe it to James Shirley, the editor of the firſt folio in 1647. That writer, in the year 1653, publiſhed a volume of his plays, and at the end of one of them, viz. the Cardinal, has enumerated the ſeveral dramatic pieces written by him: Amongſt the reſt, he has claimed the preſent performance, which he ſays, was "falſely aſcribed to Fletcher." With what degree of truth it is impoſſible now to determine. We think no argument can be drawn from the omiſſion of it in the firſt folio, for the reaſon aſſigned in the firſt note to the play. It has not been acted for many years paſt, nor do we know of its having ever been altered.'

The Sea Voyage.

'This play is, in the commendatory verſes by Gardiner, aſcribed to Fletcher alone, and was firſt printed in the folio of 1647. It was revived by Tom Durfey, with alterations, in the year 1686, and exhibited at the Theatre-royal, under the title of The Commonwealth of Women, and at the ſame time printed in quarto.'

The Coxcomb.

'The commendatory verſes by Gardiner and Hills ſpeak of this Comedy as the production of Fletcher alone; but the prologue mentions it as the joint performance of both authors. It was firſt printed in the folio of 1647, and appears to have been revived at the Theatre-royal about the end of the laſt century, when a prologue was ſpoken by Joe Haines. We do not know of any performance of it ſince that time.'

Wit at ſeveral Weapons.

'This play is aſcribed to Fletcher by the commendatory verſes of Gardiner; the epilogue, however, ſpeaks of it as the production of both authors. The firſt publication of it was in the folio of 1647. It was brought on the ſtage, altered by Colley Cibber, about the beginning of the preſent century, under the title of The Rival Fools, but without any ſucceſs.'

The Fair Maid of the Inn.

'The commendatory verſes of Gardiner aſcribe this play to Fletcher alone. It was firſt publiſhed in the folio of 1647; and has not been acted many years, nor, we believe, ever altered.'

Cupid's Revenge.

'This play ſeems to be the acknowledged production of both writers. It was firſt printed in quarto, 1625; but has not been altered, that we can diſcover, nor acted many years.'

The Two Noble Kinſmen.

'This play was firſt printed in quarto, *anno* 1634, under the following title: "The two noble Kinſmen: Preſented at the Black-Friers by the King's Majeſty's Servants, with great applauſe: Written by the memorable worthies of their time, Mr. John Fletcher, and Mr. William Shakeſpeare, Gent.," and has always been received as the production of thoſe poets. In the year 1668, it was altered by Sir William Davenant, who gave it the title of the Rivals; when it appears to have been acted with great ſucceſs.'

Mr. Seward has been at no ſmall pains to diſtinguiſh, in this play, the hand of Shakeſpeare from that of Fletcher. But his criticiſms are not at all approved of by the editors of 1778, who doubt the tradition of Shakeſpeare's being concerned in the piece, and think that (if a joint work) it ought to be attributed to Beaumont and Fletcher.

The Tragedy of Thierry and Theodoret.

'The firſt edition of this play was printed in quarto, without the name of either author. The edition of 1648, aſcribes it to Fletcher; and that of 1649, to both writers. Dr. Hyde, in the Bodleian Catalogue, aſſigns it to Ben Jonſon, without any authority whatever. It was formerly performed frequently, but of late years has been entirely laid aſide.'

The Woman Hater.

'This play was originally printed in quarto in the year 1607. It was afterwards revived by Sir William Davenant, who added a ſecond title, or, the *Hungry Courtier*, and wrote a new prologue to it, printed in his works, p. 239, and in the quarto of 1649. The title-page of the latter edition aſcribes it to both authors: Both the original and Davenant's prologues, however, ſpeak of it as the production of but one; and Langbaine poſitively ſays it was one of thoſe plays which Fletcher wrote alone. It has not been acted many years.'

The nice Valour; *or*, *The paſſionate Madman.*

'The commendatory verſes by Gardiner aſcribe this play to Fletcher; the prologue and epilogue ſpeak of the poet ſingly; Seward (See note 3. on the commendatory poems) ſuppoſes it to be Beaumont's. It was firſt printed in the folio of 1647, and hath never been altered, that we are able to diſcover.'

The honeſt Man's Fortune.

'Gardiner, in his commendatory verſes, aſcribes this play to Fletcher alone. It was firſt printed in the folio of 1647. No alteration hath ever been made of it; nor hath it been acted, as we believe, within the memory of any perſon now living.'

The Maſque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn, Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple; preſented before his Majeſty, the Queen's Majeſty, the Prince, Count Palatine and the Lady Elizabeth their Highneſſes, in the Banqueting-houſe at Whitehall, on Saturday the 20th day of February 1612.

'This maſque was undoubtedly the production of Beaumont alone. There is a quarto edition of it without a date; and it is alſo printed in the folio of 1647.'

in *octavo*, containing all the verſes in praiſe of the authors, and ſupplying a large omiſſion of part of the laſt act of the Tragedy of *Thierry and Theodoret*.

Four Plays, or moral Repreſentations, in one.

‘ This drama was firſt printed in the folio edition. No circumſtances appear to aſcribe it in particular to either author; it was probably a joint production.’

With regard to the editions of Beaumont and Fletcher's Works, the firſt folio, containing thirty-five of their pieces, which had never till then been collected or printed, was publiſhed by the players, and either obviouſly tranſcribed from the prompter's book, commonly the moſt inaccurate and barbarous of all manuſcripts, or elſe made out piece-meal from the detached parts copied for the uſe of the performers. ‘ Hence it happens, that the ſtage direction has ſometimes crept into the text, and the name of the actor is now and then ſubſtituted for that of the character. The tranſcribers knowing perhaps no language perfectly, corrupted all language; and vitiated the dialogue with falſe Latin, falſe French, falſe Italian, and falſe Spaniſh: nay, as Pope ſays of the old copies of Shakeſpeare, “ their very Welſh is falſe (76).” The players, however, ſeem to have been, at leaſt with regard to our poets, as faithful and able editors as others of that period; and it is moſt natural to ſuppoſe that the playhouſe manuſcript contained the real work of the author, though, perhaps, ignorantly copied, and accommodated to the uſe of the theatre (77).

The ſecond folio of 1679, which included the ſeventeen plays that had been originally publiſhed in quarto, contained the firſt complete collection of the works of Beaumont and Fletcher. ‘ The octavo edition of 1711 ſeemed to aim at little more than reprinting our authors' plays, and giving a collection of them more portable and convenient than the folios. Their text, however, is more corrupt than that of either the quartos or folios, the errors of which they religiouſly preſerved, adding many vicious readings of their own, ſome of which have been combated in very long notes by their ſucceſſors (78).’ In the year 1742, Mr. Theobald exhibited propoſals for a publication of the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher; in which he was afterwards aſſiſted by Mr. Seward and Mr. Sympſon. ‘ But Theobald dying after he had committed no more than the firſt and about half the ſecond volume to the preſs, the undertaking was continued by the two laſt mentioned gentlemen; and the edition thus jointly, or rather ſeverally, executed by Theobald, Mr. Seward, and Mr. Sympſon, at length appeared in the year 1750. Theſe gentlemen were the firſt editors of our poets who profeſſed to collate the old copies, to reform the punctuation, and to amend the corruptions of the text. Some attempts alſo were made to elucidate the obſcurities, and enforce the excellencies of their authors (79).’ But, notwithſtanding the fair profeſſions of theſe editors, it ſeems that they have not only been guilty of careleſſneſs, but of the more unpardonable faults of faithleſſneſs and miſrepreſentation. Their reports of the ſtate of the old copies can never ſafely be taken upon truſt; and, on examination, many of the old copies will appear to be both negligently collated, and untruly quoted. Their punctuation alſo, notwithſtanding their occaſional ſelf-approbation, is almoſt as inaccurate as that of the moſt ancient and rude editions; and their critical remarks have oftener been well intended than conceived. Their work, however, has in the main conduced to the illuſtration of our authors, and there are inſtances in which their diligence, and the efforts of their acuteneſs and ſagacity deſerve to be applauded (80). From the preceding account it is apparent, that a more complete edition of the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher was ſtill wanting; and ſuch an edition has been preſented to the public, in the preſent year 1778. In this it hath been the chief aim of the ingenious and learned editors to give the old text as it is in the old books, with no other variations, but ſuch as the writers themſelves, had they ſuperintended an impreſſion of their works, or even a corrector of the preſs, would have made. Yet even theſe variations, if at all important, have not been made in ſilence. The notes, which have been ſubjoined to the text as briefly and as ſparingly as poſſible, are chiefly ſuch as the lapſe of time, and fluctuation of language, have rendered neceſſary for the purpoſe of explaining obſolete words, unuſual phraſes, old cuſtoms, and obſcure or diſtant alluſions. Critical remarks, and conjectural emendations, have been ſeldom hazarded; nor has ridicule been wantonly thrown on former editors, who have only ſometimes been reprehended for pompous affectation, and more frequently for want of care and fidelity. Every material comment on the plays has been retained, though often without the long and oſtentatious notes that firſt introduced thoſe comments to the public. At the ſame time, every obſervation, critical or philoſophical, is religiouſly attributed to its due author. Such of the notes of Theobald, Seward, and Sympſon, as appeared inconteſtible, or even plauſible, are adopted without remark; to thoſe more dubious, additional annotations are ſubjoined; thoſe of leſs conſequence are abridged; and thoſe of no importance are omitted (81).

Though the foregoing account, of the edition of 1778, is taken from the preface to that edition, it is not taken upon truſt. We have examined this laſt publication of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays with great attention, and can give our ardent teſtimony to its merit. To ſpeak in the language of a periodical writer, ‘ We can venture to commend it to the lovers of old dramatic literature. The work is well printed; the cuts, if we except about half a dozen of fifty-four, are excellent; the notes, though ſhort, are in general judicious; and the preface, ſaid to be written by the editor of Bonduca, contains much ſound criticiſm (82).’ This edition conſiſts of ten volumes in octavo; and to the firſt volume are prefixed all the prefaces to the former impreſſions, together with the greater part of the commendatory poems.

Mr. Seward, in a long preface to the edition of 1750, hath pointed out, at large, many of the beauties of Beaumont and Fletcher, and produced inſtances wherein he ſuppoſes that they nearly approach to, or equal Shakeſpeare. To tranſcribe, or even to abridge, what he hath advanced upon the ſubject, would extend this note to an undue length; and, therefore, we muſt refer our readers to the work itſelf. Perhaps his remarks are not, in every caſe, judicious; though their general merit is ſuch, that they may be peruſed with pleaſure and advantage. The editors of 1778 have produced one inſtance which is more to the honour of our authors than any mentioned in Mr. Seward's preface. It is the entire character of the boy HENGO, in the tragedy of Bonduca; a character which is, they think (taken altogether), better ſuſtained, and more beautiful, natural, and pathetic, than the Prince Arthur of Shakeſpeare. They obſerve that between Caratoch and Hengo not a line occurs which is affected or unnatural, and that nothing can be more exquiſitely tender than the ſeveral ſcenes between them (83). We entirely concur in the judgment here formed concerning the character of Hengo. In eſtimating, upon the whole, the merit of Beaumont and Fletcher, the general ſuperiority of Shakeſpeare muſt ever be allowed, and freely allowed: with him, perhaps, no one, excepting Homer, can contend for equality: but yet the productions of our two great poets may proudly claim a ſecond place in the Engliſh drama, nearer to the firſt than to the third, to thoſe of Shakeſpeare; ſome of their plays being ſo much in his manner, that they can ſcarcely be diſtinguiſhed to be the work of another hand (84).

There is room, in our opinion, for ſtill farther criticiſm on the writings of Beaumont and Fletcher. An exacter diſcrimination might be made of the peculiar excellencies and defects of their ſeveral pieces, and a more diligent inquiry into the ſources from which their reſpective dramas are derived. Some hints of the laſt kind, with relation to about twenty of our authors' plays, may be met with in the firſt volume of the Companion to the Playhouſe; and there are occaſional remarks upon the ſubject in other writers. But the matter hath by no means been conſidered with the accuracy, and in the extent, of which it is capable, and which have been exerciſed with regard to Shakeſpeare.

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(76) Beaumont and Fletcher's Works, *ubi ſupra*. New Preface, p. 13, 14.

(77) *Ibid.*

(78) *Ibid.* p. 15.

(79) *Ibid.* p. 16.

(80) *Ibid.* p. 16, 17.

(81) Beaumont and Fletcher's Works, *ubi ſupra*. New Preface, p. 17, 18.

(82) Monthly Review for Auguſt 1778, in the account of Bonduca, as altered by Mr. Colman.

(83) Preface to the laſt edition, *ubi ſupra*, p. v—vii.

(84) *Ibid.* p. vii—xx.

Among the faults of Beaumont and Fletcher, their want of decency calls for particular reprehenſion. In this reſpect they are far more blameable than Shakeſpeare. The language they put into the mouths of the beſt characters hath ſometimes a freedom, we might ſay a coarſeneſs in it, which cannot be juſtified from the manners of the age, though that circumſtance has been alleged in palliation of their conduct.

The cloſe and ardent friendſhip which, we are told, always ſubſiſted between Beaumont and Fletcher, entitles their memory to ſincere admiration. ‘ Moſt writers (at leaſt thoſe of great abilities) are commonly ſo jealous of their own productions, that they are very unwilling to have another ſhare with them in the fame of a ſingle thought that has met with ſucceſs. How great then muſt have been the reſignation of our two poets; how noble a ſacrifice muſt they have made to ſelf-love, in thus blending their reputations, and each communicating to each that light which would have made them ſingly conſpicuous.——How unbiaſſed muſt have been the amity; how great the condeſcenſion, and how unlimited the confidence they repoſed in one another! We cannot image to ourſelves any literary commerce more delightful than that of our two poets, except one which ſhould be carried on by two perſons of different ſex, of equal genius, and paſſionately fond of each other (85).’

Several poetical encomiums on our celebrated authors, might be added to thoſe which have already been produced; but we ſhall conclude with the lines of Mr. Colman, ſubjoined to the heads of Beaumont and Fletcher, prefixed to the firſt volume of the laſt edition of their works.

Beaumont and Fletcher! thoſe twin ſtars, that run
Their glorious courſe round Shakeſpeare's golden ſun;
Or when Philaſter Hamlet's place ſupplied,
Or Beſſus walk'd the ſtage by Falſtaff's ſide,
Their ſouls well pair'd, ſhot fire in mingled rays,
Their hands together twin'd the ſocial bays,
'Till faſhion drove, in a refining age,
Virtue from Court, and Nature from the ſtage.]

K.

BECKET (St. Thomas) [*A*], Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the reign of King Henry II., and ſo famous for his martyrdom and miracles, was ſon of Gilbert, a Merchant, and ſome time Sheriff of London, and Maud or Matilda, a Saracen Lady (*a*) [*B*]; and

[*A*] BECKET (St. Thomas).] He was the great *Goliah* Saint of thoſe times; and as his ſhrine out-did thoſe of all the Martyrs that had gone before him, ſo his life and miracles have had more writers to record them, than the moſt glorious actions of our beſt of Kings. The following liſt of them is picked out of Leland, Bale, and Pits, together with ſome of our later authors. I. *Herbert Boſenham*, or *Boſſcham*, or *de Hoſcham* (1), who was this Archbiſhop's Secretary, and alſo preſent at the ſlaughter of him. II. *Edward*, a Monk of Canterbury (2), the Martyr's moſt intimate friend. III. *Johannes Sariſburienſis* (3), who accompanied Becket in his exile, but never countenanced his behaviour towards the King, being as ſharp a writer againſt the encroachments of the Papal See, as any man of his time. IV. *Bartholomæus Iſcanus*, or *Exonenſis*, Biſhop of Exeter, where he died in 1184. V. *E.* a Monk of Eveſham, who dedicated his book, or wrote it by way of epiſtle, to Henry, Abbot of Croyland. VI. *William Stephens*, or *Fitz-Stephen*, a Monk of Canterbury, and, for that reaſon, uſually called *Gulielmus Cantuarienſis*. He is ſaid to have written three ſeveral treatiſes of the life, martyrdom, and miracles of St. Thomas Becket; which, we are told (4), are now in the Cotton library: But that, which there carries his name, ſeems to have been penned by *Johannes Carnotenſis*, who is the ſame perſon with *Sariſburienſis* above mentioned (5), ſince, in the *Quadripartite Hiſtory*, what we have from him is often to be found, in the ſame words, in the life there aſcribed to *Fitz-Stephen*. VII. *Benedictus Petroburgenſis*, Abbot of Peterborough, who died in the year 1200. VIII. *Alanus Teukeſburienſis*, Abbot of Teukeſbury, who died about the ſame time. IX. *Roger*, a Monk of Croyland, who lived about the year 1214. It is obſerved (6), that St. Thomas's miracles were become ſo numerous in this writer's time, that he had matter for ſeven large volumes, in compoſing whereof he ſpent no leſs than fifteen years. X. *Stephen Langton*, a famous ſucceſſor of Becket's in the See of Canterbury, whoſe work on this ſubject is ſaid to be in the library of Bennet-college. XI. *Alexander de Hales*, ſo called from the monaſtery of Hales in Glouceſterſhire, where he was educated, one of the moſt eminent ſchoolmen of his age, and maſter to Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, &c. XII. *John Grandiſon*, or *Graunſton*, who died in the year 1369. XIII. *Quadrilogus*, or the author of a book, intitled *De Vita et Proceſſu S. Thomæ Cantuarienſis et Martyris ſuper Libertate Eccleſiaſtica*. It is collected out of four Hiſtorians, who were contemporary and converſant with Becket, viz. *Herbert de Hoſcham*, *Johannes Carnotenſis*, *Gulielmus Canterburienſis*, and *Alanus Teukeſburienſis*, who are introduced as ſo many relaters of facts interchangeably. This book was firſt printed at Paris in 1495, and is often quoted by our Hiſtorians, in the reign of Henry II., by the name of *Quadripartita Hiſtoria*. XIV. *Thomas Stapleton*, the tranſlator of Bede, in whoſe book *De tribus Thomis* (7), or *Of the three Thomas's*, our Saint makes as conſiderable a figure as either *Thomas* the *Apoſtle*, or *Thomas Aquinas*. XV. *Laurence Vade*, or *Wade*, a Benedictine Monk of Canterbury, who lived and died we know not when, or where; unleſs perhaps he be the ſame perſon with XVI. An anonymous writer of Becket's life, who appears to have been a Monk of that church, and whoſe book is ſaid to be in the library at Lambeth (8). XVII. *Richard James*, nephew of Dr. Thomas James, ſome time keeper of the Bodleian library; a very induſtrious and eminent Antiquary, who endeavoured to overthrow the great deſign of all the above-mentioned authors, in his *Decanonizatio Thomæ Cantuarienſis et ſuorum* (9), which, with other manuſcript pieces by the ſame hand, is in the public library at Oxford. Theſe are the principal writers of our Archbiſhop's life; beſides whom, ſeveral other Hiſtorians have ſpoken largely of him; as John Bromton, Matthew Paris, Gervaſe, &c.

[*B*] *Son of Gilbert, a merchant, and ſome time Sheriff of London, and Maud or Matilda, a Saracen Lady.*] John Bromton the Hiſtorian, who informs us (10) that his mother Matilda was a Saracen Lady of conſiderable quality, gives us likewiſe a long ſtory of the extraordinary accidents by which ſhe came to be the wife of Gilbert. Though there is little of probability in the narrative, we ſhall ſet it down, for the reader's amuſement, as briefly as poſſible. Gilbert, in his youth, took a journey to Jeruſalem, attended only by one of his domeſtics, named Richard. As they were one day at their devotions in a church, among ſeveral other Chriſtians, they were ſurpriſed by a party of Infidels, and carried to a priſon belonging to a certain great Saracen Lord, where they were treated with great hardſhips and ſeverities. Gilbert continued a year and a half in this captivity, but ſuffered leſs than his companions, having the good fortune, by his excellent qualities, to gain the eſteem and affection of his maſter, who often made him eat at his own table, and took a particular pleaſure in aſking him concerning the cuſtoms and manners of different people. This Lord's daughter was ſtruck with the perſon and converſation of Gilbert; and, finding an opportunity of talking with him in private, ſhe informed herſelf particularly of his country and religion, and the circumſtances of his paſt life. Gilbert having ſatisfied her enquiries in relation to himſelf, and explained to her the doctrines of the Chriſtian Religion, ſhe told him, to his great ſurpriſe, that ſhe was reſolved to turn Chriſtian, and to abandon her country and her father's houſe for the ſake of that religion; but, as ſhe had no knowledge of any other Chriſtian but himſelf, ſhe deſired Gilbert that he would promiſe to marry her, in caſe they could make their eſcape. Our merchant was confounded at this propoſition: for, beſides the difficulty of eſcaping, he was fearful leſt this might be ſome ſnare laid for him; and therefore he anſwered her only in general terms,

(85) General Dictionary, *ubi ſupra*, p. 122.

(*a*) Chronic. Johan. Bromton, *apud* X. Scriptor. *col.* 1052. Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. *Cantuar. ibid. col.* 1668.

(1) Bibl. Cott. *Nero*, A. 5.

(2) *Ibid. Veſpaſianus*, E. 10.

(3) *Ibid. Claudius*, B. 2.

(4) *See* W. Petyt's Preface to his *Rights of the Commons*, &c. p. 64.

(5) *See* Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Exon. *an.* 1159.

(6) *See* Fuller's *Worthies*, Lincolnſh. p. 164.

(7) Fol. Duac. 1588.

(8) Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, P. II. p. 523.

(9) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 524, 525.

(10) *See his* Chronicon, *ad ann.* 1163, *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 1052—1055.

and was born at London in the year 1119 (*b*). He was educated in grammar learning at Merton-Abbey in Surrey; and in his riper years ſtudied at Oxford, and afterwards at Paris. He ſoon grew into favour with Theobald, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who ſent him to ſtudy the Civil Law at Bononia in Italy, and, after his return, made him Archdeacon of Canterbury (at that time one of the richeſt benefices in England), Provoſt of Beverley, and a Prebendary of Lincoln and St. Paul's. Nor was this all; for the Archbiſhop, looking upon Becket as a proper perſon to manage the intereſt of the Church at court, ſo effectually recommended him to King Henry II., that, in 1158, he was made High-Chancellor to that Prince [*C*], and Preceptor to his ſon, the young Prince Henry. Becket, upon this promotion, laid aſide the eccleſiaſtical habit and way of living, and affected both the dreſs and manners of a courtier [*D*]; diſcharging at the ſame time the duties of his ſtation to the entire ſatisfaction both of the King and the people (*c*). In this character of Chancellor, he made a campaign with King Henry in his expedition into Toulouſe, *A. D.* 1159; having in his own pay twelve hundred horſe, beſides a retinue of ſeven hundred knights or gentlemen; always forward in action, and commanding at the ſieges of ſeveral ſtrong places (*d*). In 1160, he was ſent by the King to Paris, to treat of a marriage between Prince Henry, then but ſeven years old, and the Princeſs Margaret, the King of France's daughter, no more than three; in which negotiation Becket ſucceeded, and returned with the young Princeſs to England (*e*). He had not been Chancellor much above four years, when Archbiſhop Theobald died. The King, who was then in Normandy, preſently caſt his eyes upon the Chancellor, and, reſolving to advance him to the See of Canterbury [*E*], ſent over his agents to England, who managed the matter

(*b*) Chronolog. Auguſtin. Cantuar. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 2251.

(*c*) Jo. Bromton, *ubi ſupra*, col. 1057, 1058. Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. *Lond.* 1640, Tom. i. p. 98. Gervaſ. *ubi ſupra*, Radulph. de Diceto, Vit. Archiep. Cantuar. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. II. p. 688.

(*d*) Guliel. Cantuar. de Vit. Th. B. *apud* Hiſtoria Quadripart. p. 8, 9.

(*e*) Bromton, *ubi ſupra*, col. 1050.

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terms, ſpeaking always very advantageouſly of the Chriſtian Religion, and telling her how happy ſhe would be if God ſhould inſpire her to embrace it. Some time after, Gilbert and the other Captives found means to break their chains, and eſcape into the countries conquered by the Chriſtians; and Gilbert returned into England. The Saracen young Lady no ſooner heard of Gilbert's flight, than ſhe reſolved to follow him; and having diſpoſed all things for that purpoſe, ſhe left her father's houſe by night, and eſcaped into the land of the Chriſtians, from whence ſhe took ſhipping, in company with ſome Engliſh merchants and pilgrims, and arrived in England. When ſhe came to London, being a ſtranger to the Engliſh tongue, ſhe was quite at a loſs how to find out the perſon ſhe was in queſt of; but paſſing accidentally by Gilbert's houſe, ſhe was ſeen and known by his man Richard, who acquainted his maſter with the news of her arrival. Gilbert was extremely touched with the zeal and affection of the young Lady, and ordered Richard to conduct her to the houſe of a gentlewoman of his acquaintance, where ſhe was treated with the greateſt kindneſs and civility. In the mean time Gilbert, who was extremely deſirous of promoting the fair Infidel's converſion, but unwilling to engage in marriage, having long ſince reſolved to ſpend his life in the wars of the Chriſtians againſt the Saracens, applied himſelf for advice to the Biſhop of London, and ſome other Biſhops, who, conſidering the circumſtances of the affair, and perceiving the hand of God viſibly concerned in it, were unanimouſly of opinion that he ſhould marry her, provided ſhe ſhould firſt receive baptiſm, and embrace the Chriſtian Faith. Accordingly, the very next day, ſhe was ſolemnly baptized in St. Paul's church, and, immediately after the ceremony, married to Gilbert. Their nuptials were attended with the bleſſing of Heaven; for Matilda ſoon after conceived this ſon, pre-ordained to be Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and a Martyr for the liberties of the Church. And ſo you have Bromton's ſtory.

[*C*] *He was made High-Chancellor to King Henry* II.] That Prince, as the Hiſtorians of his time remark, was of an haughty diſpoſition, and had about him ſeveral perſons who gave him bad advice, and led him to enterprizes againſt the rights and authority of the Church. Archbiſhop Theobald, who had already been expoſed to great perſecutions in the reign of King Stephen, and feared leſt Henry ſhould tread in the ſteps of his predeceſſor, reſolved, if poſſible, to oppoſe the abilities and virtues of Becket, to the evil counſels of the King's falſe friends. As his rank of Archbiſhop gave him free acceſs to court, he took all opportunities of poſſeſſing the King with an high eſteem for the Archdeacon of Canterbury, and inſenſibly prevailed with him to confer on him the office of Lord High-Chancellor of England (11).

[*D*] *He affected the dreſs and manners of a courtier.*] Bromton tells us (12), that he conformed himſelf in every thing to the King's humour, hunted with him, partook of all his diverſions, and even obſerved the ſame hours of eating and going to bed. He gave into the pleaſantries of the court, had numerous and ſplendid levees, and courted popular applauſe. When he rode on horſeback, he uſed a ſilver bridle, and the expences of his table exceeded thoſe of the greateſt Nobles. Biſhop Godwin (13) tells us the ſame thing, adding, that it was commonly ſaid, 'the Chancellor 'had forgot he was an Archdeacon and an Eccleſi'aſtic.' *Hanc tantam potentiam ut firmaret, ſeque Regi (qui adoleſcentiæ vix adhuc egreſſus erat) ac deinde proceribus et aulicis gratiorem redderet, Clericalem Amictum Conſuetudinemque paulatim depoſuit, et aulicum ſplendorem ac magnificentiam induit; ac ut regi ſe in omnibus accommodaret, iiſdem ſe moribus aptavit, eadem epulandi dormiendique tempora ſibi ſtatuit; unà ſive in ſeriis ſive in jocoſis rebus ſemper adſuit; aulicum leporem et concinnitatem in omnibus affectavit; nihilque non fecit, quo vel gratiam principis, vel apud cæteros gloriam auramque popularem captaret. Aucupio itaque, venatione, veſtium ſplendore, cæteroque corporis cultu, copioſo frequentique famulatu, equis generoſis, argenteis auratiſque ornamentis, epularum et conviviorum crebra lautitia, omnique aulico nitore tam profuſe utebatur, ut multi dicerent, Archidiaconatus ſui et ordinis Clericalis ſibi in mentem non venire.*

[*E*] *The King —— reſolved to advance him to the See of Canterbury.*] The King no ſooner heard the news of Archbiſhop Theobald's death, than he caſt his eyes upon Becket to ſucceed him. The Chancellor was then with that Prince in Normandy. When the King told him his deſign, Becket ſmiled, and, pointing to the ſecular habit he wore, ſaid, 'Truly, 'Sire, you have pitched upon a very reformed and 'holy perſon to govern the firſt Church in England!' But, finding the King was in earneſt, he is ſaid to have replied, with great freedom and warmth; 'I 'aſſuredly know, Sire, that if God permits me to 'be Archbiſhop of Canterbury, I ſhall ſoon loſe your 'Majeſty's good graces, and that the love you now 'bear me will be converted into extreme hatred: 'for give me leave to tell your Majeſty, that the 'attempts you have already made againſt the rights 'of the Church, give me cauſe to fear your Majeſty 'will require ſome things of me, which I cannot in 'honour and conſcience comply with; and my ene'mies will take occaſion from thence to animate and 'incenſe your Majeſty againſt me.' In this manner Becket is ſaid to have predicted the enſuing breach between him and the King. But that Prince was ſo far from being diſpleaſed with Becket's freedom, that he immediately ordered ſome Lords of his court to accompany the Chancellor into England, and to acquaint the Clergy of the realm, and particularly the

(11) Bromton, *ubi ſupra*, col. 1057, 1058.

(12) Bromton, *ubi ſupra*, col. 1057, 1058.

(13) De Præſul. Angl. *inter* Archiep. Cant. *an.* 1162.

matter ſo with the Monks and Clergy, that Becket was elected [*F*] almoſt unanimouſly, no one oppoſing his election but Gilbert Foliot, Biſhop of London. After the election, Becket, being at that time only Deacon, was ordained Prieſt, on Whitſunday 1162, by Walter, Biſhop of Rocheſter; and on Trinity Sunday following he was conſecrated, by Henry Biſhop of Wincheſter, in the cathedral church of Canterbury; the young Prince Henry, and a great concourſe of the Nobility, being preſent at the ſolemnity. He received his pall from Pope Alexander III., then reſiding in France; and, preſently after his conſecration, he ſent meſſengers to the King in Normandy, with his reſignation of the ſeal and office of Chancellor. This ſtep not a little ſurpriſed and diſpleaſed the King, who, returning ſoon after into England, and being met at his landing by the Archbiſhop, received him with the uſual ſalute, but at the ſame time with ſuch a countenance, as plainly ſhewed he had not the ſame affection for him as formerly *(f)*. This year, Becket, in the preſence of the King and court, performed the ceremony of tranſlating the relics of St. Edward the Confeſſor to Weſtminſter *(g)*. Being now confirmed in the See of Canterbury, he betook himſelf to a quite different manner of life, and exchanged the gaiety and luxury of a courtier for the gravity and auſterities of a Monk *(h)* [*G*]. The ſame year he was preſent, with ſome of his Suffragans, at the Council of Tours [*H*] held under Pope Alexander III. *(i)* Soon after his return into England, he began to exert himſelf with great vigour in defence of the rights and privileges of the church of Canterbury: for, beſides proſecuting at law ſeveral of the Nobility, and others, for lands and poſſeſſions he pretended they had uſurped from that See *(k)*, he laid claim to the cuſtody of the caſtle and tower of Rocheſter, then in the hands of the crown; he demanded homage of the Earl of Clare for the manor of Tunbridge; and he excommunicated William, Lord of the manor of Aynsford in Kent, for diſputing with him the right of patronage to that church *(l)* [*I*]. In all theſe inſtances he proceeded with ſuch warmth and obſtinacy, as greatly alienated the minds of the King and the Nobility from him; and under this diſadvantage his conduct was ſeverely cenſured, and all his actions repreſented

(f) M. Paris, *ubi ſupra*, R. de Dic, *ubi ſupra*.

(g) M. Paris, *ibid.* p. 99.

(h) Gervaſ. Chronic. *apud* X Scr. *col.* 1383. Id. Act. Pontif. Cant. *ib.* 1669.

(i) M. Paris, *ib.* p. 100. Gervaſ. Chron. *ib. col.* 1384. R. de Dic. *ib.*

(k) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. Cant. *ib.*

(l) Gervaſ. *ib. col.* 1670. Id. Chron. *ubi ſupra.* M. Paris, *ibid.* R. de Dic. *ibid.*

Chapter of Canterbury, with his Majeſty's deſire that Becket might be elected their Archbiſhop. The Chancellor, nevertheleſs, continued obſtinate in his refuſal to accept of this dignity, till the Cardinal of Piſa, the Pope's Legate in England, who was then with the King, convinced him of the expediency of complying with the King's deſire for the good of the Church; after which he ſet out in a few days for England (14).

[*F*] *He was elected.*] The Lords, who accompanied Becket into England, produced their commiſſion in preſence of the Chapter of Canterbury; upon which ſeveral Biſhops aſſembled in London to deliberate on the affair; but the Chapter, as well as the Biſhops, were divided in their opinions. Some thought they could not elect a fitter perſon to ſupport the rights of the Church againſt the encroachments of the State; whilſt others objected, that, the Chancellor being a courtier, his election would rather prejudice the Church, for they believed he would continue Chancellor after he was made Archbiſhop. They added, that it was an unworthy thing, and contrary to the divine laws, for a ſecular perſon, and one fitter to bear arms than the epiſcopal croſs, to become at once a ſhepherd and biſhop of ſouls. But the others replied, That it was no new thing in the Church for its firſt dignities to be conferred on perſons who were immediately before veſted with ſecular employments: witneſs St. Ambroſe, who, from a Governor of a Province, became that great Archbiſhop of Milan, who ſhut the door of his church againſt an Emperor, and obliged him to do public penance for the crime he had committed. At length, after much diſpute, Thomas was elected Archbiſhop of Canterbury, on the eve of Whitſunday, in the abbey of Weſtminſter; and immediately after, by the authority of Prince Henry, who repreſented his father's perſon on this occaſion, he was publicly diſcharged from giving any account of his adminiſtration in the office of Chancellor (15).

[*G*] *He exchanged the gaiety and luxury of a courtier for the gravity and auſterities of a Monk.*] *Lautus ille, nitidus, ſplendidus, qui genio totus indulgens, cutem ſuam tam bene ſolitus erat curare, vix paucis interpoſitis diebus, vultu derepente gravis, moribus ſedatus, habitu decens, victu frugalis conſpicitur; et amandatis procul jocis ac cachinnis, quibus antea plurimum ferebatur deditus, ſacris peragendis, cæteriſque Paſtoralis Officii muneribus totus vacabat; et ne quis famæ oculiſque hominum duntaxat ſerviſſe contendat, cilicio quoque indutus, corpus ſubigiſſe perhibent, triplici veſte triplicem perſonam gerens (ut illorum quidam * loquitur) exteriori Clericum exhibens, interiori monachum occultans, et intima Eremitæ moleſtias ſuſtinens* (16).

[*H*] *He was preſent —— at the Council of Tours.*] There was at that time a ſchiſm in the Church. About four years before, Cardinal Roland, Chancellor of the Holy See, had been canonically elected Pope under the name of Alexander III. But at the ſame time Cardinal Octavian was declared Pope by two Cardinals of his faction, whoſe example was preſently followed by three other Cardinals, ſome Biſhops, and ſeveral Senators, who employed all their power to ſupport Octavian in his uſurpation. This Anti-pope beſieged Alexander ſeveral days in St. Peter's Church, and obliged him at laſt to fly from Rome, and take refuge in France, where he was received with extraordinary honours. To put an end to this ſchiſm, he convened a council at Tours, where were preſent ſeventeen Cardinals, and a great number of Biſhops, Abbots, and other Eccleſiaſtics. Among the moſt eminent Prelates who aſſiſted at this council, was our Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was received, at his entrance into Tours, by the magiſtrates, and moſt of the members of the council; and the Pope, who had long deſired to ſee him, ſhewed him very particular marks of his affection and eſteem. In this aſſembly, Becket complained of the violent oppreſſions the Church laboured under, through the ambition and avarice of the laity, who daily invaded its rights and poſſeſſions, and procured ſeveral canons and decrees to be made in favour of Eccleſiaſtics (17).

[*I*] *He excommunicated William, Lord of the manor of Aynsford in Kent, for diſputing with him the right of patronage to that church.*] Having a right, as he pretended, to preſent to the vacant livings, in the towns which held of his See, he collated one Laurence, a Prieſt, to the rectory above mentioned; whereupon William de Aynsford, Lord of the manor of that pariſh, laying claim to the patronage of that church, drove Laurence out of poſſeſſion by force of arms; for which violence the Archbiſhop immediately excommunicated William. The latter, lying under this ſentence, applies to the King, who was highly diſpleaſed with the Archbiſhop for not acquainting him with the cenſure before it paſſed; the King alleging, that it was part of the Royal prerogative, that none of his officers, or other perſons holding *in capite* of the crown, ſhould be excommunicated without his knowledge and conſent. Hereupon the King wrote to the Archbiſhop, deſiring he would abſolve William: but the Archbiſhop replied, that excommunication and abſolution were no part of the King's prerogative, but ſolely under the direction of the Church; however, at length, he was prevailed upon to take off the cenſure (18).

(14) *Hiſtoria Quadripartita, ſeu De Vita et Proceſſu S. Thomæ Cantuar.* &c. Paris 1495, cap. 11, &c.

(15) *Ibid.*

(*) Gul. Cantuar.

(16) Godwin, *ubi ſupra.*

(17) Baron. Annal. *ad ann.* 1159, 1162, & 1163. Hiſtoria Quadripartita, &c. l. i. c. 19.

(18) M. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. *edit.* 1740, Tom. i. p. 100.

in their worſt light (*m*) [*K*]. Nor was it long before the King and Becket came to an open rupture: for Henry endeavouring to recal ſuch of the privileges of the Clergy as he thought inconvenient to the State, and particularly to ſubject Eccleſiaſtics guilty of murder, felony, and other high crimes, to the judgment of the Civil Courts [*L*], met with a violent oppoſition from our Archbiſhop, who ſtood firmly in defence of thoſe immunities, and would not ſubmit to the leaſt infringement of them. The King, however, reſolving to carry his point, convened a Synod of the Biſhops at Weſtminſter (*n*) [*M*]; but this aſſembly broke up without effect. At length, ſeveral of the Biſhops being gained over by the Court, and the Pope interpoſing in the quarrel, Becket was prevailed on to acquieſce, and to ſubmit to the King's pleaſure (*o*). And, to bind the Clergy more ſtrongly, the King ſummoned a Convention, or Parliament, at Clarendon [*N*], where ſeveral laws were

[*K*] *His actions were ſet in their worſt light.*] The courtiers repreſented his auſterity of manners as ſuperſtition: His zeal for diſcipline was called rigour and cruelty: His care to preſerve the rights and revenues of the Archbiſhopric was imputed to covetouſneſs: His contempt of popularity was conſtrued a cynical affectation: On the other hand, his living up to the dignity of his ſtation was cenſured for pride and ambition. In ſhort, they perſuaded the King, that, if the Archbiſhop went on in his encroachments, the prerogative muſt greatly ſuffer, and the crown in a manner ſink under him. *Hanc itaque mutationem excelſi maligna interpretatione conati ſunt impii obfuſcare, ſuperſtitioni aſcribentes quod vitam ducebat artiorem. Zelum juſtitiæ crudelitatem mentiebantur; quod Eccleſiæ procurabat utilitates avaritiæ attribuebant; contemptum mundani favoris venationem gloriæ eſſe dicebant; curialis magnificentia fingebatur elatio —— nihil jam ab eo vel dici vel fieri poterat quod non malitia malorum depravaret; adeo quidem ut regi perſuaderunt, quod ſi archiepiſcopi poteſtas procederet, regia dignitas procul dubio periret* (19).

[*L*] *Henry endeavoured to ſubject Eccleſiaſtics guilty of murder,* &c. *to the judgment of the civil courts.*] The Clergy at this time ſeem greatly to have abuſed the privilege of exemption from the civil courts, of which the King had lately received ſeveral complaints. To give an inſtance or two. A Burgher of Scarborough had complained to the King againſt a rural Dean for levying twelve ſhillings upon him, pronouncing his wife an adultereſs, and enjoining her penance, without legal proof. The Dean was brought before the King, the Archbiſhop of York, the Biſhops of Lincoln and Durham, and John, treaſurer of York; and not being able to defend himſelf, the temporal Barons were ordered to ſit with the Biſhops upon the bench, and join in the ſentence upon him. John the Treaſurer was of opinion, that if he reſtored the Burgher his money, and it was remitted to the diſcretion of his Biſhop, whether he ſhould be turned out of his office or not, there was no reaſon to puniſh him any farther. Upon which, Richard de Lucy, Juſticiary of England, aſked, *What ſatisfaction the King ſhould have for the breach of his laws?* John anſwered, *None, becauſe the offender was a clerk*; whereupon the Juſticiary and the temporal Barons went out of the court, and refuſed to be preſent when judgment was given (20). Again; the Judges being upon their circuit at Dunſtable, one Simon Fitz-Peter informed the court, that Philip de Brock, Canon of Bedford, had ſpoken diſhonourably of the King in public company. The King ordered this Brock to be proſecuted before the Archbiſhop; and the charge being proved againſt him, he endeavoured to excuſe himſelf, by alleging that the words were ſpoken in a paſſion. The King demanding judgment againſt him, the eccleſiaſtical court ſentenced him to loſe one year's profit of his prebend, and to be baniſhed during that time: but this ſentence was thought too favourable, and gave the King no ſatisfaction (21). Farther: A clerk in Worceſterſhire had debauched a farmer's daughter, and afterwards murdered her father. The King required that this man ſhould be tried in the civil courts, but Archbiſhop Becket, refuſing to comply, ordered the malefactor to be kept in the priſon of the Biſhop of the dioceſe, and not to be put into the hands of the King's Juſtices (22). To give one inſtance more: Another clerk ſtole a ſilver chalice out of a church in London: The King would have had him proſecuted and puniſhed in his own courts, but the Archbiſhop brought him before the eccleſiaſtical court, where he was ſentenced to be degraded, and branded in the face with a hot iron (23). The King, provoked by theſe examples, inſiſted, that when any of the Clergy were apprehended for robbery, murder, felony, or any other high crimes of that nature, they ſhould be tried in the King's courts, and undergo the ſame puniſhment with laymen. On the other hand, the Archbiſhop inſiſted, that when any Clerk was charged with any of the crimes above mentioned, he ought to be tried before eccleſiaſtical Judges in the *Court Chriſtian*; and in caſe he was convicted, he was to ſuffer degradation, and be deprived of all his eccleſiaſtical preferments: and if, after he was thus ſtripped of his character, he happened to relapſe into the former crimes, or broke any of the laws of the realm, he might then be delivered up to the King's juſtice, and receive his trial and puniſhment from the civil magiſtrate (24).

[*M*] *The King convened a Synod of the Biſhops at Weſtminſter.*] In this aſſembly the King demanded, that the Clergy, when they were charged with any capital offence, might receive their trial in the courts of juſtice; but the Archbiſhop not giving his Highneſs ſatisfaction upon this head, the queſtion was put to the Biſhops, Whether, in conſideration of their duty and allegiance to the King, and of the intereſt and peace of the kingdom, they were willing to promiſe a ſubmiſſion to the laws of his grandfather King Henry? To this the Archbiſhop, ſpeaking for himſelf and the reſt, replied, That they were willing to be bound by the ancient laws of the kingdom, as far as the privileges of their order would permit (*). The King was highly diſpleaſed with this conditional clauſe, and endeavoured to bring the Biſhops to an abſolute promiſe, without any reſervation whatſoever. But the Archbiſhop would by no means ſubmit; and the reſt of the Biſhops adhered for ſome time to their Primate, excepting Hilary, Biſhop of Chicheſter, who, through fear of the King's diſpleaſure, told the King he was ready to obſerve the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom *bona fide*. But the King would admit of no limitation or abatement of his demands; and ſo the aſſembly was diſmiſſed (25).

[*N*] *A Convention, or Parliament, at Clarendon.*] In this aſſembly Archbiſhop Becket declared, that he had gone too far in his late engagement to the King, and that he thought himſelf obliged to retract his ſubmiſſion. The King was exceedingly angry at this receding from his promiſe, and threatened the Archbiſhop and his adherents with the utmoſt ſeverities. To prevent this ſtorm, the Biſhops of Saliſbury and Norwich, Robert Earl of Leiceſter, Reginald Earl of Cornwall, and two Knights Templars, came to the Archbiſhop, and, throwing themſelves at his feet, intreated him not to carry things to extremity for fear of the conſequences; and preſſed him to wait upon the King immediately, and make a public acknowledgment of his ſubmiſſion. The Archbiſhop, overruled by the entreaties of theſe great men, waited on the King, and declared, in the preſence of the Clergy and Laity, that he was ready to conform to the ancient laws of the kingdom. He, likewiſe, gave his Suffragans liberty to join in the ſame declaration. Things being thus far adjuſted, the King commanded all the Earls and Barons to withdraw, and prepare a draught of the laws of his grandfather King Henry. This being done, the draught was produced and read to the Biſhops, who, having ſworn implicitly to the obſerving of the King's laws, without inquiring into their contents, were not a little ſhocked at hearing them read. Then the King ordered the Archbiſhops and Biſhops to put their ſeals to the inſtrument; and the

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(*m*) Gervaſ. *ibid.*

(*n*) A. D. 1164.

(*o*) Rog. de Hoveden. Annal. Pars poſterior, *apud* Scriptores poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601, p. 492. Gervaſ. Chron. *ubi ſupra*, *col.* 1384, 1385.

(19) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. Cantuar. *apud* X Scriptores, col. 1670.

(20) Guliel. Cantuar. c. 1. *apud* Hiſtoriam Quadripartitam, *&c.*

(21) *Ibid.*

(22) *Ibid.*

(23) Guliel. Cantuar. c. 1. *apud* Hiſtoriam Quadripartitam, *&c.*

(24) Rog. de Hoveden. Annal. Pars poſterior, p. 492. *apud* Scriptor. poſt Bedam, Francof. 1601. Gervaſ. *ubi ſupra*, *col.* 1384, 1385. Matth. Paris, *ubi ſupra*.

(*) *Salvo ordine ſuo.*

(25) R. Hoveden, *ibid.* Gervaſ. Chronic. *ibid.*

were enacted, relating to the privileges of the Clergy, called from thence, *The Conſtitutions of Clarendon* (*p*). After the breaking up of this aſſembly, Becket, repenting of his compliance, retired from court; and, by way of penance, ſuſpended himſelf from officiating in the church, till he ſhould receive abſolution from the Pope, then at Sens (*q*). After this, deſpairing of the King's favour [*O*], he endeavoured to make his eſcape beyond ſea; but before he could reach the coaſt of France, the wind turning againſt him drove him back to England (*r*). Some pretend that the ſhip's crew, repenting their taking him on board, and fearing the King's diſpleaſure, tacked about in the middle of the voyage, and brought him back to the Engliſh ſhore (*s*). He immediately repaired to Canterbury, where he found the King's officers plundering his palace; but, upon ſight of the Archbiſhop, they deſiſted. The King, to prevent Becket's farther attempts to convey himſelf into France, ſummoned a Parliament at Northampton, which met in October 1165. Here the Archbiſhop was charged with failing in his duty and allegiance to the King [*P*]; and, his defence not being allowed, he was ſentenced [*Q*] to forfeit all his goods and chattels (*t*). In the next place, a ſuit was commenced againſt him, in the King's name, for five hundred pounds lent him when he was Chancellor; and an account was demanded from him of the profits of the vacant abbies and biſhoprics, of which he had the cuſtody during his Chancellorſhip (*u*). Under theſe difficulties he conſulted with the Biſhops, who were divided in their opinions [*R*].

And

(*p*) Rog. de Hoved. *ibid.* M. Paris, *ubi ſupra.* R. de Dic. p. 689.

(*q*) R. de Hoved. *ibid.* Gervaſ. *ibid. col.* 1388. M. Paris, *ibid.* R. de Dic. *ibid.*

(*r*) M. Paris, *ibid.* R. de Dic. *ibid.*

(*s*) Gervaſ. *ibid. col.* 1389.

(*t*) Gervaſ. *ibid.*

(*u*) Gervaſ. *ibid. col.* 1390. R. Hoved. *ibid.* p. 494.

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the reſt being ready to comply, Archbiſhop Becket ſwore he would never put his ſeal, nor give any other marks of his conſent to that draught; alleging, that he was made to believe his promiſe would be conſtrued no farther than ceremony, and the paying the King a public reſpect before the great men of the kingdom. However, it was now too late to offer ſuch excuſes, and the Archbiſhop was obliged to ſign and ſeal the inſtrument; one copy of which was lodged in Becket's hands, another with the Archbiſhop of York, and a third among the records of the crown (26).

[*O*] *He deſpaired of the King's favour.*] Soon after the Convention of Clarendon, Rotro, Archbiſhop of Roan, was diſpatched by the Pope into England, to make up the breach between the King and the Archbiſhop: but the King would by no means conſent to an accommodation, unleſs the *Conſtitutions of Clarendon* were confirmed by the Pope's Bull. This condition being refuſed, the King ſent two of his Chaplains to Pope Alexander, to deſire that Roger, Archbiſhop of York, might be made his Holineſs's Legate for all England; but the Pope, being ſenſible that this was intended to reſtrain the juriſdiction of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, abſolutely refuſed to comply with the requeſt. Nevertheleſs, being deſirous to gratify the King, and make up the breach, he propoſed to make the King his Legate for England; but with this *Proviſo*, that his Highneſs ſhould not diſtreſs the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, or do any thing to his prejudice. The King's Agents returned with the commiſſion, and Henry would gladly have accepted the Legantine power; but when he found it clogged with the above *Proviſo*, he was highly exaſperated, and ſent back the inſtrument (27).

[*P*] *He was charged with failing in his duty and allegiance to the King.*] It ſeems that John, the King's Marſhal, had claimed a manor or farm in the Archbiſhop's court, as an eſtate held of the church of Canterbury, and not having juſtice done him, as he pretended, he diſclaimed the Archbiſhop's court; and, having ſworn the failure of juſtice, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, deſigned to remove the cauſe. The Archbiſhop alleged, that John had no reaſon to complain of hard uſage; and that, when he diſclaimed his court, inſtead of making oath upon the four Goſpels, as the law required, he had ſworn upon a Tropaz, or book of Old Church Hymns. However, John procured the King's writ, by which the Archbiſhop was required to anſwer his complaint in the King's court. The Archbiſhop did not make his appearance at the day, but ſent four gentlemen to the King, with letters from himſelf, and the High-Sheriff of Kent, atteſting the miſinformation of John, and his defect of proof; and alleging ſickneſs in excuſe for his non-appearance. But this defence not being allowed, the Archbiſhop was caſt in the court by the Barons, and moſt of the Biſhops, then preſent, for having failed in his duty and allegiance to the King, in not appearing upon his Highneſs's writ (28).

[*Q*] *He was ſentenced*—] There was a diſpute between the Biſhops and Barons who ſhould pronounce judgment, each of them endeavouring to excuſe themſelves, and decline the office. The Barons urged, that they were Laymen; that the Spiritual Lords were of the Archbiſhop's order, and that therefore the ſentence was their buſineſs. To which the Biſhops replied, That the ſentence not being eccleſiaſtical, but ſecular, it belonged rather to the Temporal Lords. However, the King, being informed of the diſpute, ordered the Biſhop of Wincheſter to pronounce ſentence, which he did, though with great reluctance (29).

[*R*] *The Biſhops were divided in their opinions.*] Gilbert, Biſhop of London, deſired the Archbiſhop to conſider, 'how much he had been obliged and 'promoted by the King; that the juncture was croſs 'and unfavourable; and that if he perſiſted in op'poſing the King, he would not only ruin himſelf, 'but involve the whole Engliſh Church in the miſ'fortune; whereas his ſubmiſſion might very pro'bably reſtore his affairs, and recover the King's 'favour.' Then Henry, Biſhop of Wincheſter, delivered his opinion, and declared, 'That the mea'ſures, adviſed by the Biſhop of London, tended to 'diſable the Biſhops from diſcharging their functions, 'and were deſtructive of the government of the 'Church: For, *ſays he*, if our Primate ſets us ſuch 'a precedent of irreſolution and compliance, if a 'Biſhop muſt give up his authority, and deſert his 'charge, at the will and menaces of the Prince, what 'can we expect but that the government of the 'Church will be quite unhinged, and every thing 'managed by the arbitrary direction of the court; 'and then, as the Scripture ſays, *It ſhall be as with 'the people, ſo with the prieſt.*' Hilary, Biſhop of Chicheſter, who valued himſelf upon his rhetoric, ſpoke next, and told the Archbiſhop, 'That, were 'not the times unfavourable, and the Church em'broiled, he ſhould have been of the opinion laſt de'livered: But now, ſince the Canons had not 'ſtrength to bear up againſt the preſent oppoſition, 'he conceived a rigid inſiſting upon the authority of 'the Church was very unſeaſonable, and that reced'ing and giving way was the only proper expedient; 'that they ought to be governed by the juncture, and 'yield to the King's demands, leſt, by perſiſting in 'their non-compliance, they might be forced at laſt 'to an involuntary and diſhonourable ſubmiſſion.' Robert, Biſhop of Lincoln, ſpoke much to the ſame purpoſe; and ſo did Bartholomew, Biſhop of Exeter, who added, 'That, ſince the ſeas ran high, they 'ought to furl their ſails, rather than periſh in the 'ſtorm; and that ſince the perſecution was not gene'ral, but levelled at a ſingle perſon, it was better 'that perſon, though their Primate, ſhould ſuffer in 'ſome meaſure, than that the whole Church of Eng'land ſhould be expoſed to inevitable ruin.' Roger, Biſhop of Worceſter, being aſked his opinion, told them, 'he ſhould not venture to give his advice in 'the caſe: For, *ſays he*, if I ſhould aſſert, that a

'Prelate

(26) R. Hoveden, *ibid.* Gervaſ. *ibid.* M. Paris, *ibid.*

(27) Gervaſ. *ubi ſupra, col.* 1338. R. Hoveden, *ubi ſupra*, p. 493.

(28) Gulielm. Cantuar. *ubi ſupra*, p. 21. Gervaſ. *ibid. col.* 1389.

(29) Gul. Cant. *ibid.* p. 23.

And now, having in vain declared his appeal to the Pope, and finding himſelf oppoſed; and, at laſt, deſerted by his brethren, and all hopes of accommodation at an end [S], he privately withdrew from Northampton, and travelled to Lincoln diſguiſed, and attended only by two ſervants; and, after a great deal of fatigue [T], he reached the coaſt, and getting

‘Prelate ought to deſert his charge for fear of the King's diſpleaſure, and be frightened from doing his duty, I ſhould ſpeak againſt my conſcience, and *my own mouth would condemn me*; but if I ſhould propoſe any methods of reſiſting the King's will, I ſhould expoſe myſelf to be informed againſt, to be thrown out of the King's protection, and treated as an out-law: therefore I ſhall ſuſpend my opinion, and declare on neither ſide.’ Nigel, Biſhop of Ely, was ſick of a palſy, and could not appear: And William, Biſhop of Norwich, ſent to excuſe his abſence, ſaying privately, ‘That God had ſent the Biſhop of Ely a very happy excuſe, and that he could have wiſhed himſelf ſcreened under the ſame misfortune (30).’

[S] *Having in vain declared his appeal to the Pope, and finding himſelf oppoſed, and at laſt deſerted, by the Biſhops, and all hopes of accommodation at an end*, &c.] The day before he was to give in his anſwer to the charges brought againſt him, the greateſt part of the Biſhops came to him, and intreated him for the ſake of the Church, and his own ſecurity, to moderate his terms, and reſign to the King's pleaſure, otherwiſe he muſt expect to be ſentenced as a Traitor, for failing in his allegiance to his Sovereign, and breaking the antient cuſtoms of the kingdom which he had ſworn to keep. To this the Archbiſhop anſwered, ‘That he owned himſelf inexcuſable before God Almighty for taking ſo unlawful an oath; but ſince it was better to retract a promiſe, though never ſo ſolemnly made, than to periſh by keeping it, he was reſolved to diſengage himſelf, and not incur a freſh guilt by the performance. I enjoin you therefore, *ſays he*, to follow me in my refuſal, and not to encourage thoſe proceedings which are inconſiſtent with the good government of the Church. To ſpeak freely, it is ſcandalous in you, not only to deſert me under theſe difficulties, but to join with the court, as you have lately done, and ſit in judgment upon your ſpiritual father and Archbiſhop. I charge you, upon your Canonical Obedience, to deſiſt from theſe practices; and, as for myſelf, I appeal for juſtice to the See of Rome (31).’ The Biſhops finding Becket inflexible, left him, and went to the King. The Archbiſhop likewiſe, after he had officiated at divine ſervice, came to court, with his croſs in his hand, and ſat by himſelf in an anti-chamber, all the Biſhops and Temporal Barons being called in to the King. The Archbiſhop of York, and the Biſhops of London and Hereford, came to him, and adviſed him to deliver the croſs. They told him, his carrying it himſelf would be conſtrued an act of defiance; and that, unleſs he deſiſted, he would find the King's weapons much ſharper than his own. Becket anſwered, That the King's inſtruments of puniſhment could only deſtroy the body; but the ſpiritual ſword, if not avoided, would give a more fatal ſtroke, and ſend a man's ſoul to Hell (32). The Biſhops reported this anſwer to the King, who was highly diſpleaſed with Becket's appealing to the Pope, and ſent the Earls and Barons to him, to put him in mind of his oath at Clarendon, by which he had engaged to obſerve the cuſtoms of the realm, and ſubmit to the Royal prerogative. But the Archbiſhop perſiſted in his appeal to the Pope: The King preſſed the Biſhops to join with the Barons, and proceed to ſentence againſt him. The Prelates excuſed themſelves, alledging the prohibition they had lately received from their Primate, who would not fail to excommunicate them for their diſobedience. The King urged their allegiance to the Crown, and their oath at Clarendon, which Becket's prohibition ought not to over-rule. Upon this they repaired again to the Archbiſhop, and repreſented to him the obligations they lay under by the Conſtitutions of Clarendon; one of which was, that the Biſhops ſhould be preſent at all trials of the great men, till the court came to pronounce ſentence for the taking away life or limb. The Archbiſhop replied, That nothing which was promiſed at Clarendon ought to be wreſted to the prejudice of the Church; and that if the contents of their oath were repugnant to the doctrine of the Church, and the laws of God, it ought not to be kept. He told them, a Chriſtian King, who had ſworn to maintain the liberties of the Engliſh Church, could have no prerogative inconſiſtent with that engagement; and as to themſelves, if they had gone too far in their compliance at Clarendon, they ought not to perſiſt in their miſtake, and plead one fault in excuſe of another; but ſhould rather recollect themſelves, and courageouſly endeavour to recover the ground they had loſt (33). Upon this the Biſhops came to a reſolution not to ſit in judgment upon the Archbiſhop. Nevertheleſs, to give the King ſome ſatisfaction, they promiſed to proſecute him in the court of Rome, and to get him depoſed; and going in a body to the Archbiſhop, they told him, that they had hitherto acknowledged and obeyed him as their Primate, but that, ſince he had ſo groſly failed in his duty to the King, and broke the laws he had ſworn to obſerve, they could no longer conſider him under that character; that they diſclaimed his authority, and put themſelves and their churches under the protection of the Pope, before whom they cited him to appear, to anſwer the charge they intended to bring againſt him (34). When the Biſhops had made this remonſtrance they withdrew, and ſat by themſelves, and the King ordered the Temporal Lords to proceed to ſentence againſt the Archbiſhop. The Earl of Leiceſter having enlarged upon the Conſtitutions of Clarendon, and charged the Archbiſhop with high-treaſon in breaking them, was preparing, in the name of the reſt, to pronounce ſentence, when Becket roſe up, and told them they were Laymen, and had no authority to ſit in judgment upon their Archbiſhop. He charged the Earl of Leiceſter therefore not to be ſo hardy as to pronounce ſentence againſt his ſpiritual father. He declared he had appealed to an higher court, which was enough to bar their proceedings, ſuppoſing he had been otherwiſe within their juriſdiction. Upon this, without ſtaying for their ſentence, he walked out of the court, and being purſued with reproaches of perjury and treaſon, he turned back, and with a ſtern look replied, That, were it not for the reſtraints of his character, and the regards of Religion, he ſhould be ready to diſprove the calumny, and defend his honour with his ſword. The King being informed of his going away, ordered proclamation to be made, that no man ſhould outrage him or his retinue with ill language, or give him any diſturbance (35).

[T] *After a great deal of fatigue*, &c.] He travelled all the way to Lincoln on foot, and from thence by water to a little ſolitary iſland, where he reſted three days. From thence he bent his courſe eaſtward, in order to gain ſome port where he might take ſhipping. After travelling eight days, he arrived at a ſmall town dependant on the church of Canterbury, where his extreme wearineſs obliged him to ſtop for ſome time, lying concealed in a chamber belonging to an Eccleſiaſtic, to whom he diſcovered himſelf. Upon his arrival in Flanders, not being willing to make himſelf known, he travelled on foot through very rough ways, and in a very rainy ſeaſon, till his ſtrength being quite ſpent, he fell to the ground, and could walk no farther. His few attendants, with ſome difficulty, procured him a very bad horſe, without bridle or ſaddle, upon which they laid their cloaks. In this equipage he was met by ſome ſoldiers, who, having heard of his flight, aſked him, If he was not the Archbiſhop of Canterbury? He replied, with great preſence of mind, This is not the equipage of an Archbiſhop of Canterbury; upon which they let him paſs. At Graveline, the innkeeper where he lodged, having likewiſe heard that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury was fled from Northampton, and conſidering the manners and behaviour of his gueſt, fancied this muſt be he, and with this perſuaſion threw himſelf at his feet, and intreated his bleſſing. Becket, being ſatisfied of this man's ſincerity, diſcovered himſelf to him without reſerve, getting on board a veſſel, arrived at Graveline in Holland, and from thence retired to the monaſtery of St. Bertin in Flanders (*w*). The King immediately confiſcated the revenues of the archbiſhopric (*x*); and at the ſame time ſent embaſſies to the King of France, and the Earl of Flanders, to prevail with theſe Princes not to afford Becket ſhelter in their dominions. But, not ſucceeding at the French court [*U*], Henry ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to the Pope [*W*], deſiring his Holineſs would ſend Legates into England, to accommodate matters between his Highneſs and the Archbiſhop (*y*). In the mean time, Becket came from St. Bertin to Soiſſons, where the King of France paid him a viſit, and offered him protection, and a maintenance ſuitable to his dignity. But the Archbiſhop declined the latter part of the offer, and ſoon after repaired to Sens, where he was honourably received by the Pope, into whoſe hands, at a private audience, he reſigned the archbiſhopric of Canterbury [*X*]; but was preſently reſtored to his character by the Pope, who promiſed to take care of him and his intereſt. From Sens the Archbiſhop removed to Pontigny, an abbey in Normandy, where he reſided almoſt two years, ſpending his time in religious exerciſes (*z*). From hence he wrote an expoſtulatory letter to King Henry [*Y*], then at Chinon in Touraine, and another to his Suffragans, the Biſhops of England [*Z*],

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(30) Gervaſ. ibid. col. 1390, 1391.

(31) *Id. ibid.*

(32) Guliel. Cant. *ubi ſupra*, p. 26. R. Hoved. *ubi ſupra*, p. 495.

(33) Gul. Cant. *ib.* p. 27—31.

(34) Gervaſ. *ubi ſupra, col.* 1321.

(35) *Id. ib. col.* 1393. Gul. Cant. *ibid.* p. 32.

(*w*) Gervaſ. *ib.* & *col.* 1393. R. Hoved. *ib.* p. 495. M. Paris, *ib.* p. 102. R. de Dic. *ib.*

(*x*) Baron. Annal. Tom. xii. § 33. *an.* 1164.

(*y*) Gervaſ. *ib. col.* 1394. & Act Pontif. *col.* 1671. R. Hoved. *ib.* p. 496. M. Paris, *ib.* p. 403. R. de Dic. *ibid.* p. 692.

(*z*) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. *ibid.* & Chron. *ib. col.* 1397, 1398. M. Paris, *ib.* R. Hoved. *ib.*

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and was entertained with great reſpect and civility by him. From Graveline he continued his journey to St. Omer, and there retired to the Monaſtery of St. Bertin, where Godeſcal the Abbot and the Monks received him very affectionately (36).

[*U*] *Henry, not ſucceeding at the French court*, &c.] The King's Ambaſſadors were, Gilbert Foliot, Biſhop of London, and William, Earl of Arundel. When they opened their commiſſion, the French King, hearing Becket ſtiled the *late* Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſeemed to be ſhocked, and aſked, Who had deprived him? ‘ I am a King, *ſays he*, no leſs than your ‘ maſter, and yet I have no authority to deprive the ‘ leaſt clerk in my dominions.’ In ſhort, the more earneſt the Engliſh were to get the Archbiſhop driven out of France, the more Lewis ſeemed to eſpouſe his cauſe. To this purpoſe he ſent his Almoner to Pope Alexander, then at Sens, to requeſt his Holineſs, that if he had any regard for the honour of the Roman Church, or the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of France, he would give all the countenance poſſible to Thomas, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and protect him againſt the tyrant of England (37). The King of France ſeems to have had a political view in protecting Thomas Becket. He was in hopes this quarrel between the King and the Archbiſhop would ſo embarraſs the public affairs of England, that France might reap ſome conſiderable advantage thereby.

[*W*] *The King ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to the Pope.*] The Embaſſadors were, Roger Archbiſhop of York, Henry Biſhop of Wincheſter, Gilbert Biſhop of London, Hilary Biſhop of Chicheſter, and Bartholomew Biſhop of Exeter; Guido Rufus, Richard Iveceſtre, and John of Oxford, Clerks; William Earl of Arundel, Hugo de Gundevil, Bernard de St. Valerie, and Henry Fitz-Gerald, with ſome others. They found the Pope and Cardinals at Sens in Champaigne. Being admitted to an audience, the Biſhops of London and Chicheſter opened the charge againſt Archbiſhop Becket with great vehemence and aggravation. They repreſented to his Holineſs, that Becket had quarrelled with the King his maſter, upon the moſt trifling occaſion: That he was a perſon of too much heat, obſtinacy, and ſingularity, and would make no allowances for the diſadvantage of the times: That his proceedings were ſo indefenſible and dangerous, they were forced to break with him: That, in order to blemiſh the reputation of the King, and of his brethren the Biſhops, he had pretended danger when there was none, and withdrawn unneceſſarily out of the kingdom. This ſpeech was ſeconded by the Archbiſhop of York, and the Biſhop of Exeter. The Earl of Arundel, though he was not ſcholar enough to underſtand what the Biſhops had ſaid in Latin, yet perceiving, by the countenances of the Pope and Cardinals, that their rugged manner was not reliſhed, delivered himſelf in Engliſh with more ſmoothneſs and addreſs. He acknowledged his Holineſs's ſupremacy in the fulleſt manner: he put him in mind of the favours he had received from his maſter, and how firm he continued to his intereſt. As to Becket, he owned him to be a perſon of great abilities, and highly qualified for his ſtation; but ſaid that he was, in the opinion of many, thought to inſiſt a little too much upon niceties. He intreated his Holineſs, therefore, to take this matter into his conſideration, and pitch upon ſome expedient to put an end to this unhappy miſunderſtanding. The moderation of the Earl's harangue was very much applauded; and the Pope told him, that ſince they deſired his Legates might decide the matter, he would take care to ſend them. The Biſhop of London demanded of his Holineſs with what powers the Legates were to be furniſhed? The Pope replied, He would give them a ſufficient latitude in their inſtructions. But, ſaid the Biſhop of London, we deſire they may be empowered to decide the matter without farther appeal. The Pope anſwered, *That privilege is my glory, which I will not give to another.* His Holineſs, likewiſe, told the Ambaſſadors that he expected the Archbiſhop in a few days, and deſired they would wait his arrival. But the time ſet them by the King being expired, they took their leave, and returned to England (38).

[*X*] *He reſigned the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury into the hands of the Pope.*] He pretended that his election was not canonical, and that his ſtrength was not proportioned to the difficulty of the charge; upon which he took off his ring, and gave it to the Pope. Then the Archbiſhop withdrew, and left the Pope and Cardinals to conſult upon the point. Some of the Cardinals were pleaſed with the reſignation, and ſaid they had now a fair opportunity of giving the King of England ſatisfaction, by putting a more acceptable perſon into the Church of Canterbury; and as for Becket, it would be no difficult matter to make proviſion for him another way. But the majority were of a quite different ſentiment. They argued that Becket had ventured his life and fortunes in defence of the ſpiritual authority, and that, if the Archbiſhop ſunk in the conteſt, the reſt of the Biſhops of the Catholic Church would ſink with him, and the Pope's power dwindle and be loſt: it was therefore neceſſary to reſtore this Prelate to his poſt, and to ſtand by him, who had entered the liſts in behalf of the whole Church (39).

[*Y*] *He wrote a letter to King Henry.*] In the beginning of this letter he puts the King in mind ‘ how ‘ faithfully he had ſerved him in his Chancellorſhip; ‘ that he looked upon his Highneſs in a double capa‘city, both as his Sovereign and his ſpiritual Son; ‘ that, as his Sovereign, he was obliged to pay him ‘ a profound regard, and offer him his beſt advice; ‘ and as he was his ſpiritual Son, that relation obliged ‘ him to the exerciſe of diſcipline, when occaſion re‘quired.’ Afterwards he proceeds to ſuggeſt, ‘ That ‘ the Church of God conſiſts of two orders, the Clergy ‘ and the Laity; that the government of the Church ‘ is intruſted with the firſt, and the management of ‘ ſecular affairs with the latter. Now ſince it is cer‘tain, *ſays the Archbiſhop*, that Kings receive their ‘ authority from the Church, and not the Church ‘ her's from them, but from our Saviour; for this ‘ reaſon your Highneſs ought not to direct the cen‘ſures of the Church, to ſubject the Clergy to the ‘ ſecular courts, or to take cognizance of any eccle‘ſiaſtical matters whatever,’ After citing ſome texts of Scripture againſt *unrighteous laws*, and *oppreſſing the poor in judgment*, he goes on, and deſires the King ‘ to hearken to the advice of his liege ſubject, the ‘ admonition of his Biſhop, and the correction of his ‘ ſpiritual father. It is well known, *ſays he*, with ‘ what regard you have treated the Pope, and what ‘ ſuitable

(36) Hiſt. Quadripart. l. ii. c. 1.

(37) R. Hoved. *ubi ſupra*, p. 495, 496. Gervaſ. *ubi ſupra*, *col.* 1394.

(38) Gervaſ. *ibid.*

(39) Gervaſ. *ibid. col.* 1397, 1398.

England [*Z*], acquainting them, that the Pope had annulled the Conſtitutions of Clarendon, and releaſed them from their obligation to obſerve them (*a*). From hence, likewiſe, he iſſued out excommunications againſt various perſons, who had oppoſed, or violated, the rights of the Church (*b*). Theſe letters and excommunications proved of no ſervice to his intereſt, but rather tended to exaſperate men's minds againſt him. The King eſpecially was ſo provoked at Becket's excommunicating ſeveral of his great officers and immediate attendants, that he proceeded ſo far, as to baniſh, with circumſtances of cruelty, all the Archbiſhop's relations (*c*) [*AA*]. He wrote, likewiſe, to the General Chapter of the Ciſtertians, expreſſing his diſpleaſure at their entertaining Becket, and threatening to ſeize all their eſtates in his dominions, unleſs they drove him from the abbey of Pontigny. Upon this the Archbiſhop retired to Sens, and from thence, at the King of France's recommendation, to the abbey of St. Columba, where he was entertained four years (*d*). In the mean time, the Biſhops of the province of Canterbury, juſtly dreading the ill conſequences of this diſpute to the peace and welfare of the Church, wrote a letter to the Archbiſhop [*BB*], acquainting him with their ſentiments concerning his conduct;

(*a*) R. Hoved. *ib* p. 498, 499. M. Paris, *ib.* p. 105. R. de Dic. *ib.*

(*b*) *See the remark* [*Z*].

(*c*) Gervaſ. *ubi ſupra.* M. Paris, *ibid.* R. de Dic. *ibid.*

(*d*) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. *ibid.* & Chron. *ibid.* col. 1400. R. Hoved. *ibid.* M. Paris, *ibid.* p. 105.

ſuitable returns his Holineſs has made your Highneſs. I entreat you, therefore, as you tender the intereſt of your own ſoul, not to leſſen the privileges of the Church of Rome, but permit her the ſame liberty in your kingdoms which ſhe enjoys in other parts of Chriſtendom; and that your Highneſs would remember the ſolemn promiſe you made, and the oath you took at your coronation, to protect the Church of God in all her rights and privileges. I farther entreat your Highneſs to reſtore the Church of Canterbury to the condition it was in under your predeceſſors and mine; that you would return the towns, caſtles, and lordſhips, belonging to the Church, which you have ſeized and diſpoſed of, and all other effects and eſtates, taken either from my Clerks, or the Laity, my tenants; and that you would permit me to return with ſafety and freedom to my See; which if you pleaſe to grant, you ſhall find me ready to ſerve you with all imaginable regard, fidelity, and affection, ſaving the duty I owe to God Almighty, the reſpect due to the Church of Rome, and the privileges of my order: But if your Highneſs ſhall think fit to refuſe this my requeſt, you will certainly feel the ſad conſequences of ſuch a reſolution, and draw down the divine vengeance upon your head (40).'

[Z] *He wrote a letter to his Suffragans the Biſhops of England.*] He begins his complaint againſt them in the language of the Scripture: 'Why do you not, *ſays he*, my beloved brethren, *riſe up with me againſt the wicked, and take my part againſt the evil doers?* Do ye not know, that God will deſtroy thoſe who ſeek to pleaſe men, and make flattery and intereſt their buſineſs? *They ſhall be confounded, becauſe God hath deſpiſed them.* Your wiſdoms muſt needs be ſenſible, that not to oppoſe error is to approve it; and that truth, by not being defended, is betrayed. This being conſidered, we are no longer juſtifiable in our forbearance towards the King, neither is this paſſive temper of any ſervice to the Church of God. I look upon it, therefore, as a dangerous thing to let diſcipline ſleep any longer, and to ſuffer the Church of God and the Clergy to be ſo exceedingly haraſſed by the King without cenſure and animadverſion, eſpecially ſince I have frequently endeavoured, by letters, meſſages, and all other methods imaginable, to bring his Highneſs to a better diſpoſition. And ſince all my advice and remonſtrances have proved ineffectual, I have been forced upon a farther remedy, and, after imploring the divine aſſiſtance, have publickly condemned and annulled thoſe unrighteous *cuſtoms*, which have ſo miſerably embroiled and waſted the Church. We have likewiſe excommunicated all thoſe who obſerve or defend them. And as to you Biſhops, who have ſo unfortunately entered into engagements prejudicial to the Church, we have, by the divine authority committed to us, abſolved you from the obligation. Who can make the leaſt doubt, that Biſhops, commiſſioned by our Saviour, ought to be looked upon as the inſtructors and fathers of Kings and Princes, no leſs than of the reſt of the faithful? Is it not ſtrange, then, that the ſon ſhould attempt to invert this relation, and to force his father under unreaſonable engagements; notwithſtanding he believes, at the ſame time, that this ſpiritual parent has an authority which will reach him both in this world and the other? That we may not, therefore, involve ourſelves in the guilt of theſe practices, we have declared againſt the authority of thoſe unreaſonable *Conſtitutions*, and annulled the *Articles*, eſpecially theſe following: *That there ſhall be no appeals made to the Apoſtolic See without leave from the King: That it ſhall not be lawful for any Archbiſhop or Biſhop to depart the kingdom, and attend the Pope upon his ſummons without the King's licence: That it ſhall not be lawful for any Biſhop to excommunicate any perſon who holds of the King* in capite, *or put any of his miniſters under an interdict, without leave from the King: That no Biſhop ſhall call any perſon to account for perjury, or breach of promiſe: That Clerks ſhall be obliged to make their appearance in ſecular courts on proſecution: That the Laity ſhall have cognizance concerning pleas of tythes, and other eccleſiaſtical matters.*' The Archbiſhop proceeds to acquaint the Prelates, that he had excommunicated John of Oxford for uſurping the Deanry of Saliſbury, contrary to his and the Pope's mandate; alſo Richard de Iveceſtre for adhering to the Anti-pope, againſt Alexander III.; likewiſe Richard de Lucy, and Jocelin de Baliol, for being concerned in drawing up the *Conſtitutions* of *Clarendon*; and Ralph de Brock, Hugo de St. Clare, and Thomas Fitz-Bernard, for making ſeizure of the revenues of the Church of Canterbury. After which he concludes thus: 'As to the perſon of our Sovereign Lord the King, we have hitherto forborn to exert any cenſure, hoping that time and the grace of God might bring him to recollection; though unleſs he quickly retrieves this wrong ſtep, we ſhall be forced to make uſe of our authority againſt him (41).'

[*AA*] *The King baniſhed — all the Archbiſhop's relations.*] He ſpared neither age nor ſex; for children in the cradle, and women in childbed, were involved in the ſentence, and driven beyond ſea. And, to aggravate the rigour of the puniſhment, theſe unfortunate exiles were compelled to take an oath, that they would travel directly to Pontigny, and ſhew themſelves to the Archbiſhop. An order, likewiſe, was publiſhed in England, forbidding all perſons from correſponding with him by letters, ſending him any money, or ſo much as praying for him in the churches (42).

[*BB*] *The Biſhops of the province of Canterbury ——— wrote a letter to the Archbiſhop.*] They acquainted him, that they were in hopes he would have abated ſomewhat of his obſtinacy. 'We were much pleaſed, *ſay they*, with the manner of your living beyond ſea: 'Twas reported, there was no appearance of ambition about you; that you had embraced a voluntary poverty, ſpending your time in reading and prayer, and other ſpiritual exerciſes. This conduct, we hoped, might open a way to a reconciliation between the King and you. But now we underſtand, that you have threatened his Highneſs with the cenſures of the Church; which is the ready way to widen the breach, and render an accommodation impracticable. We, therefore, entreat you to alter your conduct, and not multiply provocations; to give over menaces, and try the effects of patience and humility; to commit your cauſe to God, and throw yourſelf upon the King's clemency. This is the moſt likely means to revive charity and good humour, and bring thoſe you have

(40) R. Hoved. *ibid.*

(41) *Id. ib.* p. 498, 499.

(42) Gervaſ. *ubi ſupra.*

conduct; to which Becket returned an anſwer (e) [CC]. Matters ſtanding thus, Pope Alexander ſent two Cardinals, William and Otho, into France, to adjuſt the diſpute between the King and the Archbiſhop [DD]: but theſe Legates, finding both parties inflexible, gave over the attempt, and returned to Rome (f). In the beginning of the year 1157, Becket was prevailed upon, by the Pope's agents, and ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, to make a ſubmiſſion to the King of England, at an interview between that monarch and the King of France, at Mount Miral in Champaigne; but, at the ſame time, his obſtinacy, in refuſing to do it without any reſerve, rendered it ineffectual, and the breach continued as wide as ever (g) [EE]. By this behaviour the Archbiſhop ruined all

(e) R. Hoved. *ibid.* p. 509. M. Paris, *ibid.* p. 106.

(f) Gervaſ. *ibid.* R. Hoved. *ibid.* p. 516. M. Paris, *ibid.* p. 111. R. de Dic. *ibid.*

(g) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. *ibid.* & Chron. *ibid.* col. 1405, 1406.

'have diſobliged to a more placable temper; whereas your preſent behaviour tends only to inflame and exaſperate, and lays you under the imputation of ingratitude: For it is well known, how bountiful a patron the King has been to you, and from how ſlender a beginning he has raiſed you to the higheſt dignity. So great a favourite you were during your being Chancellor, that you were courted by the King's ſubjects from one end of his dominions to the other, and it was thought preferment but to pleaſe you. And leſt a ſecular employment ſhould too much endanger your virtue, the King was willing to put you in a ſafer poſt. But this was only a tranſplanting from one rich ſoil to another, and removing you from an eminence in the State, to the higheſt ſtation in the Church. To this poſt the King preferred you, notwithſtanding the Empreſs his mother, the Nobility, and Clergy, endeavoured to diſſuade him from it. But his Highneſs promiſed himſelf great things from your promotion, and that you would prove a conſiderable ſupport to his government: if therefore you diſappoint the King's expectations, and prove ungrateful to his bounty, how muſt your reputation ſuffer in the opinion of the world?' From hence they proceed to ſuggeſt, that his obſtinacy might endanger Pope Alexander's authority, and withdraw the King from his communion: That the King, in referring the difference to the Engliſh Church, had made a fair overture; and that to proceed to interdicts and excommunications, after ſuch an offer, was againſt all equity, and all law eccleſiaſtical and civil. 'Now to prevent, *ſay they*, exerting your authority againſt the King and kingdom, to the diſturbance of our dioceſes, and the prejudice and diſgrace of the Holy Roman Church; and to make your own confuſion the greater; we appeal once more to the Pope; and we give you notice to be ready on Aſcenſion-day next enſuing (43).'

[CC] *The Archbiſhop's anſwer.*] He tells the Biſhops, 'How much he was ſurpriſed at the contents of their letter, which, conſidering the unfriendly and ſatirical ſtyle in which it was written, he could ſcarcely believe was dictated by general conſent.' He was amazed, 'that they ſhould treat him with ſuch roughneſs and diſaffection, ſince he had expoſed himſelf to ſo many hardſhips upon their account.' He adviſes them 'to fear God rather than man, and to ſacrifice their lives, if need be, for the intereſt of the Church;' telling them, that, 'in the cauſe of God, they ought not to be afraid of perſecution or diſpleaſure from the court.' He cautions them, 'not to confound the notions of Church and State, but to conſider, that the powers of theſe two ſocieties were diſtinct from each other.' He inſiſts upon the vindication of 'his conduct in England,' and challenges them to prove 'the leaſt inſtance of oppreſſion at his hands.' He ſets forth, with great vehemency, 'the ſeverity of the ſentence paſſed on him at Northampton; how he was ſtript of all his revenues, and perſecuted in his friends and relations.' He treats their 'reproaching him with ingratitude,' and 'that he was promoted to the See of Canterbury purely by the Royal favour, and againſt the inclination of the whole kingdom,' as a direct calumny, and challenges them 'to name but ſo much as one perſon that declared his diſlike at his election.' As to their 'upbraiding him with the meanneſs of his birth and original ſtation;' he replies, 'It was true, he was not deſcended from a long line of Princes; but that of the two, he had rather work out his own diſtinction, and derive his quality from virtue and merit, than be the degenerate iſſue of an illuſtrious family.' As to the charge of ingratitude, he tells them, 'the freedom he had taken with the King, in remonſtrating againſt his late proceedings, was no failure of reſpect, but rather a ſervice to his Prince;' and, 'that he muſt have anſwered for the King's miſcarriages, if he had been ſilent.' He adds, that 'in caſe he ſhould be forced to make uſe of his authority farther, and come to the laſt extremity, the King could have no reaſon to complain, having already had ſufficient admonition and warning of his errors.' As to the danger they ſuggeſt, of 'the King's withdrawing himſelf and his ſubjects from the communion of the See of Rome,' he hopes, 'his Highneſs will never apply to ſo unhappy an expedient.' He tells them, that 'the bare mention of ſuch a thought carries infection with it, and may do diſ-ſervice to the people.' As to what they urged, that 'the King was willing to remit the difference on foot to the arbitration of the Engliſh Church,' he replies, that, 'in the firſt place, the Biſhops had declared too much partiality againſt him, to be fit judges; and beſides, he never read, that inferiors had any authority over their ſuperiors, or Suffragans any right to be judges of their Metropolitans.' Towards the cloſe of the letter, he makes a kind of application to the King, 'entreating him not to think reformation any diſadvantage to, or repentance any diminution of, the Royal dignity.' Laſtly, he deſires his Suffragans to pray for him, 'that his conſtancy may not ſink under his afflictions, but that he may ſay, with the Apoſtle, that *neither life, nor death, nor angels, nor principalities, nor any other creature, ſhall be able to ſeparate him from the love of God* (44).'

[DD] *The Pope ſent two Cardinals —— to adjuſt the diſpute between the King and the Archbiſhop.*] They had a conference with the Archbiſhop near Giſors; from whence they repaired to the King of England, whom they found reſolved not to make any farther propoſals. King Henry complained to the Legates, that all the miſeries and confuſions of the war were occaſioned by Becket, who, he ſaid, had ſtirred up the King of France, and the Earl of Flanders, to attack him. But, when the Legates came to the King of France, that Prince cleared Becket of this imputation, and declared, he had always adviſed peace (45). Becket himſelf has given us an account of what paſſed at the conference between him and the Pope's Legates, in a letter addreſſed to his Holineſs upon that occaſion (46); to which the reader is referred.

[EE] *He made his ſubmiſſion to the King of England —— nevertheleſs the breach continued as wide as ever.*] A rumour had been ſpread, that the King intended to undertake the Cruſade, provided the affairs of the Church were ſettled to his ſatisfaction. The proſpect of this expedition made the Pope preſs an accommodation, and the Archbiſhop not unwilling to comply. When he came, therefore, into the preſence, he threw himſelf at the King's feet, and was immediately raiſed by his Highneſs. He behaved himſelf in his addreſs with great ſubmiſſion, entreated the King's favour to the Church of England, and attributed the paſt diſturbances to his own miſconduct. In the concluſion he made the King the umpire of the difference between them, *ſaving the honour of God.* The King of England was enraged at this clauſe of reſervation, and ſaid to the King of France, that whatever Becket did not reliſh, he would be ſure to pronounce contrary to the honour of God. 'However, *added the King*, to ſhew my inclination to accommodate matters, I will make him this propoſition: I have had many predeceſſors, Kings of England, ſome greater, and ſome inferior to myſelf; there have been likewiſe many great and holy men in the See of Canterbury. Let Becket, therefore,

(43) R. Hoved. *ubi ſupra*, p. 509.

(44) Hiſtor. Quadripart. l. v

(45) Gervaſ. *ubi ſupra*, col. 1402.

(46) Baron. Annal. *an.* 1168, n. 39.

all his intereſt both with the Engliſh and French Nobility; and the King of France immediately made him ſenſible of his diſpleaſure, by withdrawing from him his penſion. But he ſoon recovered that monarch's favour (*b*) [*FF*]. And now Becket proceeding in his cenſures, the Pope, at the inſtance of King Henry, diſpatched two other Legates to the Engliſh court, with letters to the King [*GG*] full of complaiſance and reſpect (*i*). But this expedient failed likewiſe of ſucceſs [*HH*], through the jealouſy of the Legates (*k*). Things continued in this poſture till the year 1169, when endeavours were again uſed to accommodate matters, at a ſecond interview between the Kings of England and France; but to no purpoſe, the Archbiſhop refuſing to comply, becauſe Henry perſiſted in denying him the *kiſs of peace* [*II*]. After this, Henry, fearing leſt Becket ſhould procure an interdict to be laid upon his dominions, ordered all his Engliſh ſubjects, above fifteen years of age, to take an oath, by which they renounced the authority of Archbiſhop Becket and Pope Alexander: but, though moſt of the Laity complied with this teſt of their loyalty, few or none of the Clergy could be induced to ſubſcribe it (*l*). The next year, King Henry being returned into England, and having cauſed his ſon Prince Henry to be crowned at Weſtminſter (where the ceremony was performed by Roger, Archbiſhop of York, without any proteſtation made to ſave the privilege of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to whoſe See that office of right belonged), Becket complained of this injury done him to the Pope, who ſuſpended the Archbiſhop of York, and excommunicated the

(*b*) Gervaſ. *ibid.*

(*i*) R. Hoved. *ibid.* p. 525. M. Paris, *ibid.*

(*k*) Rymer's *Fœd.* &c. Tom. i. p. 28. M. Paris, *ibid.*

(*l*) Gervaſ. Chron. *col.* 1408. R. de Dic. *ibid.*

‘fore, but pay me the ſame regard, and own my authority ſo far, as the greateſt of his predeceſſors owned that of the leaſt of mine, and I am ſatisfied. And, as I never forced him out of England, I give him leave to return at his pleaſure; and am willing he ſhould enjoy his archbiſhopric, with as ample privileges as any of his predeceſſors.’ Upon this the whole audience declared aloud, that the King had gone far enough in his condeſcenſions. And the King of France, being ſomewhat ſurpriſed at the Archbiſhop's ſilence, aſked him, why he heſitated to accept ſuch honourable conditions of peace? The Archbiſhop replied, he was willing to receive his See upon the terms his predeceſſors held it: But as for thoſe cuſtoms, which broke in upon the canons, he could not admit them. When thoſe who endeavoured to compoſe the difference perceived things tending to a rupture, they pulled the Archbiſhop out of the preſence, and preſſed him to ſubmit to the King's terms. But he, looking upon this as a betraying the cauſe of religion, rejected their advice. And thus the meeting broke up without effect (47).

(47) Gervaſ. *ubi ſupra*, col. 1405, 1406.

[*FF*] *He ſoon recovered the King of France's favour.*] When Becket found himſelf deſtitute of the means of ſupporting himſelf and his family, he reſolved to diſmiſs his retinue, and go a-begging. But, before he could put this fancy in practice, the King of France unexpectedly ſent for him. The Archbiſhop thought, that the buſineſs was to baniſh him the kingdom; in which opinion he was farther confirmed by the manner of his reception; for the King appeared diſturbed, and did not riſe to him, according to cuſtom. But, after a conſiderable ſilence, the King of France roſe up haſtily, burſt into tears, and throwing himſelf at the Archbiſhop's feet, accoſted him with theſe words: ‘My Lord, you are the only diſcerning perſon: no body's eyes have been open upon this occaſion, but your's. As for us, who adviſed you to wave the mention of *God's honour*, to humour a mortal man, we were all no better than ſtark blind. Father, I am ſorry for what I have done: I entreat your pardon, and that you would abſolve me for my miſbehaviour: And as for my perſon and kingdom, they are both at your ſervice (48).’ Whether the King of France repented of his behaviour towards Becket from a religious motive, or pretended to do ſo through policy, and for reaſons of ſtate, is not eaſily determined. However, the Archbiſhop was handſomely accommodated at Sens, and fared the better for the different intereſts of the French and Engliſh courts (49).

(48) *Id. ibid.*

(49) *Ibid.*

[*GG*] *The Pope's letter to King Henry.*] Amongſt other things, he acquaints the King, that he had furniſhed the Legates with full power to ſettle the matters in diſpute between his Highneſs and the Archbiſhop, and to determine any other difference which ſhould happen to ariſe. He informs the King farther, that he had reſtrained the Archbiſhop from exerciſing his authority to the diſadvantage either of his Highneſs, or any of his miniſters. And in caſe the Archbiſhop ſhould pronounce any cenſure againſt the King or kingdom, his Holineſs declares the ſentence null and void. And, if neceſſity required, the King had the liberty of publiſhing the Pope's letter, otherwiſe he was earneſtly deſired to keep it ſecret. And, to give farther ſatisfaction, he orders the Legates to abſolve thoſe of the King's council and court who lay under excommunication (50). Pope Alexander ſeems to have been apprehenſive, leſt the King ſhould break off from the communion of the Roman Church, or at leaſt declare for the Anti-Pope, ſupported by the Emperor.

(50) R. Hoved. *ubi ſupra*, p. 525.

[*HH*] *This expedient failed of ſucceſs.*] The Legates were, Gratian, the late Pope's nephew; and Vivian, an Advocate in the Court of Rome. Theſe men quickly agreed, as it was thought, the difference between the King and the Archbiſhop; the King conſenting that Becket might return into England, and enjoy the revenues and juriſdiction of his See, *ſaving the honour of the crown.* The Engliſh court being now in France, Vivian had orders to go into England, to abſolve thoſe who were excommunicated; and Gratian was to uſe his intereſt with Archbiſhop Becket to finiſh the agreement. But the King having occaſion to remove the next morning, the Legates began to ſuſpect that there might be a ſiniſter meaning in the *ſaving clauſe*, and therefore refuſed to ſtand to the articles. Upon this, the King ſent an expoſtulatory letter to the Pope; in which, having related the above-mentioned circumſtances, he tells his Holineſs, that, if he continued his partialities to Archbiſhop Becket, and did not reſtrain him from diſturbing the kingdom with his excommunications, he ſhould deſpair of juſtice from the See of Rome, and be forced to take other meaſures for the ſecurity and peace of his crown and dominions (51).

(51) Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. Tom. i. p. 28.

[*II*] *The Archbiſhop refuſed to comply, for being denied the* kiſs of peace.] The King had condeſcended ſo far, as to conſent, without any clauſe of reſervation, that the Archbiſhop ſhould enjoy his See, with the privileges of his predeceſſors, and offered a thouſand marks to defray the expence of his voyage into England. The Archbiſhop, who was preſent, replied, that he had been damaged to the value of thirty thouſand marks, and that, without reſtitution, the guilt of injuſtice would remain. However, at the inſtance of the King of France, and the nobility of both kingdoms, he dropped his claim to the money, and ſubmitted to the King's offer. And now, the terms being adjuſted, Becket, in purſuance of the Pope's inſtructions, deſired ſecurity for the articles. And when both the French and Engliſh court told him, ſuch a demand was not to be inſiſted upon to a Sovereign, he ſaid, he deſired no more than that the King would do him the honour of the cuſtomary *ſalute (oſculum pacis)*, as a mark of his favour and friendſhip. King Henry replied, he ſhould willingly have gratified this requeſt, had he not once ſwore in a paſſion, never to ſalute the Archbiſhop on the cheek; nor ſhould he bear him any ill-will for the omiſſion of this ceremony. The King of France, and the reſt of the mediators, ſuſpecting, probably, that there might be ſome unfriendly reſerve in the King of England's reply, left the Archbiſhop at his liberty, who reſolved not to accept the *Articles*, without the *kiſs of peace* (52).

(52) Gervaſ. *ubi ſupra*, col. 1408.

Biſhops that aſſiſted him, and lodged the inſtruments of theſe cenſures in Becket's hands (*m*). This year (1170) an accommodation was, at laſt, brought about between King Henry and Archbiſhop Becket [*KK*], upon the confines of Maine in Normandy; where the Archbiſhop (whether through pride or inadvertency) ſuffered the King to hold his horſe's bridle, while he mounted and diſmounted twice. After which, having taken leave of the French court, he prepared to return into England, accompanied by John, Dean of Saliſbury (*n*). But the Archbiſhop of York, and the reſt of the ſuſpended and excommunicated Biſhops, endeavoured to prevent his landing [*LL*]. He was received with great acclamations at Canterbury; where, almoſt as ſoon as he arrived, he received an order from the young King, commanding him to abſolve the ſuſpended and excommunicated Biſhops. But Becket refuſing to comply [*MM*], the Archbiſhop of York, and the Biſhops of London and Saliſbury, immediately carried their complaint to the old King in Normandy; who was ſo highly exaſperated at this freſh inſtance of obſtinacy and diſloyalty in Becket, that he could not forbear exclaiming, with great warmth, that ‘He was an unhappy Prince, who maintained a great number of lazy, inſignificant perſons about him, none of whom had gratitude or ſpirit enough to revenge him on a ſingle inſolent Prelate, who gave him ſo much diſturbance.’ Theſe words were heard by four gentlemen of the court, who immediately formed a deſign againſt the Archbiſhop's life; which they executed with great barbarity, in the cathedral church of Canterbury (*o*) [*NN*]. This eminent Prelate was murdered on the 29th of December, 1171.

(*m*) M. Paris, *ib.* p. 121, 122. Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. *col.* 1672.

(*n*) Gervaſ. Chron. *col.* 1412. R. Hoved. *ibid.* M. Paris, *ibid.* R. de Dic. *ibid.*

(*o*) Gervaſ. *ibid.* 1414, 1415. & Act. Pontif. *col.* 1672, 1673. M. Paris, *ibid.* p. 123, 124. R. de Dic. *ibid.* p. 691.

[*KK*] *An agreement was, at laſt, brought about between King Henry and Archbiſhop Becket.*] The Pope being informed that the King was in England, ſent a commiſſion to the Archbiſhop of Roan, and the Biſhop of Nevers, to go into England, to endeavour at an accommodation. Upon their acquainting the King with their inſtructions, he ſent them word, they might ſpare themſelves that trouble; for he deſigned quickly to be in France, and put a period to the diſpute with the Archbiſhop, as they ſhould direct. The King undertook the voyage accordingly, and the Archbiſhop waited upon him at the confines of Maine; where the difference was finally adjuſted, the King granting the Archbiſhop the enjoyment of his See, with all the privileges of his predeceſſors. He, likewiſe, gave him leave to animadvert upon the Archbiſhop of York, and the reſt of the Prelates concerned in the late coronation (53).

[*LL*] *The Archbiſhop of York, and the reſt of the ſuſpended and excommunicated Prelates, endeavoured to prevent his landing.*] They were afraid, leſt the Archbiſhop, upon his arrival, ſhould publiſh the Pope's ſentence againſt them. The ports, therefore, where they ſuſpected he might land, were guarded; and they had perſuaded Ralph de Brock, Reginald de Warenne, and Gervaſe, High-Sheriff of Kent, to appear upon the coaſt in a military manner. Theſe men were ſome of the Archbiſhop's greateſt enemies, and were ſo hardy as to give out, that, if he ſet his foot upon the Engliſh ſhore, they would cut off his head. The Archbiſhop, being informed of their deſign, ſent the Pope's letters of cenſure over the day before he embarked, and got them delivered to the Prelates concerned. The next day the Archbiſhop went aboard, and, arriving at the Engliſh coaſt, found a body of men armed upon the beach, and ready to attack him. The Dean of Saliſbury, fearing ſome miſchief, went aſhore firſt, and charged them, in the King's name, and under pain of high treaſon, not to offer any violence to the Archbiſhop, for that now all diſputes between him and the King were at an end. Upon this, they laid down their arms, and ſuffered the Archbiſhop to paſs (54).

[*MM*] *He refuſed to abſolve the ſuſpended and excommunicated Biſhops.*] He told the officers who brought the order, that it was not within the authority of an inferior juriſdiction to ſet aſide the ſentence of a ſuperior court, and that the Pope's cenſures could not be reverſed but by the Pope himſelf (55).

[*NN*] *The aſſaſſins executed their deſign with great barbarity, in the cathedral church of Canterbury.*] Their names were, Reginald Fitz-Urſe, William Tracy, Richard Briton, and Hugh Morvill (*). Theſe men, having concerted the aſſaſſination, went immediately on board, and landed at Dover. The next day, being the 29th of December, they came to Canterbury, and forced their way into the Archbiſhop's apartment. They told him, that they came from the King, to command him to abſolve the Biſhops under cenſure. Becket replied in the ſame manner as he had done to the King's officers (56). This anſwer not ſatisfying them, they charged the Monks of Canterbury, in the King's name, to keep the Archbiſhop ſafe, that he might be forthcoming; and then went away with a menacing air. The Archbiſhop told them, at parting, that he came not into England to abſcond, neither would their threats make any impreſſion upon him. The ſame day in the evening they returned to the palace, and, leaving a body of ſoldiers in the court-yard, ruſhed into the cloiſter with their ſwords drawn, and from thence into the church, where the Archbiſhop was at veſpers; and here calling out, *Where is the traitor?* and nobody anſwering, they aſked for the Archbiſhop: Upon which he moved towards them, and told them he was the perſon. He is ſaid not to have ſhewn the leaſt ſign of fear upon this occaſion. And when one of the aſſaſſins menaced him with death, he anſwered, ‘He was prepared to die for the cauſe of God, and in defence of the rights of the Church. But, *ſays he*, if you muſt have my life, I charge you, in the name of Almighty God, not to hurt any other perſon here, either Clergy or Laity; for none of theſe have any concern in the late tranſactions.’ Upon this they laid hands on him, and offered to drag him out of the church; but finding they could not do it without difficulty, they murdered him there. When he perceived their reſolution, he ſtooped his head to their ſwords; and though he received ſeveral wounds before he was diſpatched, he never gave a groan, nor offered to avoid a ſtroke. But one Edward Grimſere, a Clergyman belonging to the cathedral, perceiving one of the aſſaſſins aim a blow at the Archbiſhop's head, interpoſed his arm, and had it almoſt cut off (57). The aſſaſſins, after the murder, were afraid they had gone too far, and durſt not return to the King's court in Normandy; but rather choſe to retire to Knareſburgh in Yorkſhire, a town belonging to Hugh Morvill. Here they continued till they found themſelves the averſion and contempt of the country; for every body avoided their converſation, and would neither eat nor drink with them. At laſt, being tired with ſolitude and diſregard, and ſtruck with remorſe of conſcience, they took a voyage to Rome; and being admitted to penance by Pope Alexander III. they went to Jeruſalem, and, according to the Pope's order, ſpent their lives in penitential auſterities, and died in the *Black Mountain*. They were buried at Jeruſalem, without the church-door belonging to the Templars, and over them was put this inſcription (58)?

Hic jacent miſeri, qui martyrizaverunt beatum Thomam, Archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem.

‘Here lie the wretches who aſſaſſinated St. Thomas, Archbiſhop of Canterbury.’

If it be aſked, how it came to paſs that theſe murderers were not brought to juſtice for their crime, as they might eaſily have been; the anſwer is, that there was no law to puniſh with death any perſons that had killed a Clergyman; becauſe the Clergy, by exempt-

(53) *Id. ibid.* col. 1412.

(54) Baron. Annal. Tom. xii. *an.* 1170. *Sect.* 48—52.

(55) *Id. ibid.*

(*) *They are comprehended in this diſtich:*
Willielmus Traci, Reginaldus filius Urſi,
Ricardus Brito, nec non Morvilius Hugo.

(56) *See the preceding remark.*

(57) Gervaſ. *ubi ſupra*, col. 1414, 1415.

(58) R. Hoved. *ubi ſupra*, p. 522.

1171 (*p*) [*OO*]. The aſſaſſins deliberated, whether they ſhould throw his body into the ſea, or cut it in ſmall pieces: but before they could reſolve, the Prior and Monks withdrew it, and buried it in a vault in the cathedral. King Henry was extremely troubled at the news of Becket's death, and immediately diſpatched an embaſſy to Rome, to purge himſelf from the imputation of being the cauſe of it [*PP*]. At the ſame time, ſeveral complaints came to the Pope upon this accident (*q*) [*QQ*]. Upon the death of the Archbiſhop, all divine offices ceaſed in the church of Canterbury for one year, wanting nine days; at the end of which, by order of the Pope, it was reconſecrated (*r*). Two years after, Becket was canonized, by virtue of Pope Alexander's bull, dated March 13, 1173 (*s*). The ſame year, a particular *collect* was appointed to be uſed in all the churches of the province of Canterbury, for expiating the guilt of Becket's murder (*t*) [*RR*]. The next year, King Henry returning into England, went to Canterbury, where he did penance, and underwent a voluntary diſcipline [*SS*], as a teſtimony of his regret for the murder of Becket (*u*). In 1221, Becket's body was taken up, in the preſence of King Henry III. and a great concourſe of the nobility and others, and depoſited in a rich ſhrine, erected at the expence of Stephen Langton, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, on the eaſt ſide of the church (*w*). Forty-eight years after his deceaſe, the Doctors of the Univerſity of Paris had a warm diſpute, whether he was ſaved or damned. The miracles, ſaid to be wrought at his tomb, were ſo numerous, that Gervaſe of Canterbury tells us (*x*), there were two large volumes of them kept in that church. His ſhrine was viſited from all parts, and enriched with the moſt coſtly gifts and offerings. As to the character of Archbiſhop Becket, it is variouſly repreſented by various authors. Moſt of thoſe who wrote in his time, or near it, juſtify his conduct throughout, and make him a glorious martyr; while others, eſpecially later writers, ſet his character in a very diſadvantageous light. To aſſiſt the reader in forming his judgment, we ſhall throw together a few obſervations [*TT*], by which it will appear, that he was neither ſo great a *Saint*, as the former, nor ſo great a *Sinner*, as the latter make him.

(*p*) Dies Obitual. Archiep. Cant. *apud* Wharton. Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 56.

(*q*) M. Paris, *ibid.* p. 125. R. Hoved. *ibid.* p. 523, 524. Gervaſ. *ibid.* col. 1419.

(*r*) R. de Dic. *ibid.*

(*s*) Baron. Annal. Tom. xii. *an.* 1173. *Id.* Martyrol. Roman. *in* Decemb. 29.

(*t*) M. Paris, *ibid.* p. 127.

(*u*) Gervaſ. *ib.* col. 1427. M. Paris, *ibid.* p. 130.

(*w*) M. Paris, *ibid.* p. 310.

(*x*) Chronic. *ubi ſupra*, col. 1417.

ing themſelves from the King's juriſdiction, had put themſelves out of the protection of the law; and ſo Becket himſelf, who ſo violently oppoſed the ſecular power over the Clergy, and was by that means the cauſe that the blood of ſo many perſons was unrevenged, prevented the deſerved puniſhment of his own blood by the ſword of Juſtice.

[*OO*] *He was murdered on the 29th of December,* 1171.] His death, and the circumſtances of the time and place, are recorded in the following diſtichs, preſerved by John Bromton (59):

Henricus natus Matildis regna tenebat,
Sub quo ſacratus Thomas mucrone cadebat.

Annus millenus centenus ſeptuagenus
  Primus erat, Primas cum ruit enſe Thomas.

Anno milleno centeno ſeptuageno,
  Anglorum Primas corruit enſe Thomas.

Quis moritur? Præſul. Cur? Pro grege. Qualiter? enſe.
  Quando? Natali. Quis locus? Ara Dei.

Pro Chriſti Sponſa, Chriſti ſub tempore, Chriſti
  In Templo, Chriſti verus Amator obit.

[*PP*] *King Henry ſent an embaſſy to Rome, to purge himſelf from the imputation of being the cauſe of Becket's death.*] The King's ambaſſadors, at their firſt entrance into Rome, were roughly treated, and refuſed an audience. But they found means at laſt to procure one, by a proper application of five hundred marks. When they came into the Conſiſtory, they ſwore, in the King's name, that their maſter was ready to ſtand to the judgment of the Church concerning the death of the Archbiſhop. By taking of this oath, they prevailed with the Pope not to ſend out any interdict or excommunication againſt the King or his dominions (60).

[*QQ*] *Several complaints came to the Pope upon this accident.*] The King of France wrote to his Holineſs 'to draw St. Peter's ſword againſt King Henry, and 'to ſtudy ſome new and exemplary juſtice;' telling him, that 'the Univerſal Church was concerned in 'the diſcipline,' and putting him in mind of 'ſome 'miracles already ſaid to be done at Becket's tomb.' This letter was ſeconded by one from Stephen Earl of Blois, who declaims with great vehemence upon the barbarity of the murder, and uſes all his elocution to preſs the Pope to revenge it. He, likewiſe, ſtates the caſe in relation to the coronation of the young King by the Archbiſhop of York, telling his Holineſs, 'he was preſent when the Archbiſhop com'plained of that matter to the old King, who, in 'his hearing, left the Archbiſhop of York, and his 'aſſiſtants, to Becket's mercy, to be puniſhed as the 'Pope and he ſhould think fit.' The Archbiſhop of Sens alſo wrote to the Pope upon the ſame ſubject, charging King Henry with the Archbiſhop's death, and moving for an interdict upon his dominions (61).

[*RR*] *A* Collect — *for expiating the guilt of Becket's murder.*] It was this: *Adeſto, Domine, ſupplicationibus noſtris, ut qui ex iniquitate noſtra reos nos eſſe cognoſcimus, beati Thomæ martyris tui atque pontificis interceſſione liberemur* (62); i. e. 'Be favourable, O Lord, 'to our prayers, that we, who acknowledge ourſelves 'guilty of iniquity, may be delivered by the inter'ceſſion of Thomas thy bleſſed Martyr and Biſhop.'

[*SS*] *King Henry did penance, and underwent a voluntary diſcipline.*] When he came within ſight of the church where the Archbiſhop was buried, he alighted off his horſe, and walked barefoot, in the habit of a pilgrim, till he came to Becket's tomb, where, after he had proſtrated himſelf, and prayed for a conſiderable time, he ſubmitted to be ſcourged by the Monks, and paſſed all that day and night without any refreſhment, kneeling upon the bare ſtones. Which done, he beſtowed great benefactions upon the church of Canterbury (63).

[*TT*] *A few obſervations.*] The conteſt between King Henry II. and Archbiſhop Becket (we have ſeen) aroſe from hence: The King required, that Eccleſiaſtics, guilty of felony, murder, or other high crimes, ſhould be puniſhed immediately by the ſecular magiſtrate. This Becket oppoſed as a breach of the Canons, and an oppreſſion of the liberties of the Church (64). Now, if we inſpect the *Codes*, and examine the queſtion by the *Imperial Laws*, we ſhall find that the Emperors left the Clergy to the juriſdiction of their Biſhop, in matters relating to the *Church*; yet, when the *State* was concerned in the proſecution, no privilege of *Orders* could exempt them from the cognizance of the *Civil* courts (65). But, on the other hand, the *Engliſh Conſtitution* afforded ſeveral precedents in favour of the Archbiſhop's opinion: Particularly, King Alfred executed a Judge for trying and condemning a *Clerk* (66). And, in the conteſt between Archbiſhop Anſelm, and the Kings William Rufus and Henry I. it was taken for granted, that none but the Pope had a right to try the Archbiſhop (67). And that theſe precedents were ſupported by the *Conſtitution*, appears evidently from the old law-books, eſpecially *Bracton* (68) and *Fleta* (69). To which may be added, that the trial of *Clerks* in the King's courts was expreſsly condemned by Pope Alexander III. (70) But, allowing all this, the exemption of Clerks from the civil courts was no right inſeparable from their Order, but only a privilege

granted

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(59) *Apud* X Scriptor. *col.* 1064.

(60) Gervaſ. *ubi ſupra*, col. 1419.

(61) R. Hoved. *ubi ſupra*, p. 523, 524.

(62) M. Paris, *ubi ſupra*, p. 121.

(63) Gervaſ. *ubi ſupra*, col. 1427. M. Paris, *ibid.* p. 130.

(64) *See the remark* [*L*].

(65) *Vide* xvI. Cod. Theod. tit. ii. l. xxiii. *Ibid.* tit. ii. l. i. de Relig. Cod. Juſt. tit. ii. nov. lxxxiii. *Ibid.* tit. vi. nov. cxxiii.

(66) *Miroir des Juſtices*, c. 20.

(67) *Vid.* Eadm. Hiſt. Nov. *paſſim.*

(68) De Coron. l. iii. c. 9.

(69) De Utlegaiis, lib. i. c 28.

(70) Concil. Tom. x. p. 1431.

granted by the Crown, and, therefore, revokable by the ſame authority. From all which it follows, that however inexcuſable the Archbiſhop's oppoſition might be in the beginning, after the *Parliament* of *Clarendon* had enacted, that Clerks *ſhould* be tried in the King's courts, the Archbiſhop ought not to have inſiſted upon the former exemption. As to the other parts of his conduct, his firſt ſigning, and then renouncing, the *Articles* of *Clarendon*; his quitting the kingdom without the King's leave; his refuſing to return to his See upon the beſt terms enjoyed by any of his predeceſſors; his breaking off the accommodation only for being denied the *kiſs of peace*; and the like inſtances of rigour and inflexibility; are not to be defended. But then, as to any practices againſt the Crown, in abetting a foreign intereſt (with which he was charged), the King of France ſolemnly cleared him from any ſuch imputation (71). And with theſe few remarks his character muſt be left to the mercy, or ſeverity, of the reader. B.

(71) *See the remark* [*DD*].

⁂ [In the obſervations ſubjoined to the article ANSELM, we have given a ſufficient anſwer to ſuch remarks of our learned predeceſſor as ſeem to vindicate or palliate the extravagant claims of the Popiſh Biſhops and Clergy in former times. With regard, therefore, to the hints of this kind which occur in the notes [*C*] and [*TT*] of the preſent article, we ſhall only obſerve, that Becket's attempts to exalt the eccleſiaſtical above the civil power cannot admit either of juſtification or apology. The ſpirit, violence, and obſtinacy of his conduct, are largely and finely diſplayed in Lord Lyttelton's excellent Hiſtory of King Henry the Second, to which we muſt refer for a number of particulars, that, if inſerted, would extend this note to an improper length. There are ſome circumſtances, however, which cannot well be omitted. Becket, ſoon after his return to England from his ſtudies, which he had carried on at Auxerre in Burgundy, as well as at Bononia in Italy, diſcovered ſuch ſuperior talents for negociation, that Archbiſhop Theobald diſpatched him as his agent to the Pope, on a point he thought of great moment, which was to get the legantine power reſtored to the See of Canterbury. This commiſſion was performed with ſuch dexterity and ſucceſs, that the Archbiſhop entruſted to him all his moſt ſecret intrigues with the court of Rome, and particularly a matter of the higheſt importance to England, the ſoliciting from the Pope thoſe prohibitory letters againſt the crowning of Prince Euſtace, by which that deſign was defeated (72). This ſervice, which raiſed Becket's merit not only with the Prelate by whom he was employed, but alſo with King Henry, was the original foundation of his high fortune. It is remarkable, that he was the firſt Engliſhman, ſince the latter years of the reign of William the Conqueror, on whom any great office, either in church or ſtate, had been conferred by the Kings of the Norman race; the excluſion of the Engliſh from all dignities having been a maxim of policy, which had been delivered down by that monarch to his ſons (73). This maxim Henry the Second wiſely and liberally diſcarded, though the firſt inſtance in which he deviated from it happened to be ſingularly unfortunate. Whilſt Becket, during his being Chancellor, attended his royal maſter in the expedition againſt the Earl of Toulouſe, he gave a piece of advice which marked the ſpirit and fire of his character. This was, to ſeize the perſon of Lewis, King of France, who had imprudently thrown himſelf into the city of Toulouſe without an army. But the counſel was deemed too bold. Beſides ſeveral political reaſons againſt complying with it, it was thought an enormous and criminal violation of the feudal allegiance, for a vaſſal to take and hold in captivity the perſon of his lord (74). We need not inform our judicious readers, that Henry, though a very powerful monarch, did, by the large poſſeſſions he held in France, ſtand in the relation of a vaſſal to the King of that country. In the war againſt the Earl of Toulouſe, Becket, beſides his other military exploits, engaged, in ſingle combat, Engelvan de Trie, a French knight, famous for his valour, diſmounted him with his lance, and gained his horſe, which he led off in great triumph (75).

(72) Lord Lyttelton's Hiſtory of the Life of King Henry the Second, Vol. ii. p. 307, 308. 8*vo*, 3d Edition.

(73) *Ibid.* p. 309, 310.

(74) *Ib.* p. 417.

(75) *Ib.* p. 424, 425.

In the accounts uſually given of Becket's advancement to the See of Canterbury, it is ſaid, as we read in note [*E*], that it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he was prevailed upon to accept of this dignity, and that he predicted to the King the enſuing breach between them. But the truth of this ſtory is greatly doubted by Lord Lyttelton. It ſtands contradicted by the affirmation of Foliot, Biſhop of London, and ill agrees with the meaſures which were taken to procure Becket's election. His Biographers themſelves acknowledge, that one reaſon which induced Henry to promote him to Canterbury, was, *becauſe he hoped, that, by his means, he ſhould manage eccleſiaſtical, as well as ſecular affairs, to his own ſatisfaction*. Indeed, no other reaſonable motive can be found. Nothing could incline that Prince to make ſo extraordinary and ſo exceptionable a choice, but a firm confidence, that he ſhould be moſt uſefully aſſiſted by Becket, in the important reformation he meant to undertake, of ſubjecting the Clergy to the authority of the civil government. Nor is it credible that he ſhould not have revealed his intention, concerning that affair, to a favourite miniſter, whom he had accuſtomed to truſt, without reſerve, in his moſt ſecret counſels. But if ſuch a declaration had been made by that miniſter, as is related by the hiſtorians, it is ſcarcely to be ſuppoſed, that a King ſo prudent as Henry would have forced him into a ſtation, in which he certainly might have it in his power to be exceedingly troubleſome, inſtead of being ſerviceable to his royal maſter. It was by a different language that the uſual ſagacity of this Prince could have been deceived. Nor, indeed, could the moſt jealous and penetrating eye have diſcovered in Becket, after he was elected Archbiſhop of Canterbury, any marks of an enthuſiaſtic or bigotted zeal (76). That ſeveral indications of a contrary temper, and different principles, had appeared in his conduct, is ſhewn by Lord Lyttelton, who produces two remarkable inſtances in ſupport of his aſſertion. The ſame noble writer hath brought, likewiſe, ſatisfactory evidence, to prove that Becket was almoſt as eager for procuring the archbiſhopric, as his maſter could be to raiſe him to that dignity (77).

(76) *Ib.* Vol. iii. p. 20—22.

(77) *Ibid.* p. 22—29.

There is preſerved in the Cotton library, in the Britiſh Muſæum, a long letter from Gilbert Foliot, Biſhop of London, to Thomas Becket, from which the hiſtorian juſt mentioned hath collected the preceding account. From the ſame letter (78), and other authorities, he hath been enabled to give a more exact relation of the whole tranſactions reſpecting the Archbiſhop's behaviour concerning the Conſtitutions of Clarendon, and during the proceedings againſt him in the parliament of Northampton. We ſhall only tranſcribe Lord Lyttelton's obſervations on what was done concerning him in that parliament. 'It cannot, I think, be denied, that, whatever matters he was charged with in that aſſembly, the offence which drew upon him the diſpleaſure of the King, and without which he probably would have been accuſed of no other, was his renewed oppoſition to the Conſtitutions of Clarendon. Upon this a moſt ſevere inquiſition was made into the reſt of his conduct: complaints againſt him were ſought for; and it may ſeem, that in the courſe of theſe proſecutions national juſtice was ſomewhat ſharpened by royal reſentment. Yet that every thing was done according to law, we have great reaſon to preſume from the manner of proceeding; for he was not condemned by delegates appointed by the King, and particularly under his influence, but in the high court of parliament, by all the barons and biſhops of England. The biſhops at leaſt muſt have been careful not to concur in any judgment againſt the Primate, which was not agreeable to the methods and forms of law then eſtabliſhed, and to the nature and quality of the offence; becauſe, beſides their own conſciences and the reproach of the world, they had the reſentment of Rome to apprehend in this buſineſs; it being certain that Alexander would ſupport the Archbiſhop, as far as the caſe would admit. And it is very evident, that all poſſible care was taken, in the proceedings againſt that prelate, to avoid ſuch matters as might engage the See of Rome in the quarrel. For this reaſon it was, that the King did not accuſe him of violating the laws he had ſworn to maintain, in points relating to the clergy; but charged him as a civil officer, indebted to him in great ſums, during the time of his miniſtry, and whoſe accounts had not been duly or regularly paſt. He did not attempt to prove (and a contemporary hiſtorian ſays he *could not* prove) that the King had, by any order or act of his own, either previouſly authoriſed, or afterwards

(78) *Ib.* Vol. iv. p. 414. Appendix, No. II.

ratified, the pretended diſcharge, which he ſaid had been given to him, upon his promotion to the See of Canterbury, by the young Prince, then an infant, and by the juſticiary, in a very extraordinary manner, and without any examination of his accounts, on which a diſcharge could have been properly grounded. Whether the words ſpoken by them on that occaſion, *that they gave him to the church of Canterbury free and diſcharged from all the bonds of the court*, could be ſuppoſed to extend to ſuch an acquittance; or how far the King's ſubſequent or preceding indulgence might be admitted, in equity, to bar, or at leaſt to mitigate, the preſent demand, were points which the parliament might have favourably conſidered, if, with due obedience, he had ſubmitted the caſe to their judgment. But for one ſtanding ſo charged to deny the authority of the higheſt court in the kingdom, and, in a cauſe purely civil, appeal from thence to an eccleſiaſtical and foreign court, when ſuch an appeal, even in ſpiritual cauſes, had been ſo lately forbidden by one of the ſtatutes enacted at Clarendon, was the higheſt act of contumacy that can be conceived: it was not only an infringement of that particular law, but a rebellion againſt all the laws of the land and the whole legiſlature! His only apology was what a writer of his life, who lived in thoſe times, ſays, he declared to the biſhops, in anſwer to their objection of the ſolemn promiſe they had made to obſerve all the rights and prerogatives of the crown; namely, *that a Chriſtian King had no right or prerogative, by the exerciſe whereof the liberties of the church, which he had ſworn to maintain, could receive any prejudice.* But the queſtion was, how far the *liberties of the church* extended? and the legiſlature had already decided that queſtion, by declaring thoſe cuſtoms, againſt which he objected, to be obligatory on all the ſubjects of England; and thoſe pretended liberties, which he preſumed to aſſert in behalf of the clergy, to be illegal encroachments and innovations. The parliament, therefore, could not poſſibly recede from this judgment, nor allow a ſubject to deny the validity of the laws which the King and they had eſtabliſhed, diſclaim their authority, and declare himſelf only reſponſible for his conduct to God and the Pope. Odo, Biſhop of Bayeux, and Flambard, Biſhop of Durham, had been impriſoned for offences of leſs danger to the ſtate. Nevertheleſs, it is evident, that Henry had no intention, if Becket had ſtaid in the kingdom, to puniſh him with ſuch rigour as his behaviour deſerved. He only deſired to deprive him of his archbiſhopric, and reduce him to a condition, in which his turbulent ſpirit would not be ſo troubleſome to the government and peace of the kingdom. It would perhaps have been a wiſer concluſion of the proceedings againſt him at Northampton, if, immediately after his contumacious departure from the court, the King had ordered him to be arreſted, and forced from the monaſtery into ſome place of ſafe cuſtody. But, unqueſtionably, the worſt fault committed by that Prince, in the management of this buſineſs, was allowing the biſhops to appeal to the Pope, inſtead of joining in the ſentence which the other barons pronounced againſt the Primate. Indeed that appeal was made in conſequence of the Archbiſhop's; but it was equally offenſive to the dignity of the kingdom: it admitted the judicature of the Pope in a matter, of which he had no proper cognizance, and gave him an authority to reviſe and rejudge what ought to have been finally determined in England, by the law of the land and the judgment of the barons. There was much evil in this conceſſion; but Henry was unwarily induced to make it, by his very earneſt deſire of keeping the biſhops on his ſide in this conteſt, and by a belief that the Pope would be perſuaded by them to conſider the diſpute as a pecuniary cauſe between him and his late chancellor, in which the church, or the hierarchy, had no concern. And if, through their mediation, that pontiff could be prevailed upon to depoſe the Archbiſhop, he thought it would as effectually anſwer his purpoſe as more violent methods, and leſs diſturb the tranquility of his kingdom. But he was greatly deceived in theſe opinions. Becket acted more artfully, and with a truer diſcernment of the conſequences that would follow from his conduct. By his plea of exemption from all ſecular juriſdiction, and by citing the biſhops to anſwer at the tribunal of the Pope, for having concurred with the laity in the former judgments againſt him, he intereſted the authority of Rome in his quarrel; and inſtead of a defendant in a weak or doubtful cauſe, made himſelf plaintiff in behalf of the Church, and the champion of that court to which he appealed. Thus the policy of the King was baffled, and his hope diſappointed; the conteſt not being, in Alexander's opinion, whether Becket ought to pay the debt he was charged with, but what were the limits of the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers (79).'

We ſhall add the general character which Lord Lyttelton has drawn of Becket, after he has given an account of his murder. 'Thus, in the fifty-third year of his age, was aſſaſſinated Thomas Becket; a man of great talents, of elevated thoughts, and of invincible courage; but of a moſt violent and turbulent ſpirit; exceſſively paſſionate, haughty, and vain-glorious; in his reſolutions inflexible, in his reſentments implacable. It cannot be denied that he was guilty of a wilful and premeditated perjury; that he oppoſed the neceſſary courſe of public juſtice, and acted in defiance of the laws of his country; laws which he had moſt ſolemnly acknowledged and confirmed: nor is it leſs evident, that, during the heat of this diſpute, he was in the higheſt degree ungrateful to a very kind maſter, whoſe confidence in him had been boundleſs, and who from a private condition had advanced him to be the ſecond man in his kingdom. On what motives he acted, can be certainly judged of by Him alone, *to whom all hearts are open.* He might be miſled by the prejudices of a bigotted age, and think he was doing an acceptable ſervice to God, in contending, even to death, for the utmoſt exceſs of eccleſiaſtical and papal authority. Yet the ſtrength of his underſtanding, his converſation in courts and camps, among perſons whoſe notions were more free and enlarged, the different colour of his former life, and the ſuddenneſs of the change which ſeemed to be wrought in him upon his election to Canterbury, would make one ſuſpect, as many did in the times wherein he lived, that he only became the champion of the Church from an ambitious deſire of ſharing its power; a power more independent on the favour of the King, and therefore more agreeable to the haughtineſs of his mind, than that which he had enjoyed as a miniſter of the crown. And this ſuſpicion is increaſed by the marks of cunning and falſeneſs, which are evidently ſeen in his conduct on ſome occaſions. Neither is it impoſſible, that, when firſt he aſſumed his new character, he might act the part of a zealot, merely or principally from motives of arrogance and ambition; yet, afterwards, being engaged, and inflamed by the conteſt, work himſelf up into a real enthuſiaſm. The continual praiſes of thoſe with whom he acted, the honours done him in his exile by all the clergy of France, and the vanity which appears ſo predominant in his mind, may have conduced to operate ſuch a change. He certainly ſhewed in the latter part of his life a ſpirit as fervent as the warmeſt enthuſiaſt's; ſuch a ſpirit indeed as conſtitutes *heroiſm*, when it exerts itſelf in a cauſe beneficial to mankind. Had he defended the eſtabliſhed laws of his country, and the fundamental rules of civil juſtice, with as much zeal and intrepidity as he oppoſed them, he would have deſerved to be ranked with thoſe great men, whoſe virtues make one eaſily forget the allay of ſome natural imperfections: but, unhappily, his good qualities were ſo miſapplied, that they became no leſs hurtful to the public weal of the kingdom, than the worſt of his vices (80).'

Mr. Hume, after having related the Archbiſhop's aſſaſſination, ſays, 'This was the tragical end of Thomas a Becket, a prelate of the moſt lofty, intrepid, and inflexible ſpirit, who was able to cover, to the world and probably to himſelf, the enterprizes of pride and ambition, under the diſguiſe of ſanctity and of zeal for the intereſts of piety and religion: An extraordinary perſonage, ſurely, had he been allowed to remain in his firſt ſtation, and had directed the vehemence of his character to the ſupport of law and juſtice; inſtead of being engaged, by the prejudices of the times, to ſacrifice all private duties and public connexions to tyes, which he imagined, or repreſented, as ſuperior to

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(79) *Ib.* Vol. ii. p. 58—62.

(80) *Ibid.* p. 361—363.

‘ every civil and political conſideration. But no man, who enters into the genius of that age, can reaſonably doubt of this prelate's ſincerity (81).’

We cannot forbear adding the ſame hiſtorian's ingenious and liberal obſervations on the extravagant regard which was paid to Becket's memory, after his death. ‘ The clergy, mean while, though their rage was happily diverted from falling on the King, were not idle in magnifying the ſanctity of Becket; in extolling the merits of his martyrdom; and in magnifying him above all that devoted tribe, who, in ſeveral ages, had, by their blood, cemented the fabric of the temple. Other ſaints had only borne teſtimony in their ſufferings to the general doctrines of Chriſtianity; but Becket had ſacrificed his life to the power and privileges of the clergy; and this peculiar merit challenged, and not in vain, a ſuitable acknowledgment to his memory. Endleſs were the panegyrics on his virtues; and the miracles, operated by his relics, were more numerous, more nonſenſical, and more impudently atteſted, than thoſe which ever filled the legend of any confeſſor or martyr. Two years after his death he was canonized by Pope Alexander; a ſolemn jubilee was eſtabliſhed for celebrating his merits; his body was removed to a magnificent ſhrine, enriched with preſents from all parts of Chriſtendom; pilgrimages were performed to obtain his interceſſion with Heaven; and it was computed, that, in one year, above an hundred thouſand pilgrims arrived in Canterbury, and paid their devotions at his tomb. It is indeed a mortifying reflection to thoſe who are actuated by the love of fame, ſo juſtly denominated the laſt infirmity of noble minds, that the wiſeſt legiſlator and moſt exalted genius that ever reformed or enlightened the world, can never expect ſuch tributes of praiſe as are laviſhed on the memory of a pretended ſaint, whoſe whole conduct was probably, to the laſt degree, odious or contemptible, and whoſe induſtry was entirely directed to the purſuits of objects pernicious to mankind. It is only a conqueror, a perſonage no leſs intitled to our hatred, who can pretend to the attainment of equal renown and glory (82).’ The concluding remark of the preceding paſſage has an admirable acuteneſs, and a juſt ſeverity. The praiſes, however, which have been laviſhed on the memory of Becket, are not to be compared with the ſolid and laſting fame that attends the wiſe legiſlator and the exalted genius. Such praiſes, when the loudeſt and moſt extenſive, are only the voice of folly and bigotry; they decreaſe with the progreſs of human reaſon; and, at laſt, the character is ſeen in its true light of contempt or hatred: whereas ſound lawgivers, enlightened philoſophers, and genuine poets, receive, from the beginning, the applauſes of the beſt judges of merit; and, in the courſe of time, their reputation is widely diffuſed, and becomes fixed on a baſis that cannot be ſhaken.

The aſſertion in the text, that Thomas Becket was murdered in 1171, is a miſtake. He was certainly aſſaſſinated in 1170; and Roger Hoveden, Giraldus Cambrenſis, and other ancient writers, who place this event in 1171, mean the ſame time. The reaſon of the ſeeming difference is, that they reckon the beginning of the year from the 25th of December, our Lord's nativity, and not, as they ought to have done, from the 1ſt of January. Some hiſtorians, and among the reſt Godwin de Præſulibus Angliæ, ſay, that the Archbiſhop was killed on the 28th of December; an error into which they were led by not obſerving that it was only the 29th of that month which could anſwer to the fourth of the kalends of January (83). From Mr. Thomas Warton we learn, that Becket was the ſubject of poetical legends. *The Lives of the Saints* in verſe, in Bennet's library (*Numb.* CLXV.), contain his martyrdom and tranſlation. This manuſcript is ſuppoſed to be of the fourteenth century (84). The ſame ingenious writer informs us, from Peter de Blois, that the palace of Becket was perpetually filled with biſhops highly accompliſhed in literature, who paſſed their time there, in reading, diſputing, and deciding important queſtions of the ſtate. ‘ Theſe prelates, though men of the world, were a ſociety of ſcholars; yet very different from thoſe who frequented the univerſities, in which nothing was taught but words and ſyllables, unprofitable ſubtleties, elementary ſpeculations, and trifling diſtinctions. De Blois was himſelf eminently learned, and one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed ornaments of Becket's attendants (85).’ We know that John of Saliſbury, his intimate friend, the companion of his exile, and the writer of his life, was ſcarcely exceeded, by any man of his time, for his knowledge in philological and polite literature].

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(81) Hume's Hiſtory of England, Vol. i. p. 447. *8vo.*

(82) *Ib.* p. 451, 452.

(83) Wharton's Anglia Sacra, Vol. i. p. 111. *Ibid.* Vol. ii. p. 425. Richardſon's *Godwin de Præſul.* p. 28.

(84) Hiſtory of Poetry, Vol. i. p. 14. 17, 18. Emendations to ditto in Vol. ii.

(85) *Ib.* Vol. ii. p. 429, 430.

BECKINGTON (THOMAS) [*A*], was born in the pariſh of Beckington [*B*], in Somerſetſhire (*a*), towards the end of the fourteenth century. He was probably educated in grammar learning at Wykeham's ſchool near Wincheſter, and admitted Fellow of New-College in Oxford in 1408 (*b*); though ſome ſay he had alſo part of his education in Merton-college (*c*). However, he continued Fellow of New-College about twelve years, and took his Doctor of Law's degree (*d*). Within this period, moſt probably, he was preſented to the rectory of St. Leonard's, near Haſtings in Suſſex, and to the vicarage of Sutton-Courtney in Berkſhire (*e*). He was alſo Prebendary of Bedwin, York, and Litchfield; Archdeacon of Buckingham (*f*); and Maſter of St. Catherine's hoſpital near the Tower in London. About the year 1429, he was Dean of the Court of Arches; and a Synod being then held in St. Paul's church, London, which continued above ſix months, Beckington was employed, jointly with William Linwood, Official of the Court of Arches, and Thomas Brown, Vicar-General to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to draw up a form of law, according to which the Wickliffites or Lollards were to be proceeded againſt (*g*). Before our author was made Dean of the Arches, he was Advocate in Doctors-Commons (*h*). But theſe preferments were inconſiderable, in compariſon of the honours to which he was afterwards raiſed: For, having been tutor to King Henry VI. (*i*), and written a book, wherein, in oppoſition to the Salique Law, he ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the right of the Kings of England to the crown of France (*k*), he arrived to a great degree of

(*a*) Leland. Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 447. A. Wood, Antiq. Univ. Oxon. p. 134. Pits, de Script. an. 1450.

(*b*) A. Wood, *ibid.*

(*c*) Godwin, de Præſulibus, &c. Lond. 1616, p. 434. Anglia Sacra, Tom. i. p. 573.

(*d*) A. Wood, *ubi ſupra*, p. 130. 134.

(*e*) *Ibid.*

(*f*) Godwin, p. 434. Br. Willis's Survey, &c. Vol. i. p. 119. 451. and Vol. ii. p. 121.

(*g*) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Script. an. 1450, n. 842.

(*b*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, p. 134.

(*i*) A. Wood Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. p. 130.

(*k*) Leland, *ubi ſupra.* Bale, Script. Britan. Cent. VIII. n. 10. Pits, de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. an. 1450, n. 842.

[*A*] BECKINGTON (THOMAS). This name is variouſly written. In Leland (1) it is *Becchendunus*; in Pits (2), *Becchintonus*; in Godwin (3), *de Bekintona*; and in A. Wood (4), *Beckyntonus*.

[*B*] *In the pariſh of Beckington.*] Some ſay Beckhampton; but it doth not appear that there is a pariſh ſo named in Somerſetſhire, but only Beckington. Beckhampton is in Wiltſhire (5). Biſhop Godwin thinks (6), that T. Beckington was not born in that pariſh, becauſe he left the poor of it only five pounds in his will: and it is probable he would have left them more, had it been his native place. *Quis enim crediderit beneficientiam erga ſolum natale tam anguſtis terminis coërcendam?* For, who could think that his charity towards the place of his nativity ſhould be confined within ſo narrow bounds? But this argument is not very concluſive. On the contrary, it appears from the following verſe, cited by Leland (7), that he was really born there:

Beckingtona mihi dedit ortum; balnea, fontes
Faſces. - - - - -

i. e. Beckington gave me birth, and Bath dignity.

(1) *Ubi ſupra.*
(2) *Ubi ſupra.*
(3) *Ubi ſupra.*
(4) *Ubi ſupra.*

(5) See Villare Anglicum, Lond. 1678, *8vo.* and Ecton's Liber valorum.

(6) De Præſulibus, &c. Lond. 1616, *4to*, p. 434.

(7) *Ubi ſupra.*

eſteem and favour with that Prince [*C*]; and, in conſequence of that, was made Secretary of State, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, and at laſt Biſhop of Bath and Wells *(l)*. He was conſecrated, October 13, 1443, in the new chapel of Eton-college, which was not yet finiſhed; and was the firſt that officiated in that chapel *(m)*. His character is thus repreſented: He was well ſkilled in polite learning and hiſtory, and very converſant in the holy Scriptures; a good preacher, and ſo generous a patron and favourer of all learned and ingenious men, that he was called the Mæcenas of his age *(n)*. As for his works of munificence and charity, they were numerous. He finiſhed Lincoln-college *(o)*, which had been left imperfect by its founder, Richard Flemming, Biſhop of Lincoln [*D*], and got the manor of Newton-Longville ſettled upon New-College, Oxon, in 1440 *(p)*. Moreover, he laid out ſix thouſand marks upon the houſes belonging to his See; built an edifice, called New-Buildings, and the weſt ſide of the cloiſters at Wells; and erected a conduit in the market-place of that city *(q)*. By his will, which he made November 3, 1464, and procured to be confirmed under the Great Seal [*E*], he left ſeveral legacies [*F*]. This generous perſon died at Wells, January 14, 1464-5, and was buried in his cathedral, where his monument is ſtill to be ſeen *(r)*. His panegyric was written by Thomas Chandler [*G*], Warden of New-College, who had been preferred by him to the Chancellorſhip of Wells *(s)*. He doth not appear to have ever been Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford *(t)*.

(l) Ibid. & Godwin, *ubi ſupra*, p. 433.

(m) Godwin, *ibid.*

(n) Leland, Bale, & Pits, *ubi ſupra.* Wood Hiſt. & Antiq. p. 134.

(o) Godwin, *ubi ſupra.*

(p) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, p. 130.

(q) Godwin, *ubi ſupra*, p. 433.

(r) Godwin, *ubi ſupra*, p. 435. Wood, *ubi ſupra*, p. 134.

(s) Wood, *ibid.*

(t) Anglia Sacra, p. 573.

[*C*] *Having written a book, wherein ——— he ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the right of the Kings of England to the crown of France.*] This book is preſerved in MS. in the Cottonian library, Tiberius, B. xii. Some other pieces of his are in the ſame library; Tiber. B. vi. And a large collection of his letters is in the Archbiſhop's library at Lambeth. There are alſo aſcribed to him, *a book of Sermons*; and a few other things (8).

[*D*] *He finiſhed Lincoln-College, &c.*] Biſhop Godwin obſerves (9), that the memory of that is preſerved, by the Rebus carved upon the walls of the college, namely, a *becon* and a *ton*.

[*E*] *Procured to be confirmed under the Great Seal.*] This he did, leſt, as he had been a great ſtickler for the Lancaſtrian intereſt, King Edward IV., who was then reigning, ſhould ſeize his effects after his deceaſe, upon ſome pretence or other (10).

[*F*] *He left ſeveral legacies.*] Particularly twenty pounds for repairing the cathedral of Wells, and four hundred pounds for buying plate and veſtments for the uſe of the ſame. A great quantity of plate to Wykeham's ſchool near Wincheſter, and to New College, Oxon. To St. Catherine's hoſpital, fifty ſhillings. To the pariſhes of Beckington, Sutton Courtney, and Bedwin, five pounds a piece, to be diſtributed amongſt the poor (11), &c.

[*G*] *His panegyric* was written by Thomas Chandler.*] A. Wood obſerves (12), that Leland, Bale, Pits, and Godwin, are miſtaken in calling him John; for his true name was Thomas. M.

(8) Anglia Sacra. Leland, Bale, Pits, & Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(9) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 433.

(10) Godwin, *ubi ſupra*, p. 433.

(11) *Ibid.* p. 434.

* It is publiſhed in Anglia Sacra, Vol. ii. p. 357.

(12) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. p. 134.

BEDA, an Engliſh Monk in the VIIIth century, well known to the world by the name of *Venerable Bede*, and one of the beſt writers of his time *(a)*. He was born in the year 672, or, as ſome will have it, in 673, on the eſtates afterwards belonging to the two famous abbies of St. Peter and St. Paul in the biſhopric of Durham, at Wermouth and Jarrow, near the mouth of the river Tyne *(b)* [*A*]. Of this we have as good proof as the nature of the fact requires, though there want not ſome who would rob us of this great man, in order to make him a native of Italy, or ſome other part of Europe *(c)*; though the truth is, he never ſtirred out of England, and ſcarcely out of the North: but notwithſtanding our title to him is inconteſtable, yet the very controverſy concerning him

(a) Leland. de Script. Britan. cap. lxxxvii. p. 115. Bale, Script. Illuſt. Major. Brit. Cent. II. p. 94. Mabillon. Acta Benedict. Sæcul. III. P. i. p. 539.

(b) Bed. ad Fin. Epitom. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt.

(c) Hector. Boëth. Hiſtor. Scot. lib. ix. p. 191.

[*A*] *At Wermouth and Jarrow, near the mouth of the river Tyne.*] The accounts we have of the birth-place of this great man, though very authentic, are nevertheleſs ſomewhat dark and obſcure (1). The firſt of theſe two abbies was that of St. Peter, built at the mouth of the river Wyre by King Ecfred, in the fourth year of his reign, at the inſtigation of Abbot Benedict. The other, dedicated to St. Paul, was built ſome years after, that is to ſay, in the fifteenth year of the ſame King, at a place called Gyrwy in ancient times, but it is now ſaid to be called Jarrow or Yarrow, which Leland tells us ſtood four miles from Newcaſtle (2). The Danes, in ſucceeding times, landed often in the mouth of the river Tyne, and deſtroyed both of theſe monaſteries over and over. It was in the latter of them that Beda was educated; and though after they were thus ruined they became cells to Durham, and only two or three black Monks reſided in them, yet they carefully preſerved the cell in which Beda dwelt, and were wont to ſhew ſtrangers his oratory, and therein a little altar, which appeared to have been once covered with a kind of ſerpentine or green marble (3). At the time of the ſuppreſſion of religious houſes, they were thus valued, *viz.* St. Peter at 25 l. 8 s. 4 d. *per annum.* St. Paul 38 l. 14 s. 4 d. *per ann.* Dugd. 40 l. 7 s. 8 d. Speed (4). This is the beſt account can be drawn from old authors concerning theſe religious houſes: but by comparing ſeveral circumſtances together, and by conſidering the face of the country as it lies at preſent, we ſhall be able to ſet this matter in a pretty clear light. In the firſt place, we muſt obſerve, that the diſtance between Weremouth and Jarrow (for ſo theſe places are now called) is ſix miles or thereabouts, the country between them being bounded by the river Were on one ſide, and the river Tyne on the other (5). The former of theſe rivers falls into the ſea at Sunderland, from which the monaſtery of St. Peter ſtood but at a very ſmall diſtance, and it was upon the lands afterwards given to this monaſtery that our author Beda was born, as appears from the Saxon paraphraſe of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (6). I ſay on the lands afterwards given to this monaſtery, becauſe it appears from Beda's own writings, that it was not founded till the year 674, and conſequently not till after he was born; and he particularly tells us, that this religious houſe ſtood on the north ſide of the river (7). But though he was born in the neighbourhood of Weremouth, yet it is certain that he reſided in a monaſtery of St. Paul's at Jarrow, which was ſituated near the river Tyne. Both monaſteries, as they were erected by the advice of Abbot Benedict, ſo they were governed by him, and Abbots under him, during the courſe of his life, as appears from Beda's own account (8). Theſe particulars may to ſome readers appear trivial; but as I do not find all of them taken notice of before, and as the accounts hitherto given of his birth and reſidence ſeem very perplexed for want of them, I thought my pains well beſtowed in ſetting them in the cleareſt light I could; the rather, becauſe ſome foreign authors have reproached us with want of care in writing the hiſtory of this learned man, who is juſtly eſteemed ſo great an honour to our country.

(1) See what is ſaid on this ſubject in our General and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians.

(2) Leland. Collectan. Vol. ii. p. 302, 303.

(3) *Ibid.* Vol. iii. p. 39.

(4) Tanner's Notit. Monaſt. 8vo. p. 56.

(5) Todd's MS. notes on the Saxon verſion of Beda's Hiſtory.

(6) See the Appendix to that Hiſtory in Whelock's edition.

(7) Hiſtoria Abbatum Wiremuthenſium & Girwienſium, p. 224.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 225.

does his memory honour [*B*]. At the age of ſeven years, or about *A. D.* 679, he was brought to the monaſtery of St. Peter, and committed to the care of Abbot Benedict, under whom, and his ſucceſſor Ceolfrid, he was moſt carefully educated for twelve years; and he amply repaid the pains taken by them in that ſpace, by writing their Lives, which have been preſerved to our times *(d)*. At the age of nineteen he was ordained Deacon, and thenceforward taught and ſtudied with incredible diligence, going from his books to his prayers, and from his prayers to his books; being admired by all who knew him, and conſidered by the Monks as their pattern (*e*). Yet the great praiſes he received noway abated his modeſty, which was no leſs conſpicuous than his learning. In the year 702, being then thirty, he was, by the expreſs command of Ceolfrid his Abbot, ordained Prieſt (as he had been Deacon) by John of Beverly, then Biſhop of Hagulſtad or Hexham, who had been formerly his preceptor *(f)* [*C*]. His amazing diligence and application, his comprehenſive genius, his extenſive and various learning, rendered him ſo remarkable, that his fame quickly paſſed the limits of this iſland, and diffuſed itſelf through the Continent, and more particularly at Rome, from whence Pope Sergius wrote in very preſſing terms to his Abbot Ceolfrid, that Beda might be ſent to Rome, where he wanted to conſult him upon many important ſubjects *(g)*. But, notwithſtanding this honourable invitation, Bede remained in his own cell, and there purſued his ſtudies without interruption, and never took a journey to Rome, though that was in thoſe days very far from being uncommon, and one cannot help wondering how he could avoid it [*D*]. But his great

[*B*] *The very controverſy concerning him does his memory honour.*] The famous Hector Boëthius tells us, that there has been a great ſtruggle between Italy and England for the honour of Beda's birth, and that the Hiſtorians of the firſt mentioned country contend that he was not only born at, but died, and was interred at Genoa, where his tomb was ſhewn in juſtification and ſupport of this fact. But, ſays he, wherever he lived or died, it appears clearly from his own writings, and thoſe of others, that he ſpent part of his youth in Italy, and his old age in Northumberland, reſiding frequently in the famous abbey of Mailros (9). Leland is very angry with Boëthius for this aſſertion, and takes a great deal of pains to prove that all the facts mentioned by Hector are abſolutely falſe (10). But notwithſtanding this, Dempſter has thought fit to place him amongſt the learned men of Scotland (11), where he ſays he lived for ſome time, though he confeſſes that he died in England. He cites what is ſaid of him by Boëthius, and adds a great many authorities, to prove that there was a Beda who flouriſhed at Genoa, and gives it as his own opinion, that there were two of this name who flouriſhed about the ſame time, were of the ſame order, and wrote ſeveral treatiſes upon the ſame ſubjects, which he thinks gave occaſion to this confuſion; and that the only way to extricate ourſelves from it is, to admit that there were *two* Beda's, one a native of England, and the other of Liguria. I do not find, however, that Dempſter's opinion in this matter has been much followed, or even thought of, and yet it is much more worthy of notice than his and Boëthius's notion of his living in Scotland, for which I cannot find ſo much as the ſhadow of any authority. It is true, Beda ſays a great deal of the Scots in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and ſeems to be very well acquainted with their affairs: but inſtead of making for, this is directly againſt Dempſter's opinion, in as much as the Scots mentioned by Beda were the Iriſh, not the Britiſh Scots, whom Beda looked upon as Schiſmatics (12).

[*C*] *Who had been formerly his preceptor.*] This John of Beverly was a perſon every way of great character, and exemplary piety and learning. He became Biſhop of Hexham in the reign of Alphrid, King of Northumberland, and afterwards was promoted to be Biſhop of York (13). He had always a great affection for his diſciple Beda, and kept a very cloſe correſpondence with him. It was probably from him that our author took his opinions in reference to the monaſtic ſtate, and the duties of ſuch as embraced it (14). The Biſhop thought, that in all profeſſions men ought to labour for their own maintenance, and for the benefit of the ſociety. He was conſequently againſt the great errors of this inſtitution, which ſeems rather to promote eaſe and indolence than religious fervour, and aſſiduous application to ſtudy. He perſuaded Beda, that the duties of that kind of life conſiſted in a fervent and edifying devotion, a ſtrict adherence to the rule of the houſe, an abſolute ſelf-denial with reſpect to the things of this world, a ſtrict obedience to the will of his Abbot, and a conſtant proſecution of his ſtudies in ſuch a way, as might moſt conduce to the benefit of his brethren, and the general advantage of the Chriſtian world. Beda cloſely and conſtantly followed theſe inſtructions; for with reſpect to devotion and ſtudy, Alcuinus, his contemporary, in a letter to the Monks of Wyremuth and Jarrow, congratulates them on this very ſubject, and treats the life that Beda led, as a kind of model for other monks (15). His modeſty and humility ſtand confeſſed not only in his writings, but from his actions; ſince he never deſired to change his condition, or even affected the honours to which he might have attained in that condition. In regard to obedience it appears, that in taking Deacons and Prieſts orders, he ſubmitted to the commands of his ſuperiors, and did what they eſteemed fitteſt for the ſervice of the community to which he belonged. Yet he was very well known to, and much eſteemed, by this great man when Biſhop of York, and to Princes and perſons of the higheſt quality: but he turned this acquaintance to their advantage, not his, by addreſſing to them many of his learned works; and, in fine, was juſt as modeſt and pains-taking a Monk as John of Beverly was a Biſhop, and their memories may be truly ſaid to have ſurvived in conſequence of their virtues.

[*D*] *One cannot help wondering how he could avoid it.*] We have this on the authority of William of Malmſbury, a very careful and diligent author (16), one who was not apt to take things upon truſt, and who, with regard to this very fact, gives us part of this Pope's letter to the Abbot Ceolfrid, directing him to ſend, as he was in duty bound, to Rome, Beda, a Monk and Prieſt of his monaſtery, who ſhould, God willing, ſafely return to him again; the Holy Father being deſirous to make uſe of his advice in affairs relating to the government of the univerſal Church. Our author ſpeaks very cautiouſly of this; he ſays he cannot affirm that Beda ever went to Rome, but, continues he, that he was invited, and his preſence much deſired there, ſufficiently appears by this epiſtle. That Sergius I. and this Abbot Ceolfrid were contemporaries is certain; and that the Abbot held a cloſe correſpondence with that Pontiff, appears from our author's life of Ceolfrid, ſo that there is nothing abſurd in this account at all (17). Yet it muſt be owned that a very great Critic ſeems to be of opinion, that this epiſtle is not genuine, and conſequently that Beda was never invited to Rome (18). I muſt confeſs there is nothing ſaid of any ſuch letter (though many things of leſs importance are mentioned) in Beda's Life of Ceolfrid, or in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, or at the cloſe of his Epitome, where he gives a ſuccinct account of himſelf and his writings. But this is no argument againſt the fact, conſidering his exemplary modeſty, which hinders him from mentioning himſelf on almoſt any occaſion. But that in obedience to this letter he was not ſent to Rome, ſeems indeed a proof more difficult to be got over, ſince in thoſe days the Monks were remarkably ſubmiſſive

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(d) Theſe were firſt publiſhed by Sir James Ware, Dublin, 1664, in 8*vo*.

(e) Leland de Scriptor. p. 115.

(f) Gulielm. Malmſburienſ. de Geſtis Anglorum, lib. i. c. iii. fol. 10.

(g) Cave Hiſt. Lit. p. 612.

(9) Hiſt. Scotor. lib. ix. p. 191.

(10) De Scriptor. Britan. p. 118, 119.

(11) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 69.

(12) See this point clearly made out by Biſhop Stillingfleet, in his learned preface to the *Origines Britannicæ*, or Antiquities of the Britiſh Churches.

(13) Bale, Script. Cent. I. p. 91.

(14) Todd's MS. notes on the Saxon verſion of Beda's Hiſtory.

(15) Alcuin. Epiſtol. apud Leland. de Script. p. 119.

(16) De Geſt. Reg. Anglorum, lib. i. c. iii.

(17) Paul. Diacon. Hiſt. lib. vi. Anaſtaſ. in Sergio.

(18) Pagi Geſt. Rom. in Sergio, § 21.

great love for retirement and privacy, his aſſiduous application to his ſtudies, and his warm affection for his country, moſt probably were his motives; and the great uſe his labours were of to his brethren, and to all the clergy in the Northumbrian kingdom, probably procured him an intereſt ſufficient to excuſe him from taking this journey, which would be the more credible, if it was certain that he never quitted his monaſtery, or went to reſide at Cambridge, as ſome authors report he did (*h*) [*E*]. By remaining thus in his own country, and contenting himſelf with the pleaſures of a monaſtic life, he gained time to make himſelf maſter of almoſt every branch of literature, that in thoſe times it was poſſible for a man to acquire; and this he did, not with any view either to fame or preferment, but for the ſake of becoming uſeful to ſociety, and promoting the progreſs of the Goſpel. It was from theſe noble and generous principles, joined to a zeal for the honour of his country, that he undertook to compile his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, in making collections for which he ſpent ſeveral years. It was in ſome ſenſe a new work, for though there were Hiſtories, as he himſelf informs us (*i*), from which he borrowed many things, yet with reſpect to a Church Hiſtory, they had no notion of it; ſo that Beda was obliged to draw together the matters of which he compoſed it, from the Lives of particular perſons, the Annals in their convents, and ſuch Chronicles as were written before his time (*k*). He had, alſo, much aſſiſtance from the Prelates with whom he was acquainted, who ſhewed him very great reſpect, and who, without all doubt, were very ready to make ſuch enquiries, and to obtain for him ſuch accounts, as he judged requiſite and neceſſary. For they might eaſily foreſee, that a Hiſtory like this, addreſſed to the then King of Northumberland, and (*l*) patronized by moſt of the Prelates in England, would have the greateſt regard paid to its authority, and become a kind of record in eccleſiaſtical affairs. We need not wonder, therefore, at the great communications, which, for the improvement of this work, he from all parts received, or at the manner in which it is written, ſince both were calculated for the ſervice of the Church, and we have reaſon to believe, anſwered their purpoſes very effectually. It was from the ſame motives, that we find his Hiſtory ſo highly commended in ſucceeding times (*m*): and even in ours, in which there is ſo great a difference of manners and cuſtoms, it continues to be of great uſe and great authority, even in the opinion of ſuch, as juſtly condemn the ſuperſtitious legends that are inſerted in it (*n*). So that taking all things together, there are few books that have obtained a greater credit, or ſupported it longer, than this work of Beda's, by which he became generally known to the learned world in his own time, and by which his fame is likely to be tranſmitted to lateſt poſterity [*F*]. He publiſhed this Hiſtory in 731, when,

(*h*) Todd's MS. notes on the Saxon verſion of Beda.

(*i*) Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iii. c. i.

(*k*) *Ibid.* lib. ii. c. i.

(*l*) Præfat. Glorioſiſſimo Regi Ceolwulpho.

(*m*) Gul. Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. i. c. iii.

(*n*) See the note [*F*].

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miſſive to the Holy See: yet (beſides what is ſaid in the text) there appears one very clear and eaſy anſwer. Ceolfrid might have reſolved to ſend him, and might have cauſed him to receive Prieſt's orders for that purpoſe, and yet the deſign might be laid aſide on that Pope's deceaſe, which happened in September 701 (19). To decide on this ſubject would be a very great preſumption: I only ſtate the queſtion, and the reaſons on both ſides, which in ſome former accounts of this learned man have not been taken notice of at all.

[*E*] *Went to reſide at Cambridge, as ſome authors ſay he did.*] This, alſo, is a point not very well cleared up by the Critics, and, therefore, ſcarcely mentioned by ſuch as have written the Life of Beda heretofore. Fuller, indeed, hints at it in a line (20), but there is not a letter concerning it in later authors: Yet it is not ſo unfounded or unſupported a fact as not to deſerve the leaſt notice. Bale, in his firſt edition, which the reader will find often quoted in this work, and which differs widely from what he publiſhed afterwards, poſitively affirms it (21). Dr. John Allcock, Biſhop of Ely, in a Conſtitution of his, printed by Richard Pynſon, directed the prayers of the Church for the ſoul of Beda, as having been of the univerſity of Cambridge. It is farther certain, that there was formerly between St. John's-college and St. Sepulchre's church a little, low, round-houſe, which went by the name of Beda's lodgings. Theſe and many other arguments (few of greater weight) I find uſed by my author to eſtabliſh this fact, and thereby the antiquity of the univerſity of Grantcheſter or Cambridge (22): but the advocates for Oxford treat them with very great contempt, but aſſemble, on the other hand, as trivial arguments to prove the contrary, and more eſpecially in regard to our author Beda, who, they affirm, neither did nor could ſtudy there; which, as they throw ſome light upon his hiſtory, deſerve, therefore, to be remembered. It is evident, that to deſtroy the notion of his having either ſtudied or taught at Cambridge, too great weight has been laid upon what himſelf ſays of his not going out of his monaſtery (23), which is certainly to be underſtood with great reſtriction: For we are to conſider, that though his cell was at Jarrow, and conſequently when he ſpeaks of his monaſtery, we muſt generally underſtand that, yet even this is not to be done always; for this and the monaſtery at Weremouth having but one founder, Benedict, who governed them both (though he had an Abbot in each of them under him) are frequently taken for one monaſtery, and no doubt though Beda reſided at Jarrow, yet he ſometimes went to Weremouth. Beſides, he muſt certainly have been bred there in his youth, before his own monaſtery at Jarrow was finiſhed. Add to all this, that it plainly appears from his own writings, that he ſpent part of the year 633, or 634, at York with Biſhop Egbert (24); ſo that we muſt not allow the writers on either ſide in this controverſy to miſlead us. But his going out of his monaſtery is no proof that he went to Cambridge, though it muſt be allowed that he might poſſibly have gone there, had there been a univerſity eſtabliſhed there in his time. But upon the whole there is no concluſive proof at all, either way, which is the only thing that in reference to this point, after a review of ſo many authors, can be eſtabliſhed.

[*F*] *Is likely to be tranſmitted to lateſt poſterity.*] The title of this work, in the edition of Heidelbergh, in 1587, the oldeſt I have ſeen, is *Eccleſiaſticæ Hiſtoriæ Gentis Anglorum Libri quinque, Beda Angloſaxone autore*; i. e. 'Five Books of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory 'of the Engliſh Nation, by Beda, an Anglo-Saxon.' There was, indeed, an edition of this work printed at Antwerp in 1550, and the Heidelbergh edition before mentioned was followed by another at Cologne in 1601. It was printed again in folio with the Saxon Verſion, attributed to King Alfred, together with learned notes by Abraham Wheloc, at Cambridge in 1644. Francis Chifflet printed it in quarto at Paris in 1681, with his own notes, which are very curious, though in ſome particulars he is certainly miſtaken, as will be hereafter ſhewn. Beſides theſe, there was another edition undertaken by Dr. Smith, Prebendary of Durham, which was publiſhed at Cambridge in 1722, in folio, by his ſon George Smith,

(19) Baron. Annal. Eccleſ. ad an. 701.

(20) Worthies, under the title of *Durham*.

(21) Centur. I. fol. 56. a.

(22) De AntiquitateCantabrigienſis Academiæ, p. 133—143.

(23) Thom. Caii Animadverſiones aliquot in Londinenſis de Antiquitat. Cantab. Acad. p. 369, & *ſeq.*

(24) Epiſtola venerabilis Bedæ ad Egbertum Antiſtitem, apud Opuſcula Bedæ, p. 252.

when, as himſelf informs us, he was fifty-nine years of age; but before he publiſhed this, he had written a multitude of other books upon a vaſt variety of ſubjects, a catalogue of which he ſubjoined to this Hiſtory, by which he had obtained ſo great and ſo eſtabliſhed a reputation, that we find he was conſulted by the greateſt Prelates of that age, in their moſt momentous affairs, and particularly by Egbert Biſhop of York, who was himſelf a very knowing and learned man, conſidering the times in which he lived (*o*). The ſtrict friendſhip which ſubſiſted between him and our author Beda, furniſhed the latter with an opportunity of writing him an epiſtle, which is very far from being the leaſt conſider-

(o) Leland, Bale, Pits, in Vit. Egberti.

Smith, Eſq; with notes and diſſertations. But before printing was in uſe, all our old Hiſtorians had recourſe to it, and copied from it, ſo that we often read the works of Beda in thoſe of other men, which is the leſs wonderful, ſince, with regard to the period his Hiſtory relates to, they could not find many other authorities, and amongſt them none better than his. John Leland, one of the moſt conſiderable, and certainly one of the moſt capable, of our Antiquaries, has made great collections out of the manuſcript copies of our author, which very plainly prove the authenticneſs of our preſent copies; and in his Hiſtory of Britiſh writers, he has given a large commendation of this and other treatiſes of Beda's. We might cite many other authorities to the ſame purpoſe: but that we may not detain the reader too long, we will content ourſelves with giving him Biſhop Nicolſon's critical account of this performance, which runs thus (25):

‘ What we are at preſent concerned in, is, his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of this Iſland, in five books, which have had many impreſſions in Latin, the language wherein he penned them. It is plain he had ſeen and peruſed ſeveral chronicles of the Engliſh Kings before his own time, witneſs that expreſſion, *Unde cunctis placuit regum tempora computantibus*, &c. (26). But he firſt attempted an account of their Church affairs, and kept correſpondence in the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy, the better to enable him to give a true ſtate of Chriſtianity throughout the whole nation. He treats, indeed, moſt largely of the converſion of Northumberland, and the progreſs of religion in that kingdom; but always intermixes what other relations he could borrow from books, or learn from ſuch living teſtimonies as he believed to be credible. Some have cenſured his Hiſtory as compoſed with too great partiality, favouring on all occaſions the Saxons, and depreſſing the Britons. Such a charge is not wholly groundleſs. He muſt be pardoned for ſtuffing it here and there with thumping miracles, the natural product of the zeal and ignorance of his age, eſpecially ſince ſo little truth was to be had of the Saints of thoſe days, that there was a ſort of neceſſity of filling up books of this kind with ſuch pleaſant legends, as the chat of the country, or a good invention, would afford a man. It is worth our obſervation, that none of the writers of his own life has mentioned one ſingle miracle wrought by him, becauſe they had enough of truth to relate; not but that we may boldly reckon him (as a foreign Miniſter is ſaid once to have done) a much better Saint than any of thoſe Thaumaturgi that we read of in his Hiſtory. There was a paraphraſe made of it in the Engliſh Saxon tongue, which has been printed, together with the original Latin text; but whether it was done by the famous King Alfred, or ſome other hand, we are not very certain (27). Mr. Wheloc dares not be poſitive, yet thinks it very probable, that it was the work of that great monarch, to whom (in his title-page) he has confidently aſcribed it. Sir John Spelman proves him the author from a diſtich in the front of that very manuſcript, out of which Mr. Wheloc afterwards publiſhed it, which runs thus:

Hiſtoricus quondam fecit me Bæda Latinum
Ælfred Rex Saxo tranſtulit ille prius.

This ſtory learned BEDE in Latin wrought
A Saxon Garb King ÆLFRED to it brought.

Our Prelate then cites the authority of the famous Dean Hicks upon this ſubject, but in ſuch a manner, that it is not eaſy to gueſs what weight it had with him. He mentions alſo the animadverſions of Francis Junius (28), and ſome manuſcripts of Beda's Hiſtory in the Oxford libraries (where indeed there are many), and inſiſts upon one in Corpus-Chriſti-college, which he aſſerts Wheloc never ſaw. He then cloſes his account of this Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory thus:

‘ The book itſelf was tranſlated into Engliſh by Thomas Stapleton, Doctor of Divinity in the univerſity of Louvain (29). But (as on other occaſions he has ſhewn himſelf too partially inclined to ſerve the intereſts of his own Church) we have here ſometimes juſt cauſe to complain, that he does not deal fairly and honeſtly with us. Richard Lavingham (Prior of the Carmelite monaſtery at Briſtol, and a mighty writer in Divinity about the latter end of the fourteenth century) is reported to have epitomized Beda's Hiſtory, beginning with his work *Britannia cui quondam Albion*, &c. (30) There's ſuch an abſtract added in Wheloc's edition, with a continuation to the year 766, which perhaps may be the ſame: for though it does not begin with theſe words, Beda himſelf begins with ſuch as are very like them; and to confound two writers, if they appear under the ſame cover, is no great tranſgreſſion in my author. There's another anonymous continuer of this Hiſtory who deſcends below the Conqueſt, and whoſe book (now in manuſcript in the public library at Oxford) is quoted by ſome of our moſt learned writers (31).’

There are ſome things of importance that may be added to theſe remarks. It is highly probable, though the Biſhop ſeems to inſinuate the contrary, that the Latin verſes ſpeak nothing but the truth, in aſcribing the Saxon verſion of Beda's Hiſtory to King Alfred, and the great objection to it is eaſily anſwered; for though at firſt ſight it may ſeem ſtrange, and indeed abſurd, to believe that ſo great a King ſhould be the author of ſo many books and tranſlations as paſs under his name; yet when we conſider that he had many learned men about him, of whoſe aſſiſtance he made uſe, or perhaps only reviſed and corrected their writings, the thing does not appear quite ſo improbable: To which we may add another obſervation, that the Saxon tongue arrived at the higheſt pitch of elegancy in his time; that the tranſlations aſcribed to him are all penned in a very fine, and as near as can be in the ſame, ſtyle, which ſeems to be an evidence of their having paſſed the hands of the ſame ſkilful corrector (32). As to the continuations of Beda's Hiſtory, there are ſeveral; one of which, in three books, is added to Beda's Hiſtory in the Heidelberg edition. It is alſo requiſite to obſerve, that at the end of Beda's Hiſtory there is an Epitome or Breviary; to which alſo there is an addition made by an unknown author, who continues the chronology from 731 to 761 (33). The tranſlation made by Dr. Stapleton is dedicated to Queen Elizabeth; and the deſign of that tranſlation was to ſupport the Popiſh religion, as appears plainly by a ſhort treatiſe placed before it, bearing this title: ‘ Differences between the Primitive Faith of England, continued almoſt this thouſand Years, and the late pretended Faith of Proteſtants, gathered out of the Hiſtory of the Church of England; compiled by Venerable Bede, an Engliſhman, about eight hundred Years paſt (34).’ It is no great wonder therefore, that an author who undertook his work with ſuch a view, ſhould prove no very faithful tranſlator: But, however, the Hiſtory of Beda, even as he has given it in Engliſh, might in many paſſages be ſhewn to be far enough from favouring the modern doctrines of the Church of Rome, of which we ſhall take occaſion to ſay ſomewhat in another place. Indeed I think it would be a work of great uſe and honour to our country, if we had a new and correct tranſlation of this Hiſtory compared with the Saxon verſion, and enriched with notes; ſince it would afford a much better body of Civil as well as Church Hiſtory, than is extant in our language, and would afford very fair opportunities of explaining and illuſtrating our Saxon laws, cuſtoms, and antiquities,

(25) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 35.

(26) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iii. cap. i.

(27) Fol. Cantab. 1644.

(28) Int. Cod. MSS. *Junianos*, Oxon.

(29) Antwerp, 1505, 8vo.

(30) Pits, de Script. Britan. p. 534.

(31) Gul. Somner. Antiquitat. Cantuar. p. 157. Hiſt. Oxon. lib. i. p. 49.

(32) See the article ÆLFRED the Great.

(33) Rerum Britan. Script. Vetuſtior. p. 278, 279.

(34) This Diſcourſe is prefixed to Dr. Stapleton's tranſlation, immediately after the Dedication, in the Antwerp edition, which is not, as Biſhop Nicolſon ſays, in 8*vo*, but 4*to*.

able of his works, becauſe it ſhews us at once the temper and character of both thoſe great men, and affords us ſuch a picture of the then ſtate of the Church, as is no where elſe to be met with *(p)*. This epiſtle was one of the laſt, and indeed probably the very laſt, of our author's writings; and in it he expreſſes himſelf with much clearneſs and freedom, as well in regard to the advice, which, at his requeſt, he gave to that Prelate, as in reference to the many inconveniences, which he wiſely foreſaw muſt proceed from the humour that then prevailed, of multiplying religious houſes, to the prejudice both of Church and State (*q*) It is, to ſay the truth, in every reſpect, a very well-written and exact treatiſe, and, therefore, deſerves to be as well known to the world as his Hiſtory, to which, in ſome reſpects, it may ſerve as an appendix, both with regard to the matter it contains, and the manner in which it is penned, being in part hiſtorical, and in part an exhortation [*G*]. It appears from this epiſtle, that he was very much indiſpoſed when he

(p) See Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Vol. i. p. 124.

(q) See the ſubſtance of this Epiſtle in note [*G*].

[*G*] *Being in part hiſtorical, and in part an exhortation.*] We find in Leland, that this epiſtle of Beda was in ſome copies addreſſed to Egbert, Biſhop of Holy Iſland; but that judicious writer ſuſpected that it was a miſtake (35). Yet John Bale tranſcribes the error without taking the leaſt notice of the correction; but to make it agree better in point of time than it did before, he adds, that this Egbert flouriſhed in 730; and tells us alſo, without any authority, that he wrote a letter of thanks in anſwer to Beda's epiſtle (36). Biſhop Godwin copies theſe errors, the laſt only excepted; for he places the death of Egbert, Biſhop of Holy Iſland, in 721, where it ought to be (37). It is, however, evident from the epiſtle itſelf, in which Bede ſays, that it was then about thirty years ſince the death of King Alfrid (38); that at the ſooneſt it was written in 734, that is, thirteen years after the death of the Prelate to whom Bale will have it addreſſed, or four years after his death, as he himſelf has placed it, purely to avoid this difficulty. This Egbert, agreeably to what our author Bede adviſed him, aſſumed the title of Archbiſhop of York, though his predeceſſors had been content with that of Biſhop. He ſucceeded Wilfred II. in the year 732, and was equally diſtinguiſhed by his birth, ſtation, and learning. With reſpect to the firſt, he was of the blood royal; as to the ſecond, he enjoyed the office of Archbiſhop and Metropolitan; and in reference to the third, his writings bear ſufficient evidence, as well as the character beſtowed upon him by William of Malmſbury, and other ancient writers (39). Neither ought it to be at all conſidered as a diminution of his credit, that he was ſo deſirous of having our author Bede's advice about the government of his church; ſince it is certain, that at this time he was looked upon as the honour of his country. But it is now time to come to the work itſelf. In this, amongſt other heads of advice, he recommends the finiſhing St. Gregory's model, to this Prelate, by virtue of which York was to have been a metropolis with twelve Suffragans (40). He inſiſts upon coming up to this plan, the rather, becauſe in ſome woody, and almoſt impaſſable, parts of the country, there were ſeldom any Biſhops came either to confirm, or any Prieſts to inſtruct the people; and, therefore, he is of opinion that the erecting new Sees would be of great ſervice to the Church. For this purpoſe he ſuggeſts the expedient of a Synod to form the project, and adjuſt the meaſures; and that an order of court ſhould be procured to pitch upon ſome monaſtery, and turn it into a Biſhop's See: And to prevent oppoſition from the religious of that houſe, they ſhould be ſoftened with ſome conceſſions, and allowed to chuſe the Biſhop out of their own ſociety, and that the joint government of the monaſtery and dioceſe ſhould be put into his hands. And if the altering the property of the houſe ſhould make the increaſing the revenues neceſſary, he tells him there are monaſteries enough that ought to ſpare part of their eſtates for ſuch uſes; and, therefore, he thinks it reaſonable that ſome of their lands ſhould be taken from them and laid to the Biſhopric, eſpecially ſince many of them fall ſhort of the rules of their inſtitution (41). And ſince 'tis commonly ſaid, that ſeveral of theſe places are neither ſerviceable to God nor the commonwealth, becauſe neither the exerciſes of piety and diſcipline are practiſed, nor the eſtates poſſeſſed by men in a condition to defend the country; therefore if the houſes were ſome of them turned into Biſhoprics, it would be a ſeaſonable proviſion for the Church, and prove a very commendable alteration. A little after he intreats Egbert to uſe his intereſt with King Ceolwulf, to reverſe the charters of former Kings for the purpoſes above mentioned: For it has ſometimes happened, ſays he, that the piety of Princes has been over-laviſh, and directed amiſs. He complains farther, that the monaſteries were frequently filled with people of unſuitable practices; that the country ſeemed overſtocked with thoſe foundations; that there were ſcarcely eſtates enow left for the Laity of condition; and that, if this humour increaſed, the country would grow disfurniſhed of troops to defend their frontiers (42). He mentions another abuſe crept in of a higher nature: That ſome perſons of quality of the Laity, who had neither fancy nor experience for this way of living, uſed to purchaſe ſome of the Crown-lands, under pretence of founding a monaſtery, and then get a charter of privileges ſigned by the King, the Biſhops, and other great men in Church and State; and by theſe expedients they worked up a great eſtate, and made themſelves Lords of ſeveral villages. And thus getting diſcharged from the ſervice of the commonwealth, they retired for liberty, took the range of their fancy, ſeized the character of Abbots, and governed the Monks without any title to ſuch authority; and, which is ſtill more irregular, they ſometimes don't ſtock theſe places with Religious, properly ſo called, but rake together a company of ſtrolling Monks, expelled for their miſbehaviour; and ſometimes they perſuade their own retinue to take the tonſure, and promiſe a monaſtic obedience: And having furniſhed their religious houſes with ſuch ill-choſen company, they live a life perfectly ſecular under a monaſtic character, bring their wives into the monaſteries, and are huſbands and abbots at the ſame time (43). Thus for about thirty years, ever ſince the death of King Alfrid, the country has run riot in this manner; inſomuch, that there are very few of the Lord-Lieutenants, or Governors of towns, who have not ſeized the religious juriſdiction of a monaſtery, and put their Ladies in the ſame poſt of guilt, by making them Abbeſſes without paſſing through thoſe ſtages of diſcipline and retirement that ſhould qualify them for it; and as ill cuſtoms are apt to ſpread, the King's menial ſervants have taken up the ſame faſhion: And thus we find a great many inconſiſtent offices and titles incorporated; the ſame perſons are Abbots and Miniſters of ſtate, and the court and cloiſter are unſuitably tacked together; and men are truſted with the government of religious houſes, before they have practiſed any part of obedience to them. To ſtop the growth of this diſorder, Bede adviſes the convening of a Synod; that a viſitation might be ſet on foot, and all ſuch unqualified perſons thrown out of their uſurpation. In ſhort, he puts the Biſhop in mind, that 'tis part of the epiſcopal office to inſpect the monaſteries of his dioceſe, to reform what is amiſs both in head and members, and not to ſuffer a breach of the rules of the inſtitution. 'Tis your province, ſays he, to take care that the Devil does not get the aſcendant in places conſecrated to God Almighty; that we may not have diſcord inſtead of quietneſs, and libertiniſm inſtead of ſobriety. There is one thing more to be obſerved before we part with this epiſtle, which is, that it furniſhes us with a very clear and direct proof, that our author was never at Rome; for, ſpeaking of a cuſtom there of marking the year from our Lord's death upon the candles (44) in their churches, he neither affirms it of his own knowledge, nor ſuffers it to paſs without giving his authority, but clearly relies upon the teſtimony of the Monks with whom he had converſed, and

(35) De Scriptor. Britan. p. 97.

(36) *Ibid.* p. 98.

(37) Godwin de Præſul. P. ii. p. 97.

(38) Epiſtola ad Egbertum Antiſtitem, p. 261.

(39) Leland, Bale, Pits, &c.

(40) Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. i. c. xxix.

(41) Epiſtola ad Egbertum Antiſtitem, p. 259.

(42) *Ibid.* p. 260.

(43) *Ibid.* p. 261.

(44) *Ibid.* p. 259.

he wrote it; neither is it at all improbable, that he began now to fall into that declining ſtate of health, from which he never recovered: ſince, if we may depend upon the large accounts that are ſtill extant of his ſickneſs and death, he was taken off by that kind of gradual conſumption (*r*), which is frequently fatal to men of ſedentary lives, who ſacrifice in ſome meaſure their health, by their too ſtrict attention to their ſtudies, which thoſe writers alſo agree, to have been truly the caſe of the learned and indefatigable Beda. William of Malmeſbury (*s*) has preſerved in his Hiſtory, a very large account of the manner in which he died, which it plainly appears he took from a treatiſe that was written expreſsly upon that ſubject, by Cuthbert, one of Bede's diſciples, who attended him to the laſt, to Cuthwin, another of his diſciples, who happened to be at a diſtance (*t*). It is from hence we learn, that in the laſt ſtage of his diſtemper he fell into an aſthma, which he ſupported with great firmneſs of mind, though in much weakneſs and pain for ſix weeks together. In all this time, he did not in the leaſt abate of his uſual employments in the monaſtery, but continued to pray, to inſtruct the young Monks, and to proſecute the works that were ſtill in his hands, that, if poſſible, they might be finiſhed before he died (*u*). In all the nights of his ſickneſs, in which, from the nature of his diſeaſe, he could get but little ſleep, he ſung hymns and praiſes to Almighty God; and though he expreſſed the utmoſt confidence in his mercy, and was able, on a review of his own conduct, to declare ſeriouſly, that he had ſo lived as not to be aſhamed to die, yet he did not deny his apprehenſions of death, and that dread which is natural to man at the approach of his diſſolution (*w*). However, as he knew not the day and hour of his end, he was continually active to the laſt, and particularly careful about two works, the firſt was, the tranſlation of the Goſpel of St. John into the Saxon language, for the benefit of the Church, and the ſecond ſome paſſages he was extracting from the works of St. Iſidore; and, therefore, at theſe he wrought with great application. The day before his death he grew much worſe, and his feet began to ſwell; yet he ſpent the night as uſual, and continued dictating to the perſon who wrote for him, who obſerving his weakneſs, ſaid, *There remains now no more but one chapter, but it ſeems very irkſome for you to ſpeak*; to which he anſwered, *It is eaſy, take another pen, dip it in the ink, and write as faſt as you can* (*x*). About nine o'clock he ſent for ſome of his brethren, to divide among them ſome incenſe, and other things of little value, which were in his cheſt. While he was ſpeaking to them, the young man who wrote for him, and whoſe name was Wilberch, ſaid, *There is now, Maſter, but one ſentence wanting*, upon which he bid him write quick, and ſoon after the ſame young man ſaid, *It is now done*, to which he replied, *Well! Thou haſt ſaid the truth, it is now done. Take up my head between your hands, and lift me, becauſe it pleaſes me much, to ſit over-againſt the place where I was wont to pray, and where now ſitting, I may yet invoke my Father.* Being thus ſeated according to his deſire, upon the floor of his cell, he ſaid *Glory be to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt*, and as he pronounced the laſt word, he immediately expired. The Monk who wrote this account ſays poſitively, that this happened on Thurſday the twenty-ſixth of May, being the feaſt of Chriſt's Aſcenſion, which clearly determines it to the year 735 (*y*). There have been, however, different opinions about the time of his death, and very warm controverſies about it, as the reader may ſee in the notes, where we have given a more particular account of this matter [*H*].

His

(*r*) Leland. Collectan. Vol. iii. p. 84.

(*s*) De Geſt. Reg Anglor. lib. iii. cap. iii. p. 22.

(*t*) Leland. Collectan. Tom. iii. p. 84; where the genuine account by Cuthbert is ſtill preſerved.

(*u*) Simeon. Dunelm. apud Decem Scriptor. p. 8.

(*w*) Leland, *ubi ſupra*.

(*x*) W. Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. i. cap. iii. p. 22.

(*y*) Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Dunelm. lib. iii. c. vii. T. Stubbs, Act. Pontif. Ebor. ap. Decem Script. p. 1696. Leland. Collectan. Tom. iii. p. 84.

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and who had been eye-witneſſes of it, than which there cannot be a more full or convincing proof of his never having made any ſuch journey.

[*H*] *Where we have given a more particular account of this matter.*] It is not at all wonderful, that with reſpect to facts of this nature at ſo great a diſtance in point of time, and for the ſettling of which ſo many ancient, and many of them far enough from being accurate writers, are to be conſulted, there ſhould be ſome little difference or diſagreement even amongſt the moſt diligent and careful perſons. But in reference to the matter now before us, there is the ſtrangeſt and moſt unaccountable confuſion, that for any thing I know ever happened about any matter of this nature; ſince there is a difference amongſt writers of no leſs than thirty-ſeven years. The very learned Dr. Cave mentions ſome who have placed the death of Venerable Bede in 729 (45), that is, two years before he publiſhed his Hiſtory, which is very clearly brought down to the year 731; and it is impoſſible for any one to read it without perceiving this. Hermannus Contractus, Hepidanus, Segebertus Gemblacenſis, and many others, fix his death in the year 731 (46), probably becauſe his Hiſtory ends there; but in the ſummary or chronology thereto annexed, he proceeds as low as the year 734, and we have ſhewn that his letter to Egbert, Archbiſhop of York, was certainly written in that year; ſo that this too is plainly an error. The Saxon chronicle, a book otherwiſe of great authority, and ſome other writers, and amongſt the reſt Griffith the Jeſuit, who publiſhed his Annals under the name of Alford, fix his death to the year 734 (47), which is indeed ſomewhat nearer the truth; but it is very ſtrange that moſt of theſe writers allow that he died upon Aſcenſion-day. Cardinal Baronius thinks he lived to be one hundred and five, and ſeveral writers place his death in the years 762 and 766 (48), for reaſons with which there ſeems to be no kind of neceſſity we ſhould trouble the reader here. In regard to the date which we have fixed upon, *viz.* the 7th of the Calends of June, or the 26th of May, 735; it has not only the beſt authorities to ſupport it, but may be alſo demonſtrated to be the true date, from circumſtances that will not admit of any miſtake. But firſt, with reſpect to our authorities, we have the author of the Supplemental Chronology to Beda's hiſtory (49), Simeon of Durham (50), Roger Hoveden (51), Thomas Stubbs (52), and many others, who are all clear in this point. As to the epiſtle of Cuthbert, which is tranſcribed or abridged by William of Malmeſbury, the Hiſtorian of Durham, and many other authors, it does not indeed expreſsly fix the year, but it aſſigns the day clearly, *viz.* that it was the 26th of May, and the feaſt of Chriſt's Aſcenſion, which agrees with the year 735, and with none other. The very learned John Leland obſerves, that Trithemius had extended the age of Beda to ſeventy-two, which he thought a miſtake; and that he might avoid any error of the ſame kind, he very cautiouſly delivers his ſentiment, which was, that he died at ſomewhat more than ſixty (53). Yet John Bale, with this authority before his eyes,

and

(45) Hiſtor. Literar. Vol. i. p. 613.

(46) Gundlingii, Obſervation. ad Rem. literar. ſpectant. Tom. xii. p. 192.

(47) Chron. Saxon. edit. Gibſon, p. 54. Alford. Annal. Vol. ii. p. 536.

(48) Gundlingii, *ubi ſupra*.

(49) Rer. Britan. Scriptor. vetuſt. p. 229.

(50) Apud Decem Script. p. 8.

(51) Annal. inter Hiſt. poſt Bedam, p. 402.

(52) Act. Pontif. Eborac. col. 1696.

(53) De Scriptor. Britan. p. 121.

His body was interred in the church of his own monaſtery at Jarrow, and the iſle where he was buried was much reverenced on that account, and numbers of people reſorted thither to pray, more eſpecially on the anniverſary of his death *(z)*. But in proceſs of time his body was removed to Durham, and placed in the ſame coffin or cheſt with that of St. Cuthbert, as we are informed by many of our ancient hiſtorians, and as is clear from a very ancient Saxon poem, on the relics preſerved in the cathedral of Durham *(a)*. It is juſtly obſerved, that the Monks never forged any miracles of Beda, or pretended that he wrought any in his lifetime; but to give ſome colour for removing his bones to Durham, they pretended that one Gamelus, a very prudent and pious Monk, was admoniſhed by St. Cuthbert in a dream, to travel through the North of England, and collect the relics of holy men, in order to their being interred with his in the church of Durham, that ſo they might be better preſerved from the inſults of ſacrilegious hands, to ſtir up the piety of the faithful *(b)*, which, without all doubt, was a device made uſe of for the ſervice of the Monks at Durham, and anſwered their purpoſe very effectually, by rendering their church the moſt reſpected of any in the North of England. He had, alſo, many epitaphs written upon him, but none that were at all equal to his merit, or capable of doing juſtice to his memory, as has been rightly remarked by the learned Dr. Hakewill *(c)*, and was long before obſerved by William of Malmeſbury *(d)*. But how ill written ſoever theſe epitaphs may be, they at leaſt ſerve to ſhew the good intention of their authors, and in how great repute the memory of Beda has been for learning and ſanctity, from the times neareſt his deceaſe down to our own [*I*]. It is very certain, that his great learning and unaffected piety gained him, even amongſt his contemporaries, a very high and general eſteem; inſomuch that, if we may believe ſome authors, his Homilies were read publicly in the churches in his lifetime, which being a new and ſingular honour, there aroſe ſome difficulty about the title that ſhould be given him in the preface to thoſe lectures; and as it was thought too much to ſtile him *Saint* while yet alive, the title of *Venerable* was fixed upon as more proper, or, at leaſt, as leſs liable to objection *(e)*. There are beſides this, ſome very fabulous accounts given us of his acquiring this ſirname; ſo that on the whole it is become a diſputable point, why he has been, both by ancient and modern writers, conſtantly called *Venerable Bede*, into which we ſhall give the reader as much light as is in our power *(f)* [*K*]. The advantage he had, of being brought up by Abbot

(z) Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. ap. Decem Script. p. 8.

(a) The reader may find this Poem both in Latin and in Saxon, at the end of the *Decem Scriptores.*

(b) S. D. de Eccl. Dunelm. lib. iii. cap. vii.

(c) Apology for Providence, l. iii. cap. viii. p. 254, edit. Lond. 1630, folio.

(d) De Geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. i. cap. iii. p. 23.

(e) Gabriel. Buccellin. Menelog. Benedict. VI. kal. Junii.

(f) Hieron. Gudling. Obſervat. ſelectar. ad Rem. liter. ſpectant. Tom. xii. Obſer. vii.

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and with this farther circumſtance, that Beda was fifty-nine when he publiſhed his Hiſtory, which Leland alſo obſerves, falls into two very groſs errors, affirming that he died in 734 at the age of ſeventy-two (54); which ſhews how cautious we ought to be in truſting to the dates of that author, who borrowed moſt of his facts in theſe ancient lives from Leland; but, in tranſcribing them, forgets his modeſty and exactneſs. In the preface, which Sir James Ware placed before thoſe treatiſes of Beda, which he publiſhed, there are ſome other authorities and arguments offered in ſupport of the date, to which we adhere: But as we apprehend the reaſons already given are ſufficient to ſatisfy the reader, we ſhall decline any thing farther on this head.

[*I*] *From the times neareſt his deceaſe, down to our own.*] It muſt be acknowledged, that poetry was in a very low condition at the time our author flouriſhed, and even at his deceaſe. We find in the collections made by the learned and laborious Leland, abundance of inſtances of this, which he had collected from various manuſcripts of that age; and amongſt theſe there are ſome of Beda's. There we find alſo the epitaph, which Malmeſbury juſtly cenſures as highly unworthy of being placed on the tomb of ſo excellent a perſon, and which does no honour to the Monks of thoſe times, ſince it plainly ſhews they could produce nothing better. In Latin it runs thus (55):

Epitaph. Bedæ.

‘ Preſbyter hic Beda requieſcit, carne ſepultus.
‘ Dona, Chriſte, animam in cœlis gaudere per ævum,
‘ Daque illi Sophiæ debriari fonte cui tam
‘ Suſpiravit ovans intento ſemper amore.

In Engliſh thus:

‘ BEDA *the* Prieſt's *remains, lie buried here.*
‘ *Grant him,* O CHRIST, *to drink from fountain*
‘ *clear,*
‘ *Of heav'nly* WISDOM, *in thy preſence plac'd,*
‘ *Which here on* earth *he* thirſted *ſo to* taſte.

Dr. Hakewill, a very ingenious and learned man, who had undertaken to refute a common opinion, that the earth and all things thereon decayed, and that every thing declined daily, ſo that the diſſolution of the world might be juſtly expected from its old age, produces this epitaph to prove this doctrine falſe with regard to Latin poetry; ſince this would not be borne with now, which then probably might be eſteemed excellent. I will not ſay that he intended it, but certainly ſo it is, that his Engliſh tranſlation affords as ſtrong, or rather a ſtronger proof in ſupport of his argument, than the Latin before cited; and I can ſcarcely make a queſtion that the reader will be of this opinion when he has peruſed it.

Dr. Hakewill's Tranſlation (56).

‘ Preſbyter Beda's corſe reſts buried in this grave,
‘ Grant, Chriſt, his ſoul in Heaven eternal joys may
‘ have.
‘ Give him to be drunk the woll of wiſdom, to
‘ Which with ſuch joy and love he ſtriv'd and breathed
‘ ſo.'

But as remarkable as this may be, I ſhall mention another epitaph on Beda which is more ſo. There is nothing amiſs in the former but the harſhneſs of the verſe, from which, perhaps, the latter is not abſolutely free; but then it abounds with more eſſential errors: it places the death of Beda at a wrong time; it makes him upwards of ninety when he died, and has been (ſo far as I can trace them) the ſource of moſt of the miſtakes mentioned in the former note. This epitaph, the author and antiquity of which ought to add no great authority, is as follows (57):

Bedæ Epitaphium.

Beda Dei famulus, Monachorum nobile ſidus;
  Finibus è terræ profuit Eccleſiæ;
Solers iſte Patrum ſcrutando per omnia ſenſum,
  Eloquio viguit, plurima compoſuit.
Annos hac vitâ, ter duxit ritè triginta
  Preſbyter officio, utilis ingenio.
Jani ſeptenis viduatus carne Kalendis
  Angligena Angelicam commeruit Patriam.

[*K*] *We ſhall give the reader as much light as is in our power.*] The reaſon mentioned in the text concerning the reading his homilies in his lifetime, ſerves very well to ſatisfy ſuperficial and haſty writers; and therefore one need not wonder, that Fuller ſearched

(54) Scriptor. Illuſtr. Major. Britan. Cent. II. p. 97.

(55) Leland. Collectan. Vol. ii. p. 118.

(56) Apology for the Providence of God in the Government of the World, p. 254.

(57) Wion. in ligno vitæ, lib. v. cap. ci.

Abbot Benedict, John of Beverley, and other great men, enabled him to make a quick progreſs in ſcience, and his amazing diligence and application, during the ſpace of forty-three years, might very well afford him time to write a great number of books upon very different ſubjects. He has himſelf given us a ſhort and plain liſt of all the treatiſes he had compoſed before he publiſhed his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, of which we have already given an account, as well as of his epiſtle to Egbert Archbiſhop of York, which he certainly wrote after the publiſhing of that Hiſtory; as he likewiſe did ſome other treatiſes, though not near ſo many as have been aſcribed to him, which renders it a very difficult thing to give a clear account of his writings, as all who have meddled with this ſubject acknowledge, and as the reader will plainly perceive, by what we are obliged, from the nature of this work, to deliver in the notes (g) [*L*]. Theſe his labours were ſo well received in his

no farther. *Saint*, ſays he, they thought *too much*, *plain* Beda *too little*, and therefore Venerable was a *middle* term, very luckily hit upon in his judgment and theirs (58). I do not intend to diſpute any part of his argument with him, but barely the matter of fact; for in regard to this I am not ſatisfied, the authority he quotes being inſufficient to prove he was ſo called in his lifetime. But the contrary may be very eaſily and effectually made out. Albinus Flaccus, or Alcuinus, his contemporary and ſcholar, does not ſtile him *Venerabilis*, but *Sacerdos*, or *Doctor eximius*. Amalarcus calls him *Dominus*, and Uſuardus plain *Beda* (59). But Marianus Scotus, and ſeveral authors, do not at all ſcruple calling him *Sanctus* (60). Beſides, the old epitaph quoted in the preceding note, plainly deſtroys this opinion, and ſhews that he enjoyed during his life no higher, indeed no other title, than that of Preſbyter Bede. But beſides this account of the matter, which is rational enough if it was true, we have two others equally fabulous and falſe, yet ſtill worth relating. The firſt refers to his lifetime, and lays the ſcene thus: When Beda was grown old, and through age blind, one of his young diſciples carried him abroad to a place where there lay a great heap of ſtones, and told him he was ſurrounded by a great crowd of people, who waited with much ſilence and attention to receive his ſpiritual conſolation. The good old man accordingly made a long diſcourſe, which he concluded with a prayer, and the ſtones very punctually made their reſponſe, *Amen, Venerable Bede* (61). This very ſilly ſtory is founded on two falſe notions concerning him. 1. That he had the title of Venerable in his lifetime. 2. That he ſurvived to extreme age, and was blind. The ſecond fabulous tale refers this title to his death (62), when a young man, or, as this ſtory reports, a Monk, ſtudying for an epitaph got thus far,

Hâc ſunt in foſſa BEDÆ . . . . . . oſſa.

His head not being well turned for Poetry, he could find no words to fill up this *hiatus* in his leonine, and, after tormenting himſelf to no purpoſe, fell aſleep; but the next morning returning to his taſk, he, with infinite aſtoniſhment, found the line already completed, thus:

Hâc ſunt in *foſſa Bedæ* Venerabilis *oſſa*.

In Engliſh.

Here, in the ſilent grave, are laid,
The bones of Venerable BEDE.

Some authors vary this ſtory a little, by telling us the young Monk wrote firſt, as an inſcription for our author's tomb, this verſe (63).

Hac jacent in foſſa Bedæ *Preſbyteri* oſſa.

But in his ſleep, being ſeverely rebuked for injuring the fame of ſo good a man by ſo miſerable a line, he was inſtructed to amend it thus:

Hac jacent in foſſa Bedæ *Venerabilis* oſſa.

It is evident enough, even from theſe idle and ridiculous ſtories, that thoſe who contrived them were deſirous of giving ſome reaſon or other for Bede's being ſtiled *Venerable*; and rather than put themſelves to the trouble of ſearching for what might be ſatisfactory, they invented ſuch fables as theſe, which ſurely injure his memory much more than if they had left the ſubject wholly untouched. But the truth ſeems to be, that though he had not this title given him in this life, or immediately after his deceaſe, yet the cuſtom of calling him ſo is very ancient, and was brought in by thoſe who quoted his writings, who at firſt making uſe of this phraſe, 'we find ſuch and 'ſuch things in the writings of the *Venerable Prieſt* 'Beda,' they began by degrees to let drop the word *Prieſt*, and ſo called him the *Venerable Bede*: an appellation which, as a learned Popiſh writer ſays, he juſtly deſerved, as well for his ſingular piety, as for his remarkable modeſty (64). And a Proteſtant writer, of as great character, ſays, that he was one of the beſt and holieſt of men, and thereby truly merited the title of *Venerable* (65).

[*L*] *By what we are obliged, from the nature of this work, to deliver in the notes.*] The firſt catalogue of Beda's works, as we have before obſerved (66), we have from himſelf, at the end of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which contains all he had written before the year 731. This we find copied by Leland (67), who alſo mentions ſome other pieces he had met with of Beda's, and points out likewiſe ſeveral that paſſed under his name, though in his judgment ſpurious. John Bale, in the firſt edition (68) of his book, which he finiſhed in 1548, mentions ninety-ſix treatiſes written by Beda; and in his laſt edition (69) he ſwells theſe to one hundred and forty-five tracts; and declares at the cloſe of both his catalogues, that there were numberleſs pieces of our author's beſides, which he had not ſeen. Pits, according to his uſual cuſtom (70), has much enlarged even this catalogue; though, to do him juſtice, he appears to have taken great pains in drawing up this article, and mentions the libraries in which many of theſe treatiſes were to be found. I ſay nothing of the catalogues given by Trithemius, Dempſter, and others, becauſe much inferior to theſe. Several of Beda's books were printed very early, and, for the moſt part, very incorrectly; but the firſt general collection of his works appeared at Paris in 1544, in three volumes in folio. They were printed again, in 1554, at the ſame place, in eight volumes. They were publiſhed in the ſame ſize and number of volumes, at Baſil, in 1563, reprinted at Cologne in 1612, and laſtly at the ſame place in 1688. A very clear and diſtinct account of the contents of theſe volumes, the reader may find in the very learned and uſeful collection of Caſimir Oudin (71). But the moſt exact and ſatisfactory detail of Beda's life and writings, we owe to that accurate, judicious, and candid Benedictine John Mabillon (72), to whom we are much indebted for what we have given the reader in relation to this great writer in the text, with reſpect to his actions and courſe of life, his piety, zeal, learning, public ſpirit, and indefatigable application. Neither has any critic exerted his ſkill more effectually than he, though largely, and with copious extracts interſperſed. But the eaſieſt, plaineſt, and moſt conciſe repreſentation of Beda's writings, in reference to our deſign, occurs in the learned Dr. Cave's juſtly eſteemed performance (73); and therefore in his method, though with many additional remarks and elucidations, we ſhall proceed.

The Works of Venerable Beda *that are publiſhed.*

I. *De Rerum natura liber*; i. e. 'Of the nature of 'Things.'

This occurs in his own Index, in the other catalogues of his writings, and is the firſt treatiſe in the ſecond volume of his works, in the Cologne edition of 1612.

II. *De Temporum ratione*; i. e. 'Of the Reaſon of 'Times.'

This

(g) Mabillon. Act. Benedict. Sæc. iii. P. i. p. 539. Caſimir. Oudin. Comment. de Scriptor. & Script. Eccleſ. Tom. i. Sæc. viii. col. 1681. Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Vol. i. p. 126.

(58) Church Hiſtory of Britain, Cent VIII. b. ii. p. 99.

(59) Gundlingii Obſervat. ad Rem literariam ſpectan. Tom. xii. p. 196.

(60) *Id. ibid.* p. 197.

(61) Petr. Equilin. Catol. Sanctorum, in Vita Bedæ.

(62) Flor. Sanctorum, p. 397.

(63) Oper. Bedæ, Tom. viii. p. 357.

(64) Platina, in Vita Pont. p. 369.

(65) Cauſabon. Exercit. 11. ad Baron No. 4.

(66) See note [*F*].

(67) Leland. de Scriptor. p. 116, 117, 118.

(68) Scriptor. Illuſt. Britan. fol. 50.

(69) Script. Brit. Cent. I. p. 90, 91, 92.

(70) De Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 132.

(71) De Script. & Scrip. Eccl. Tom. i. Sæc. viii. col. 1681, & *ſeq.*

(72) Act. Benedict. Sæc. iii. Vol. i. p. 534.

(73) Hiſtor. Literar. Vol. i. p. 613.

his own time, and for many ages after, that we find a great character beſtowed upon him by the moſt eminent authors, as well as the moſt competent judges, who thought it a tribute

This treatiſe occurs likewiſe in his own, and in all the other catalogues. It is a treatiſe of Chronology inſerted in the ſecond volume of his works, page 43. There is, however, a later and more correct edition of this treatiſe printed in Germany (74), which deſerves to be conſulted whenever his works are reprinted.

III. *De ſex Ætatibus Mundi Liber*; i. e. ‘Of the ‘Six Ages of the World.’

It appears plainly to have been written in 726, and is mentioned, though with ſome variation in the title, in his own catalogue. It is printed in the ſecond volume of his works, page 103, and ſeparately at Paris in 1507, in 4to. It was alſo printed at Cologne with notes, and a continuation by John Bronchorſt.

IV. *De Temporibus ad intelligendam Supputationem Temporum S. Scripturæ*; i. e. ‘Of the Account of ‘Time, in order to the underſtanding Scripture ‘Computations.’

This appears to be a ſhorter treatiſe on the ſame ſubject with the foregoing (II), and was apparently written before it, ſo that it is wrong placed in his works, Vol. II. page 118; but being ſo placed, it ſeemed but requiſite we ſhould ſo place it here, that the amendment ſuggeſted might be the better underſtood. In ſhort, inſtead of being a ſupplement to the larger treatiſe, that is rather a ſupplement to this.

V. *Sententiæ ex Cicerone et Ariſtotele*; i. e. ‘Sen‘tences out of Cicero and Ariſtotle.’

This is not in his own, but occurs in ſome other catalogues, and has therefore found a place in his works, Vol. II. page 166; but in the judgment of Oudin (75), it is very doubtful whether it ought to be aſcribed to Beda: Yet if we conſider that ſuch a collection might be uſeful to his ſcholars, it will anſwer all objections.

VI. *De Proverbiis*; i. e. ‘Of Proverbs.’

Of the ſame kind with the other; but as it ſtands in his works, Vol. II. page 185, is ſtrangely interpolated, and in that reſpect may well be denied to be the compoſure of Beda.

VII. *De Subſtantia Elementorum*; i. e. ‘Of the ‘Subſtance of the Elements.’

We do not find this in his account of his own works, and indeed it ſeems to be altogether unworthy of him, though printed amongſt the reſt of his writings, Vol. I. page 323.

VIII. *Philoſophiæ libri* 4; i. e. ‘Four Books of ‘Philoſophy.’

This likewiſe occurs in the ſame volume of Beda's works, but beyond doubt is none of his, as appears by the preparatory introductions to each of the four books. The learned Caſimir Oudin (76) inclines to think this treatiſe belongs to William de Conchis, who flouriſhed about 1140.

IX. *De Paſchate ſive Equinoctio*; i. e. ‘Of the ‘keeping of Eaſter, or of the (vernal) Equinox.’

The learned have been more at a loſs about this than about any other of the works of Beda. Baronius, from an example given therein relating to 776, concluded from thence that Beda muſt have lived longer than that year; but the judicious Primate Uſher being ſenſible this notion could not be maintained, thought this treatiſe was ſpurious, and ought to be rejected. But the aſſiduous Mabillon (77) diſcovered from an ancient manuſcript, that this example was interpolated by a tranſcriber, to accommodate it to the year in which he made his copy. It is to be found in the firſt volume of his works.

X. *De divinatione Vitæ et Mortis*; i. e. ‘Of the ‘foretelling Life and Death.’

XI. *De Arca Noe*; i. e. ‘Of Noah's Ark.’

XII. *De Linguis Gentium*; i. e. ‘Of the Languages ‘of Nations.’

XIII. *Oracula Sibyllina*; i. e. ‘Sibylline Oracles.’

All of them very low and deſpicable performances, and of which it may be at firſt ſight very confidently pronounced, they are injuriouſly attributed to our author.

XIV. *Hiſtoriæ Eccleſiaſticæ gentis Anglorum, libri* 5; i. e. ‘The Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Engliſh ‘Nation.’

Of which a large account has been given.

XV. *Vita S. Cuthberti*; i. e. ‘The Life of St. ‘Cuthbert.’

There is ſcarcely any of our author's writings ſo well atteſted as this. We find by his own catalogue, that he twice wrote this holy Prelate's life in verſe and in proſe. He mentions this again in his Hiſtory (78), where he adds many particulars concerning him, which had before eſcaped his inquiries. It is to be found in the third volume of his works.

XVI. *Vitæ SS Fælicis, Veduſti, Columbani, Attalæ, Patricii, Euſtaſii, Bertolfi, Arnolphi, Burgondoforæ*; i. e. ‘Lives of the Saints, Felix, &c.’

We have reaſon to believe the firſt of theſe, viz. The Life of St. Felix might fall from the pen of Beda; but for the reſt they certainly do not belong to him, but to others; as for inſtance, the Life of St. Patrick to Probus, and that of Burgondofora, an Abbeſs, to an Italian Monk.

XVII. *Carmen de Juſtino Martyrio*; i. e. ‘A Poem ‘on the Martyrdom of Juſtin.’

We find this with thoſe lives before mentioned, in the third volume of our author's works; but there is no reaſon to believe this, any more than thoſe, to be his, but quite the contrary.

XVIII. *Martyrologium*; i. e. ‘A Martyrology.’

That ſuch a work our author actually wrote, we have his own authority to prove (79); and that he took care to ſet down therein, not only the days of their births and ſufferings, but the kinds of deaths alſo, and the judges by whom theſe cruel ſentences were paſſed. But theſe very circumſtances plainly ſhew the *Martyrologium*, publiſhed at Antwerp under the name of Beda, to be either ſpurious or interpolated. This, indeed, has been confeſſed by ſome Popiſh writers of unqueſtioned fidelity, who likewiſe own that moſt of the old Martyrologies are ſo treated. Yet we are aſſured that the genuine, uncorrupted work of Beda, is ſtill in being, and even publiſhed (80). But as to the Martyrology in the third volume of Beda's works, we may ſafely affirm that it ought not to be aſcribed, as it ſtands, to our author. But beſides theſe, there is another Martyrology, which is by the judicious Mabillon aſcribed to Beda, and publiſhed under this title, *Martyrologium quod Beda heroico carmine compoſuit* (81). It is the ſame which the manuſcript bears from which it was printed, and which appears to have been copied within one hundred years after the author's deceaſe. We ſee plainly from the work itſelf, that it muſt have been compoſed in the lifetime of Beda, by a Monk of the monaſtery of Jarrow, and that it agrees exactly with his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (82). It is indeed true, that it does not occur, either in his own or in any other catalogue of his works, for which however ſome good reaſons may be given, viz. as to the firſt, it appears by St. Wilfrid's being inſerted therein, that it was compoſed later than 731, and ſo could not be in Beda's catalogue, publiſhed with his Hiſtory; as to the ſecond, all the accounts of Beda's writings leave an *et cetera* large enough for other pieces, capable of as authentic proofs as thoſe are, already aſcribed to this author.

XIX. *De ſitu Hieruſalem & locorum ſanctorum*; i. e. ‘Of the Situation of Jeruſalem and the Holy Places.’

This is confeſſedly taken out of a book written on the ſame ſubject by Adamnanus, is full of ſuperſtition and fable, ſo as to have furniſhed ſuch as have cenſured our author with moſt of their quotations, to diſcredit his writings; how equitably, the candid and judicious reader will judge.

XX. *Interpretatio Nominum Hebraicorum & Græcorum in Sacris Scripturis occurrentium*; i. e. ‘An In‘terpretation of the Hebrew and Greek Names which ‘occur in the Holy Scriptures.’

Some aſcribe this to otherauthors, particularly to one Remigius, a Monk who lived in the Xth century (83). It is digeſted alphabetically, and muſt have been very uſeful in thoſe times, when there were very few who could read the Scriptures in their original tongues.

XXI. *Excerpta & Collectanea*; i. e. ‘Memorable ‘Paſſages and Collections.’

Unworthy of Beda in all reſpects, ſays the great Dr. Cave (84), but it may be his for all that. Young men

(74) Inter Comment. Jo. Georg. Eccardi. *Wirceeburgh*, 1729, Tom. i. p. 825.

(75) De Scriptor. & Script. Eccleſ. Tom. i. col. 1711.

(76) *Ibid.* col. 1689.

(77) Analecta, Tom. i. p. 11. in not.

(78) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iv. cap. xxx.

(79) Scriptor. vetuſtior. p. 280.

(80) Vide Bolland. Prolog. ad Menſem Martii, Tom. ii. § 5. & *ſeq.*

(81) Dacher. Spiceleg. Patr. Tom. x p. 126, & *ſeq.*

(82) Acta Benedictin. Sæc. iii. Vol. i. p. 560.

(83) Oudin. de Scriptor. & Script. Eccleſ. Tom. i Sæc. viii. col. 1693.

(84) Hiſtoria Literar. Vol. i. p. 614.

tribute due to his memory; in paying which they likewiſe did honour to themſelves, as will appear from ſome inſtances, out of a much greater number that might have been given,

men make common places out of books they deſpiſe when they grow old.

XXII. *In Hexameron, ſeu de Creatione ſex Dierum Liber*; i. e. ‘ A Treatiſe on the Hexameron, or ‘ Creation in ſix Days.’

XXIII. *Explanatio in Pentateuchum & Libros Regum*; i. e. ‘ An Explanation on the Pentateuch and ‘ Books of Kings.’

XXIV. *In Samuelem Explanationum allegoricarum Libri quatuor*; i. e. ‘ Four Books of allegorical Ex‘ planations upon Samuel.’

XXV. *Explanationes in Eſdram, Tobiam, Job, Proverbia, & Cantica*; i. e. ‘ Explanations on Eſdras, ‘ Tobias, Job, Proverbs, and Canticles.’

Theſe are all contained in the fourth volume of Beda's works, and are allowed to be his, except only three books of Explanations upon Job, which have been fully proved, and that even from the authority of Beda himſelf, to belong to one Philip, a diſciple of St. Jerome's (85), who flouriſhed much earlier than our author, and under his name they have been alſo publiſhed (86).

XXVI. *De Tabernaculo ac Vaſis & Veſtibus ejus, Libri duo*; i. e. ‘ Of the Tabernacle and Things ‘ appertaining thereto.’

We find this alſo in the fourth volume of Beda's Works, in all the catalogues, and no ſcruples have been raiſed againſt it, ſo that I think we may juſtly conclude it his.

XXVII. *Commentaria in quatuor Evangelia & Acta Apoſtolorum*; i. e. ‘ Commentaries upon the Four ‘ Goſpels and Acts of the Apoſtles.’

XXVIII. *De Nominibus Locorum, qui in Actis Apoſtolorum leguntur*; i. e. ‘ Of the Names of Places ‘ which are mentioned in the Acts of the Apoſtles.’

Theſe all occur in the fifth volume of his Works, and though ſome ſuſpicions have been raiſed againſt the Commentaries upon Matthew and John, yet there appears to be good reaſon for believing them all his, except the laſt, which ſeems to be very juſtly attributed to Remigius (87), who is before mentioned in No. XX, and may be conſidered as aſcribed to Beda by ignorant perſons, who might find them amongſt his manuſcripts.

XXIX. *Expoſitio in ſeptem Epiſtolas canonicas*; i. e. ‘ An Expoſition upon the ſeven canonical Epiſtles.’

We find this work alſo in Beda's fifth volume, and there are no ſcruples at all moved about its being genuine; and yet there is a circumſtance in relation to this work, which deſerves much conſideration. We are informed by the accurate and learned Dr. Cave, who ſeems to have been himſelf acquainted with this particular by the ingenious and induſtrious Mr. Wharton, that this expoſition has been hitherto conſtantly printed without its Preface or Prologue, which ſtill appears before an old MS. copy, in the library of Gonvil and Caius College in Cambridge. This Prologue being tranſcribed by Mr. Wharton, and tranſmitted to Dr. Cave, is publiſhed by the latter (88), and ſhews very plainly from its contents, the reaſon why it never came from the preſs in foreign countries, viz. becauſe it plainly proves Beda was a ſtranger to the ſupremacy of St. Peter, and inſtead of diſcovering it in the Scriptures, collected from thence juſt the contrary.

XXX. *Retractationes & Quæſtiones in Acta Apoſtolorum*; i. e. ‘ Retractations and Queſtions on the ‘ Acts of the Apoſtles.’

Theſe are without doubt juſtly attributed to our author.

XXXI. *Commentaria in omnes Epiſtolas S. Pauli*; i. e. ‘ Commentaries upon all the Epiſtles of St. Paul.’

We have this, as well as the former, in the ſixth volume of Beda's Works. But it is neceſſary to ſay ſomewhat in explanation of theſe Commentaries. They are collections only out of the writings of St. Auguſtin, who ought rather to be ſtyled the author of theſe Commentaries than Beda, or whoever elſe drew them out of his writings and put them together. That Beda compoſed a work of this kind, or rather collected it, is very certain; but whether this be that work, is the true ſtate of the queſtion. Baronius inclines to aſcribe it to one Abbot Peter; but the inquiſitive Mabillon has very clearly ſhewn, that it belongs not either to this Abbot or our Beda, but to one Florus (89), ſo that when we have a correct edition of the Writings of Venerable Bede, theſe muſt be thrown out.

XXXII. *Homiliæ de Temporæ*; i. e. ‘ Homilies for ‘ the Seaſons.’

Theſe make the whole ſeventh volume of his Works.

XXXIII. *Liber de Muliere forti*; i. e. ‘ A Diſ‘ courſe of the ſtrong Woman.’

An allegory not at all unworthy of, though perhaps not juſtly attributed to, Beda.

XXXIV. *De Officiis Liber*; i. e. ‘ Of Morals, one ‘ Book.’

This is a very poor collection, and plainly none of his.

XXXV. *Scintillæ ſive Loci Communes*; i. e. ‘ Sparks, ‘ or Common Places.’

Theſe are to be met with elſewhere (90), as well as in the Works of Beda, where they occur in the ſeventh volume: but however they are very poor performances, and no proof of their belonging to him.

XXXVI. *Fragmenta in Libros Sapientales & Pſalterii verſus*; i. e. ‘ Fragments on the Books of Wiſ‘ dom and the Pſalms.’

XXXVII. *De Templo Salomonis*; i. e. ‘ Of Solo‘ mon's Temple.’

XXXVIII. *Quæſtiones in Octateuchum & quatuor Libros Regum*; i. e. ‘ Queſtions on the Octateuch, ‘ and four Books of Kings.’

XXXIX. *Commentarii in Boëthii Libros de Trinitate*; i. e. ‘ Commentaries upon Boëthius's Books upon ‘ the Trinity.’

XL. *Meditationis Paſſionis Chriſti per ſeptem Diei Horas*; i. e. ‘ Meditations on the Paſſion of Chriſt, ‘ for the ſeven (canonical) Hours of the Day.’

This, from the very title, appears to have been penned much later than the age of Beda, and can by no means be reconciled, either in matter or manner, to his writings.

There are beſides an infinite number of ſmall tracts, which are chiefly in the firſt volume of his Works, on Arithmetick, Grammar, Rhetoric, Aſtronomy, Chronology, Muſic, the Means of meaſuring Time, of Meteors, &c. to diſcourſe of all which would require, not a note, but a large volume. I ſhall, therefore, content myſelf with obſerving, that the writings of Beda were addreſſed to very different readers; for ſome were penned for the uſe of the young Monks who had ſcarcely received the firſt tincture of letters, and others for the learned of that age; and in compoſing theſe, a diverſity of ſtyles was neceſſary. It is, therefore, too haſty in ſome critics to conclude, from ſome pieces of our author's, that he had only a little, and that too, ſuperficial, knowledge. They ought to conſider the ſubjects on which, and perſons for whom, he wrote, what diſadvantages he laboured under in acquiring ſuch a variety of Science in this corner of the world where he could have ſo very little aſſiſtance, and the generous uſe he made of it, in compoſing ſo many treatiſes for the inſtruction and improvement of youth, that his pains taken, and progreſs made, in literature, might become uſeful to ſucceeding generations.

But excluſive of all the treatiſes written by our author, and which have been publiſhed in the great Collections of his Works, there have been ſome, and thoſe too not the leaſt valuable, that have been ſent abroad, either in other Collections of the writings of ancient authors, or by themſelves; and of theſe it is neceſſary that we ſhould give ſome account, which however ſhall be done with all the brevity poſſible.

The Works of Beda *ſeparately printed.*

Acta S. Cuthberti; i. e. ‘ The Acts of St. Cuth‘ bert, in heroic verſe.’

Theſe were publiſhed by Henry Caniſius (91), but there have been ſome doubts raiſed whether they are genuine, and not without reaſon.

Ariſtotelis Axiomata expoſita; i. e. ‘ The Axioms ‘ of Ariſtotle explained.’

Theſe

(85) Oudin. de Scriptor. & Script. Eccleſ. Tom. i. Sæc. viii. col. 1694.

(86) Baſil. 1527.

(87) Oudin. de Scriptor. & Script. Eccleſ. Tom. i. Sæc. viii. col. 1696.

(88) Hiſtor. Literar. Vol. i. p. 614.

(89) Analect. Tom. i. p. 12.

(90) Spelman. Concil. Anglican. Tom. i. p. 28.

(91) Lection. Antiq. Tom. v. p. 692.

given, which the reader will find we have collected upon that head, and which, if authorities are capable of ſecuring and preſerving, fame will certainly tranſmit the memory of

Theſe have been twice publiſhed under the name of our author (92), and while this Philoſophy was in great credit might be a uſeful book.

The *Hymns* of *Beda* have been publiſhed with notes by Caſſander, but many of them are of doubtful authority, though ſome of them are found in the moſt antient MSS. of our author, that are preſerved in our public libraries here or abroad, and they are all very near his time.

Epiſtola Apologetica ad Plegwinam Monachum; i. e. ‘An Apologetic Epiſtle to Plegwin a Monk.’

This is a very learned and very judicious performance, as it both explains and defends the opinion of Beda, with reſpect to the Hebrew Chronology, which he maintained againſt the common opinion of the learned in his time; notwithſtanding it was looked upon as a kind of Hereſy; and therefore he deſires that it might be ſhewn to one David, a Monk of York, who had expreſſed a diſſatisfaction at the reports he had heard of Beda's ſentiments upon this ſubject.

Epiſtola ad Egbertum Eboracenſem Antiſtitem de Chriſtiani Preſulis Officio; i. e. ‘Of the Office of a Chriſtian Biſhop to Egbert Biſhop of York.’

We have already given a large account of this work (93), and therefore need ſay nothing farther of it here.

Vitæ quinque Abbatum priorum Weremuthenſium et Gervicenſium; i. e. ‘The Lives of the Abbots of Weremouth and Jarrow.’

This hiſtory is compriſed in two books, and was publiſhed with the two treatiſes before mentioned by the very learned and judicious Antiquary of Ireland Sir James Ware, with a preface, containing various particulars relating to the life and writings of Beda, and illuſtrated with ſhort and uſeful notes throughout (94), and again by Mr. Wharton.

Epiſtola ad Albinum; i. e. ‘An Epiſtle to Albinus.’

This was publiſhed by the famous Mabillon (95); but it is to be obſerved, that this Albinus, to whom Beda addreſſes himſelf, is not the celebrated Albinus Flaccus Alcuinus, but, as Ittigius (96) rightly obſerves, another of the ſame name, who was Abbot of the monaſtery of St. Peter at Canterbury.

In principium Geneſis uſque ad nativitatem Iſaac et Iſmaelis reprobationem libri tres; i. e. ‘Three Books (of Annotations) on the beginning of Geneſis to the birth of Iſaac, and the expulſion of Iſhmael.’

In Canticum Habaccuc liber; i. e. ‘On the Song of Habaccuc.’

Thoſe treatiſes of Beda, which are mentioned in his own catalogue of his works, were publiſhed by the learned and induſtrious Mr. Wharton from three MSS. in the famous library in the archiepiſcopal palace at Lambeth (97). The worthy editor gives a large account of theſe (and other pieces added to them) in an epiſtolary diſcourſe addreſſed to the Rev. Mr. Archdeacon Batteley, dated Aug. 30, 1693; wherein he takes notice, amongſt other things, that he publiſhed theſe Opuſcula of Venerable Bede, to remove the complaint of our negligence in this reſpect, and that foreign writers might not boaſt, as they had hitherto done, of being the ſole publiſhers of the works of Beda. He added to theſe the ſmall treatiſes that had been before publiſhed by Sir James Ware, and which it ſeems were at that time become extremely ſcarce. But at the ſame time he ſhews that he was not tranſported, as ſome editors are, with ſuch an affection for his author, as to conceive better of his works than they deſerved; ſince he confeſſes that the Divines of the middle ages are by no means to be compared with the ancient Fathers in point of authority, or to the Moderns in reſpect to acuteneſs; but nevertheleſs they have their uſes, and therefore ſuch collections had been well received by the learned world, and amongſt them none better than ſuch of the works of Beda as had been before publiſhed.

The Works of Beda *that ſtill remain unpubliſhed, are,*

De Situ et Mirabilibus Britanniæ liber; i e. ‘Of the Situation and Wonders of Britain.’

This remains in MS. in the library of Bennet-college in Cambridge, Cod. 32, 173, 205.

Vita S. Juliani; i. e. ‘The Life of St. Julian.’

This MS is in the Bodleian library.

Vita S. Gregorii magni; i. e. ‘The Life of St. Gregory the Great.’

This is in the library of Merton-college; but, upon inſpection, appears to be no other than a tranſcript of St. Gregory's life by Paul Warnefrid (98).

De vita et virtutibus S. Auguſtini Anglorum Apoſtoli; i. e. ‘Of the Life and Virtues of St. Auguſtin, the Apoſtle of the Engliſh.’

MS. in the poſſeſſion of Walter Cope.

Relatio de S. Laurentio Anglorum Archiepiſcopo; i. e. ‘A Relation of St. Laurence, Archbiſhop of the Engliſh.’

MS. in the ſame place. This Laurence was the ſucceſſor of St. Auſtin before mentioned, and the ſubſtance of this relation is to be found in our author's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (99).

Homiliarum in S. Lucam libri 2; i. e. ‘Two Books of Homilies on the Goſpel of St. Luke.’

MS. in the public library at Cambridge, Cod. 25. and in the Pembroke library, Cod. 213.

Commentar. in Eccleſiaſten.; i. e. ‘A Commentary on Eccleſiaſtes.’

MS. in Baliol-college in Oxford, Cod. 158.

De Trinitate liber; i. e. ‘A Diſcourſe of the Trinity.’

MS. in the Lumley library.

Libellus de Locis Sanctis; i. e. ‘A ſmall Treatiſe of the Holy Places.’

MS. in the library of Walter Cope, Cod. 169.

De Imagine Mundi liber; i. e. ‘Of the Image of the World.’

MS. in the library of Gonville and Cajus-college in Cambridge, Cod. 169. And in Merton-college, Oxford, Cod. 42.

Homiliæ in Evangelia; i. e. ‘Homilies on the Goſpels.’

MSS. in the library of Lincoln-college at Oxford, Cod. 18. Alſo at Baliol-college, Cod. 130. And at Merton, Cod. 227.

De Die Judicii liber; i. e. ‘Of the Day of Judgment.’

MS. in Bennet-college, Cambridge, Cod. 284.

The following Writings of his are thought to be loſt.

Commentarius in Eſaiam Prophetam; i. e. ‘A Commentary on Eſaiah the Prophet.’

Epiſtolarum Liber; i. e. ‘A Book of Epiſtles.’

Tractatus de manſionibus filiorum Iſrael; i. e. ‘A Treatiſe of the Manſions of the Children of Iſrael.’

Epigrammatum Liber; i. e. ‘A Book of Epigrams.’

This Leland ſeems to have inſpected (100).

De Vita et Paſſione S. Anaſtaſii; i. e. ‘Of the Life and Paſſion of St. Anaſtaſius.’

This, in Beda's own catalogue of his works, is ſaid to have been before ill tranſlated, and worſe amended from the Greek, and by him therefore corrected and brought to the true meaning of its original (101); but by whom it was written or tranſlated is not expreſſed.

We have inſiſted more at large on the writings of Venerable Bede, becauſe notwithſtanding there have been ſeveral editions of them, as we have already ſhewn, yet neither thoſe large collections, nor the other treatiſes in which ſome pieces of his are contained, are very common; ſo that it ſeemed the more neceſſary to give the reader a clear and complete view of all the writings this great man left behind him, ſuch as are ſuſpected, ſuch as remain unpubliſhed, and ſuch as are ſuppoſed to be loſt. By this means one great and valuable end of this work will be anſwered, viz. the ſeeing at one view, and without being obliged to have recourſe to other books, what Beda did and wrote in his lifetime, what remains to us of his writings, where they may be found, and how a farther account of any difficulties about them may be obtained, by conſulting, as indicated in the margin, the remarks of the moſt eminent of our modern critics.

(92) Paris, 1604, 8vo. Lond. 1649, 12*mo*.

(93) See before in note [*G*].

(94) Dublin, 1664, 8vo.

(95) Analect. Tom. i. p. 9.

(96) De Bibliothecis Patrum, cap. iii. p. 269.

(97) The entire title of this Collection runs thus: ‘Bedæ Venerabilis Opera quædam Theologica, nunc primùm edita, necnon Hiſtorica antea ſemel edita. Acceſſerunt Egberti Archiepiſcopi Eboracenſis Dialogus de Eccleſiaſticâ Inſtitutione, & Adhelmi Epiſcopi Sciréburnenſis. Liber de Virginitate, ex codice Antiquiſſimo emendatus. Lond. 1693. *4to*.’

(98) Vide Præfat. ad Oper. S. Gregorii Magn. edit. Benect.

(99) Lib. ii. cap. iv, v, vi.

(100) Collectan. Tom. ii. p. 114.

(101) Scriptor. Vetuſt. p. 280.

this great man with honour to ages at the remoteſt diſtance (*b*) [*M*]. But it muſt, how-

[*M*] *With honour even to ages of the remoteſt diſtance.*] We will open theſe commendations of our author with the wiſe and weighty obſervations of Hermannus Conringius (102), a man of moſt extenſive learning, and of as much judgment as any Critic of his age. ‘It is, *ſays he*, worthy of notice, that in the ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth centuries, there was ſcarcely to be found throughout Italy, France, Britain, Spain, and, in a word, throughout the whole weſtern Church, the name of a perſon who had written a book, but what either dwelt in, or at leaſt was educated at ſome monaſtery. How much was Beda diſtinguiſhed amongſt the Britiſh Monks, who, to ſay the truth, was not only the moſt learned of them, but, the age in which he lived conſidered, of the whole weſtern world. As for us Germans, we owe the firſt propagation of Chriſtianity amongſt us to thoſe religious houſes; and, to ſay the truth, we are likewiſe indebted to them for the cultivation of learning, and the improvement of all branches of literature, in the ſame manner as the Engliſh and Scotch received theirs in former times from the Roman Monks, who viſited their countries.’ This may ſerve to give us a juſt notion of the true merit of Beda, who is not to be commended as a writer much ſuperior to thoſe of the two laſt ages, but as an author who wrote much better than moſt men of his time, and took a great deal of pains to make the acquiſition of knowledge very eaſy to his countrymen, who before his time found it hard to ſtudy to any purpoſe, even when they were ever ſo much inclined to it. Albinus, or Alcuinus Flaccus, in a letter of his directed to the Monks of Jarrow, addreſſes them thus (103): ‘Bearing in mind the example of the moſt worthy perſon of your times, Preſbyter Beda, you ought to remember how he ſtudied in his youth, how great a character he had amongſt men, and how great a weight of glory he now ſuſtains with God. His behaviour ought aſſuredly to awake your ſleepy minds: be therefore aſſiduous, you who are now intruſted with the care of teaching, open your books, read and explain their ſenſe, and, like him, feed thoſe who are under your care as he did, &c.’ In the ſame manner Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus diſcourſes in the *fifth dialogue* of his *Hiſtory* of *Poets*, where he gives a large character and a high elogium of Beda, who, he ſays, had learning enough to have diſtinguiſhed him in any age; and that in one very dark and ſuperſtitious, he excelled all others. Folchardus (104), in his life of St. John, Archbiſhop of York, takes occaſion to ſpeak of our author as his pupil; and ſays, that it is amazing how he became ſo perfect in all the branches of thoſe ſciences to which he addicted himſelf; whereby, as he aſſures us, he conquered all difficulties, and brought thoſe of his own nation to frame right notions of the matters that moſt concerned them; ſo as that they were afterwards neither dull nor ignorant, but from the rude and booriſh manners of their anceſtors, began to be exceedingly civilized and polite through their deſire of learning, of which he not only taught them the grounds while living, but in his works left them a kind of *Encyclopædia* for the inſtitution of youth after his deceaſe. Whoever it was that took upon him to continue Beda's Hiſtory, has ſhewn an inclination to do juſtice to his memory (105); though he ſeems only to have tranſcribed William of Malmeſbury. Indeed, this cuſtom of tranſcribing was very general in thoſe times, ſo that commonly the ſame characters of eminent perſons are given in the ſame words, under the name of various authors. In many alſo of the Abbey Chronicles, where there are ſhort articles only entered, the ſame regularity (which ſhews their being copied from each other) appears. In one of theſe Chronicles I have obſerved, that in recording the death of Beda, he is ſtiled *Saint* as well as *Venerable* (106). But to proceed more methodically with our authorities: William of Malmeſbury gives him a very extraordinary character, and tells us, that it was much eaſier to admire him in thought, than to do him juſtice in expreſſion. He commends him alſo for his piety and learning, and laments the loſs of his induſtry and abilities in the ages following; and obſerves, that hiſtory ſlept, and all notice of public tranſactions were in a manner buried with him; for the Engliſh growing more indolent every day, all application to learning ceaſed for a long time over the whole iſland (107). Simeon Dunelmenſis tells us, that it ſeems ſurpriſing to ſome perſons, that a man who lived in one of the moſt remote corners of the world, and never had an opportunity of travelling for his improvement in Science, or frequenting the ſchools of Philoſophy, ſhould diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſo uncommon an extent of learning, and the compoſition of ſo many books (108). Platina, in his Lives of the Popes, obſerves, that he received the name of *Venerable* on account of his great ſkill in the Greek and Latin tongues, and his piety and modeſty (109). Bale (110) aſſures us, that he was ſo well ſkilled in the writings of Pagan authors, that he had ſcarcely an equal in that age, and that he learned Natural Philoſophy and Mathematics from the pureſt ſources, the ancient Greek and Latin writers themſelves. He had ſo ſolid a knowledge of the myſteries and principles of the Chriſtian Faith, conſidering the corruptions of the age in which he lived, that he was eſteemed by many perſons even ſuperior to Gregory the Great himſelf, on account of his accurate ſkill in the Greek and Latin languages; but he certainly ſurpaſſed him in eloquence and copiouſneſs of his ſtyle. And I wiſh, ſays Bale, he had done ſo in the purity of his ſentiments: in ſhort, that there is ſcarcely any thing in all antiquity worthy to be read, which is not to be found in Beda, though he travelled not out of his own country; and that if he had flouriſhed in the times of St. Auguſtin, Jerome, or Chryſoſtom, he would undoubtedly have equalled them, ſince even in the midſt of a ſuperſtitious age he wrote ſo many excellent treatiſes. However he owns, that he cannot be acquitted of ſome errors, ſince he mentions ſeveral ridiculous ſtories as real facts in his Hiſtory, from the too great regard which he paid to the Monks and the dialogues of Gregory. Pits (111) tells us, that he was ſo well verſed in the ſeveral branches of learning, that Europe ſcarcely ever produced a greater ſcholar in all reſpects: That even while he was living, his writings were of ſo great authority, that it was ordered by a Council held in England, and approved afterwards by the Catholic Church, that they ſhould be publicly read in the churches: That he was remarkable from his earlieſt years for his piety and love of learning, and went always from prayers to his ſtudies, and from his ſtudies to prayers; ſo that his intenſe application furniſhed him with a complete knowledge of Poetry, Rhetoric, Natural Philoſophy, Metaphyſics, Aſtronomy, Arithmetic, Muſic, Geometry, Coſmography, Chronology, Hiſtory, and the whole circle of the Liberal Arts, and all parts of Mathematics, Philoſophy, and Divinity; ſo that Pits is really of opinion, that the Chriſtian world in that age, which was diſtinguiſhed, ſays he, by a very great number of learned men, produced few comparable to him, and not one ſuperior, as appears evidently from the teſtimony of ſeveral Hiſtorians, and the excellent books which he wrote in all parts of learning. Fuller, a fanciful writer, has left us two accounts of Beda: We will cite the moſt remarkable and ſingular of them, which, if it does not inform, will at leaſt divert the reader. Thus it runs (112): ‘Bede, and (becauſe ſome nations meaſure the worth of the perſon by the length of the name) take his addition Venerable: He was born at Girwy (now called Jarrow) in this Biſhopric, bred under St. John of Beverly, and afterwards a Monk in the town of his nativity. He was the moſt general ſcholar of that age. Let a Sophiſter begin with his Axioms, a Bachelor of Arts proceed to his Metaphyſics, a Maſter to his Mathematics, and a Divine conclude with his controverſies and comments on Scripture, and they ſhall find him better in all, than any Chriſtian writer in that age, in any of thoſe arts and ſciences. He expounded almoſt all the Bible, tranſlated the Pſalms and New Teſtament into Engliſh, and lived a comment on thoſe words of the Apoſtle, *Shining as a light in the world, in the midſt of a crooked and perverſe generation.* He was no gadder abroad; credible authors avouching, that he never went out of his cell, though both Cambridge and Rome pretended to his habitation; yet his corpſe after his death, which happened *anno* 734, took a journey, or rather was removed, to Durham, and there enſhrined.’ Holinſhed, Stowe, Speed, and the reſt of our general Hiſtories, treat his memory very reſpectfully.

(*b*) Simeon. Dunelm. lib. i. cap. viii. Baron. Annal. A. D. 701. Cent. Magdeburgh. cent. viii. cap. x. col. 547. Melancthon. de corrigend. ſtudiis, p. 35.

(102) De Antiquitat. Academ. Diſſertat. iii.

(103) Epiſt. xlix.

(104) Leland. de Script. p. 119. Todd's MS. notes on Beda's Hiſtory.

(105) Scriptor. Vetuſt. p. 285.

(106) Chron. Godſtovian. MS. p. 63.

(107) De Geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. i. cap. iii.

(108) In Epiſtola ad Hugon. Decan. Eborac. ap. X. Hiſt. col. 76, 77.

(109) In Vit. Agathon.

(110) Script. Illuſtr. Major. Brit. Centur. II. p. 94.

(111) Relat. Hiſtor. de Rebus Angl. p. 130.

(112) Fuller's Worthies, p. 292. *under* Durham.

ever, be acknowledged, that ſome late critics of our own and foreign nations, but more particularly the French, have taken great liberties with his character, and have treated him as a man of ſuperficial learning; vaſt, but indigeſted, reading; a collector rather than an author; of little judgment, though great induſtry; negligent in point of ſtyle as well as method, and void of all taſte for criticiſm. He is alſo charged by ſome with being extremely credulous, and giving too eaſy a belief to the fabulous miracles reported in his time. On the other hand, there are ſome who blame him for giving into many ſingular opinions; and others are no leſs offended with his want of accuracy, and writing from very indifferent memoirs. We think ourſelves obliged to report theſe exceptions to his character, with the ſame fidelity that we have ſhewn in repeating the praiſes that have been beſtowed upon him, that the reader may be the better able to form a true opinion of his worth *(i)* [*N*]. But to perform this more effectually, and with the ſtricteſt regard

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(i) Du Pin, Bibl. Eccleſiaſt. Tom. vi. p. 88, 89. Melanges de Literature, par Vigneul-Marville, Tom. iii. p. 283, 284, 285. Nicolſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 35.

[*N*] *The reader may be the better able to form a true opinion of his worth.*] Whoever conſiders the difference of their tempers, and the ſtill greater difference between the times in which they wrote, will not be much ſurprized to find that Beda is not highly in favour with the famous Milton, who, after tranſcribing from him what appeared moſt valuable and fitteſt for his purpoſe, when he comes to the year 731, where Beda's Hiſtory ends, he gives us this account of it (112). 'In which peaceful ſtate of the land, many in Northumberland, both Nobles and Commons, laying aſide the exerciſe of arms, betook them to the cloyſter, and not content ſo to do at home, many in the days of Ina, Clerks and Laics, men and women, haſting to Rome in herds, thought themſelves no where ſure in eternal life till they were cloyſtered there. Thus repreſenting the ſtate of things in this iſland, Beda ſurceaſed to write, out of whom chiefly has been gathered, ſince the Saxons arrival, ſuch as hath been delivered, a ſcattered ſtory picked out here and there, with ſome trouble and tedious works, from his many Legends of Viſions and Miracles; towards the latter end, ſo bare of civil matters, as what can be thence collected may ſeem a Kalendar rather than a Hiſtory, taken up for the moſt part with ſucceſſion of Kings, computation of years; yet thoſe hard to be reconciled with the Saxon Annals. Their actions we read of were moſt commonly wars, but for what cauſe waged, or by what councils carried on, no care was had to let us know; whereby their ſtrength and violence we underſtand, of their wiſdom, reaſon, or juſtice, little or nothing; the reſt ſuperſtition and monaſtical affectation; Kings one after another, leaving their kingly charge to run their heads fondly into a Monk's cowle, which leaves us uncertain whether Beda was wanting to his matter, or his matter to him. Yet from hence, to the Daniſh invaſion, it will be worſe with us, deſtitute of Beda.' If this account of his moſt famous work attacks the character of Beda as an Hiſtorian, we ſhall find that M. Du Pin (114), a famous French author, has cenſured almoſt all his writings in the lump: and though he throws in ſome ſlight commendations, yet it is very eaſy to perceive that he does it only with a view to defend himſelf from the imputation of treating with much freedom one, whoſe name till then had been reputed Venerable. He tells us, that his ſtyle is clear and eaſy, but without any purity, eloquence, or ſublimity; that he wrote with a prodigious facility, but without art or reflection; and that he was a greater maſter of learning than of judgment, or a true critical taſte: That he has collected whatever he could meet with, without any conſiderable choice or accuracy: That his Commentaries upon the Scriptures are only extracts from thoſe of the Fathers, which he has connected together; and that his Hiſtory is exact enough with regard to what happened in his own time, or juſt before it; but in other parts, he is not to be depended upon, ſince he made uſe of erroneous memoirs: In ſhort, that what he has done in prophane Literature is not very profound or exact, though his knowledge was conſiderable for the time in which he lived. There is another French writer, who, that he might deliver himſelf with greater freedom in reſpect to the characters both of dead and living authors, thought fit to conceal himſelf under the name of M. de Vigneul-Marville. Amongſt others who have felt the ſtrokes of his pen, Beda has not eſcaped: and that the reader may ſee what drew upon him the diſtaſte of this author, we ſhall tranſlate the paſſage which concerns him, ſo as to give the author's ſenſe in his own words (115). 'As we do not pretend to give a dictionary, we ſhall not repeat here either the Life or the Hiſtory of Beda, which may be found elſewhere, but ſhall be content with collecting ſome circumſtances relating to him, that are not ſo well known. Beda had ſome particular ſentiments which have found but few partizans. He thought, for inſtance, that Joſeph the huſband of the virgin Mary was a farrier, contrary to the common opinion. When he ſpeaks of the Magi, or wiſe men, who went to worſhip our Saviour, he is very particular in the account of their names, age, and deſcription, and the offerings which each of them made to Chriſt. He tells us, that Melchior was old, and had grey hair, with a long beard, and that it was he who offered gold to our Saviour, in acknowledgment of his ſovereignty; that Gaſpar, the ſecond of the Magi, was young and had no beard; and that it was he who offered frankincenſe, in order to recognize the divinity of our Lord; and that Balthazar, the third, was of a dark complexion, and had a large beard, and offered myrrh to our Saviour's humanity. He is likewiſe very circumſtantial in the deſcription of their dreſs. Perhaps this account of our author's gave occaſion to the pictures which repreſent that ſubject, or was taken from them. Father Pezron, who has taken ſuch pains, after Iſaac Voſſius and Father Morin, to ſupport the chronology of the Septuagint, which repreſents the world about two thouſand years older than the common account, tells us, that our author was the firſt who endeavoured, in the Weſtern Church, to maintain the ſhorter calculation of the Hebrew text: whereas before him, that Church, as well as the Eaſtern, had embraced the Chronology of Euſebius, which reckons 5199 years before Chriſt, eſpecially after the time that St. Jerome had tranſlated the Chronicon of that celebrated writer. Archbiſhop Uſher, in his Sacred Chronology, obſerves, that Beda was conſidered as an Heretic, on account of this innovation, or, which is equivalent to it, becauſe he ventured to aſſert, that our Saviour did not appear in the fleſh, in the ſixth millenary of the world. However, his computation was received afterwards, and ſcarcely any other was admitted in the Weſt, till the three learned men above mentioned, appeared in defence of the contrary opinion.' We ſhall, in the ſucceeding note, ſhew, that as great men, and as good judges as any of theſe, entertained a different opinion of our author and his writings. But, in the mean time, it may not be amiſs to hint to the reader's conſideration, a few remarks upon theſe criticiſms, in the order in which we have placed them. As to Milton, he blames Beda's Hiſtory for faults, to which the firſt Hiſtories of every country muſt be always liable, and from which, therefore, there was no reaſon to expect that his ſhould be exempt. The errors he condemns in him, are not ſo much his as thoſe of the age in which he lived, and which, the circumſtances of his life conſidered, it was impoſſible for him to avoid. That there was ſo little of Civil Hiſtory in Beda's book, was indeed a misfortune to Milton, but no fault in the author, who propoſed to write an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, without any mixture of the Civil, farther than was requiſite to make it underſtood; ſo that he is cenſured, not for writing amiſs upon his own plan, which certainly did not require an account of the motives and cauſes of wars, and other political tranſactions, but becauſe his work was not ſo agree-

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(112) Milton's Works, Vol. ii. p. 69, 70.

(114) Nouvelle Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccleſ. Tom. vi. p. 89.

(115) Melanges d'Hiſtoire & de Literature, Paris, 1725, *12mo*, Tom. iii. p. 283, 284, 285.

to juſtice, we find it, likewiſe, requiſite to obſerve, that ſome of the greateſt and ableſt men of the laſt, and of the preſent age, have entertained a very high opinion of his learning, judgment, and exactneſs, as well as of his piety, great regard for true religion, and having had very juſt notions as to ſeveral of theſe points which are now controverted between Papiſts and Proteſtants *(k)*; and who, therefore, look upon the collecting and publiſhing his works as a thing equally honourable for this nation, uſeful to the learned world, and advantageous to the Chriſtian faith *(l)*: So that if we eſteem the memory of Venerable Bede as in ſome meaſure unfortunate, from the number of cenſurers he has found among the moderns, we muſt, at the ſame time, allow, that there have not been wanting men of equal abilities, and equal reputation, who have vindicated his writings, and ſupported his right to that fame which he has ſo long enjoyed, and which, if their arguments have any weight, will ſtill remain very little diminiſhed, if not abſolutely entire *(m)* [*O*]. It may appear ſomewhat ſtrange, that hitherto in treating the hiſtory of Bede,

(k) Bale de Scriptor. Britan. cent. II c. i. p. 94. Herman. Conring de Antiquitat. Academ. Diſſertat. iii. Jacob. Uſſer. in Chron. Sacr. et al. loc.

(l) Paul. Colomeſ. in Paralipom. ad Cartophil Eccleſ. Gul. Cave.

(m) Mabillon, Traité des Etudes Monaſtiques, p. 89.

able to Milton's plan as he could have wiſhed it. Yet at parting, he expreſſes a concern for the loſs of ſo good a guide, as he very well might; for if we make the juſt allowances to Beda, which ought to be made from the circumſtances under which he wrote, he may be very truly ſtyled one of the beſt and moſt faithful of our ancient hiſtorians. Du Pin cenſures him a little unjuſtly, for want of conſidering what his aim was in thoſe writings, with which he finds ſo many faults. He ſays that Beda's Commentaries were little better than collections from the Fathers: but the truth is, that Beda intended them for nothing better, and Du Pin himſelf admits, that the ancient Fathers were more happy in their explanations of the Scriptures, than the writers of thoſe times; ſo that in making theſe collections, Beda, upon his own principles, muſt be allowed to have ſhewn a critical taſte, for the want of which, however, he is by this very writer condemned. As for the faults in his ſtyle, they will not appear very great, if compared with contemporary writers, and to compare him with others is unjuſt. The greateſt admirers of Beda do not pretend to ſet him upon a level in point of ſtyle, method, or literature, with the great men of the laſt century, who, as they had many advantages over him in point of education, might well ſurpaſs him in moſt parts of learning: but the admirers of Beda ſay, that conſidering the ſituation of this country at that time, and the low eſtate of letters therein, it was amazing that this man ſhould make ſo great a progreſs in the languages and ſciences, and write ſo great a number of books upon ſuch different ſubjects, before he was threeſcore; even ſuppoſing they are not ſo correctly written as is uſual in our times, ſince the critics have exerciſed their trade, and thereby introduced a kind of reformation in learning. But it is a little ſingular, to hear a French writer complain of Beda's writing from erroneous memoirs. It may be ſo, but how came he to know it? We ſhall in the next note ſhew, that the greateſt maſters in Engliſh Hiſtory, men of probity, candour, and capacity, knew nothing of this; and Milton himſelf confeſſes, that he travelled with much worſe guides after he parted with Beda. The laſt of theſe critics was a Carthuſian Monk, Dom Bonaventure d'Argone, who took the Nomme de Guerre of Vigneul-Marville (116), to prevent being called to an account for what he thought fit to publiſh in his Miſcellanies. The very account he gives of Beda, ſhews that he underſtood very little of his ſubject. He takes it for granted, that King Sigebert erected the univerſity of Cambridge, which is alone ſufficient to ſhew how indifferent a judge he muſt prove of Beda's hiſtorical Writings (117). He blames our author for the ſingularity of his opinions, and yet in the ſingularity of his own opinions, conſiſts the chief merit of his book. He criticiſes ſome paſſages in our author's Writings, without quoting them, which is indeed his method, but very unfair, and which no writer of that kind ever uſed but himſelf. Yet we may ſafely affirm, that theſe ſingular opinions, for which he cenſures him, were not Beda's, but copied by him from other books; ſo that his objection falls to the ground with reſpect to Beda, whatever becomes of the notions that he labours to expoſe. As to what he ſays of Beda's being the firſt who declared in favour of the Hebrew Chronology, it is indeed a proof of his being ſingular in his opinions, but it is a proof at the ſame time, of his great learning, penetration, and good ſenſe. If he had ever looked into our author's epiſtle to Plegwin, he would have found that he diſcourſes there in ſupport of his own opinion, with as much learning, penetration, and critical ſkill, as any of the moderns, and gives very juſt reaſons why he had taken ſo much pains upon this head. He ſays that it gave him great concern, and in ſome meaſure moved his indignation, when he heard the common people continually aſking, When the world would be at an end? or, When the laſt day was to come? which demands he ſhews plainly, were founded upon the miſtaken opinion of the time of Chriſt's coming, which, therefore, he endeavoured to explode; and in the cloſe of his epiſtle, he is ſo far from taking any merit to himſelf from his diſcoveries upon this ſubject, that he very fairly and candidly confeſſes, that he had delivered no more than was conſiſtent with the Hebrew verity, explained by Origen, publiſhed by Jerome, commended by Auguſtin, and confirmed by Joſephus, than whom, in ſuch matters, he profeſſes he knew none more learned: at the ſame time he paſſes a very juſt cenſure upon Euſebius, and recommends the ſtudy of the Hebrew tongue, as the moſt effectual means of coming at the true ſenſe of the Scriptures (118). Whoever conſiders this attentively, and, at the ſame time, reflects on the number of great men, who, in all ſucceeding ages, have acquieſced in, and defended Beda's opinions in this reſpect, not indeed upon his authority, but upon the ſame authorities which induced him to publiſh it, againſt the common ſentiment in his time, will ſee juſt reaſon to entertain a better opinion of our author's learning, judgment, and capacity, than from the accounts given of him by theſe critics, who very plainly ſhew that they had more regard for their own reputation, than for thoſe of other men: for though it becomes ſuch writers to deal freely and juſtly with the authors they mention, yet it is ſurely their duty not to cenſure without evidence, or condemn upon ſlight grounds.

[O] *Very little diminiſhed, if not abſolutely entire.*] We are in this note to produce the authorities in favour of Beda: and firſt, with regard to his Hiſtory, we will not have recourſe to Church-writers, however eminent, becauſe they may poſſibly be eſteemed ſome way prejudiced in his favour; but to ſuch judges of our antiquities, whoſe very names are never mentioned but with reverence. For inſtance, the famous Camden, who knew as well as any man the merit of our ancient Hiſtorians, and the contents of their writings, ſpeaks of Beda thus (119): 'In this monaſtery of St. Peter, Beda, the ſingular light of our 'England, who by his piety and learning juſtly obtained the ſirname of *Venerable*, ſpent his days, as 'himſelf tells us, in meditating on the Scriptures, 'and, in the midſt of a barbarous age, wrote many 'learned works.' In the ſame learned work he frequently cites Beda, and never without paying the utmoſt regard to his authority. In another work of his he has theſe words (120): 'The reverend Bede, 'whom we may more eaſily admire than ſufficiently 'praiſe, for his profound learning in a moſt barbarous age, when he was in the pangs of death, ſaid 'to the ſtanders-by, *I have ſo lived among you, that I* '*am not aſhamed of my life*; *neither fear I to die, be*'*cauſe I have a moſt gracious Redeemer.*' The famous Mr. Bolton, author of that learned piece of Britiſh Hiſtory, intitled, NERO CÆSAR, gives us this character of our author (121): 'Indifferency and even'dealing are the glory of Hiſtorians; which rule 'Venerable Beda reputed ſo ſacred and inviolable, 'that albeit he much deteſted the opinion of Aidanus the

(116) Oeuvres de Bayle, Tom. iv. p. 785. 800. 856.

(117) Melanges d'Hiſtoire & de Literature, Tom. iii. p. 283.

(118) Opuſcul. Bedæ H. Wharton, edit. p. 250. Jacob. Uſſerii Chronol. Sacra, cap. iii. p 44. Voſſ. de Natura Artium, lib. iii. cap. xli. § 14.

(119) Britan in Brigant. p. 576.

(120) Remains of a greater Work concerning Britain, Lond. 1605, 4to, p. 183.

(121) Hypercritica, or a Rule of Judgment for writing or reading our Hiſtories, Addreſſ. II. Sect. i.

Bede, I have taken no notice at all of his being of the order of St. Benedict, which is indeed a point I find myſelf obliged to clear up before I leave it. It muſt be confeſſed, that many great and learned men, from whom I can ſcarcely take the liberty to differ, are very clear in this point, and make no kind of ſcruple of calling Beda a Benedictine (*n*). Upon what grounds they do this, the reader may in ſome meaſure ſatisfy himſelf from Reynerus, who has written expreſsly, and with much labour and learning on the ſubject (*o*). But I muſt confeſs he does not quite ſatisfy me. Our author himſelf ſeems to have been the moſt capable of ſetting us right on this head, and his abſolute ſilence makes one ſuſpect that the fact is not ſo clear as theſe writers would make it; for had it been ſo, one can ſcarcely doubt that in ſome or other of his works, Venerable Bede would

‘ the Scot, according to which he celebrated the high feaſt of Eaſter, otherwiſe than that church did, whereof Beda was a member, within exact obedience; nevertheleſs he durſt not as an Hiſtorian, but with all candour and freedom poſſible, deliver Aidan's praiſes; yea he makes profeſſion, that he did not only deteſt him as a Quartodeciman, though he was not a Judaiſing Quartodeciman (for that he kept Eaſter in honour of Chriſt's reſurrection upon the next Sunday after the fourteenth day of the Moon, and not indifferently upon the next day of the week, what day ſoever it was), but he did alſo write of purpoſe againſt Aidan's opinion therein, as himſelf profeſſeth, citing Aidan's own books. Beda nevertheleſs, coming by the order and neceſſity of this taſk to memorize the truth of things, his cloſing words, full of ſaintly gravity and ſincere conſcience, are (122): *Theſe things I have wrote concerning the perſon and actions of the man before mentioned, not in the leaſt commending or approving what he thought about the obſervation of Eaſter, in which he was miſtaken,* &c. *but as a faithful Hiſtorian, ſimply deſcribing whatever was done by him, or by his means, and praiſing in his actions whatever appears praiſe-worthy,* &c. According to which rule he doth ſincerely diſcharge his duty, commending Aidan not only for learning and eloquence (which are common as well to the good as bad), but for his charity, peacefulneſs, humility, for a mind which neither wrath nor covetouſneſs could overcome, and for many other qualities characteriſtical and proper to a moſt worthy man; and finally (which is a principal point of equanimity), he doth diligently extenuate and allay the ill conceit which might be conceived againſt Aidan for his doctrine and practice in that article, but doth not in no ſort extenuate his praiſes; concluding with one of the fulleſt that perhaps we ſhall find of any Saint in the world, which is (123), *That he omitted nothing that he knew from the writings of the Evangeliſts, Apoſtles, or Prophets, was to be done, but endeavoured to fulfil all things to the utmoſt of his power.*’ To theſe we might add the many teſtimonies in his favour in the works of the learned *Selden* (124), as well as the commendations beſtowed on him by that great Antiquarian, Sir *Henry Spelman* (125), and which might alone eſtabliſh his reputation; the character given him by the moſt learned *Stillingfleet* (126), if what we have already done were not more than ſufficient: for if thoſe writers laſt mentioned have not authority to fix the credit of any writer of our Hiſtory, it will be in vain for us to look farther, or to hope to ſucceed by the addition of a multitude of names leſs known, and leſs conſidered. I ſhall oppoſe to the two French writers, two of their own countrymen, who without offence, I may have leave to ſay were much greater men than themſelves; and indeed not at all inferior to any their nation has produced, either in the laſt age or in the preſent. The firſt of theſe is M. *Colomies*, better known to the world by his Latin name of *Colomeſius*, a clergyman of the Church of England, and keeper of the library at Lambeth, who expreſſes himſelf thus (127): ‘I have wondered more than once, that as there are ſo many manuſcript treatiſes of Beda's to be found in England, why hitherto no Engliſhman, who muſt be much more capable of doing juſtice to his countryman than any ſtranger, has never taken the pains to publiſh them.’ He then, for the common benefit of the republic of letters, gives his reader various notices of what he thought might be uſeful in caſe ſuch a deſign ſhould ever be undertaken; from whence it appears, that he thought every fragment of Beda's valuable, and that it would be an injury to the learned world, if ſo much as a ſingle line of his ſhould be loſt; which argues a better opinion of our author than was entertained by M. Du Pin, who does not appear at all better verſed in our Venerable Beda's writings, or to have conſidered them with greater attention. The other French writer I ſhall produce is *Mabillon*, whoſe learning, judgment, and diligence have made him known and eſteemed; whoſe modeſty, candour, and plain-dealing, have rendered him admired and beloved by the whole republic of letters. But I ſhall not quote his elogy of Bede, for in that he might be ſuppoſed either to have ſome prepoſſeſſion in favour of his author, or his order, but a practical treatiſe of his, written for the uſe of the young Benedictines of his own ſociety, in which we may be ſure he ſpoke his mind, and nothing more or leſs than his real ſentiments (128). ‘The Monks, ſays he, that were ſent by St. Gregory into England, built monaſteries there for the cultivating virtue and learning at the ſame time. It was in that of St. Peter at Canterbury that Benedict Biſhop became acquainted with the monaſtic diſcipline which he afterwards eſtabliſhed in the two monaſteries which he founded, where the Venerable Beda made profeſſion of all the ſciences which he taught to his brethren in his monaſtery, and even to the Seculars in the church of York. St. Adelme and many others followed his example.’ He proceeds afterwards to ſhew how this diſcipline and learning ſpread over the whole kingdom; from whence, as he obſerves, it was tranſported into Germany by St. Boniface, and thence again to the moſt diſtant countries: ſuch were the conſequences of Beda's learning and great application in the judgment of one who knew ſo well what he ſaid. But in another part of the ſame work, he explains himſelf more fully as to the conduct of Venerable Bede (129). ‘It ſignifies nothing, ſays he, to ſay that Monks are not deſigned to teach others, but to weep and lead a life of continual penitence. The principal end of their ſtudy does indeed terminate ſolely in their proper utility, and their particular advancement; and if it ſo happens that the Church and Divine Providence engages them to inſtruct others, that is by no means the great end they ought to propoſe in their ſtudy, but that of inſtructing themſelves, of edifying themſelves, and obtaining to themſelves the knowledge of heavenly truth, that they may be the more capable of ſuſtaining the difficulties of a religious life, and of profiting by its advantages. We have an illuſtrious example in Venerable Bede, amongſt many others, who applied more to all ſorts of ſtudies, and even to the teaching of others, than he, yet who was more cloſely attached to the exerciſes of piety and religion than he? To ſee him pray, it ſeemed as if he had left no time to ſtudy; to behold the number of his books and writings, would incline us to believe he did nothing elſe: for notwithſtanding he was continually employed in ſtudy, and the care of teaching his brethren, and even the Seculars, he was nevertheleſs moſt exact in diſcharging the duties of his religious profeſſion; inſomuch, as he ſays himſelf, that amongſt the diſtractions and hindrances, or rather among the employments, of a religious ſtate and divine offices (130); *Inter obſervantias diſciplinæ regularis et quotidianam in Eccleſia cantandi curam*; or as he elſewhere expreſſes himſelf (131), *Innumera monaſticæ ſervitutis retinacula*, he placed his whole delight in ſtudying, in teaching others, or in writing, *Semper aut diſcere, aut docere, aut ſcribere, dulce habui.* Would to God our monaſteries were full of ſuch men of letters!’

(*n*) Trithem. Regner. Mabillon.

(*o*) Apoſtolatus Benedictorum in Anglia. Duaci, 1626, fol.

(122) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iii. cap. xvi.

(123) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iii. cap. xvi.

(124) Analect. Anglobrit. lib. ii. cap. ii.

(125) See his Poſthumous Works, p. 36. 155.

(126) Origines Britannicæ, or Antiquities of the Britiſh Churches, in the Preface, and in chap. v.

(127) Paralipomena de Scriptor. Eccleſiaſt. p. 220, 221.

(128) Traité des Etudes Monaſtiques, P. i. chap. xi. p. 89.

(129) *Id. ibid.* P. i. chap. xiii. p. 108, 109.

(130) Beda in Epitome Hiſtor. Angl.

(131) *Id.* ad Accam.

have told us he lived under the rule of St. Bennet. St. Gregory the Great approved the rule of St. Benedict about 595, and in ſucceeding times there is no doubt to be made, that (except Carliſle) all our cathedral priories, and moſt of the rich abbies in the kingdom, were of this Rule, which has given the ſtronger colour and appearance of truth to what is delivered by the great favourers of this religious order (*p*). It is very certain that we had Monks in Britain, not only before the eſtabliſhment of St. Benedict's rule, but even before he was born. Yet I think this does not much affect the preſent argument; for we are not concerned about the Britiſh Monks, of whom Beda himſelf gives us a large account (*q*), but with the Engliſh Monks, or rather Saxon Monks, who were brought in and ſettled by St. Auſtin, the great converter of this nation. But in regard to the rule of St. Bennet, we are told, and told with great confidence too, that it was introduced by St. Wilfrid about 666 (*r*): but if this had been really ſo, can we poſſibly imagine that Beda, who wrote his Hiſtory with ſo much care, and who is alſo ſuppoſed of the ſame order, ſhould omit this particular? As for the Bull of Pope Conſtantine requiring the Monks of Eveſham to conform ſtrictly to this rule in 709, there are many, and ſome very ſtrong, reaſons to ſuſpect that it is abſolutely a forgery. But if it were genuine, it would not make much for the antiquity of the Benedictine rule, ſince it admits that it was ſcarcely practiſed in England before that time. It was long after this Bull, that the two monaſteries of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Weremouth and Jarrow, were founded; and yet Beda himſelf ſhews, that Benedict Biſhop had been for ſome time abroad, had taken the habit in a foreign abbey, and brought over ſome kind of orders and regulations: but that theſe were not the rule of St. Bennet in its full extent, we may be ſure, becauſe, if it had, Beda would certainly have ſaid ſo (*s*) [*P*]. Yet if, after all, nothing farther

(*p*) Capgrave, Harpsfield, Pitſ.

(*q*) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. ii. cap. 2.

(*r*) Chr. Auguſt. Cant. apud Decem Script. col. 2232.

(*s*) Hiſtor. Abbat. Weremuth, *&c.*

[*P*] *Becauſe if it had, Beda would certainly have ſaid ſo.*] This argument is ſo much the ſtronger, becauſe the Hiſtory left by Beda of the foundation of theſe two monaſteries is very large and full; containing every circumſtance that has the leaſt relation to the erecting, endowing, and ſettling thoſe religious houſes. The dates, likewiſe, are very exact, ſo that it clearly appears that Benedict, after his return from Rome with a vaſt profuſion of all things neceſſary for the furniſhing a convent, obtained a grant from King Egfred, in the fourth year of his reign, and in the year of Chriſt 674 (132). He then conſidered the time this monaſtery of his would require before it was finiſhed, and computed that it would be four years. He went next over to France, from whence he brought Maſons who were able to build after the Roman manner; and when he ſaw the work pretty far advanced, he ſent agents thither to bring over people who could make glaſs; and Beda obſerves, that theſe people not only furniſhed whatever was wanting for this monaſtery, but likewiſe inſtructed the Engliſh, and ſo brought the art of glaſs-making, which was till then unknown, into this iſland. Whatever he wanted, and could not obtain in France, he ſent for into other countries, and particularly to Rome; ſo that when the houſe was finiſhed he found himſelf much better provided with every thing neceſſary for a monaſtery than when he had firſt propounded the building of one to King Egfred: and in this reſpect Beda is very particular in ſhewing us what the nature of theſe proviſions were, whence this point with relation to the rule of St. Benedict ſeems to be abſolutely cleared up, that is to ſay, it is manifeſt they had heard nothing of it, and conſequently could not think themſelves bound to obey it; in proof of which we will here ſet down Beda's own words (133). ‘In the *firſt* place, *ſays he*, he brought with him an innumerable quantity of books of all kinds. *Secondly*, He drew together, by the favour of many of the Engliſh churches, a vaſt ſtore of relics of the Apoſtles and Martyrs of Chriſt. *Thirdly*, He brought into and eſtabliſhed in his monaſtery the order of chanting and pſalm-ſinging, after the manner of the Roman Church; for he deſired, and obtained from Pope Agatho, John, Abbot of the monaſtery of St. Martin, and arch-chantor of the church of the bleſſed apoſtle St. Peter, and brought him over with him to be the teacher and inſtructor of the Britiſh monaſteries; who coming hither, not only taught them the Roman methods of performing divine ſervice *viva voce*, but alſo left ſeveral writings on this ſubject, which are ſtill preſerved in the library of the monaſtery. *Fourthly*, Benedict obtained from the ſame venerable Pope, by the conſent and deſire, and even at the requeſt, of King Egfred, a privilege or exemption of the ſaid monaſtery. And *fifthly*, He brought pictures and images of the Saints for adorning the walls of the church, that even ſuch as were ignorant of letters might not be able to turn their eyes on any ſide, without drawing ſome inſtruction from what they ſaw.’ This is Beda's account of the matter, which agrees exactly with what he ſays in another place of this John, Abbot of St. Martin (134), who brought with him the acts of a Synod held ſome time before at Rome, and was inſtructed to enquire into the faith of the Engliſh churches, of which he carried over ample teſtimonials; and dying in his journey back to Rome, was buried in the church of the abbey of St. Martin at Tours. But neither in the former or the latter paſſages is there one word of his bringing the rule of St. Benedict into this kingdom; and had it been known and obſerved here before, there had certainly been no occaſion for his coming at all. It is indeed true, that ſome of the moſt learned writers of the Church of Rome have produced many probable and plauſible arguments in favour of the contrary opinion: but in anſwer to theſe poſitive facts they have hitherto ſaid nothing, or at leaſt nothing that can give a reaſonable and unprejudiced perſon ſatisfaction (135). Thus we have given the reader, in as narrow a compaſs as it was poſſible, the Hiſtory of *Venerable Beda* and his writings; and, as far as we are able, have ſet the diſputes that have been raiſed about them in a clear light, ſo as to make whatever relates to this famous *Light* of the *Engliſh Church* perfectly intelligible. C.

⁂ [It ought to be remembered, that the Alcuinus mentioned in the note [*B*], as having been a contemporary with Bede, was not, as has commonly been imagined, the famous Alcuinus who was Preceptor to Charlemagne, but another perſon of the ſame name. This matter we have conſidered under the article ALCUINUS.

With reſpect to the argument urged at the end of the note [*G*], to ſhew that Bede was never at Rome, it hath been obſerved to us, that if it can be proved that going to that city implies an inſpection of the candles in churches, the argument will indeed be concluſive. Dr. Hakewill's reaſoning, in the note [*I*], from Bede's epitaph, is of no value. It never was aſſerted, by any admirer of times paſt, that better Latin verſe was made in the eighth than in the ſeventeenth century. Hakewill's verſes, though not intended as ſuch, may be underſtood as a burleſque on the Latin. The word *to*, at the end of a line, was probably deſigned as an imitation of the *cui tam* of the original (136).

Mr. Warton's eſtimate of Bede's literary character and merit is ſo candid and juſt, that it cannot be omitted. ‘Bede, whoſe name is ſo nearly and neceſſarily connected with every part of the literature of this period, was by far the moſt learned of the Saxon

(132) Hiſtoria de Vitis Abbatum Wiremuthenſium & Girwienſium, p. 224. Leland. Collectan. Tom. iii. p. 39. Monaſticon. Anglic. Tom. i. p. 96.

(133) Hiſtoria de Vitis Abbatum, *&c.* p. 225, 226.

(134) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iv. c. 18.

(135) Vide Reyner, Dugdale, Mabillon, *&c.*

(136) From a Correſpondent.

farther were expected than that we ſhould admit that Benedict Biſhop (for that was his cognomen) brought ſome kind of regulation from France, which was taken from the rule

‘ Saxon writers. He was of the northern ſchool, if it may be ſo called; and was educated in the monaſtery of St. Peter at Weremouth, under the care of the abbots Ceolfrid and Biſcop. Bale affirms, that Bede learned phyſics and mathematics from the pureſt ſources, the original Greek and Roman writers on theſe ſubjects. But this haſty aſſertion, in part at leaſt, may juſtly be doubted. His knowledge, if we conſider his age, was extenſive and profound: and it is amazing, in ſo rude a period, and during a life of no conſiderable length, he ſhould have made ſo ſucceſsful a progreſs, and ſuch rapid improvements, in ſcientifical and philological ſtudies, and have compoſed ſo many elaborate treatiſes on different ſubjects. It is diverting to ſee the French critics cenſuring Bede for credulity: they might as well have accuſed him of ſuperſtition. There is much perſpicuity and facility in his Latin ſtyle. But it is void of elegance, and often of purity; it ſhews with what grace and propriety he would have written, had his mind been formed on better models. Whoever looks for digeſtion of materials, diſpoſition of parts, and accuracy of narration, in this writer's hiſtorical works, expects what could not exiſt at that time. He has recorded but few civil tranſactions: but beſides that his hiſtory profeſſedly conſiders eccleſiaſtical affairs, we ſhould remember, that the building of a church, the preferment of an abbot, the canonization of a martyr, and the importation into England of the ſhin-bone of an apoſtle, were neceſſarily matters of much more importance in Bede's conceptions than victories or revolutions. He is fond of minute deſcription; but particularities are the fault and often the merit of early hiſtorians. Bede wrote many pieces of Latin poetry. The following verſes from his MEDITATIO DE DIE JUDICII, a tranſlation of which into Saxon verſe is now preſerved in the library of Bennet-college at Cambridge, are at leaſt well turned and harmonious.

‘ Inter florigeras fœcundi ceſpitis herbas,
‘ Flamine ventorum reſonantibus undique ramis.

‘ Some of Aldhelm's verſes are exactly in this caſt, written on the Dedication of the abbey-church at Malmeſbury to St. Peter and St. Paul.

‘ Hic celebranda rudis floreſcit gloria templi,
‘ Limpida quæ ſacri celebrat vexilla triumphi.
‘ Hic Petrus et Paulus, tenebroſi lumina mundi,
‘ Præcipui patres populi qui frena gubernant,
‘ Carminibus crebris alma celebrantur in aula.
‘ Claviger o cæli, portam qui pandis in æthra,
‘ Candida qui meritis recludis limina cæli,
‘ Exaudi clemens populorum vota tuorum,
‘ Marcida qui riguis humectant fletibus ora.

‘ The ſtrict and ſuperabundant attention of theſe Latin poets to proſodic rules, on which it was become faſhionable to write didactic ſyſtems, made them accurate to exceſs in the metrical conformation of their hexameters, and produced a faultleſs and flowing monotony (137).' With reſpect to the many miracles and viſions introduced by Bede into his Hiſtory, Mr. Warton obſerves, that ſome of them are pleaſing to the imagination; being tinctured with the gloom of the cloiſter, operating on the extravagance of oriental invention. Two inſtances to this purpoſe are given by the ingenious writer juſt mentioned, from the idea of one of which Milton's Hell might perhaps be taken (138). The ſtate of learning in England, during the eighth century, in the beginning of which Bede flouriſhed, is thus deſcribed by Mr. Warton. ‘ It is certain that literature was at its height among our Saxon anceſtors about the eighth century. Theſe happy beginnings were almoſt entirely owing to the attention of King Alfred, who encouraged learning by his own example, by founding ſeminaries of inſtruction, and by rewarding the labours of ſcholars. But the efforts of this pious monarch were ſoon blaſted by the ſupineneſs of his ſucceſſors, the incurſions of the Danes, and the diſtraction of national affairs. Bede, from the eſtabliſhment of learned biſhops in every dioceſe, and the univerſal tranquility which reigned over all the provinces of England, when he finiſhed his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, flatters his imagination in anticipating the moſt advantageous conſequences, and triumphantly cloſes his narrative with this pleaſing preſentiment. The Picts, at this period, were at peace with the Saxons or Engliſh, and converted to chriſtianity. The Scots lived contented within their own boundary. The Britons or Welſh, from a natural enmity, and a diſlike to the catholic inſtitution of keeping Eaſter, ſometimes attempted to diſturb the national repoſe; but they were in ſome meaſure ſubſervient to the Saxons. Among the Northumbrians, both the nobility and private perſons rather choſe their children ſhould receive the monaſtic tonſure, than be trained to arms (139).'

The excellencies of Bede's literary attainments will be heightened, and their defects leſſened, by conſidering not only the general ignorance of the age in which he lived, but the ſcarcity of books in particular, at and after that period. This ſubject is well diſplayed by Mr. Warton; and though the quotation be a long one, it is too curious not to give pleaſure to our readers. ‘ In the mean time, no ſmall obſtruction to the propagation or rather revival of letters, was the paucity of valuable books. The libraries, particularly thoſe of Italy, which abounded in numerous and ineſtimable treaſures of literature, were every where deſtroyed by the precipitate rage and undiſtinguiſhing violence of the northern armies. Towards the cloſe of the ſeventh century, even in the papal library at Rome, the number of books was ſo inconſiderable, that Pope St. Martin requeſted Sanctamand biſhop of Maeſtricht, if poſſible, to ſupply this defect from the remoteſt parts of Germany. In the year 855, Lupus, Abbot of Ferrieres in France, ſent two of his Monks to Pope Benedict the Third, to beg a copy of CICERO DE ORATORE, and QUINTILIAN'S INSTITUTES, and ſome other books: “ for, ſays the Abbot, although we have part of theſe books, yet there is no whole or complete copy of them in all France.” Albert, Abbot of Gemblours, who with incredible labour and immenſe expence had collected an hundred volumes on theological and fifty on profane ſubjects, imagined he had formed a ſplendid library. About the year 790, Charlemagne granted an unlimited right of hunting to the Abbot and Monks of Sithiu, for making their gloves and girdles of the ſkins of the deer they killed, and covers for their books. We may imagine that theſe religious were more fond of hunting than reading. It is certain that they were obliged to hunt before they could read: and at leaſt it is probable, that under theſe circumſtances, and of ſuch materials, they did not manufacture many volumes. At the beginning of the tenth century books were ſo ſcarce in Spain, that one and the ſame copy of the bible, St. Jerom's Epiſtles, and ſome volumes of eccleſiaſtical offices and martyrologies, often ſerved ſeveral different monaſteries. Among the conſtitutions given to the Monks of England by archbiſhop Lanfranc, in the year 1072, the following injunction occurs. At the beginning of Lent, the librarian is ordered to deliver a book to each of the religious: a whole year was allowed for the peruſal of this book: and at the returning Lent, thoſe Monks who had neglected to read the books they had reſpectively received, are commanded to proſtrate themſelves before the Abbot, and to ſupplicate his indulgence. This regulation was partly occaſioned by the low ſtate of literature which Lanfranc found in the Engliſh monaſteries. But at the ſame time it was a matter of neceſſity, and is in great meaſure to be referred to the ſcarcity of copies of uſeful and ſuitable authors. In an inventory of the goods of John de Pontiſſara, biſhop of Wincheſter, contained in his capital palace of Wulveſey, all the books which appear are nothing more than “ *Septendecem pecie librorum de diverſis Scienciis.*” This was in the year 1294. The ſame prelate, in the year 1299, borrows of his cathedral convent of St. Swithin at Wincheſter, BIBLIAM BENE GLOSSATAM, that is, the Bible, with marginal Annotations, in two large folio volumes: but gives a bond for due return of the loan,

‘ drawn

(137) Hiſt. of Poetry, Vol. i. Diſſertation 2d. P. I. p. 104—106.

(138) *Ibid.* note [F].

(139) Hiſt. of Poetry, Vol. i. Diſſertation 2d, P. I. p. 111, 112

rule of St. Bennet, and that theſe monaſteries ſhould be from thence reckoned in ſome meaſure Benedictine, I do not ſee how or why it ſhould be denied: but in a ſtronger or ſtricter

‘ drawn up with great ſolemnity. This Bible had been bequeathed to the convent the ſame year by Pontiſſara's predeceſſor, Biſhop Nicholas de Ely: and in conſideration of ſo important a bequeſt, that is, “*pro bona Biblia dicti epiſcopi bene gloſata*,” and one hundred marks in money, the Monks founded a daily maſs for the ſoul of the donor. When a ſingle book was bequeathed to a friend or relation, it was ſeldom without many reſtrictions and ſtipulations. If any perſon gave a book to a religious houſe, he believed that ſo valuable a donation merited eternal ſalvation, and he offered it on the altar with great ceremony. The moſt formidable anathemas were peremptorily denounced againſt thoſe who ſhould dare to alienate a book preſented to the cloiſter or library of a religious houſe. The prior and convent of Rocheſter declare, that they will every year pronounce the irrevocable ſentence of damnation on him who ſhall purloin or conceal a Latin tranſlation of Ariſtotle's PHYSICS, or even obliterate the title. Sometimes a book was given to a monaſtery on condition that the donor ſhould have the uſe of it during his life: and ſometimes to a private perſon, with the reſervation that he who receives it ſhould pray for the ſoul of his benefactor. The gift of a book to Lincoln cathedral, by Biſhop Repingdon, in the year 1422, occurs in this form and under theſe curious circumſtances. The memorial is written in Latin, with the Biſhop's own hand, which I will give in Engliſh, at the beginning of Peter's BREVIARY OF THE BIBLE. “I Philip of Repyndon, late Biſhop of Lincoln, give this book called Peter de Aureolis, to the new library to be built within the church of Lincoln: reſerving the uſe and poſſeſſion of it to Richard Tryſely, clerk, Canon and Prebendary of Miltoun, in fee, and to the term of his life: and afterwards to be given up and reſtored to the ſaid library, or the keepers of the ſame, for the time being, faithfully and without delay. Written with my own hand, A. D. 1422.” When a book was bought, the affair was of ſo much importance, that it was cuſtomary to aſſemble perſons of conſequence and character, and to make a formal record that they were preſent on this occaſion. Among the royal manuſcripts, in the book of the SENTENCES of Peter Lombard, an Archdeacon of Lincoln has left this entry. “This book of the SENTENCES belongs to maſter Robert, Archdeacon of Lincoln, which he bought of Geoffrey the Chaplain, brother of Henry, Vicar of Northelkington, in the preſence of maſter Robert de Lee, maſter John of Lirling, Richard of Luda, clerk, Richard the almoner, the ſaid Henry the Vicar and his clerk, and others: and the ſaid Archdeacon gave the ſaid book to God and St. Oſwald, and to Peter, Abbot of Barton, and the convent of Barden.” The diſputed property of a book often occaſioned the moſt violent altercations. Many claims appear to have been made to a manuſcript of Matthew Paris, belonging to the laſt-mentioned library: in which John Ruſſell, Biſhop of Lincoln, thus conditionally defends or explains his right of poſſeſſion. “If this book can be proved to be or to have been the property of the exempt monaſtery of St. Alban, in the dioceſe of Lincoln, I declare this to be my mind, that, in that caſe, I uſe it at preſent as a loan under favour of thoſe Monks who belong to the ſaid monaſtery. Otherwiſe, according to the condition under which this book came into my poſſeſſion, I will that it ſhall belong to the college of the bleſſed Wincheſter Mary at Oxford, of the foundation of William Wykham. Written with my own hand at Bukdane, 1 Jan. A. D. 1488. JO. LINCOLN. Whoever ſhall obliterate or deſtroy this writing, let him be anathema.” About the year 1225, Roger de Inſula, Dean of York, gave ſeveral Latin bibles to the univerſity of Oxford, with a condition that the ſtudents who peruſed them ſhould depoſit a cautionary pledge. The library of that univerſity, before the year 1300, conſiſted only of a few tracts, chained or kept in cheſts in the choir of St. Mary's church. In the year 1327, the ſcholars and citizens of Oxford aſſaulted and entirely pillaged the opulent Benedictine abbey of the neighbouring town of Abingdon. Among the books they found there, were one hundred pſalters, as many grayles, and forty miſſals, which undoubtedly belonged to the choir of the church: but beſides theſe, there were only twenty-two CODICES, which I interpret books on common ſubjects. And although the invention of paper, at the cloſe of the eleventh century, contributed to multiply manuſcripts, and conſequently to facilitate knowledge, yet even ſo late as the reign of our Henry the Sixth, I have diſcovered the following remarkable inſtance of the inconveniencies and impediments to ſtudy, which muſt have been produced by a ſcarcity of books. It is in the ſtatutes of St. Mary's college at Oxford, founded as a ſeminary to Oſeney abbey in the year 1446, “Let no ſcholar occupy a book in the library above one hour, or two hours at moſt; ſo that others ſhall be hindered from the uſe of the ſame.” The famous library eſtabliſhed in the univerſity of Oxford, by that munificent patron of literature Humphrey Duke of Glouceſter, contained only ſix hundred volumes. About the commencement of the fourteenth century, there were only four claſſics in the royal library at Paris. Theſe were one copy of Cicero, Ovid, Lucan, and Boethius. The reſt were chiefly books of devotion, which included but few of the fathers: many treatiſes of aſtrology, geomancy, chiromancy, and medicine, originally written in Arabic, and tranſlated into Latin or French: pandects, chronicles, and romances. This collection was principally made by Charles the Fifth, who began his reign in 1365. This monarch was paſſionately fond of reading, and it was the faſhion to ſend him preſents of books from every part of the kingdom of France. Theſe he ordered to be elegantly tranſcribed, and richly illuminated; and he placed them in a tower of the Louvre, from thence called, *la toure de la libraire*. The whole conſiſted of nine hundred volumes. They were depoſited in three chambers; which, on this occaſion, were wainſcotted with Iriſh oak, and cieled with cypreſs curiouſly carved. The windows were of painted glaſs, fenced with iron bars and copper wire. The Engliſh became maſters of Paris in the year 1425; on which event, the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, ſent this whole library, then conſiſting of only eight hundred and fifty-three volumes, and valued at two thouſand two hundred and twenty-three livres, into England; where perhaps they became the ground-work of Duke Humphrey's library juſt mentioned. Even ſo late as the year 1471, when Louis the Eleventh of France borrowed the works of the Arabian phyſician Rhaſis, from the faculty of medicine at Paris, he not only depoſited by way of pledge a quantity of valuable plate, but was obliged to procure a nobleman to join with him as ſurety in a deed, by which he bound himſelf to return it under a conſiderable forfeiture. The exceſſive prices of books in the middle ages, afford numerous and curious proofs. I will mention a few only. In the year 1174, Walter, Prior of St. Swithin's at Wincheſter, afterwards elected Abbot of Weſtminſter, a writer in Latin of the lives of the Biſhops who were his patrons, purchaſed of the Monks of Dorcheſter in Oxfordſhire, Bede's Homilies, and St. Auſtin's Pſalter, for twelve meaſures of barley, and a pall on which was embroidered in ſilver the hiſtory of St. Birinus converting a Saxon King. Among the royal manuſcripts in the Britiſh Muſeum there is COMESTOR'S SCHOLASTIC HISTORY in French; which, as it is recorded in a blank page at the beginning, was taken from the King of France at the battle of Poitiers; and being purchaſed by William Montague, Earl of Saliſbury, for one hundred marcs, was ordered to be ſold by the laſt will of his Counteſs Elizabeth for forty livres. About the year 1400, a copy of John of Meun's ROMAN DE LA ROSE, was ſold before the palace-gate at Paris for forty crowns or thirty-three-pounds ſix and ſixpence.

ſtricter ſenſe than this, it never can be admitted. For in the general, and as far as we can ſee, in the firſt regulation of the Engliſh Monks, by Archbiſhop Cuthbert, at Cloveſho in 647, there is nothing ſaid of St. Benedict or his rule, which would have been impoſſible, if that rule, in its full extent, and under its founder's name, had ever been introduced here (*t*). By thoſe conſtitutions at Cloveſho the Monks undoubtedly governed themſelves, till haraſſed, diſperſed, and in a manner extirpated by the Danes; who, excepting Glaſtenbury and Abingdon, ſcarcely left a convent of Monks in the kingdom; which was the caſe in the days of Ælfred the Great (*u*). But it may be demanded, if this was ſo, how came Weremouth and Jarrow to become cells of the Benedictine monaſtery at Durham? And indeed the anſwer to this queſtion, brings the whole affair to a natural and ſatisfactory concluſion. The ſecular Canons were turned into Benedictine Monks by William de Carilepho, Biſhop of Durham, in the eighteenth of William the Conqueror (*w*), and theſe two ſmall monaſteries being, from the reviving the monaſtic ſtate by St. Dunſtan, occupied by black Monks, they were put under the juriſdiction of the great Benedictine abbey of Durham (*x*), whence the opinion grew, that as Beda was a Monk at Jarrow, he was conſequently a Benedictine.

(*t*) Spelman. Concilia.

(*u*) Leland. Collectan. Vol. i. p. 8.

(*w*) Chron. Eccleſ. Dunelm. MS. Bibl. Bodl. p. 31.

(*x*) Monaſt. Anglican. Tom. i. p. 94.

‘ pence. But in purſuit of theſe anecdotes, I am imperceptibly ſeduced into later periods, or rather am ‘ deviating from my ſubject (140).’

Sir John Hawkins, ſpeaking of ſome writers who had entertained an idea of transferring the proſody of poetry to muſic, informs us, that a few ſcattered hints of this kind, which occur in the works of St. Auguſtine and Bede, on the ſubject of metre, ſuggeſted the formation of a ſyſtem of metrical laws, ſuch as would not only enable muſic to ſubſiſt of itſelf, but aid the powers of melody with that force and energy which it is obſerved to derive from the regular commixture and interchange of long and ſhort quantities (141). From the memoirs of Bede's own life, at the end of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Britain, it appears that he was very aſſiduous in acquiring a knowledge of muſic, and punctual in performing choral duty in the church of his monaſtery. It is evident, from the titles of ſome of his tracts, that he wrote both upon the theory and practice of muſic (142).

The character of Bede has been drawn by Dr. Warner, Dr. Henry, and ſeveral other modern hiſtorians; but as their accounts of him contain little or nothing which has not been often repeated, there is no occaſion to ſwell this article with them. The diſtinct titles of Bede's various ſmall pieces, whether printed or in manuſcript, may be ſeen in Tanner's Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p. 86–92.] K.

(140) Hiſt. of Poetry, Vol. i. Diſſertation 2d. P. i. p. 77–86.

(141) Hiſt. of Muſic, Vol. i. Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 53, 54.

(142) Hiſt. of Muſic, Vol. i. p. 411. Tanner's Bibliotheca, p. 89. Bæd. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Tom. i. p. 222.

BEDELL (William), Biſhop of Kilmore in Ireland, and one of the moſt famous Prelates in that kingdom during the laſt century. He was deſcended from a good family, and born ſome time in the year 1570 (*a*), at Black Notley in Eſſex, and being a younger ſon, was by his father deſigned for the Church. It was with this view that he was ſent to Emanuel-college in Cambridge, where he was placed under the care of Dr. Chadderton, who was for many years head of that houſe (*b*), where he made great progreſs in his ſtudies, and went early into Holy Orders, which he received from the Suffragan Biſhop of Colcheſter, who valued himſelf very much afterwards upon that head (*c*). In 1593 he was choſen Fellow of his college, and in 1599 took his degree of Bachelor in Divinity (*d*). He removed from the univerſity to St. Edmundſbury in Suffolk, where he had a church, and by an aſſiduous application to the duties of his function, came to be much taken notice of by many gentlemen who lived near that place. He continued there for ſome years, till an opportunity offered of his going with Sir Henry Wotton, whom King James had appointed his Ambaſſador to the State of Venice, which was about the year 1604, and thither Mr. Bedell attended him as his Chaplain (*e*). While he reſided in that city, he became intimately acquainted with the famous Father Paul Sarpi, Divine to the State, who took him into his entire confidence, taught him the Italian language, of which he became a perfect maſter, and tranſlated into that tongue the Engliſh Common-Prayer Book, which was extremely well received by many of the clergy there, eſpecially by the ſeven Divines appointed by the Republic to preach againſt the Pope, during the time of the Interdict, and which they intended for their model, in caſe they had broken abſolutely with Rome, which was what they ſincerely deſired (*f*). In return for the favours he received from Father Paul, Mr. Bedell drew up an Engliſh Grammar for his uſe, and in many other reſpects aſſiſted him in his ſtudies. He continued eight years in Venice, during which time he greatly improved himſelf in the Hebrew language, by the aſſiſtance of the famous Rabbi Leo, who taught him the Jewiſh pronunciation, and other parts of Rabbinical learning; and by his means it was that he purchaſed a very fair manuſcript of the Old Teſtament, which he bequeathed, as a mark of reſpect, to Emanuel-college, and which, it is ſaid, coſt him its weight in ſilver (*g*). He became acquainted there likewiſe, with the celebrated *Antonio de Dominis*, Archbiſhop of *Spalata*, who was ſo well pleaſed with his converſation, that he communicated to him his ſecret, and ſhewed him his famous book *de Republica Eccleſiaſtica*, which he afterwards printed at London (*h*). Bedell took the freedom which he allowed him, and corrected many miſapplications of texts of Scripture, and quotations of Fathers; for that Prelate being utterly ignorant of the Greek tongue, could not but be guilty of many miſtakes, both in the one and the other; and if there remain ſome places ſtill, that diſcover his ignorance of that language too plainly, yet there had been many more if Bedell had not corrected them: but no wonder, if, in ſuch a multitude, ſome eſcaped his diligence. *De Dominis* took all this in good part from him, and entered into ſuch familiarity with him, and found his aſſiſtance ſo uſeful, and indeed ſo neceſſary to himſelf, that he uſed to ſay, he could do nothing

(*a*) Life of William Bedell, D. D. Biſhop of Kilmore in Ireland, London, 1685, 8vo, p. 1.

(*b*) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 147.

(*c*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 2.

(*d*) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 147.

(*e*) Life of Sir Henry Wotton, by Iſrael Walton, p. 23.

(*f*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 8.

(*g*) The Works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland, reviſed and improved, Dublin, 1739, fol. Vol. i. p. 232.

(*h*) See the article De Dominis (Antonio).

without him (*i*). At Mr. Bedell's departure from Venice, Father Paul expreſſed great concern, and aſſured him, that himſelf and many others would moſt willingly have accompanied him, if it had been in their power. He, likewiſe, gave him his picture, a Hebrew Bible without points, and a ſmall Hebrew Pſalter, in which he wrote ſome ſentences expreſſing the ſincerity of his friendſhip. He gave him, alſo, the manuſcript of his famous Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, with the Hiſtories of the Interdict and Inquiſition, all written by himſelf, with a large collection of letters, which were written to him weekly from Rome, during the diſpute between the Jeſuits and Dominicans, concerning the efficacy of Grace, which it is ſuppoſed are loſt (*k*). Such were the teſtimonies he brought home of his wiſe conduct in Italy [*A*]. Upon his returning to England, he immediately retired to his charge at St. Edmundſbury, without aſpiring to any preferment, and went on in his miniſterial labours. It was here he employed himſelf in tranſlating the Hiſtories of the Interdict and Inquiſition (which he dedicated to the King); as alſo the two laſt books of the Hiſtory of the Council of Trent into Latin, Sir Adam Newton having tranſlated the two firſt (*l*). He lived there in a private and obſcure condition, until Sir Thomas Jermyn taking notice of his abilities, preſented him to the living of Horingſheath, A. D. 1615: but he found difficulties in obtaining inſtitution and induction from the Biſhop of Norwich, who demanded large fees upon this account. Mr. Bedell was ſo nice in his ſentiments of Simony, that he looked upon every payment as ſuch, that exceeded a competent gratification, for the writing, the wax, and the parchment; and, refuſing to take out his title upon other terms, left the Biſhop and went home (*m*). However, in a few days, the Biſhop ſent for him, and gave him his title without fees, and he removed to Horingſheath, where he continued unnoticed twelve years, although he gave a ſingular evidence of his great capacity, in a book of controverſy with the Church of Rome, which he publiſhed and dedicated to King Charles I., then Prince of Wales, in 1624 (*n*). However neglected he lived in England, yet his fame had reached Ireland, and he was, in 1627, unanimouſly elected Provoſt of Trinity-college in Dublin (*o*). But it was with difficulty that he was prevailed on to accept the charge, until the King laid his poſitive commands on him, which he cheerfully obeyed, and on the ſixteenth of Auguſt that year, he was ſworn Provoſt. At his firſt entrance upon this ſcene, he reſolved to act nothing until he became perfectly acquainted with the ſtatutes of the houſe, and the tempers of the people whom he was appointed to govern; and, therefore, carried himſelf ſo abſtractedly from all affairs, that he paſſed ſome time for a ſoft and weak man, and even Primate Uſher began to waver in his opinion of him. When he went for England ſome few months after, to bring over his family, he had thoughts of reſigning his new

(*i*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 10.

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 17, 18.

(*l*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. i. p. 233.

(*m*) Biſhop Bedell's Life, p. 23.

(*n*) See that Work entire, annexed to Biſhop Burnet's Life of our author.

(*o*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. i. p. 233.

[*A*] *Such were the teſtimonies he brought home of his wiſe conduct in Italy.*] We ſtand indebted for the principal paſſages in the text to the life of this excellent perſon, written by the late Biſhop Burnet, who had his materials from one Mr. Clogy, who had been miniſter at Cavan, and lived long in Biſhop Bedell's family (1); and it muſt be owned they have loſt nothing by the Biſhop of Saliſbury's putting them together, who was certainly as happy in this way of writing as any one who ever practiſed it in our language. The account he gives us of Mr. Bedell's manner of living while at Venice, is very curious, as well as very entertaining. He happened to reſide there at a very critical ſeaſon, when the Republic lay under the Interdict of Pope Paul V., for making ſome laws in the nature of our ſtatutes of mortmain, and for puniſhing two lewd Friers (2). This Interdict, however, was obeyed by none but the Jeſuits, Capuchins, and Theatines, who were baniſhed the State for that reaſon. The reſt of the Clergy were kept firm to the intereſt of their country, by Father Paul and the Divines who aſſiſted him, and who would have been glad if this quarrel had been puſhed to extremities, that they might have had an opportunity of quitting a Church, to the corruptions of which they were no ſtrangers (3). How this deſign was defeated, and this quarrel ended, the reader may learn in another article, to which it more properly belongs. At preſent we are to confine ourſelves to what particularly relates to Mr. Bedell, whoſe intimacy with Father Paul was ſo great, and his credit with him ſo well eſtabliſhed, that after an attempt made to aſſaſſinate that worthy perſon, when the Republic aſſigned him a guard, and ordered that nobody ſhould be admitted to ſpeak with him, till they had undergone a ſtrict examination, Mr. Bedell alone was excepted, and was admitted with the ſame freedom as before, whenever he thought fit. If we conſider the character and condition of Father Paul at that time, upon whoſe pen the State depended, much more than upon her own power, this will appear very extraordinary (4). But beſides this, a paſſage fell out during the Interdict, that made greater noiſe than perhaps the importance of it could well amount to, but it was ſuited to the Italian genius. There came a Jeſuit to Venice, *Thomas Maria Caraffa,* who printed a thouſand Theſes of Philoſophy and Divinity, which he dedicated to the Pope, with this extravagant inſcription: PAULO V. VICE DEO *Chriſtianæ Reipublicæ Monarchæ invictiſſimo & Pontificiæ Omnipotentiæ conſervatori acerrimo.* 'To Paul the Vth, the Vice-'God, the moſt invincible Monarch of the Chriſtian 'commonwealth, and the moſt zealous aſſerter of the 'Papal omnipotency.' All people were amazed at the impudence of this title; but when Mr. Bedell obſerved, that the numeral letters of the firſt words, Paulo V. Vice-Deo, being put together, made exactly 666, the number of the beaſt in the Revelation, he communicated this to Pope Paul and the ſeven Divines, and they carried it to the Duke and Senate. It was entertained almoſt as if it had come from Heaven, and it was publicly preached over all their territories, that here was a certain evidence that the Pope was Antichriſt. And it is likely this was promoted by them the more, becauſe they found if it took with the Italians, that they could build much upon it. The noiſe that this made over all Italy made the Pope ſo uneaſy, that he was forced to deviſe one of the ſtrangeſt fables that was ever heard to put it out of the people's heads: for he cauſed it to be given out, that Antichriſt was actually born in Babylon, was deſcended from the tribe of Dan, and that he was gathering a vaſt army, with which he intended to come and deſtroy Chriſtendom; and with this piece of falſe news, the other conceit, ſays Biſhop Burnet, was choaked (5). When Mr. Bedell came over, he brought along with him the Archbiſhop of Spalata, and one Deſpotine a Phyſician, who could no longer bear with the corruptions of the Roman worſhip, and ſo choſe a freer air. The latter lived near him in St. Edmundſbury, and was by his means introduced into much practice, which he maintained ſo well, that he became eminent in his profeſſion, and continued to his death to keep up a conſtant correſpondence with our author.

(1) See the Preface to Biſhop Bedell's Life, p. 31.

(2) Walton's Life of Sir H. Wotton, p. 23.

(3) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 15.

(4) See the article WOTTON (SIR HENRY).

(5) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 12.

preferment, and returning to his benefice in Suffolk : but an encouraging letter from Primate Uſher put an end to this deſign. He returned with his family, and applied himſelf to the government of the college, with a vigour of mind peculiar to him (*p*). His firſt buſineſs was to compoſe diviſions among the Fellows, to rectify diſorders, and to reſtore diſcipline ; and as he was a great promoter of religion, he catechiſed the youth once a week, and divided the Church Catechiſm into fifty-two parts, one for every Sunday, and explained it in a way ſo mixed with ſpeculative and practical matters, that his ſermons were looked upon as learned Lectures of Divinity, and excellent exhortations to virtue and piety. He continued about two years in this employment, when, by the intereſt of Sir Thomas Jermyn, and the application of Laud, Biſhop of London, he was advanced to the Sees of Kilmore and Ardagh, and conſecrated on the thirteenth of September 1629 (*q*), at Drogheda, in St. Peter's church, by James, Archbiſhop of Armagh ; Robert, Biſhop of Down and Conner ; Theophilus, Biſhop of Dromore ; and James, Biſhop of Clogher ; in the fifty-ninth year of his age. In the letters for his promotion, the King made honourable mention of the ſatisfaction he took in the ſervices he had done, and the reformation he had wrought in the univerſity (*r*). Having thus entered on a different courſe of life, he found his dioceſes under vaſt diſorders, the revenues waſted by exceſſive dilapidations, and all things expoſed to ſale in ſo ſordid a manner, that it was grown into a proverb, The cathedral of Ardagh, and the Biſhop's houſes, were all flat to the ground ; the pariſh churches in ruins ; and the inſolence of the Popiſh clergy inſufferable ; the oppreſſions of the eccleſiaſtical courts exceſſive ; and pluralities, and non-reſidence, ſhamefully prevailing (*s*). He had the courage, notwithſtanding all the difficulties that lay in his way, to undertake a thorough reformation ; and the firſt ſtep he took was, to recover part of the lands of which his Sees had been deſpoiled by his predeceſſors, that he might be in a condition to ſubſiſt, while he laboured to reform other abuſes. In this he met with ſuch ſucceſs, as encouraged him to proceed upon his own plan, and to be content with nothing leſs than an abſolute reformation of thoſe which he eſteemed capital and enormous abuſes (*t*) [*B*]. Upon the coming over of the Lord-Deputy Wentworth, in 1633, his Lordſhip of Kilmore had the misfortune to fall under his diſpleaſure, for ſetting his hand to a petition which was for redreſs, in ſome reſpect, of grievances ; and ſo high and open was the Lord Deputy's teſtimony of this diſpleaſure, that the Biſhop did not think fit to go in perſon to congratulate him (as others did) upon his entering into his government (*u*). It is, however, very improbable, that he ſhould write over to Sir Thomas Jermyn and his friends in England, or procure, by their intereſt, injunctions to the Lord-Deputy, to receive him into favour, becauſe this ſuits very ill with the character either of the men or of the times (*w*). On the contrary, it appears from his own letter to the Lord-Deputy, that it was he, not the Biſhop, who had complained in England ; that he meant to juſtify himſelf to the Deputy, and expected, on that juſtification, he ſhould retract his complaints. One may ſafely affirm, from the peruſal of this ſingle epiſtle, that our Prelate was as thorough a ſtateſman as the Deputy, and that he knew how to become all things to all men, without doing any thing beneath him, or inconſiſtent with his dignity. This conduct had its effect, and in three weeks it appears that he ſtood well with the Deputy (*x*), and probably without any interpoſition but his own letter before mentioned. He then went on cheerfully in doing what he thought was his duty, and for the benefit of the Church, in which he met with an oppoſition that might have been well expected, and a ſucceſs much ſuperior to what could have been hoped for (*y*). His own example did much : he loved the Chriſtian power of a Biſhop, with-

[*B*] *An abſolute reformation of thoſe which he eſteemed capital and enormous abuſes.*] The firſt of theſe he undertook was Pluralities, by which one man had the cure of ſouls in ſo many places, that it was impoſſible to diſcharge his duty to them all, or to perform thoſe vows made at ordination, of feeding and inſtructing the flock committed to him. To this end he convened his Clergy, and, in a ſermon, laid before them, both out of Scripture and Antiquity, the inſtitution, nature, and duties of the miniſterial employment, and after ſermon diſcourſed to them upon the ſame ſubject in Latin, and exhorted them to reform that intolerable abuſe. To prevail on them the better, he told them he reſolved to ſhew them an example in parting with one of his Biſhoprics ; and accordingly he voluntarily reſigned Ardagh in 1633, although he had been at conſiderable charge in recovering the revenues of it, and although he was able to diſcharge the duties of both, being contiguous and ſmall, and the revenues not exceeding a competency. It was conferred on Dr. Richardſon the ſame year. The efficacy of his diſcourſe, and the authority of his example, made ſuch an impreſſion on his Clergy, that they almoſt all freely relinquiſhed their pluralities, which pleaſed him the more, ſince he had no authority to compel them to it. The Dean was the only perſon who did not ſubmit ; but he exchanged his Deanry with another, being aſhamed to live in a dioceſe where he would not ſubmit to ſuch terms as both Biſhop and Clergy had agreed to. The next part of his project was to oblige his Clergy to reſidence, and this met with great difficulties. King James, upon the reduction of Ulſter after Tyrone's rebellion, had aſſigned glebes to all the Clergy, and had obliged them to build houſes thereon after a limited time. But the commiſſioners appointed to allot theſe glebes had taken no care of the conveniencies of the Clergy, ſo that in many places the lands allotted for glebes were not within the pariſh, and often lay divided in parcels ; in conſequence of which, if they built houſes on theſe glebes, they would be obliged to live out of their pariſhes, and it would be inconvenient to have houſes remote from their lands. To remedy this, the Biſhop, who had lands allotted him in every pariſh, reſolved to make an exchange with them, and to aſſign them more convenient portions of equal value. To this end he procured a commiſſion from the Government, to ſome gentlemen to examine and ſettle the matter, which was brought to a concluſion with the univerſal ſatisfaction of the whole Dioceſe. But a Great Seal being neceſſary for the determination and confirmation of what was then agreed on, a perſon was ſent over to England to procure it : yet before that could be done the rebellion broke out, which put a ſtop to this and other good deſigns (6).

(*p*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 39.

(*q*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. i. p. 233.

(*r*) *Id. ibid.*

(*s*) Taken from the Biſhop's own Letter to Archbiſhop Laud, dated Kilmore, April 1, 1630.

(*t*) See his Letter to Primate Uſher. September 18, 1630.

(*u*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 68.

(*w*) Earl of Strafford's Letters publiſhed by Dr. Knowler, Vol. i. p. 146. This ſeems to be contradicted by the Biſhop's letter to Archbiſhop Laud, printed (after Prynne) by Biſhop Burnet ; but this is in truth no letter to the Archbiſhop, but a fragment of the letter to the Lord-Deputy.

(*x*) Earl of Strafford's Letters, Vol. i. p. 164. The former letter is dated Nov. 5, the latter Nov. 25, 1633.

(*y*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. i. p. 236.

(6) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. i. p. 234.

out affecting either political authority or pomp: Whatever he did was ſo viſibly for the good of his flock, that he ſeldom failed of being well ſupported by his clergy; and ſuch as oppoſed him did it with viſible reluctance: for he had the eſteem of the good men of all parties, and was as much reverenced as any Biſhop in Ireland (z) [C]. Amongſt other extraordinary things he did, there was none more worthy of remembrance than his removing his Lay-Chancellor, ſitting in his own courts, hearing cauſes, and retrieving thereby the juriſdiction which anciently belonged to a Biſhop. The Chancellor upon this filed his bill in equity, and obtained a decree in Chancery againſt the Biſhop, with one hundred pounds coſts (*a*). But by this time the Chancellor ſaw ſo viſibly the difference between the Biſhop's ſitting in that ſeat and his own, that he never called for his coſts, but appointed a Surrogate, with orders to obey the Biſhop in every thing, and ſo his Lordſhip went on in his own way: ſuch a ſingular power has a true ſpirit of religion, untainted with ſecular views (*b*)! Our Biſhop was no perſecutor of Papiſts, and yet the moſt ſucceſsful enemy they ever had; and if the other Biſhops had followed his example, the Proteſtant religion muſt have ſpread itſelf through every part of the country. He laboured to convert the better ſort of the Popiſh clergy, and in this he had great ſucceſs. He procured the Common-Prayer which had been tranſlated into Iriſh, and cauſed it to be read in his cathedral, in his own preſence, every Sunday; having himſelf learned that language perfectly, though he never attempted to ſpeak it (*c*). The New Teſtament had been alſo tranſlated by William Daniel, Archbiſhop of Tuam, but our Prelate firſt procured the Old Teſtament to be tranſlated by one King; and becauſe the tranſlator was ignorant of the original tongues, and did it from the Engliſh, the Biſhop himſelf reviſed and compared it with the Hebrew, and the beſt tranſlations (*d*). He cauſed, likewiſe, ſome of Chryſoſtome's and Leo's Homilies, in commendation of the Scriptures, to be rendered both into Engliſh and Iriſh, that the common people might ſee, that in the opinion of the ancient Fathers, they had not only a right to read the Scriptures as well as the clergy, but it was their duty ſo to do (*e*). He met with great oppoſition in this work, from a perſecution againſt the tranſlator, raiſed without reaſon, and carried on with much paſſion by thoſe from whom he had no cauſe to expect it. But this did not hinder his perſiſting in his deſign. He ſupported Mr. King as far as he was able (*f*), and he got the tranſlation finiſhed, which he would have printed in his own houſe, and at his own charge, if the troubles in Ireland had not prevented it; and as it was, his labours were not uſeleſs, for the tranſlation eſcaped the hands of the rebels, and was afterwards printed at the expence of Robert Boyle, a man born for the good of his country and of mankind (*g*). The Biſhop was very moderate in his ſentiments, and in his methods of enforcing them: he loved to bring men into the communion of the Church of England, but he did not like compelling them; and it was his opinion, that Proteſtants would agree well enough if they could be brought to underſtand each other. Theſe principles induced him to promote Mr. Drury's deſign, of endeavouring to reconcile the Lutherans to the Calviniſts; a project which had been encouraged by many other worthy perſons, and towards which he ſubſcribed twenty pounds a year, to defray the expences of Mr. Drury's negociations (*h*). He gave another inſtance, not only of his charity towards, but his ability in, reconciling thoſe of other communions, to the Churches of England and Ireland. There were ſome Lutherans at Dublin, who, for not coming to church and taking the ſacrament, were cited into the Archbiſhop's Conſiſtory; upon which they deſired time to write to their Divines in Germany, which was given them, and when their anſwers came, they contained ſome exceptions to the doctrine of the Church, as not explaining the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, ſuitable to their ſentiments; to which Biſhop Bedell gave ſo full and clear, and withal ſo moderate and charitable an anſwer, as entirely ſatisfied their objections; inſomuch that thoſe Divines adviſed their countrymen to join in communion with the Church, which they accordingly did (*i*). In this mild and prudent way our Prelate conducted his charge, with great reputation to himſelf, and with the general approbation of all good men, who were perfectly pleaſed with the Doctrine he preached, at the ſame time that they were highly edi-

(z) Hiſtory of the execrable Iriſh Rebellion, p. 32.

(*a*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 112.

(*b*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. i. p. 237.

(*c*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 117.

(*d*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. i. p. 237.

(*e*) Hiſtory of Tranſlations of the Bible into vulgar Tongues, p. 195.

(*f*) See his free Expoſtulation with the Earl of Strafford. Life of Bedell, p. 131.

(*g*) Boyle's Works, Vol. v. p. 618, 619.

(*h*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. i. p. 238.

(*i*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 138.

[C] *Was as much reverenced as any Biſhop in Ireland.*] We are warranted in ſaying this by all the writers of thoſe times, and there is no queſtion to be made that he deſerved it. He was as ſtrict in his own behaviour, as in the accounts he took of the conduct of his inferior clergy. His ordinations were public and ſolemn; he preached and gave the Sacrament on ſuch occaſions himſelf. He never gave Prieſts orders till a year after a man had been made Deacon, that he might know how he had demeaned himſelf in that time. He wrote certificates of ordination and other inſtruments with his own hand, and ſuffered none who received them either to pay fees, or to give any thing to his ſervants. When he had brought things to a fit temper, and ſaw that his Clergy were very willing to aſſiſt him in the great work of reformation, he convened a Synod in September 1638, in which he made many excellent canons that are ſtill extant, and will always do honour to his memory (7). Offence was taken at this by ſome who were in power, and who perhaps were jealous of his great abilities. They queſtioned the legality of the meeting, and ſome talk there was of calling him in queſtion for it, either in the Star-Chamber or High-commiſſioned Court: but his Archdeacon, Thomas Price, who was afterwards Archbiſhop of Caſhel, gave ſuch an account of the matter as ſatisfied the State. The famous Primate Uſher gave a fine picture of the man upon this occaſion: for, when ſome were very earneſt for ſending for him up to anſwer for himſelf, the Primate ſaid very calmly, *You had better let him alone, for fear, if he ſhould be provoked, he ſhould ſay much more for himſelf than any of his accuſers can ſay againſt him.* This had its effect, and thoſe who were weak enough to make the complaint, were ſo wiſe as not to call him to an anſwer (8).

(7) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 237.

(8) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. i. p. 236.

fied by his excellent example [*D*]. When the barbarous and bloody Rebellion broke out in October 1641, the Biſhop did not at firſt feel the violence of its effects; for even thoſe rebels, who in their conduct teſtified ſo little of humanity, profeſſed a great veneration for the Biſhop, and openly declared he ſhould be the laſt Engliſhman they would drive out of Ireland (*k*). His was the only Engliſh houſe in the county of Cavan that was unviolated, notwithſtanding that it, and its out-buildings, the church, and the church-yard, were filled with people who fled to him for ſhelter, whom, by his preaching and prayers, he encouraged to expect and endure the worſt with patience. In the mean time, Dr. Swiney, the Popiſh titular Biſhop of Kilmore, came to Cavan, and pretended great concern and kindneſs for Biſhop Bedell. Our Prelate had converted his brother, and kept him in his houſe till he could otherwiſe provide for him; and Dr. Swiney deſired likewiſe to lodge in his houſe, aſſuring him in the ſtrongeſt terms of his protection. But this Biſhop Bedell declined, in a very civil and well written Latin letter, urging the ſmallneſs of his houſe, the great number of people that had taken ſhelter with him, the ſickneſs of ſome of his company, and of his ſon in particular, but above all, the difference in their ways of worſhip, which could not but be attended with great inconveniency (*l*). This had ſome effect for a time; but about the middle of December, the rebels, purſuant to orders they had received from their Council of State at Kilkenny, required him to diſmiſs the people that were with him, which he abſolutely refuſed to do, declaring that he would ſhare the ſame fate with the reſt. They ſignified to him upon this, that they had orders to remove him; to which he anſwered in the words of David, *Here I am, the Lord do unto me as ſeemeth good to him, the will of the Lord be done.* Upon this they ſeized him, his two ſons, and Mr. Clogy who had married his ſtep-daughter, and carried them priſoners to the caſtle of Cloughboughter, ſurrounded by a deep water, where they put them all but the Biſhop in irons. They did not ſuffer any of them to carry any thing with them, and the moment the Biſhop was gone, Dr. Swiney took poſſeſſion of his houſe and all that belonged to it, and ſaid Maſs in the church the Sunday following (*m*). After ſome time the rebels abated of their ſeverity, took the irons off the priſoners, and ſuffered them to be as much at their eaſe as they could be in ſo wretched a place; for the winter was very rigorous, and the caſtle being old and ruinous, they would have been expoſed to all the ſeverity of the weather, if it had not been for an honeſt Carpenter who was impriſoned there before them, and who made uſe of a few old boards he found there, to mend a part of the roof, the better to defend them from the

(*k*) Hiſtory of the Iriſh Rebellion, p. 235.

(*l*) See this excellent Letter in the Appendix to Biſhop Bedell's Life.

(*m*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. i. p. 240.

[*D*] *That they were highly edified by his excellent example.*] There was a firmneſs and conſiſtency in his conduct, which appeared clearly in every thing he did. He went conſtantly to common-prayer in his cathedral, and often read it himſelf, and aſſiſted in it always with great reverence and affection (9). He took care to have the public ſervice performed ſtrictly according to the rubric; ſo that a Curate of another pariſh being employed to read prayers in the cathedral, and adding ſomewhat to the collects, the Biſhop obſerving he did this once or twice, went from his place to the reader's pew, and took the book out of his hand, and, in the hearing of the congregation, ſuſpended him for his preſumption, and read the reſt of the office himſelf. He preached conſtantly twice on a Sunday in his cathedral, on the Epiſtles and Goſpels for the day, and catechiſed always in the afternoon before ſermon; and he preached always twice a year before the Judges when they made the circuit. His voice was low and mournful, but as his matter was excellent, ſo there was a gravity in his looks and behaviour that ſtruck his auditors. He obſerved the rubric ſo nicely, that he would do nothing but according to it; ſo that in reading the pſalms and the anthems, he did not obſerve the common cuſtom of the miniſter and people reading the verſes by turns, for he read all himſelf, becauſe the other was not enjoined by the rubric. As for the placing of the communion-table by the eaſt wall, and the bowing to it, he never would depart from the rule of conformity preſcribed by the law; for he ſaid, that they were as much Non-conformiſts who added of their own, as they that came ſhort of what was enjoined, as he that adds an inch to a meaſure diſowns it for a rule, as much as he that cuts an inch from it; and as he was ſevere to him that added words of his own to the collect, ſo he thought it was no leſs cenſurable to add rites to thoſe that were preſcribed. When he came within the church, it appeared in the compoſedneſs of his behaviour, that he obſerved the rule given by the preacher, of keeping his feet when he went into the houſe of God: but he was not to be wrought on by the greatneſs of any man, or by the authority of any perſon's example, to go out of his own way, though he could not but know that ſuch things were then much obſerved, and meaſures were taken of men by theſe little diſtinctions, in which it was thought the zeal of conformation diſcovered itſelf. He preached very often in his epiſcopal habit, but not always, and uſed it ſeldom in the afternoon; nor did he love the pomp of a choir, nor inſtrumental muſic, which he thought filled the ear with too much pleaſure, and carried away the mind from the ſerious attention to the matter, which is indeed the ſinging with grace in the heart, and the inward melody with which God is chiefly pleaſed. And when another Biſhop juſtified theſe things, becauſe they ſerved much to raiſe the affections; he anſwered, that in order to the raiſing the affections, thoſe things that tended to edification ought only to be uſed, and thought it would be hard otherwiſe to make ſtops, for upon the ſame pretence an infinity of rites might be brought in. And the ſenſe he had of the exceſſes of ſuperſtition, from what he had obſerved during his long ſtay in Italy, made him judge it neceſſary to watch carefully againſt the beginnings of that diſeaſe, which is like a green-ſickneſs in religion. He never uſed the Common-Prayer in his own family; for he thought it was intended to be the common worſhip of Chriſtians in their public aſſemblies, and that it was not ſo proper for private families. He was ſo exact an obſerver of Eccleſiaſtical rules, that he would perform no part of his function out of his own dioceſe, without obtaining the Ordinary's leave; ſo that being in Dublin when his wife's daughter was to be married to Mr. Clogy, and they both deſired to be bleſſed by him, he would not do it till he firſt took out a licence for it in the Archbiſhop of Dublin's Conſiſtory. We may from theſe inſtances gather his true notions as to Church power, in which he ſeems to have been as much in the right as any man of his age, and to have diſtinguiſhed as acutely about the poſſeſſion and exerciſe of it, as it was poſſible for man to do; and, as we ſee, his precept and practice went together: and he never did that in any other dioceſe, which he would have taken amiſs if another Clergyman had done it in his; ſo great a friend he was to decency and order in all things.

(9) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 145.

ſnow and ſleet (*n*). While thus confined, the Biſhop, his ſons, and Mr. Clogy, preached and prayed continually to their ſmall and afflicted congregation, and upon Chriſtmas-day, his Lordſhip adminiſtered the ſacrament to them. It is very remarkable, that as rude and barbarous as the Iriſh were, they gave them no diſturbance in the performance of divine ſervice, and often told the Biſhop, they had no perſonal quarrel to him, but that the ſole cauſe of their confining him was, his being an Engliſhman (*o*). After being kept in this manner for three weeks, the Biſhop, his two ſons, and Mr. Clogy, were exchanged for two of the O Rourkes: but though it was agreed that they ſhould be ſafely conducted to Dublin, yet the rebels would never ſuffer them to be carried out of the country, but ſent them to the houſe of Dennis Sherridan, an Iriſh Miniſter, and convert to the Proteſtant religion, to which, though he ſteadily adhered, and relieved many who fled to him for protection, yet the Iriſh ſuffered him to live quietly among them, on account of the great family from which he was deſcended (*p*). While our Prelate remained there, and enjoyed ſome degree of health, he every Sunday read the prayers and leſſons, and preached himſelf, though there were three Miniſters with him. The laſt Sunday he officiated was the thirtieth of January, and the day following he was taken ill. On the ſecond day it appeared that his diſeaſe was an ague; and on the fourth apprehending a ſpeedy change, he called for his ſons and his ſons wives, ſpoke to them a conſiderable time, gave them much ſpiritual advice, and bleſſed them (*q*), after which he ſpoke little, but ſlumbered out moſt of his time; only by intervals he ſeemed to awake a little, and was then very cheerful. At laſt, on the ſeventh of February 1641, about midnight, he breathed his laſt, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age, his death being chiefly occaſioned by his late impriſonment, and the weight of ſorrows which lay upon his mind (*r*). The only care now remaining to his friends was, to ſee him buried according to his deſire; and ſince that could not be obtained but by the new intruding Biſhop's leave, Mr. Clogy, and Mr. Sherridan went to aſk it, and Mr. Dillon was prevailed with by his wife, to go and ſecond their deſire. They found the Biſhop lying in his own vomit, and a ſad change in that houſe, which was before a houſe of prayer and of good works, but was now a den of thieves and a neſt of uncleanneſs. The Biſhop, when he was awakened out of his drunkenneſs, excepted a little to it, and ſaid the church-yard was holy ground, and was no more to be defiled with Heretics bodies; yet he conſented to it at laſt. So on the ninth of February he was buried, and according to the direction himſelf had given, next his wife's coffin (*s*). The Iriſh did him unuſual honours at his burial; for the chief of the rebels gathered their forces together, and with them accompanied his body from Mr. Sherridan's houſe to the church-yard of Kilmore in great ſolemnity, and they deſired Mr. Clogy to bury him according to the office preſcribed by the Church. But though the gentlemen were ſo civil as to offer it, yet it was not thought adviſeable to provoke the rabble ſo much, as perhaps that might have done; ſo it was paſſed over. But the Iriſh diſcharged a volley of ſhot at his interment, and cried out in Latin, *Requieſcat in pace ultimus Anglorum*, 'May the laſt of the Engliſh reſt in peace;' for they had often ſaid, that as they eſteemed him the beſt of the Engliſh Biſhops, ſo he ſhould be the laſt that ſhould be left among them (*t*). What came from Edmund Farilly, a Popiſh Prieſt, at the interment of the Biſhop, is too remarkable, and is too well atteſted, to be paſſed over, who cried out, *O ſit anima mea cum Bedello*, 'I would to God my ſoul were with Bedell's (*u*).' Our Prelate had long before prepared for death, as appears by his will, dated the fifteenth of February 1640, in which there are ſeveral legacies, that ſhew he had recollected all the memorable paſſages of his life before he made it, and ſeriouſly conſidered the ſeveral bleſſings which God had beſtowed upon him (*w*) [*E*]. He married a lady of the ancient and honourable family of L'Eſtrange, who was the widow of the Recorder of St. Edmundſbury, a woman exemplary in her life, humble and modeſt in her behaviour, and ſingular in many excellent qualities, particularly in an extraordinary reverence to him (*x*). She bore him three ſons and a daughter. One of the ſons and the daughter died young: only

(*n*) An Account of the Sufferings of the Engliſh in the Great Rebellion, p. 95.

(*o*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 206.

(*p*) Hiſtory of the Beginning of the Iriſh Troubles, p. 95.

(*q*) See this Diſcourſe of his at large in the Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 210.

(*r*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. i. p. 240.

(*s*) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 217.

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 218.

(*u*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. i. p. 241.

(*w*) See note [*E*].

(*x*) Biſhop Bedell's Life, p. 230.

[*E*] *The ſeveral bleſſings which God had beſtowed upon him.*] This preparation for his death was a very diſcreet act, and probably was the effect of his great foreſight, which ſhewed him the dangers of the Proteſtants in Ireland, when few beſides conceived of them in that light; and this made him always thoughtful and concerned. It certainly redounds to his honour, that out of his narrow fortune (which in the next note will appear) he ſhould deſtine ſomewhat to every place unto which he had any relation; a ſure ſign that he was mindful in his higheſt fortunes, not of his progreſs only, but beginnings. To the pariſh church of Black Notley in Eſſex, where he was baptized, he bequeathed a bell. To the library of Emanuel-college in Cambridge, where he was educated, and where he had been Scholar and Fellow, he left his Hebrew manuſcript Bible, the four Evangeliſts, and Euclid's Elements in Arabic. To Trinity-college in Dublin, of which he had been Provoſt, he gave his manuſcript Priſcian, with four more of his manuſcripts. To Primate Uſher his manuſcript Iriſh Pſalter; and he alſo beſtowed five pounds upon his church of Kilmore, for paving the chancel with hewn ſtone (10). Beſides theſe legacies, he gave directions in his will about his interment, as the reader will ſee in the text. It may not be amiſs to obſerve in this place, that the church of Kilmore, mentioned in his will, is a ſmall pariſh church, contiguous to the epiſcopal houſe; for in this Biſhopric, as we are informed by the worthy editor of Sir James Ware's works, there are neither Cathedral, Chapter, Canons, or Prebendaries. We have ſeen how this Biſhop, out of pure conſcience, quitted the See of Ardagh, which before his time had been annexed to the See of Kilmore, but after his deceaſe they were united again in favour of Dr. Robert Maxwell, our Biſhop's ſucceſſor: but in 1692, upon the deprivation of Biſhop Sherridan, they were again divided, Dr. Smith being made Biſhop of Kilmore, and Dr. Burgh of Ardagh; but the latter dying within the year, the Sees were again united, and have continued ſo ever ſince (11).

(10) Extract from the Will, in the Prerogative office.

(11) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. i. p. 225. 243. 256.

William

William and Ambroſe ſurvived, for whom he made no proviſion, but a benefice of eighty pounds a year for the eldeſt and worthy ſon of ſuch a father; and an eſtate of ſixty pounds a year for the youngeſt, who did not take to learning. This was the only purchaſe he made (y). His wife died three years before the rebellion broke out, and he preached her funeral ſermon himſelf, with ſuch a mixture both of tenderneſs and moderation, that he drew tears from all his auditors. He was an enemy to burying in the church, thinking that there was both ſuperſtition and pride in it, and believing it was a great annoyance to the living, to have ſo much of the ſteam of dead bodies riſing about them. One of the Canons in his Synod was againſt burying in churches, and he often wiſhed that burying-places were removed out of all towns. He choſe the leaſt frequented place of the church-yard of Kilmore for his wife to lie in, and by his will ordered, that he ſhould be placed next to her, with this inſcription:

(y) The eſtate of the family in Eſſex was entailed on, and came to, his eldeſt ſon.

Depoſitum Gulielmi quondam Epiſcopi Kilmorenſis *.

That is,

'The remains of William, heretofore Biſhop of Kilmore.'

It is juſtly obſerved by Biſhop Burnet, that the word *Depoſitum*, cannot, ſtrictly ſpeaking, bear an Engliſh tranſlation, becauſe it ſignifies *ſomewhat given to another in truſt*; ſo that Biſhop Bedell meant to expreſs thereby, that he conſidered his burial as committing a truſt to the earth, until ſuch time as it ſhould be called upon to give up its dead (z). Thus lived and died this great and good man, whoſe behaviour in his public character did honour to his high office in the Church, and whoſe private life was perfectly conſiſtent with the doctrine he taught. His actions were ſuch as rendered him beloved and eſteemed while he lived, and the report of them will ever ſecure the higheſt reverence for his memory [*F*]. The country, and the times in which he lived, required, above all others,

* Cardinal Poole choſe the ſame words for his Epitaph, as Camden ſays, *ſavoring of Chriſtian Antiquity.*

(z) Biſhop Bedell's Life, p. 231.

[*F*] *Will ever ſecure the higheſt reverence for his memory.*] It is requiſite that the reader ſhould be put in mind, before we come to that copious account, which is ſtill preſerved, of his daily behaviour, that it was not taken from common fame and from different perſons, at a great diſtance of time after his deceaſe; for then it might have been looked upon, rather as a picture drawn by ſuch as were ſtrongly affected by the obligations they had to him, or the affection they had for him: but theſe accounts were drawn up by Mr. Clogy, who lived in the Biſhop's family, was the companion of all his fortunes, the faithful witneſs and ſincere admirer of all his virtues; one who committed to writing, while freſh in his memory, thoſe things that Biſhop Burnet long afterwards publiſhed in print, while that gentleman was living, to teſtify the truth of them, and while many others were alſo able to vouch the ſame facts. It was, therefore, reaſonable for him to introduce as he does the character he gives him with this obſervation, *viz.* 'That he was one 'in whom ſo many of the greateſt characters of a 'primitive and apoſtolical Biſhop did ſhew themſelves 'ſo eminently, that it ſeemed fit that he ſhould ſtill 'ſpeak to the world though dead, both for convincing 'the unjuſt enemies of that venerable order, and for 'the inſtruction of thoſe that ſucceeded him in it; 'ſince great patterns give the eaſieſt notions of eminent virtues, and teach in a way that has much more 'authority with it, than all ſpeculative diſcourſes can 'poſſibly have. And as the lives of the primitive 'Chriſtians were a ſpeaking apology for their religion, 'as well as a direction to thoſe that grew up, ſo it is 'to be hoped that the ſolemn, though ſilent language, 'of ſo bright an example, will have the deſired effect both ways, and then my (12) author will have a 'noble reward for his labours.' The perſon whom Biſhop Burnet here ſtiles the author, is Mr. Clogy, before mentioned, who, he affirms, had a much greater hand in the work than himſelf; and this it was the more neceſſary for him to do, becauſe otherwiſe the reader could not have told ſo well, what to think of the numerous particulars contained in the following character, which is indeed long and large, but ſo curious, and ſo well put together, that it is impoſſible it ſhould ſeem tedious. He was tall and graceful, and had ſomething in his looks and carriage that created a veneration for him. His deportment was grave, without affectation. His apparel decent with ſimplicity; he wore no ſilks, but plain ſtuffs; and had a long and broad beard, and grey and venerable hair. His ſtrength continued firm to the laſt, ſo that the week before his laſt ſickneſs, he walked as vigorouſly and nimbly as any of the company, and leaped over a broad ditch; inſomuch that his ſons, who were amazed at it, had enough to do to follow him. He never uſed ſpectacles. By a fall in his childhood he had unhappily contracted a deafneſs in his left ear. He had great ſtrength and health of body, excepting that a few years before his death he had ſome ſevere fits of the ſtone, occaſioned by his ſedentary life, which he bore with wonderful patience. The remedy he uſed for it was to dig in the garden (in which he much delighted) until he heated himſelf, and that mitigated the pain. His judgment and memory remained with him to the laſt. He always preached without notes; but often wrote down his meditations after he had preached them. He ſhewed no other learning in his ſermons but in clearing the difficulties of his text, by comparing the originals with the moſt antient verſions. His ſtile was clear and full, but plain and ſimple. He read the Hebrew and Septuagint ſo much, that they were as familiar to him as the Engliſh tranſlation. He had gathered a vaſt heap of critical Expoſitions, which, with a trunk full of other manuſcripts, fell into the hands of the Iriſh, and were all loſt excepting his great Hebrew manuſcript, which was preſerved by a converted Iriſhman, and is now in Emanuel college in Cambridge. Every day after dinner and ſupper a chapter of the Bible was read at his table, whether Papiſts or Proteſtants were preſent; and Bibles were laid before every one of the company, and before himſelf either the Hebrew or the Greek, but in his laſt years the Iriſh tranſlation; and he uſually explained the occurring difficulties. He wrote much in controverſy, occaſioned by his engagements to labour the converſion of thoſe of the Roman communion, which he looked on as idolatrous and antichriſtian. He wrote a large treatiſe on theſe two queſtions: 'Where was our religion before Luther? And what 'became of our anceſtors who died in Popery?' Archbiſhop Uſher preſſed him to have printed it, and he reſolved to have done ſo; but that and all his other works were ſwallowed up in the Rebellion. He kept a great correſpondence not only with the Divines of England, but with others over Europe. He obſerved a true hoſpitality in houſe-keeping; many poor Iriſh families about him were maintained out of his kitchen; and in Chriſtmas the poor always eat with him at his own table, and he had brought himſelf to endure both their rags and rudeneſs. At public tables he uſually ſat ſilent. Once at the Earl of Strafford's table, one obſerved, that while they were all talking he ſaid nothing. The Primate anſwered, 'Broach 'him, and you will find good liquor in him.' Upon which the perſon propoſed a queſtion in Divinity, in anſwering which the Biſhop ſhewed his abilities ſo well,

(12) Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 218, 219.

ſuch examples; and the reſpect paid him by the Iriſh ſufficiently ſhews, what might have been done amongſt them, if all, or the greateſt part of the Proteſtant clergy had been ſuch

and puzzled the other ſo much, that all at laſt, except the Biſhop, fell a laughing at the other. The greatneſs of his mind, and undauntedneſs of his ſpirit, evidently appeared in many paſſages of his life, and that without any mixture of pride, for he lived with his Clergy as if they had been his brethren. In his viſitation he would accept of no invitation from the gentlemen of the country, but would eat with his Clergy in ſuch poor inns, and of ſuch coarſe fare, as the places afforded. He avoided all affectation of ſtate in his carriage, and, when in Dublin, always walked on foot, attended by one ſervant, except on public occaſions, which obliged him to ride in proceſſion among his brethren. He never kept a coach, his ſtrength ſuffering him always to ride on horſeback. He avoided the affectation of humility as well as pride; the former often flowing from the greater pride of the two. He took an ingenious device to put him in mind of his obligations to purity: it was a flaming crucible, with this motto, 'Take from me all my Tin,' the word in Hebrew ſignifying Tin, being Bedil, which imported that he thought every thing in him but baſe alloy, and therefore prayed God would cleanſe him from it. He never thought of changing his See, but conſidered himſelf as under a tie to it that could not eaſily be diſſolved; ſo that when the tranſlating him to a Biſhopric in England was propoſed to him, he refuſed it; and ſaid, he ſhould be as troubleſome a Biſhop in England as he had been in Ireland. He had a true and generous notion of religion, and did not look upon it as a ſyſtem of opinions, or a ſet of forms, but as a divine diſcipline that reforms the heart and life. It was not leaves but fruit that he ſought. This was the true principle of his great zeal againſt Popery. He conſidered the corruptions of that Church as an effectual courſe to enervate the true deſign of Chriſtianity. He looked on the obligation of obſerving the Sabbath as moral and perpetual, and was moſt exact in the obſervation of it (13).

⁂ [There is a circumſtance related by Biſhop Burnet concerning our excellent Prelate, and taken notice of by Monſ. Bayle, which ſhould not have been omitted in the preceding article. When Mr. Bedell had returned from Venice, and retired to his living in the country, he applied himſelf ſo cloſely to the duties of his function, and mixed ſo ſeldom with the world, that he was almoſt totally forgotten. So little was he known or remembered, that, ſome years after, when Diodati, an eminent Divine of Geneva, came over to England, he could not, though acquainted with many of the Clergy, hear of Mr. Bedell from any perſon with whom he happened to converſe. Diodati was greatly amazed, that ſo extraordinary a man, who was ſo much admired at Venice by the beſt judges of merit, ſhould not be known in his own country; and he had given up all hopes of finding him out, when, to their no ſmall joy, they accidentally met each other in the ſtreets of London. Upon this occaſion, Diodati preſented his friend to Morton, the learned and ancient Biſhop of Durham, and told him how highly he had been valued by Father Paul, which engaged the Biſhop to treat Mr. Bedell with very particular reſpect (14). Monſ. Bayle, ſpeaking of this fact, obſerves, that with reſpect to a man of inconſiderable merit, it would not be any compliment; 'but 'when the queſtion is concerning a great Divine, 'and a Miniſter, who diſcharged his office ſo 'worthily, one cannot ſay of him that he was but 'little known, without raiſing his character to the 'ſkies at the ſame time, and paying the greateſt com'mendation to his modeſty, humility, diſintereſted'neſs, and ſeveral other virtues, which are truly 'worthy of a Miniſter, and very difficult to be found: 'Where are the great Eccleſiaſtics of great abilities, 'who do not endeavour to make a noiſe in the world, 'and eſpecially to reach the ears of Sovereigns and 'their Favourites?' (15)

In 1624, Mr. Bedell publiſhed, at London, in 4to, a tract under the following title: *The Copies of certaine Letters, which have paſſed betweene Spaine and England in Matter of Religion, concerning the general motives to Roman obedience betweene Maſter James Wadeſworth, a late Penſioner of the holy Inquiſition in Sevill, and W. Bedell, a Miniſter of the Goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt in Suffolke.* There is a paſſage, in this work, concerning reſiſtance to Princes, which, on account of ſome circumſtances that afterwards happened with relation to it, we ſhall here inſert. 'Do you think 'ſubjects are bound to give their throats to be cut by 'their fellow-ſubjects, or to their Princes at their 'mere wills againſt their own laws and edicts? You 'would know, *quo jure*, the Proteſtants' wars in France 'and Holland are juſtified. Firſt, the law of *Nature*, 'which not only alloweth, but inclineth and enforceth 'every living thing, to defend itſelf from violence. 'Secondly, that of *Nations*, which permitteth thoſe 'that are in the protection of others, to whom they 'owe no more but an honourable acknowledgment, 'in caſe they go about to make themſelves abſolute 'Sovereigns, and uſurp their liberty, to reſiſt and 'ſtand for the ſame; and if a lawful Prince (which 'is not yet Lord of his ſubjects lives and goods) ſhall 'attempt to deſpoil them of the ſame, under colour of 'reducing them to his own religion, after all humble 'remonſtrances, they may ſtand upon their own 'guard; and being aſſailed, repel force with force, 'as did the Maccabees under Antiochus; in which 'caſe notwithſtanding, the perſon of the Prince him'ſelf ought always to be ſacred and inviolable, as 'was Saul's to David. Laſtly, if the enraged Mi'niſter of a lawful Prince will abuſe his authority 'againſt the fundamental laws of the country, it is 'no rebellion to defend themſelves againſt force, re'ſerving ſtill their obedience to their Sovereign in'violate. Theſe are the rules of which the Proteſt'ants that have borne arms in France and Flanders, 'and the Papiſts alſo, both there and elſewhere, as 'in Naples, that have ſtood for the Defence of their 'liberties, have ſerved themſelves. How truly I 'eſteem it hard for you and me to determine, unleſs 'we were more thoroughly acquainted with the laws 'and cuſtoms of thoſe countries, than I for my part 'am *.' From the above paſſage, and from the Form of Prayer for a public Faſt in 1628, during the ſiege of Rochelle, in which Form the beſieged were prayed for as brethren, and their ſucceſs requeſted of the Supreme Being, Dr. Burnet concluded, that the Church of England was, at that time, far from condemning reſiſtance in all caſes, as *Rebellion*; and that it was late before the notion of non-reſiſtance was received as a doctrine of the Church. It is remarkable, that the preceding quotation is from a book which was dedicated to King Charles the Firſt, when Prince of Wales; that what the Author had advanced was never once objected to him; and that he was afterwards preferred to a Biſhopric. When, in 1685, this Treatiſe was reprinted, in order to be bound up with Burnet's Life of Bedell, it was apprehended that the paſſage in queſtion would give offence. Dr. Burnet inſiſted on its not being omitted; upon which Mr. Chiſwell the Bookſeller ſhewed it to Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, who would not let it paſs, till ſeveral words were ſcattered quite through it, to give it an air as if Biſhop Bedell had only been repeating the arguments of other men. Sir Roger added, likewiſe, a marginal note to the ſame purpoſe. All that Dr. Burnet could prevail to get done was, to have the additional words included in crotchets. Thus the matter ſtood for a time, and Biſhop Burnet was liable to the reproach of having, contrary to his conduct, publicly teſtified his diſlike of the doctrine of reſiſtance. A reflection of this kind having been thrown upon him, after the Revolution, by Dr. Hickes, the Biſhop gladly embraced the occaſion of acquainting the world with the true circumſtances of the affair (16).

Biſhop Bedell's opinion againſt burying in Churches ſeems to deſerve commendation. Of late years, many papers have occaſionally been written againſt this practice; but whether it be ſo extremely unhealthful as certain perſons, in the warmth of their imaginations, and the zeal of their affections, have ſuppoſed, may, we think, juſtly be doubted. However, if there be reaſon to believe that it is, in any degree, prejudicial to health, it would be very deſirable to have it changed. It can ſcarcely admit of a queſtion, whether Cæmeteries at a diſtance from places of worſhip, and from great cities, be not, on the whole, preferable. Neverthelefs, the preſent practice hath ſo long been eſtabliſhed, and is founded on ſuch ſtrong principles,

(13) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. i. p. 241. Life of Biſhop Bedell, p. 219.

(14) Bedell's Life, p. 29, 30.

(15) General Dictionary, Vol. iii. p. 131, note [*B*].

(*) In the Edition of 1685, from which this paſſage is taken, the ſpelling is modernized.

(16) *Ibid* p. 134. note [*A*], Life of Bedell, p. 445, 446.

ſuch as he was: and, therefore, the diligence of thoſe can ſcarcely be ſufficiently commended, who have ſecured to poſterity ſo ample an account of ſo worthy and ſo excellent a perſon.

ciples, prejudices, and intereſts, that it will not ſpeedily be altered.

With regard to the two queſtions, in anſwer to which our learned prelate is ſaid to have drawn up a large treatiſe, they were deemed highly important in his time. The Papiſts triumphed in them greatly, and thought that a Proteſtant was incapable of giving them a ſatisfactory reply. In conſidering the inquiry, ‘ Where was your religion before Luther,’ it is probable that Biſhop Bedell took a wide circuit. It may be ſuppoſed, that he entered copiouſly into the opinions of the ancient Fathers, and that he pointed out the inſtances wherein either bodies of men or individuals had entertained ſentiments different from thoſe of the Church of Rome. Nor were theſe uſeleſs diſcuſſions. An examination of Chriſtian antiquity would direct to the particular periods of the riſe, progreſs, and eſtabliſhment of many of the errors and corruptions of Popery; and a careful ſearch into eccleſiaſtical hiſtory would ſhow, that in every age there were ſome witneſſes to the truth. But it is to be hoped, that the good Biſhop chiefly inſiſted on the main anſwer to the queſtion; which is, that the religion of the Proteſtants lay in the Bible. This is the grand deciſive anſwer, which removes all difficulties, and puts the matter on a right foundation. The perfection of Scripture, as the rule of faith and manners, is the only ſolid baſis on which the cauſe of Proteſtantiſm can be ſupported. Yet this principle doth not ſeem to have been fully attended to, till Daille, Biſhop Taylor, and Chillingworth brought the controverſy to its true iſſue.

The ſecond queſtion, ‘ What became of our an‘ ceſtors who died in Popery,’ is far leſs important. It is a ſufficient reply to it to ſay, that the religious diſadvantages under which they unavoidably laboured will be properly allowed for by the righteous and merciful Governor of the world. At the ſame time, the unſpeakable value and uſefulneſs of the Proteſtant Reformation might be fully inſiſted upon, and unanſwerably ſupported.

The Mr. Wadeſworth, with whom Bedell had the controverſy before mentioned, had been his fellow-ſtudent and chamber-fellow at the univerſity. They were both beneficed in the ſame dioceſe, and were appointed, at no great interval of time, Chaplains to foreign embaſſies. Mr. Wadeſworth was ſent to Spain, where he became a convert to the Church of Rome. Bedell's letters to him made a deep impreſſion upon his mind, though they did not engage him openly to forſake the cauſe of Popery. It ſeems, however, that his ſon, in conſequence of his father's inſtructions, came over to this country, and embraced the Proteſtant Religion (17).] K.

(17) Life of Bedell, p. 4, 26. General Dict. Vol. iii. p. 133. note [*I*].

BEDERIC (Henry) a celebrated preacher in the XIVth century, was a monk of the order of St. Auguſtin at Clare; and ſurnamed de Bury, becauſe he was born at St. Edmund's-bury in Suffolk (*a*). Having from his youth ſhewn a quick wit, and a great inclination to learning, his ſuperiors took care to improve theſe excellent faculties, by ſending him not only to our Engliſh, but alſo to foreign, univerſities: where cloſely applying himſelf to his ſtudies, and being a conſtant diſputant, he arrived to ſuch fame, that at Paris he became a Doctor of the Sorbonne (*b*). Not long after he returned to England, where he was much followed, and extremely admired, for his eloquent way of preaching. This eminent qualification, joined to his remarkable integrity, uprightneſs, decent behaviour, prudence, and dexterity in the management of affairs, ſo recommended him to the eſteem of the world, that he was choſen Provincial of his order throughout England: in which ſtation he behaved in a very commendable manner. He wrote ſeveral things [*A*]. But he is cenſured by one author [*B*], for having aſſerted and maintained, that the virgin Mary was conceived in original ſin. He flouriſhed about the year 1380, in the reign of King Richard II.

(*a*) Pits, de Illuſt. Angliæ Scriptor. Æt. XIV. n. 657. Baleus Script. Britan. Cent. Sexta, n. 51.

(*b*) Baleus, & Pits, *ubi ſupra*.

[*A*] *He wrote ſeveral things.*] Namely, I. ‘ Lec‘ tures upon the Maſter of the Sentences, *i. e.* Peter ‘ Lombard, in four books. II. Theological Queſtions, ‘ in one book. III. Sermons upon the Bleſſed Vir‘ gin. IV. A courſe of Sermons for the whole year.’ Beſides ſeveral other things, of which no account is given.

[*B*] *But he is cenſured by one author, for having aſſerted and maintained, that the Virgin Mary was conceived in original ſin.*] That author's name is Petrus Vicentinus (1). The trifling opinion here mentioned has occaſioned very long and warm diſputes among thoſe patrons of nonſenſe, the members of the Church of Rome. The Dominicans, a very conſiderable Order amongſt them, affirmed, That ſhe was conceived in original ſin. But the Franciſcans, who were more popular, took it into their heads to maintain the contrary (2). The firſt inventor of her immaculate conception was the famous John Duns, ſurnamed *Scotus*, and *Doctor Subtilis*, who died in the year 1308 (3). Since which time great numbers of books have been written for and againſt that opinion. Montfaucon relates (4), that, when he viſited Italy, Signor Belcreddi of Pavia had a library full of books in behalf of that groundleſs notion, and moſt of them written by Franciſcans. M.

(1) Bale, *ubi ſupra.* Pits calls him *Vincentinus.*

(2) See Biſhop Burnet's Travels, edit. 1687, 8*vo*, p. 26, &*c.*

(3) Hiſtoire Eccleſiaſt. par M. Fleury, Paris, 1720, 12*mo.* Tom. xix. p. 150.

(4) Diarium Italicum, Paris, 1702, 4*to*, p. 26.

BEHN (Aphara) [*A*], a celebrated Poeteſs of the laſt age, was a gentlewoman by birth, being deſcended from a good family in the city of Canterbury (*a*); and was born ſometime in the reign of King Charles I., but in what year is not known. Her father's name was Johnſon; whoſe relation to the Lord Willoughby drew him, for the advantageous poſt of Lieutenant-general of Surinam, and ſix and thirty iſlands, to undertake a voyage, with his whole family, to the Weſt-Indies; at which time our Poeteſs was very young. Mr. Johnſon died at ſea in his paſſage thither; but his family arrived at Surinam (*b*) [*B*], where

(*a*) *Hiſtory of the Life and Memoirs of Mrs.* Behn: *written by one of the Fair Sex.* Prefixed to her *Hiſtories and Novels*, in two Vols. 12*mo*, Lond. 1735, p. 2.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 2, 3. & *Oroonoko*, *ibid.* p. 152.

[*A*] APHARA.] This is the true ſpelling, as appears by her epitaph (1), and not *Afra*, as it is uſually written. Langbane (2) calls her *Mrs. Aſtræa Behn*; but *Aſtræa* is only a fictitious name, uſed by her in her Epiſtolary Correſpondence.

[*B*] *She arrived at Surinam.*] In her *Hiſtory* of *Oroonoko* (3) ſhe has given us the following deſcription of her habitation in that country. ‘ As ſoon as I ‘ came into the country, the beſt houſe in it was pre‘ ſented me, called *St. John's Hill:* It ſtood on a vaſt ‘ rock of white marble, at the foot of which the river ‘ ran a vaſt depth down, and not to be deſcended on ‘ that ſide; the little waves ſtill daſhing and waſhing ‘ the foot of this rock, made the ſofteſt murmurs and ‘ purlings in the world; and the oppoſite bank was ‘ adorned with ſuch vaſt quantities of different flowers ‘ eternally blowing, and every day and hour new, ‘ fenced behind them with lofty trees of a thouſand rare

(1) *See the remark* [*M*].

(2) *Account of the Dramatic Poets*, Oxf. 1691. p. 17.

(3) Page 154. See her *Hiſtories and Novels*, in 2 Vols. Lond. 1735, Vol. i.

where our Poeteſs became acquainted with the ſtory, and perſon, of the American Prince *Oroonoko* [*C*]; whoſe adventures ſhe has ſo feelingly deſcribed in the celebrated novel of that name (*c*). After her return to England, ſhe was married to Mr. Behn, a merchant of London, but of Dutch extraction. King Charles II. to whom ſhe had given an entertaining and juſt account of the colony of Surinam, thought her a proper perſon to be intruſted with the management of ſome important affairs, during the Dutch war; which occaſioned her going into Flanders, and reſiding at Antwerp (*d*). Here, by her intrigues, ſhe diſcovered the deſign, formed by the Dutch, of ſailing up the river Thames, and burning the Engliſh ſhips in their harbours [*D*]; which ſhe communicated to the Court of England: but, her intelligence (though well grounded, as appeared by the event) being only laughed at and ſlighted, ſhe laid aſide all farther thoughts of ſtate affairs, and amuſed herſelf, during the reſt of her ſtay at Antwerp, with the gallantries of that city (*e*) [*E*]. After ſome time, ſhe embarked at Dunkirk for England, and in the paſſage

(c) *See the remark* [*H*].

(d) *Life and Memoirs, &c.* p. 5.

(e) *Ibid.* p. 6—38.

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forms and colours, that the proſpect was the moſt raviſhing that ſands can create. On the edge of this white rock, towards the river, was a walk, or grove of orange and lemon-trees, about half the length of the *Mall* here*, whoſe flowery and fruit-bearing branches met at the top, and hindered the ſun, whoſe rays are very fierce there, from entering a beam into the grove; and the cool air that came from the river made it not only fit to entertain people in, at all the hotteſt hours of the day, but refreſh the ſweet bloſſoms, and made it always ſweet and charming; and ſure the whole globe of the world cannot ſhew ſo delightful a place as this grove was: Not all the gardens of boaſted Italy can produce a ſhade to outvie this, which nature had joined with art to render ſo exceeding fine; and it is a marvel to ſee how ſuch vaſt trees, as big as Engliſh oaks, could take footing in ſo ſolid a rock, and ſo little earth, as covered that rock.' Mrs. Behn, indeed, ſpeaks wonders of the whole continent of Surinam, with this reflection upon it, 'that certainly, had his late Majeſty † of ſacred memory but ſeen and known what a vaſt and charming world he had been maſter of in that continent, he would never have parted ſo eaſily with it to the Dutch [4].'

(*) In St. James's Park.

(†) K. Charles I.

(4) *Oroonoko, &c.* p. 153.

[*C*] *She became acquainted with the perſon and ſtory of the American Prince* Oroonoko.] She herſelf tells us (5), 'ſhe had often ſeen and converſed with that great man and been a witneſs to many of his mighty actions;' and that at one time 'he and *Clemene* (or *Imoinda* his wife) were ſcarce an hour in a day from her lodgings; that they eat with her, and that ſhe obliged them in all things ſhe was capable, entertaining them with the lives of the Romans, and great men, which charmed *him* to her company; and *her*, with teaching her all the pretty works ſhe was miſtreſs of, and telling her ſtories of Nuns, and endeavouring to bring her to the knowledge of the true God (6).' She tells us likewiſe (7), that Oroonoko uſed to call her his *Great Miſtreſs*, and that 'her word would go a great way with him.' This intimacy between Prince Oroonoko and our Poeteſs occaſioned ſome reflections on her conduct, from which the authoreſs of her *Life* has juſtified her in the following manner. Speaking of the unfortunate ſtory of Oroonoko, 'Here, *ſays ſhe* (8), I can add nothing to what ſhe has given the world already, but a vindication of her from ſome unjuſt aſperſions I find are inſinuated about this town in relation to that Prince. I knew her intimately well, and I believe ſhe would not have concealed any love-affair from me, being one of her own ſex, whoſe friendſhip and ſecrecy ſhe had experienced; which makes me aſſure the world there was no affair between that Prince and Aſtræa, but what the whole plantation were witneſſes of; a generous value for his uncommon virtues, which every one that but hears them finds in himſelf, and his preſence gave her no more. Beſides, his heart was too violently ſet on the everlaſting charms of his Imoinda, to be ſhook with thoſe more faint (in his eye) of a white beauty; and Aſtræa's relations there preſent, had too watchful an eye over her, to permit the frailty of her youth, if that had been powerful enough.'

(5) *Ibid.* p. 85.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 149.

(7) *Ibid.*

(8) *Hiſtory of the Life and Memoirs of Mrs.* Behn: *written by one of the Fair Sex.* Prefixed to her *Hiſtories and Novels*, p. 3, 4.

[*D*] *She diſcovered the deſign of the Dutch —— to burn the Engliſh ſhips in their harbours.*] She made this diſcovery by the intervention of a Dutchman, whom her life-writer calls by the name of Vander Albert. This Vander Albert, who, before the war, in her huſband's time, had been in love with her in England, as ſoon as he heard of her arrival at Antwerp, and the public poſts he was in would give him leave, paid her a viſit; and, after a repetition of all his former profeſſions for her ſervice, preſſed her to let him, by ſome ſignal means, give her undeniable proofs of the vehemence and ſincerity of his paſſion; for which he would aſk no reward, 'till he had by long and faithful ſervices convinced her that he deſerved it. This propoſal was ſo ſuitable to her preſent aim in the ſervice of her country, that ſhe accepted it, and employed Albert in ſuch a manner, as made her very ſerviceable to the King. The latter end of the year 1666, he ſent her word by a ſpecial meſſenger, that he would be with her at a day appointed; at which time he revealed to her, that Cornelius De Wit, who, with the reſt of that family, had an implacable hatred to the Engliſh nation and the houſe of Orange, had, with de Ruyter, propoſed to the States the expedition above mentioned. This propoſal, concurring with the advice which the Dutch Partiſans in England had given them of the total neglect there of all naval preparations, was, he told her, well received, and would certainly be put in execution, as a thing neither dangerous nor difficult. Albert having diſcovered a ſecret of this importance, and with ſuch marks of truth, that ſhe had no room for doubt, as ſoon as the interview was at an end, ſhe diſpatched an account of what ſhe had diſcovered to England (9).

(9) *Ibid.* p. 6—9.

[*E*] *She amuſed herſelf with the gallantries of Antwerp.*] Beſides Vander Albert, mentioned in the laſt remark, Mrs. Behn had another lover at Antwerp, a Dutchman likewiſe: of whom ſhe herſelf gives the following humorous account in one of her letters (10): 'My other is about twice his *(Albert's)* age, nay and bulk too, though Albert be not the moſt Barbary ſhape you have ſeen; you muſt know him by the name of Van Bruin, and he was introduced to me by Albert his kinſman, and obliged by him to furniſh me in his abſence with what money and other things I ſhould pleaſe to command, or have occaſion for, as long as he ſtaid at Antwerp, where he was like to continue ſome time about a law-ſuit then depending. He had not viſited me often before I began to be ſenſible of the influence of my eyes on this old piece of worm-eaten touchwood; but he had not the confidence (and that's much) to tell me he loved me; and modeſty, you know, is no common fault of his countrymen.—He often inſinuated that he knew a man of wealth and ſubſtance, though ſtricken indeed in years, and on that account not ſo agreeable as a younger man, that was paſſionately in love with me, and deſired to know whether my heart was ſo far engaged, that his friend ſhould not entertain any hopes. I replied, that I was ſurpriſed to hear a friend of Albert's making an intereſt in me for another; that if love were a paſſion I was any way ſenſible of, it could never be for an old man, and much to that purpoſe. But all this would not do; in a day or two I received this eloquent epiſtle from him.' Here Mrs. Behn inſerts a tranſlation of Van Bruin's letter, which was written in French, and in a moſt ridiculous ſtile, telling her, *he had often ſtrove to tell her the tempeſts of his heart, and with his own mouth ſcale the walls of her affections; but terrified with the ſtrength of her fortifications, he concluded to make more regular approaches, and firſt attack her at a farther diſtance, and try firſt what a bombardment of letters would do; whether theſe carcaſſes of love, thrown into the ſconces of her eyes, would break into the midſt of her breaſt, beat down the court of guard of her averſion, and blow* up

(10) *Ibid.* p. 20.

paſſage was near being loſt; for the ſhip, being driven on the coaſt, foundered within ſight of land: but, by the aſſiſtance of boats from the ſhore, they were all ſaved, and Mrs. Behn arrived in London. The reſt of her life was entirely dedicated to pleaſure and poetry *(f)*. Beſides publiſhing three volumes of *Miſcellany Poems* [*F*], ſhe wrote ſeventeen *Plays* [*G*], and ſome *Hiſtories* and *Novels* [*H*]. She tranſlated M. Fontenelle's *Hiſtory*

up the mngazine of her cruelty, that ſhe might be brought to a capitulation, and yield upon reaſonable terms (11). He then conſiders her as *a goodly ſhip under ſail for the Indies*; her *hair* is the *pennants*; her *forehead* the *prow*; her *eyes* the *guns*; her *noſe* the *rudder*, &c. He wiſhes *he could once ſee her keel above water!* and deſires to be *the pilot, to ſteer her by the* Cape of Good Hope *for the* Indies *of Love* (12). Our Poeteſs returned a ſuitable anſwer to this ridiculous letter. She rallies him on his *ſetting out for ſo unprofitable a voyage as* Love, and humorouſly reckons up the *expences* of the voyage; as *Ribbons and hoods for her pennants; diamond-rings, lockets, and pearl necklaces for her guns of offence and defence; ſilks, holland, lawn, cambrick,* &c. *for her rigging,* &c. (13) This produced another letter, in the ſame ſtile, from Van Bruin; in which, to *ſhew her that what ſhe propoſed had not terrified him*, he tells her, *he ſends her* Cart-blank *to fill up herſelf*, promiſing to viſit her that evening, *to ſign articles, and put a new garriſon into the fort* (14). Though Mrs. Behn had no need of anſwering this, being threatened with ſo ſpeedy a viſit, yet, for the diverſion of herſelf and her acquaintance, ſhe ſent him another billet; in which, ſeeming to encourage his paſſion, ſhe tells him, *ſhe fears that deluding tongue of his will quite remove all her objections*; but that *ſhe defers propoſals of articles, till their Plenipo's meet, and proceed regularly on theſe preliminaries at the place of conference*; *which*, ſays ſhe, *is agreed on all hands to be the abode of your moſt happy Aſtræa* (15). This letter, we may imagine, ſoon brought her *Hogen-mogen* lover (as ſhe calls him) to her apartment. The other part of his courtſhip, ſhe tells her friend, could not eaſily be deſcribed. ‘ But imagine to your‘ ſelf, *ſays ſhe* (16), an old, over-grown, unwieldy ‘ Dutchman, playing awkwardly over all that he ſup‘ poſed would make him look more agreeable in my ‘ eyes. Age he found I did not admire; he therefore ‘ endeavoured to conceal it by dreſs, peruke, and ‘ clumſy gaiety. Reſpect he was informed I expected ‘ from a lover; which he would expreſs with ſuch ‘ comical cringes, ſuch odd ſort of ogling, and fan‘ taſtic addreſs, that I could never force a ſerious face ‘ on whatever he ſaid; for let the ſubject be ever ſo ‘ grave, his perſon and delivery turned it into a farce. ‘ There was no piece of gallantry he obſerved per‘ formed by the young gentlemen of the city, but he ‘ attempted in imitation of them, even to poetry; ‘ but that indeed was in his own language, and ſo ‘ might be extraordinary for aught I know.’ In this manner, Mrs. Behn tells us, ſhe diverted herſelf with Van Bruin in Albert's abſence, till he began to aſſume and grow troubleſome on her bare permiſſion of his addreſſes; ſo that, to rid herſelf of him, ſhe was forced to diſcloſe the whole affair to Albert, who was ſo enraged, that he threatened the death of his rival; but was pacified by his miſtreſs, and contented to upbraid the other with his treachery, and to forbid him the houſe (17). ‘ But this, *ſays our Poeteſs* (18), pro‘ duced a very ridiculous ſcene, and worthy of more ‘ ſpectators; For my Neſtorean lover would not give ‘ ground to Albert, but was as high as he, challenged ‘ him to *ſnick-or-ſnee* for me, and a thouſand things ‘ as comical: in ſhort, nothing but my poſitive com‘ mand could ſatisfy him, and on that he promiſed ‘ no more to trouble me. Sure, as he thought, of ‘ me, he was thunder-ſtruck, when he heard me not ‘ only forbid him the houſe, but ridicule all his ad‘ dreſſes to his rival Albert; and with a countenance ‘ full of deſpair, went away, not only from my lodg‘ ings, but the next day from Antwerp, leaving his ‘ law-ſuit to the care of his friends, unable to ſtay in ‘ the place where he had met with ſo dreadful a de‘ feat.’ Thus far we have an account of Mrs. Behn's gallantries at Antwerp from her own pen. The authoreſs of her *Life* has given us a farther account of her affairs with Vander Albert, in which ſhe contrived to preſerve her honour, without injuring her gratitude. There was a woman at Antwerp, who had often given Aſtræa warning of Albert's fickleneſs and inconſtancy, aſſuring her, he never loved paſt enjoyment, and ſometimes changed even before he had that pretence; of which ſhe herſelf was an inſtance, Albert having married her, and deſerted her on the wedding-night. Our Poeteſs took the opportunity of her acquaintance with this lady, whoſe name was Catalina, to put an honeſt trick upon her lover, and at the ſame time to do juſtice to an injured woman. Accordingly ſhe made an appointment with Albert, and contrived that Catalina ſhould meet him in her ſtead. The plot ſucceeded, and Catalina, infinitely pleaſed with the adventure, appointed the next night and the following, till at laſt he diſcovered the cheat, and reſolved to gratify both his love and his revenge, by enjoying Aſtræa even againſt her will. To this purpoſe he bribed an elderly gentlewoman, whom Mrs. Behn kept out of charity, and who was her bedfellow, to put him to bed dreſſed in her night-cloaths in her place, when Aſtræa was paſſing the evening at a Merchant's houſe in the town. The Merchant's ſon and his two ſiſters waited on Aſtræa home; and, to conclude the evening's mirth with a frolic, the young gentleman propoſed going to bed to the old woman, and that they ſhould all come in with candles and ſurprize them together. As it was agreed, ſo they did; but, no ſooner was the young ſpark laid in bed, than he found himſelf accoſted with unexpected ardour, and a man's voice, ſaying, *Have I now caught thee, thou malicious charmer! Now I'll not let thee go till thou haſt done me juſtice for all the wrongs thou haſt offered my doating love.* The reſt of the company coming in, were extremely ſurprized to find Albert in Aſtræa's bed, inſtead of the old woman, and Albert no leſs to find the young ſpark inſtead of Aſtræa. In concluſion the old woman was diſcarded, and Albert's fury at his diſappointment appeaſed by a promiſe from Mrs. Behn of marrying him at her arrival in England. But Albert, returning into Holland to make preparations for his voyage to England, died of a fever at Amſterdam (19).

[*F*] *She publiſhed three volumes of* Miſcellany Poems.] The firſt in 1684, the ſecond in 1685, and the third in 1688. They conſiſt of ſongs and other little pieces, by the Earl of Rocheſter, Sir George Etherege, Mr. Henry Criſp, and others; with ſome pieces of her own. To the *Second Miſcellany* is annexed a tranſlation of the Duke de Rochefoucault's *Moral Reflections*, under the title of *Seneca unmaſked*.

[*G*] *Her* Plays.] They are as follows: I, II. *The Rover, or the Baniſh'd Cavalier*, in two parts, both Comedies; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1677 and 1681. The ſecond part is dedicated to his Royal Highneſs the Duke. Theſe Plays are taken, in a great meaſure, from Killigrew's *Don Thomaſo, or the Wanderer*. III. The *Dutch Lover*, a Comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1673. The plot of this play is founded on a Spaniſh Romance, written by Don Franciſco de las Coveras, intitled *Don Feniſe*. IV. *Abdelazar, or the Moor's Revenge*, a Tragedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1671. It is taken from an old Play of Marlo's, printed in 1661, intitled, *Luſt's Dominion, or the Laſcivious Queen*; a Tragedy. V. *The Young King, or the Miſtake*, a Tragi-comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1683. It is dedicated to ſome gentleman, her particular friend, under the name of *Philaſter*. The deſign of this Play is taken from the ſtory of *Alcamenes* and *Menalippa*, in Calprenede's *Cleopatra*. VI. *The Round-heads, or the Good Old Cauſe*, a Comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1682. It is dedicated to Henry Fitz-Roy, Duke of Grafton. Great part of the dialogue of this Play is taken from John Tateham's *Rump, or a Mirror of the Times*. VII. *The City-Heireſs, or Sir Timothy Treat-All*, a Comedy; acted at the Dnke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, 1682. It is dedicated to Henry Earl of Arundel, and Lord Mowbray. This Play was very well received, but moſt of the characters are borrowed, as thoſe of Sir *Timothy* and his *nephew*, from Sir *Bounteous Progreſs* and *Folly-wit*, in Middleton's *Mad*

(f) *Ibid.* p. 38—40.

(11) *Ibid.* p 21, 22.

(12) *Ibid.* p. 21—24.

(13) *Ibid.* p. 24—27.

(14) *Ibid.* p. 28—30.

(15) *Ibid.* p. 30, 32.

(16) *Ibid.* p. 33.

(17) *Ibid.* p. 33, 34.

(18) *Ibid.*

(19) *Ibid.* p. 35—38.

Hiſtory of Oracles, and *Plurality of Worlds*; to which laſt ſhe annexed an *Eſſay on Tranſlation and Tranſlated Proſe* [*I*]. The Paraphraſe of *Œnone's Epiſtle to Paris*, in the Engliſh tranſlation of *Ovid's Epiſtles*, is Mrs. Behn's [*K*]; as are, the celebrated *Love-Letters*

Mad World my Maſters; and thoſe of *Sir Anthony Merrywell* and his nephew *Sir Charles*, from *Durazzo* and *Caldoro*, in Maſſenger's *Guardian*. VIII. *The Town Fop, or Sir Timothy Tawdry*, a Comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1677. This Play is founded on a Comedy, written by George Wilkins, intitled, *The Miſeries of inforced Marriage*. IX. *The Falſe Count, or a new Way to play an old Game*, a Comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1682. Iſabella's being deceived by the Chimney-ſweeper, is borrowed from Moliere's *Precieuſes Ridicules*. X. *The Lucky Chance, or An Alderman's Bargain*, a Comedy; acted by the King's company, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1687. It is dedicated to Hide Earl of Rocheſter. This Play was greatly decried by the Critics. The incident of *Gayman*'s enjoying the Lady *Fulbanck*, and taking her for the Devil, is borrowed from *Alexander Kickſhaw* and the Lady *Aretina*, in Shirley's *Lady of Pleaſure*. XI. *Forced Marriage, or the Jealous Bridegroom*, a Tragi-comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1671. XII. *Sir Patient Fancy*, a Comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 16 8. The character of *Sir Patient* is borrowed from Moliere's *Malade Imaginaire*; and thoſe of *Sir Credulous Eaſy*, and his Groom *Curry*, from *Sir Amphilus* and *Trebaſco*, in Broome's *Damoiſelle*. XIII. *The Widow Ranter, or the Hiſtory of Bacon in Virginia*, a Tragi-comedy; acted by the King's company, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1690. It is uncertain from whence ſhe had the Hiſtory of *Bacon*; but the cataſtrophe ſeems founded on the ſtory of *Caſſius*, who died by the hand of his freed-man. This Play was publiſhed, after Mrs. Behn's death, by one G. J. her friend. XIV. *The Feign'd Courtezan, or A Night's Intrigue*, a Comedy; acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1679. It is dedicated to the famous Mrs. Ellen Guin, King Charles's miſtreſs; and is eſteemed one of Mrs. Behn's beſt Plays. XV. *The Emperor of the Moon*, a Farce; acted at the Queen's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1687. It is dedicated to the Marquis of Worceſter. The plot is taken from an Italian piece, tranſlated into French, under the title of *Harlequin Empereur dans le monde de la Lune*, and acted at Paris above eighty nights without intermiſſion. XVI. *The Amorous Prince, or the Curious Huſband*, a Comedy; acted at the Duke of York's Theatre, and printed, in *quarto*, in 1671. The plot is borrowed from the Novel of the *Curious Impertinent*, in *Don Quixote*. XVII. *The Younger Brother, or the Amorous Jilt*, a Comedy; publiſhed after her death, by Mr. Gildon. It was taken from a true ſtory of Colonel Henry Martin and a certain Lady. —— Mrs. Behn's Plays, all but the laſt, were publiſhed together in two volumes, 8vo. But the laſt edition of 1724 is in four volumes, 12mo, including the *Younger Brother*.

[*H*] *Her* Hiſtories and Novels.] They are extant in two volumes, 12mo, London 1735, 8th edition; publiſhed by Mr. Charles Gildon, and dedicated to Simon Scroop, Eſq; to which is prefixed *The Hiſtory of the Life and Memoirs of Mrs. Behn, written by one of the Fair Sex*. The *Hiſtories* and *Novels* are as follows: I. *The Hiſtory of Oroonoko, or the Royal Slave*. This was a true ſtory, the incidents of which happened during her reſidence at Surinam (20). It gave birth to Mr. Southerne's celebrated Play of *Oroonoko*. That Gentleman, in the *Epiſtle Dedicatory* of that Play, ſpeaking of his obligation to Mrs. Behn for the ſubject, ſays, 'She had a great command of the Stage; and I 'have often wondered that ſhe would bury her favourite Heroe in a *Novel*, when ſhe might have revived him in the *Scene*. She thought either that no 'Actor could repreſent him, or ſhe could not bear 'him repreſented; and I believe the laſt, when I remember what I have heard from a friend of her's, 'that ſhe always told his ſtory more feelingly than ſhe 'writ it.' II. *The Fair Jilt; or, The Amours of Prince Tarquin and Miranda*. This is likewiſe a true ſtory; to a great part of which, ſhe tells us (21), ſhe was an eye-witneſs; and what ſhe did not ſee, ſhe learned from ſome of the actors concerned in it, the Franciſcans of Antwerp, where the ſcene is laid. III. *The Nun; or, The Perjured Beauty; a true Novel*. IV. *The Hiſtory of Agnes de Caſtro*. V. *The Lover's Watch; or, The Art of making Love*. It is taken from M. Bonnecourſe's *La Montre*, or *The Watch*. It is not properly a Novel. A Lady, under the name of *Iris*, being abſent from her lover *Damon*, is ſuppoſed to ſend him a *Watch*; on the dial-plate of which the whole buſineſs of a lover, during the twenty-four hours, is marked out, and pointed to by the dart of a Cupid in the middle. Thus, *Eight o'clock* is marked *Agreeable Reverie*; *Nine o'clock*, *Deſign to pleaſe nobody*; *Ten o'clock*, *Reading of Letters*, &c. To which is added, as from *Damon* to *Iris*, A Deſcription of *The Caſe of the Watch*. VI. *The Ladies Looking-Glaſs to dreſs themſelves by*. *Damon* is ſuppoſed to ſend *Iris* a *Looking-Glaſs*, which repreſents to her all her charms, *viz.* her *Shape*, *Complexion*, *Hair*, &c. This likewiſe, which is not properly a Novel, is taken from the French. VII. *The Lucky Miſtake; a new Novel*. VIII. *The Court of the King of Bantam*. IX. *The Adventure of the Black Lady*. The reader will diſtinguiſh the originals from the tranſlations, by conſulting the 2d and 3d *Tomes of Le Recueil des pieces gallantes, en proſe et en vers. Paris*, 1684, 8vo.

[*I*] *Her Tranſlation of* M. Fontenelle's —— Plurality of Worlds; *to which is annexed*, An Eſſay on Tranſlation and Tranſlated Proſe.] This Tranſlation is in general a pretty good one, though there are ſome miſtakes in it, occaſioned by her want of ſufficient ſkill in Philoſophy. In the *Eſſay on Tranſlation*, &c. annexed to it, ſhe cenſures M. Fontenelle on ſeveral accounts, and occaſionally anſwers ſome objections made to ſeveral paſſages of Scripture; as, that of the Sun's ſtanding ſtill at the command of Joſhua; the meaſure and dimenſions of Solomon's molten-braſs Sea, and the time of King Solomon's reign; as theſe paſſages relate to Aſtronomy, Geometry, and Chronology. But in handling theſe points, Mrs. Behn ſhews ſhe is out of her ſphere, and engaged in a kind of writing, for which nature had not formed her. In this *Eſſay* ſhe endeavours likewiſe to prove, that the *French* is of all languages the moſt difficult to be tranſlated into Engliſh.

[*K*] *The Paraphraſe of* Œnone's Epiſtle to Paris, *in the Engliſh Tranſlation of* Ovid's Epiſtles, *is her's*.] In the preface to that work, Mr. Dryden pays her this handſome compliment: *I was deſired to ſay, that the author, who is of the Fair Sex, underſtood not Latin: But if ſhe does not, I am afraid ſhe has given us occaſion to be aſhamed who do.* The following paſſage, tranſcribed from this Epiſtle, will afford the reader a proper ſpecimen of Mrs. Behn's poetical talent.

Say, lovely youth, why wou'd'ſt thou thus betray
My eaſy faith, and lead my heart aſtray?
I might ſome humble Shepherd's choice have been,
Had I that tongue ne'er heard, thoſe eyes ne'er ſeen;
And in ſome homely cot, in low repoſe,
Liv'd undiſturb'd with broken vows and oaths;
All day by ſhaded ſprings my flocks have kept,
And in ſome honeſt arms at night have ſlept.
Then, unupbraided with my wrongs, thou'dſt been
Safe in the joys of the fair Grecian Queen.
What Stars do rule the Great? No ſooner you
Became a Prince, but you were perjur'd too.
Are crowns and falſehoods then conſiſtent things?
And muſt they all be faithleſs who are Kings?
The Gods be prais'd that I was humble born,
Ev'n tho' it renders me my Paris' ſcorn.
And I had rather this way wretched prove,
Than be a Queen, and faithleſs in my love.
Not my fair rival wou'd I wiſh to be,
To come prophan'd by others joys to thee.
A ſpotleſs maid into thy arms I brought,
Untouch'd in fame, ev'n innocent in thought:
Whilſt ſhe with love has treated many a gueſt,
And brings thee but the leavings of a feaſt:
With Theſeus from her country made eſcape,
Whilſt ſhe miſcall'd the willing flight a rape:
So now from Atreus' ſon with thee is fled;
And ſtill the rape hides the adulterous deed.
And is it thus great ladies keep entire
That virtue they ſo boaſt, and you admire?

(20) *See the remark* [*C*].

(21) *See her* Hiſtories and Novels, Vol. i. p. 205.

Letters between a Nobleman and his Siſter, Lond. 1684 *(g)*. Her wit gained her the acquaintance and eſteem of the Poets of that time, as Mr. Dryden, Mr. Southerne, Mr. Charles Cotton, and others: and, at the ſame time, the love and addreſſes of ſeveral gentlemen; one in particular, with whom ſhe correſponded under the name of *Lycidas* (*h*) [*L*]. Mrs. Behn died, after a long indiſpoſition, the 16th of April 1689, and was buried in the cloiſter of Weſtminſter-Abbey [*M*]. We ſhall ſay ſomething of her character, as a writer, below [*N*].

Is this a trick of Courts? Can raviſhment
Serve for a poor evaſion of conſent?
Hard ſhift to ſave that honour priz'd ſo high,
Whilſt the mean fraud's the greater infamy!
How much more happy are we rural maids,
Who know no other palaces than ſhades;
Who want no titles to enſlave the croud,
Leſt they ſhould babble all our crimes aloud;
No arts our good to ſhew, our ills to hide;
Nor know to cover faults of love with pride (22)!

[*L*] — *One in particular, with whom ſhe correſponded under the name of Lycidas.*] Eight of her *love-letters* to that *Gentleman* are printed in the *Life and Memoirs*, &c. prefixed to her *Hiſtories and Novels* (23). They are full of the moſt paſſionate expreſſions of love for her dear Lycidas, who, at the time of her writing theſe letters, ſeems to have loſt much of the paſſion he once had for her, and to have returned her love with great coldneſs and indifference. ‘I may chance, *ſays ſhe, in her laſt letter* (24), from the natural inconſtancy of my ſex, to be as falſe as you would wiſh, and leave you in quiet: For as I am ſatisfied I love in vain, and without return, I am ſatisfied that nothing, but the thing that hates me, could treat me as Lycidas does; and 'tis only the vanity of being beloved by me can make you countenance a ſoftneſs ſo diſpleaſing to you. How could any thing, but the man that hates me, entertain me ſo unkindly? Witneſs your paſſing by the end of the ſtreet where I live, and ſquandering away your time at any coffee-houſe, rather than allow me, what you know in your ſoul is the greateſt bleſſing of my life, your dear, *dull*, melancholy company; I call it dull, becauſe you can never be gay or merry where Aſtræa is. How could this indifference poſſeſs you, when your malicious ſoul knew I was languiſhing for you? I died, I fainted, I panted for an hour of what you laviſhed out, regardleſs of me, and without ſo much as thinking on me!’

[*M*] *She was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey.*] Her grave is covered with a plain black marble ſtone, on which is the following inſcription:

Mrs. Apharra Behn died Aprill the 16, 1689.

Here lies a proof that wit can never be
Defence enough againſt mortality.
Great Poeteſs, O thy ſtupendous lays
The world admires, and the Muſes praiſe.

Revived by Thomas Waine in reſpect to ſo bright a genius.

No perſon of the leaſt taſte or judgment can poſſibly believe what was maliciouſly ſuggeſted by the envious of her own ſex, that the author of this epitaph was, in reality, the author of moſt of thoſe pieces which go under Mrs. Behn's name.

[*N*] *Her character.*] Mr. Langbaine, her contemporary, thinks ‘her memory will be long freſh among all lovers of dramatic poetry, as having been ſufficiently eminent, not only for her theatrical performances, but ſeveral other pieces both in proſe and verſe, which gained her an eſteem among the wits, almoſt equal to that of the incomparable *Orinda*, Mrs. Catherine Philips.—— Moſt of her Comedies, *continues he*, have had the good fortune to pleaſe: and though it muſt be confeſt that ſhe has borrowed very much, not only from her own countrymen, but likewiſe from the French Poets, yet it may be ſaid in her behalf, that ſhe has often been forced to it thro' haſte; and has borrowed from others ſtores, rather of choice than for want of a fund of wit of her own, it having been formerly her unhappineſs to be neceſſitated to write for bread, as ſhe herſelf has publiſhed to the world (‖). 'Tis alſo her commendation, that whatever ſhe borrows ſhe improves for the better; a plea which our late Laureat (*) has not been aſhamed to make uſe of (†). If to this her ſex may plead in her behalf, I doubt not but ſhe will be allowed equal with ſeveral of our Poets her contemporaries (25).’ There are ſeveral encomiums on Mrs. Behn prefixed to her *Lover's Watch*. Among the reſt Mr. Charles Cotton, author of *Virgil Traveſty*, &c. compliments her in the following lines.

Some hands write ſome things well, are elſewhere lame;
But on all themes your power is the ſame.
Of buſkin and of ſock you know the pace,
And tread in both with equal ſkill and grace.
But, when you write of love, Aſtræa, then
Love dips his arrows where you wet your pen.
Such charming lines did never paper grace,
Soft as your ſex, and ſmooth as beauty's face.

- -

But why ſhould you, who can ſo well create,
So ſtoop, as but pretend you do tranſlate?
Cou'd you, who have ſuch a luxurious vein,
As nought but your own judgment cou'd reſtrain.
Who are yourſelf of poeſy the ſoul - - - - - -
Deſcend ſo low - - - - - - - - - -
To make an author, that before was none?
Yet we can trace you there, in ev'ry line;
The texture's good, but ſome threads are too fine:
We ſee where you let in your ſilver ſprings,
And know the plumes, with which you imp his wings (26).

It ſeems this gentleman thought it too great a condeſcenſion in Mrs. Behn to meddle with tranſlation. Mr. Charles Gildon, who was intimately acquainted with our Poeteſs, ſpeaks of her with the higheſt encomiums. ‘Poetry, *ſays he* (27), the ſupreme pleaſure of the mind, is begot, and born in pleaſure, but oppreſſed and killed with pain. This reflection ought to raiſe our admiration of Mrs. Behn, whoſe genius was of that force, like Homer's, to maintain its gaiety in the midſt of diſappointments, which a woman of her ſenſe and merit ought never to have met with. But ſhe had a great ſtrength of mind and command of thought, being able to write in the midſt of company, and yet have her ſhare of the converſation, which I ſaw her do in writing *Oroonoko*, and other parts of the following volumes; in every part of which, Sir, you'll find an eaſy ſtile, and a peculiar happineſs of thinking. The paſſions, that of Love eſpecially, ſhe was miſtreſs of; and gave us ſuch nice and tender touches of them, that, without her name, we might diſcover the author, as Protogenes did Apelles by the ſtroke of his pencil.’ To this character of Mrs. Behn may very properly be added that given of her by the authoreſs of her *Life and Memoirs* (28), in theſe words: ‘She was of a generous and open temper, ſomething paſſionate, very ſerviceable to her friends in all that was in her power, and could ſooner forgive an injury than do one. She had wit, honour, good humour, and judgment. She was miſtreſs of all the pleaſing arts of converſation, but uſed them not to any but thoſe who love plain dealing. She was a woman of ſenſe, and by conſequence a lover of pleaſure—For my part I I knew her intimately, and never ſaw aught unbecoming the juſt modeſty of our ſex, though more gay and free than the folly of the preciſe will allow.'——This reſpects only her moral character, and may be ſtrictly true. But how far ſhe may deſerve the high encomiums beſtowed on her as a writer, and what abatements it may be neceſſary to make in ſettling her true merit, the reader of her works will eaſily judge. Her *Novels*, *Oroonoko* excepted, are chiefly tranſlations: Her *Poetry* is none of the beſt; and her *Comedies*, though not without wit and humour, are full of the moſt indecent ſcenes and expreſſions. B.

⁎ [Mrs. Behn's reflection at the end of note [*A*], on King Charles the Second's parting ſo eaſily with Surinam to the Dutch is not founded on political ſagacity. The exchange of Surinam for New York was one of the wiſeſt acts of that Monarch's reign. Perhaps

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(*g*) Langbaine's *Account of the Dramatic Poets*, Oxf. 1691, p. 23.

(*h*) *Life*, &c. *ubi ſupra*, p. 40, *&c.*

(22) *Ovid's Epiſtles*, &c. Lond. 1736, 12*mo*, p. 84, 85.

(23) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 54, &c.

(24) *Ib.* p. 69, 70.

(‖) Pref. to Sir *Patient Fancy.*

(*) Mr. Dryden.

(†) Pref. to the *Mock Aſtrologer.*

(25) Langbaine, *ubi ſupra*, p. 17, 18.

(26) *La Montre*, or, *The Lovers Watch*, Lond. 1686, 12*mo*.

(27) *Epiſtle Dedicatory*, &c. of her *Hiſtories and Novels*, p. x, xi.

(28) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 72.

Perhaps the latter country could not afford ſuch romantic ſcenes as the former; but it was neceſſary for connecting the Britiſh Empire in America; an object undoubtedly of great moment (29).

As to Mrs. Behn's being employed by Charles the Second in Flanders, during the Dutch war, ſhe was, in plain Engliſh, no other than a Spy; was probably paid as ſuch; and, if ſhe had been diſcovered, was liable to be hanged, according to the eſtabliſhed practice of all civilized ſtates (30).

In Mr. Oldys's manuſcripts, mention is made of a report, that there was an amorous connection between her and Mr. Hoyle, a lawyer of Gray's Inn, who was alſo ſuſpected by ſome of having aſſiſted her in her writings: but whether this gentleman was the Lycidas of whom ſhe ſpeaks with ſo much ardour, in her letters, is uncertain.

'As to her character,' ſays Mr. Oldys, (whether in his own words, or in thoſe of any other author, we do not recollect) 'it is allowed that ſhe was of a capacity above moſt of her ſex who have obliged the public. She had a ready command of pertinent expreſſions, and was of a fancy pregnant and fluent: whence it is that ſhe wrote with a facility, ſpirit, and warmth, eſpecially in amorous ſubjects, ſuperior to every other Poeteſs of the Age, and many of the Poets too: ſo that none among us may, perhaps, more juſtly be called the ENGLISH SAPPHO; equalling her either for deſcription, or perhaps experience, in the flames of love; and excelling in her perſonal temptation to it; being a graceful comely woman, with brown hair, and a piercing eye, as one picture repreſents her; whether the ſame painted by Mr. Riley I am not poſitive.——I am told, moreover, by one who knew her, that ſhe had a happy vein in determining any diſputes or controverſies that might ariſe in company; having ſuch agreeable repartees at hand upon all occaſions, and ſo much diſcretion in the timing of them, that ſhe played them off like winning cards.'

We learn, alſo, from Mr. Oldys, that Mrs. Behn was between forty and fifty years of age at the time of her death, and that it was haſtened by an injudicious phyſician. This laſt circumſtance is taken notice of in the General Dictionary (31).

Beſides her other works, ſhe is ſaid to have tranſlated, from the Latin, the laſt book of Mr. Cowley's Poem on Plants. In this tranſlation, when ſhe comes to Daphne, who was turned into the Bay-tree, ſhe makes the following inſertion of her own:

'I, by a double right, thy bounties claim,
'Both from my ſex, and in Apollo's name.
'Let me with Sappho and Orinda be,
'Oh ever ſacred nymph, adorned by thee,
'And give my verſes immortality (32).

The writer of the article Behn, in the General Dictionary, enters largely into her poetical character, and recites many teſtimonies of applauſe, which have been beſtowed upon her in this reſpect. Moſt of his teſtimonies, however, are either from authors whoſe judgment is of little weight, or elſe are the encomiums of thoſe who might be led to ſome undue praiſes of her, from perſonal acquaintance and friendſhip. The biographer himſelf, after all, though he allows her to have been a genius, will not grant that ſhe was of the firſt or perhaps ſecond rate (33); and we have ſeen that our learned predeceſſor (34) has declared her poetry to be none of the beſt. If the Writer of this note may be permitted to give his opinion on a ſubject which has not excited much of his attention, it is, that Mrs. Behn had great natural talents for poetry. My opinion is grounded on the only poetical piece of her's which I remember to have read, and that is, *A Voyage to the Iſland of Love*. Having met with this, in a collection of poems, by the moſt celebrated Engliſh Ladies, publiſhed, a few years ago, in two volumes 12mo, I was ſtruck with the marks of genius, invention, and fire, with which, amidſt many inaccuracies and worſe faults, it undoubtedly abounds; and could not help aſſigning her a high rank among the female poets of Great Britain. But having ſince learned, from Langbaine, Oldys, and the General Dictionary, that the Voyage to the Iſland of Love was taken from a French Author, I cannot tell what part of the praiſes it is intitled to, are ſeparately due to Mrs. Behn. The wit of her Comedies ſeems to be generally acknowledged, and it is equally acknowledged, that they are very indecent; on which account I have not thought myſelf under any obligation to peruſe them. It would have been an unworthy employment, nicely to eſtimate a wit, which, having been applied to the purpoſes of impiety and vice, ought not only to be held in the utmoſt deteſtation, but conſigned, if poſſible, to eternal oblivion. It is ſome conſolation to reflect, that Mrs. Behn's works are now little regarded, her Novels excepted, which, we ſuppoſe, have ſtill many readers among that unhappily too numerous a claſs of people who devour the traſh of the circulating libraries. Mr. Pope's lines, relative to her dramatic writings, are well known:

'The ſtage how looſely does Aſtrea tread,
'Who fairly puts all characters to bed.'

A Gentleman, to whom we are under peculiar obligations, referring to theſe lines, obſerves that they contain a ſevere, but true, cenſure of our Poeteſs, who, he thinks, ſcarcely deſerved a nook in the Biographia Britannica. 'To place her,' ſays he, 'among wits and heroes, is like burying General F—— and General H—— in Weſtminſter Abbey.' But it may be anſwered, that Mrs. Behn's genius, adventures, and writings, gave her, whether juſtly or unjuſtly, ſuch a celebrity in her time, that ſhe could not be omitted in a work of this kind. Strictly virtuous characters we ſhall always treat of with ſingular pleaſure, and ſhall ſelect them as our favourite articles. But other perſons muſt be recorded, whoſe abilities, productions, and actions rendered them famous in their day, though they were very deficient in moral qualities. Nor can the Biographia be confined, in the rigid ſenſe of the terms, to wits and heroes: for, in that caſe, what would become of many ſound Divines, induſtrious Philoſophers, ſagacious Critics, faithful Hiſtorians, learned Antiquaries, and judicious Lawyers? It may be added, that Mrs. Behn was undoubtedly a Wit, though, to her indelible diſgrace, her talents were proſtituted to licentious purpoſes.] K.

(29) The Obſervation of an ingenious Correſpondent.

(30) Ditto.

(31) Vol. iii. p. 144.

(32) Oldys's Manuſcripts.

(33) General Dict. Vol. iii. p. 147.

(34) *Vid.* note [*N*].

BEK, or BEC, or BEAK (ANTHONY) Biſhop of Durham in the reigns of Edward I. and II., was advanced, with the King's conſent, from the archdeaconry of Durham to the biſhopric, in the room of Robert *de Inſula* (*a*). Of the extraction and education of this Prelate I find no account. He was elected by the Monks on the ninth of July 1283, and conſecrated, in the preſence of the King and ſeveral of the Nobles, by William Wicwane, Archbiſhop of York, on the ninth of January following (*b*). At the time of his conſecration, the Archbiſhop, having had a diſpute, during the vacancy of the See, with the Chapter of Durham, obliged the Prior to go out of the Church; and the next day enjoined the new Biſhop, upon his canonical obedience, to excommunicate the Superior and ſeveral of the Monks: but Bek refuſed to obey the Archbiſhop, ſaying, 'I was yeſterday conſecrated their Biſhop, and ſhall I excommunicate them to-day? no obedience ſhall force me to this (*c*).' He was enthroned on Chriſtmas eve 1285; upon which occaſion a diſpute ariſing between the Prior and the Official of York about the rite of performing that ceremony, the deciſion of it was deferred; and in the mean time Bek was inſtalled by his brother Thomas Bek Biſhop of St. David's (*d*). This Prelate had a long diſpute with the Monks of Durham; which proved very detrimental to the revenues

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(*a*) Rob. de Grayſtanes, Hiſtor. Dunelm. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 745.

(*b*) *Ibid.* & in *notis.*

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 746.

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 747.

and privileges of the See [*A*]. He is ſaid to have been the richeſt Biſhop (if we except Wolſey) that had ever held the See of Durham: for, beſides the revenues of his biſhopric, he had a temporal eſtate of five thouſand marks *per annum*; part of which, we are told, he gained by unjuſtly converting to his own uſe an eſtate, which he held in truſt for the natural ſon of the Baron of Veſcey [*B*]. He procured the tranſlation of the body of St. William, formerly Archbiſhop of York, and was at the whole expence of the ceremony, which was ſolemnly performed in the church of York (*e*). He aſſiſted King Edward I. in his war againſt John Baliol, King of Scotland, and brought into the field a large body of forces [*C*]. In the year 1294, he was ſent Embaſſador from King Edward to the Emperor of Germany, to conclude a treaty with that Prince, againſt the increaſing power of France (*f*). In 1295, the Pope having ſent two Cardinals on an embaſſy to the Engliſh Court, this Prelate was pitched upon to anſwer them in the King's name [*D*]. He had the title of *Patriarch of Jeruſalem* conferred on him by the Pope in 1305 (*g*); and about the ſame time received from the King a grant of the principality of the Iſland of Man (*h*). An act paſſed in this Biſhop's time, in the Parliament of Carliſle, *Anno* 1307, to prevent the Biſhop of Durham or his officers, from cutting down the woods belonging

(*e*) Tho. Stubbs; Act. Pontiff. Ebor. *apud* X. Scriptores, col. 1727.

(*f*) H. Knyghton, de EventibusAngliæ, l. iii. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 2500.

(*g*) R. de Grayſtanes, *ubi ſupra*; p. 752.

(*h*) Godwin de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Dunelm. *an.* 1283.

[*A*] *He had a long diſpute with the Monks of Durham, which proved very detrimental to the revenues and privileges of the See.*] Having complained to the Pope, that the Prior of his Church was a very ignorant and unſkilful perſon, and in all reſpects unqualified for the government of ſo conſiderable a convent, he obtained of his Holineſs the ſole management of its revenues and juriſdiction; and accordingly ſent down certain of his officers to Durham to execute his orders. But the Monks refuſed to admit them, and appealed to the Pope; whereupon the Biſhop's officers excommunicated the Prior and all the Monks. Theſe proceedings ſo diſpleaſed the King, that he laid a ſevere fine on the officers, and ordered the Biſhop himſelf to appear in his courts, and anſwer for what he had done. But Bek, without regarding the King's ſummons, or aſking his leave, ſet out for Rome; which ſo incenſed the King, that he confiſcated the revenues of his biſhopric, and turned out the Chancellor, Juſticiaries, and other public officers of the principality of Durham. He wrote, likewiſe, to the Pope in favour of the Prior, who preſented the letter with his own hand; and his Holineſs having examined him, and found the Biſhop's complaint againſt him to be groundleſs, reſtored him to his office; but he died before he could return into England. As to Bek, the King's reſentment againſt him did not ſtop here; for he ſeized on ſeveral caſtles, which, by the condemnation of Baliol, King of Scots, and others, had devolved to the Biſhops of Durham, as Counts Palatine; among which were Werkham in Teviotdale, Perth, and the Church of Simonburne; nor were they recovered to the Church of Durham till the time of his next ſucceſſor but one, Lewis Beaumont (1). This affair will receive farther light from Mr. Camden, who, reciting the privileges of the Biſhopric of Durham, ſays as follows: ‘ The Biſhops have alſo had ‘ their royalties, ſo that the goods of outlaws were ‘ forfeited to *them*, and not to the King; nay, the ‘ common people, inſiſting upon privilege, have re‘ fuſed to go to the wars in Scotland under the King. ‘ *For they pleaded* (theſe are the words of the hiſtory ‘ of Durham *) *that they were hali-werke folks*, i. e. ‘ *regiſtered or enrolled for holy work*; *that they held* ‘ *their lands to defend the body of St. Cuthbert, and that* ‘ *they ought not to march out of the confines of their* ‘ *biſhoprick, namely beyond the Tine and Tees, either* ‘ *for the King, or for the Biſhop*. But Edward the firſt ‘ abridged them of theſe liberties. For (he voluntarily) ‘ interpoſing himſelf as a mediator between *Anthony* ‘ *Bec* Biſhop, and the Prior, who had then a ſharp ‘ conteſt about certain lands, and at laſt would not ‘ ſtand to his determination, *ſeized* (as my author ſays) ‘ *the liberty of the Biſhoprick into his own hands*; *and* ‘ *then were many things ſearched into, and their privi*‘ *leges abridged in many particulars*. However, the ‘ church recovered its rights afterwards (2).’ Biſhop Bek extricated himſelf at length out of this troubleſome affair, and was entirely reſtored to the King's favour.

[*B*] *He converted to his own uſe an eſtate, which he held in truſt for the natural ſon of the Baron of Veſcey.*] Camden informs us (3), that William de Veſcey, whoſe lawful ſon John died in the Welſh wars, gave ſome of his lands in Ireland to King Edward, on condition that his natural ſon William de Kildare, might inherit his eſtate; and made Anthony Bek, Biſhop of Durham, his feoffee in truſt for the uſe of his ſon; who did not acquit himſelf very fairly in that part of his charge relating to Alnwick (*in Northumberland*), Eltham in Kent, and ſome other eſtates, which he converted to his own uſe. The ſame Antiquarian tells us (4), the Biſhop gave the caſtle of Eltham, which belonged to the Veſcies, to Queen Eleanor; and elſewhere (5), that the ſaid Biſhop, baſely betraying his truſt, alienated the inheritance (*of Alnwick-caſtle*) ſelling it for a preſent ſum of money to William Percy; ſince which time it has always been in the poſſeſſion of the Percies.

[*C*] *He brought into the field a large body of forces.*] Knyghton informs us (6), that ſome Engliſh merchants having been plundered and murdered in the port of Berwick by the Scots, King Edward ſummoned the King of Scots to appear before him at Newcaſtle upon Tyne, to anſwer for this and other outrages committed by his ſubjects. But Baliol ſlighting the ſummons, Edward marched againſt him with four thouſand horſe and thirty thouſand foot; and was joined by the Biſhop of Durham at the head of five hundred horſe and a thouſand foot, conſiſting chiefly of Welſh and Iriſh. Robert de Grayſtanes tells us (7), the Biſhop had of his own family twenty-ſix ſtandard-bearers; and adds, that he looked more like a Lay-Prince than a Prieſt or a Biſhop; *ita ut magis crederetur Princeps Laicus quam Sacerdos aut Epiſcopus*. Let us hear Leland; ‘ *King Edward*, ſays that Antiquarian (8), *wan the* ‘ *batel in Fawkirk yn Scotland, apon S. Maria Magda*‘ *lena day in the yere of our Lorde* 1295, *where Wyl*‘ *liam Waleys, their Capitayne ran away. Anthony* ‘ *de Bek, Biſhop of Dureſme, had this batail ſuch a reti*‘ *new, that in his cumpany were thirty-two baners*.’

[*D*] *This Prelate was pitched upon to anſwer the Pope's Legates in the King's name.*] The deſign of the embaſſy was to reconcile the differences, and eſtabliſh peace between the Kings of England and France. The two Legates (Beraldus, Biſhop of Alba, and Simon, Biſhop of Præneſte) having declared, in the King's preſence, the ſubject of their embaſſy, the Biſhop of Durham roſe up, and anſwered them in the French language. He told them, ‘ that though every Chriſtian ‘ and good Catholic ought to wiſh for peace, on ac‘ count of the bleſſings which attend it, and the ex‘ treme miſchiefs conſequent on war and diſcord; yet ‘ that this conſideration ought not to induce any Prince ‘ to break his word or promiſe; that his Highneſs had ‘ concluded a treaty with the Emperor of Germany, by ‘ which he was obliged not to make peace without that ‘ Prince's conſent.’ The Cardinals hereupon requeſting, that the King would diſpatch meſſengers to the Emperor upon this ſubject, and in the mean time grant a truce, during which negociations might be carried on for bringing about a peace, the next day was appointed for returning a farther anſwer; which being come, and the Council aſſembled, the Biſhop of Durham again ſpoke in French to the following effect: ‘ That the King, out of reverence to the Holy See, ‘ and in conſideration of the high ſtation and quality ‘ of the Legates, freely granted their requeſt of ſend‘ ing embaſſadors to the Emperor; that, it being no‘ torious to all the world, that the forces of the King ‘ of France were ready to act againſt his Highneſs both ‘ by ſea and land, it would not be ſafe for him to diſ‘ arm himſelf till the enemy did the like; that when ‘ he

(1) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Dunelm. *an.* 1283.

(*) *Per* R. de Grayſtanes, *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. i.

(2) Britannia, *publiſhed by Biſhop* Gibſon, *laſt edit.* Vol. ii. col. 933, 934.

(3) *Ibid.* col. 913.

(4) *Ibid.* col. 222.

(5) *Ib.* col. 1094.

(6) De Eventib. Angl. l. iii. *apud* X Scriptores, col. 2478.

(7) Hiſt. Dunelm. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 746.

(8) *Ex* Scalæ Chronico, *apud* Collectan. edit. T. Hearne, T. I. P. i. p. 541.

belonging to the biſhopric (*i*). This Prelate expended large ſums in building. He fortified the Biſhop's ſeat at Aukland, and turned it into a caſtle [*E*]. He built, or enlarged, the caſtles of Bernard in the biſhopric of Durham; of Alnwick in Northumberland (*k*); of Gainford in the biſhopric of Durham; of Somerton in Lincolnſhire, which he gave to King Edward I.; and of Eltham in Kent, which he gave to Queen Eleanor (*l*). He founded the priory of Alvingham in Lincolnſhire, the revenue of which, at the diſſolution, was valued at 141 *l.* 15*s. per Annum.* He founded, likewiſe, a collegiate church, with a Dean and ſeven Prebendaries, at *Cheſter upon the Street*, in the biſhopric of Durham (*). This Biſhop gave to the church of Durham two pictures, containing the hiſtory of our Saviour's nativity, to be hung as an ornament over the great altar on the feſtival of Chriſtmas (*m*). He died at Eltham the third of March 1310, having ſat twenty-eight years, and was buried in the church of Durham near the eaſt front, contrary to the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, who, out of reſpect to the body of St. Cuthbert, were never laid within the church (*n*). Biſhop Bek was of a martial diſpoſition, magnificent and expenſive, extremely active, and remarkably chaſte [*F*].

I find another ANTHONY BEK or BEEK, who was Biſhop of Norwich in the reign of Edward III., being advanced to that See by the Pope's collation in 1337. This Prelate had borne ſome office in the Court of Rome, and is remarkable chiefly for the oppoſition he made to Archbiſhop Winchelſea, when intending to viſit the dioceſe and Chapter of Norwich, and for the manner of his death, which was by poiſon given him by one of his own domeſtics (*o*).

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'he was aſſured the King of France had ſuſpended his 'military preparations, his Highneſs would do ſo too; 'but not before (9). The event of this buſineſs not being material to the hiſtory of Biſhop Bek, I ſhall ſay no more of it. The probable reaſon of his being choſen to deliver the King's mind upon this occaſion may be, either his ſuperior talent of ſpeaking, or his knowledge of the French language, or perhaps both.

[*E*] *He turned the Biſhop's ſeat at Aukland into a caſtle.*] Biſhop Godwin adds (10), that he built therein a very ſpacious hall, ſupported with pillars of black marble ſpotted with white; a large parlour, with other adjacent buildings; and a very fine chapel, in which he placed a Dean and Prebendaries, aſſigning for their habitation a large court, or quadrangle ſurrounded with buildings, on the Weſt ſide of the caſtle. *Ædes Auklandenſes convertit in caſtrum, ubi aulam conſtruxit magnæ amplitudinis, quam columnis ornavit ex nigro marmore maculis candentibus variegato; et conclave ſatis amplum, cum aliis ædificiis vicinis; nec non capellam pulcherrimam, in qua Decanum collocavit et Prebendarios, area quadrata (ædificiis à ſe porro conſtructis circundata) pro habitaculo iis aſſignata, in occidentali parte ejuſdem caſtri.*

[*F*] *He was of a martial diſpoſition, magnificent and expenſive, extremely active, and remarkably chaſte.*] Robert de Grayſtanes ſhall fill up the outlines of this character. That hiſtorian tells us, Biſhop Bek was courageous, and, next to the King, the beſt ſkilled of any one in military affairs; and more converſant in matters of ſtate, than in the duties of his function. But though he was fond of a retinue of ſoldiers about him, he affected a ſeeming indifference towards them; and ſhewed no concern that the greateſt nobles bent the knee to him, and officers of the army waited upon him ſtanding, whilſt he himſelf ſat. He thought nothing too dear, which might ſerve to augment his grandeur. As an inſtance of which, my author tells us, he once paid at London forty ſhillings for forty freſh herrings, which were thought too dear by the reſt of the nobility then aſſembled in Parliament. Another time, he bought a parcel of very dear cloth, of which he made houſings for his horſes, for no other reaſon, but becauſe ſomebody had ſaid, he did not believe Biſhop Anthony would venture to buy it. He was ſo impatient of reſt, that he never took more than one ſleep, ſaying, it was unbecoming a man to turn from one ſide to the other in bed. He was perpetually either riding from one manor to another, or hunting, or hawking. Though his expences were very great, he never wanted money. He always roſe from his meals with an appetite; and his continence was ſo great, that he never looked a woman full in the face: Whence, in the tranſlation of St. William of York, when the other Biſhops declined touching the Saint's bones, through a conſciouſneſs of having forfeited their virginity, he alone boldly handled them, and aſſiſted at the ceremony with due reverence. *Erat autem iſte Antonius magnanimus, poſt regem nulli in regno in apparatu, geſtu, et potentia militari ſecundus; magis circa negotia regni quam circa epiſcopalia occupatus.* ——— *Et quamvis gauderet militum conſtipari agmine, erga tamen eos ſic ſe habuit, quaſi eos non curaſſet: Comites et Barones regni majores ſibi genuflectere, et eo ſedente milites quaſi ſervientes diutiſſime coram eo aſtare parvipendens. Nil ei carum erat, quod ejus gloriam magnificare poſſet. Pro* XL *halecibus recentibus* XL *ſolidos Londoniæ ſemel ſolvit; aliis magnatibus tunc in Parliamento ibi conſiſtentibus pro nimia cariſtia emere non curantibus. Pannum maximi pretii comparavit; et ex eo co-operturas paleſridis ſuis fecit; eo quod quidam dixit ſe credere quod Epiſcopus Antonius id emere non audebat. Quietis impatiens vix ultra unum ſomnum in lecto expectans, dixit illum non eſſe hominem, qui in lecto de latere in latus ſe verteret. In nullo loco manſurus, continuè circuibat de manerio in manerium, de Auſtro in Boream; et equorum, canum et avium ſectator. Et cum eſſet ſumptuoſus in multis, nunquam tamen egens erat; ſed uſque ad mortem omnia ei abundabant. Ad ſatietatem vix comedit; caſtiſſimè vixit, vix mulierum faciem fixis oculis aſpiciens. Unde in tranſlatione S. Willielmi Eboracenſis, cum alii Epiſcopi oſſa ejus timerent tangere, remordente eos conſcientia de virginitate amiſſa, iſte audacter manus impoſuit; et quod negotium popoſcerat reverenter egit* (11). B.

*** [Biſhop Tanner mentions a number of Anthony Bek's preferments; but there is a confuſion in the account of them which we ſhould not have expected in that learned writer: and two of them are evidently irreconcileable with Chronology, being placed ſeveral years after Bek's death. The ſubject is ſo trifling, and Anthony Bek hath, comparatively, ſo ſmall a title to a place in this work, that we ſhall not enter into a farther diſcuſſion of the matter. Though it is ſaid, in the text, that our Biſhop of Durham died in 1310, we think that Godwin, Wharton, and Tanner place it with greater propriety in 1311 (12). The ſame time, indeed, is intended; but it ought to be remembered, that our earlier Writers uſually reckon the beginning of the year from the birth or circumciſion of our Saviour, and not from the annunciation (13). By the way, Dr. Richardſon, in a note, corrects Godwin, as guilty of a miſtake, and refers to a Privy Seal in Rymer's Fœdera, for ſeizing our Prelate's Temporalties into the hands of the King, as a proof that Bek's death ſhould be dated in 1310. It happens that the authority of the Fœdera is directly on the other ſide (14). Leland ſpeaks of Anthony Bek's writings: No traces of them, however, we believe, are now to be found (15). Robert de Grayſtanes account of him is not a bad picture of the eccleſiaſtical pomp of the times, or rather of a pomp ſomewhat beyond the epiſcopal ſpirit even of that age itſelf, Biſhop Bek having been uncommonly rich.] K.

(*i*) Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 745, *in notis.*

(*k*) *See the remark* [*B*].

(*l*) *See* ibid.

(*) Godwin, *ubi ſupra.*

(*m*) R. de Grayſtanes, *ibid.* p. 747.

(*n*) *Id. Ibid.* p. 754.

(*o*) Monach. Norwic. anonym. de Epiſc. Norwic. *apud* Wharton, *ubi ſupra*, 414.

(9) H. Knyghton, de Eventib. Angl. l. iii. *apud* X Scriptores, col. 2504, 2505, 2506.

(10) *Ubi ſupra.*

(11) Hiſt. Dunelm. *ubi ſupra*, p. 746.

(12) Tanner's Bibliotheca, p. 83. Richardſon's Godwin de Præſul. p. 744. Wharton's Anglia Sacra, p. 745.

(13) Annual Regiſter, Vol. ii. p. 410.

(14) Godwin de Præſul. *ubi ſupra.* Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. iii. p. 251.

(15) Tanner, *ubi ſupra.*

reckoned among the Prelates of that See. Biſhop Godwin thinks, he was the ſame Thomas Bek, Archdeacon of Dorcheſter, who, in 1278, was appointed High-Treaſurer of England, and that he was brother to *Anthony Bek* Biſhop of *Durham (p)*. But the laſt is probably a miſtake: for it appears by the preſent article *(q)*, that that Prelate's brother was Biſhop of *St. David's*. This latter *(Thomas Bek)* was conſecrated in 1280, and founded two colleges, one at Aberguilly, and another at Landewy-brevy (*r*). In 1286, a large ſubſidy was granted to this Biſhop, to be levied on the whole dioceſe, for the tranſacting of certain affairs relating to the clergy with Giffard the Pope's Nuncio in England (*s*).

(*p*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Lincolnienſ. *an.* 1319.

(*q*) See reference (*d*).

(*r*) Godwin, *ibid. inter* Epiſc. Menevenſ. *an.* 1280.

(*s*) Annal. Eccleſ. Menevenſ. *apud* Wharton, *ubi ſupra*, P. ii. p. 651.

BEKINSAU (John), author of a book intitled *De Supremo et Abſoluto Regis Imperio* [*A*], was born at Broadchalke in Wiltſhire [*B*]. He had his education in grammar learning at Wykeham's ſchool near Wincheſter: from whence he was ſent very early to New-college in Oxford; where, having ſerved two years of probation, he was admitted Perpetual Fellow in the year 1520. In 1526 he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, being that year (as one of the Univerſity Regiſters informs us) *about to take a journey beyond the ſeas for the ſake of ſtudy* [*C*]. In his college he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his extraordinary ſkill in the Greek language. In 1538 he reſigned his fellowſhip, and married. What preferment or employment he had afterwards is uncertain. He was familiarly acquainted with, and highly eſteemed by, the moſt learned men of the nation, particularly the famous Antiquary and Hiſtorian John Leland, who has beſtowed an *Encomium* on him [*D*]. He was in good eſteem with King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI. When Queen Mary came to the crown, and endeavoured to deſtroy all that her father and brother had done towards the Reformation of the Church, Bekinſau wheeled about with the times, and became a zealous Roman Catholic. After Queen Elizabeth's acceſſion, when Proteſtantiſm again took place, he retired to an obſcure village in Hampſhire, called Sherbourne; where he ſpent the remainder of his life in great diſcontent, and was buried in the church of that place, the twentieth of December 1559, aged about ſixty-three years; leaving behind him this character among the Roman Catholics, that, *as he was a learned man, ſo might he have been promoted according to his deſerts, if he had been conſtant to his principles* (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. i. col. 129.

[*A*] *He was the author of a book intitled,* De Supremo et Abſoluto Regis Imperio.]. This piece is a defence of the King's Supremacy againſt the claims of the Church of Rome, and is dedicated by the author to King Henry VIII. He did not venture to publiſh it, till he ſaw that the Pope's power was wholly exterminated in England. It was printed at London in 1546, in *octavo*, and afterwards in the firſt volume of *Monarchia Romani Imperii*, &c. by Melchior Goldaſt Hamensfeldius, at Franckfort 1621, in *folio* (1).

[*B*] *He was born at Breadchalke in Wiltſhire.*] His father, John Bekinſau, deſcended of an antient and genteel family, was a native of Bekinſau in Lancaſhire, but reſided chiefly in Hampſhire (2). How our author came to be born in Wiltſhire we are not told.

[*C*] *He intended to travel for the ſake of ſtudy.*] It is not certain, from the univerſity regiſter, whether our author ever put his intention of travelling in execution. But Anthony Wood informs us (3), he found it entered upon record (4), that *John Beconſaw, ſecond ſon of John Beconſaw, of Hartley-Weſpell, in Hampſhire (born at Beconſaw in Lancaſhire), was reader of the Greek lecture at Paris, and afterwards came over, and died at Sherbourne in Hampſhire.*

[*D*] *Leland beſtowed an* Encomium *on him.*] It is contained in the following verſes (5).

Ad Libellum, de Jo. Beckenſano.

Tu quum prodieris pictus fuligine preli
  In lucem, doctos extuleriſque viros;
Beckenſanus erit tibi vel tutela politus,
  Artes qui didicit, perdocuitque bonas;
Quà celer ancipiti decurſu profluit amnis
  Iſis, dicta eſt urbs Iſidis unde vadum;
Et qua Parhiſios collambit Sequana flumen
  Valle vagus media, nobilis urbis honor.
Te decet excultum multa impertire ſalute
  Illum, nam ſtudiis annuit atque favet:
Utpote qui certet præſtantes fortiter artes
  Splendorem ad ſolitum jam revocare ſuum.
Lectio multa quidem, linguarum et gratia felix,
  Illius hic cauſam promovet, auget, agit.
Officio quare ne deſis, chare libelle,
  Candoris niveo et munere clarus eris.

B.

(1) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. i. col. 129.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *In Offic. armor. Londini*, in Reg. vel lib. C. fol. 72. b.

(5) *Princip. ac illuſtr. aliquot et eruditor. in Anglia viror. Encomia*, &c. *apud* J. Leland, *Collectan.* edit. T. Hearne, Vol. v. p. 150, 151.

BELGRAVE (Richard) (*a*), a writer of the XIVth century, of the ancient family of the Belgraves in Leiceſterſhire [*A*], was born at the town of Belgrave, about a mile from Leiceſter (*b*) [*B*], and educated in the univerſity of Cambridge, where he

(*a*) We alſo find it written *Bellogreve*, vid. Leland Comment. de Scriptor. Britan. Tom. ii. cap. 353.

(*b*) Burton's Antiq. of Leiceſt. p. 39, 40.

[*A*] *Of the ancient family of the Belgraves.*] Of this family the firſt that I find, ſays Burton (1), was William Belgrave, to whom Robert Blanchmaines, Earl of Leiceſter in the reign of Henry II., gave land in Belgrave; a pleaſant place and fruitful ſoil, about a mile diſtant from Leiceſter; which family, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, took their name from thence (2), and hath ſince ſpread itſelf into many branches, ſome yet in being in this county: And of this family Burton informs us was this Richard de Belgrave.

[*B*] *Was born at the town of Belgrave, about a mile from Leiceſter.*] We have ventured in this to contradict the common account (*), *of his being born in or near the city of Chicheſter in Suſſex*; though ſo mentioned by Pits and copied by Dugdale (3); the reaſon for which alteration, we ſhall however ſubmit to the reader's judgment. ——— Burton (4), *far from an inaccurate* writer, expreſsly ſays, he was born at Belgrave, and Fuller alſo remarks, that Pits makes him born at Chicheſter in Suſſex, and Burton at Belgrave in Leiceſterſhire, 'whom I rather believe, ſays 'he, becauſe he wrote a particular deſcription of 'this county. Now ſurely the more is the *exactneſs* 'of the *author*, the leſs the *extent* of his ſubject, 'eſpecially making it his *ſet work* (what was *Pits's* '*by work*) to obſerve the natives of this ſhire (†).' ——— Beſides, it was particularly the cuſtom of thoſe times, for Clergymen of note to receive local names, that is, names derived from the town, village, or place of their birth, or abode: ——— Which practice continued long in vogue, till the days of King Henry the Sixth, and then, ſays *Fuller* (5), *de ſuch a place* begun to be left off, but was not wholly laid aſide till a great while after. ——

(1) Antiq. of Leiceſt. p. 39, 40.

(2) See the latter end of note [*B*].

(*) See this article in the General Dictionary.

(3) Dugd. Monaſt. Pits, *ut ſupra*.

(4) In his Antiq. of Leiceſt. p. 39, 40.

(†) Fuller's Worthies, p. 132, in Leiceſterſhire.

(5) Fuller's Worthies, p. 43.

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I find likewiſe two **THOMAS BEKS**; the one promoted to the See of Lincoln in the reign of Edward II., *Ann.* 1319; who ſat ſo ſhort a time, that he is ſeldom

' he was aſſured the King of France had ſuſpended his ' military preparations, his Highneſs would do ſo too; ' but not before (9). The event of this buſineſs not being material to the hiſtory of Biſhop Bek, I ſhall ſay no more of it. The probable reaſon of his being choſen to deliver the King's mind upon this occaſion may be, either his ſuperior talent of ſpeaking, or his knowledge of the French language, or perhaps both.

[*E*] *He turned the Biſhop's ſeat at Aukland into a caſtle.*] Biſhop Godwin adds (10), that he built therein a very ſpacious hall, ſupported with pillars of black marble ſpotted with white; a large parlour, with other adjacent buildings; and a very fine chapel, in which he placed a Dean and Prebendaries, aſſigning for their habitation a large court, or quadrangle ſurrounded with buildings, on the Weſt ſide of the caſtle. *Ædes Auklandenſes convertit in caſtrum, ubi aulam conſtruxit magnæ amplitudinis, quam columnis ornavit ex nigro marmore maculis candentibus variegato; et conclave ſatis amplum, cum aliis ædificiis vicinis; nec non capellam pulcherrimam, in qua Decanum collocavit et Prebendarios, area quadrata (ædificiis à ſe porro conſtructis circundata) pro habitaculo iis aſſignata, in occidentali parte ejuſdem caſtri.*

[*F*] *He was of a martial diſpoſition, magnificent and expenſive, extremely active, and remarkably chaſte.*] Robert de Grayſtanes ſhall fill up the outlines of this character. That hiſtorian tells us, Biſhop Bek was courageous, and, next to the King, the beſt ſkilled of any one in military affairs; and more converſant in matters of ſtate, than in the duties of his function. But though he was fond of a retinue of ſoldiers about him, he affected a ſeeming indifference towards them; and ſhewed no concern that the greateſt nobles bent the knee to him, and officers of the army waited upon him ſtanding, whilſt he himſelf ſat. He thought nothing too dear, which might ſerve to augment his grandeur. As an inſtance of which, my author tells us, he once paid at London forty ſhillings for forty freſh herrings, which were thought too dear by the reſt of the nobility then aſſembled in Parliament. Another time, he bought a parcel of very dear cloth, of which he made houſings for his horſes, for no other reaſon, but becauſe ſomebody had ſaid, he did not believe Biſhop Anthony would venture to buy it. He was ſo impatient of reſt, that he never took more than one ſleep, ſaying, it was unbecoming a man to turn from one ſide to the other in bed. He was perpetually either riding from one manor to another, or hunting, or hawking. Though his expences were very great, he never wanted money. He always roſe from his meals with an appetite; and his continence was ſo great, that he never looked a woman full in the face: Whence, in the tranſlation of St. William of York, when the other Biſhops declined touching the Saint's bones, through a conſciouſneſs of having forfeited their virginity, he alone boldly handled them, and aſſiſted at the ceremony with due reverence. *Erat autem iſte Antonius magnanimus, poſt regem nulli in regno in apparatu, geſtu, et potentia militari ſecundus; magis circa negotia regni quam circa epiſcopalia occupatus.* ——— *Et quamvis gauderet militum conſtipari agmine, erga tamen eos ſic ſe habuit, quaſi eos non curaſſet: Comites et Barones regni majores ſibi genuflectere, et eo ſedente milites quaſi ſervientes diutiſſime coram eo aſtare parvipendens. Nil ei carum erat, quod ejus gloriam magnificare poſſet. Pro* XL *halecibus recentibus* XL *ſolidos Londoniæ ſemel ſolvit; aliis magnatibus tunc in Parliamento ibi conſiſtentibus pro nimia cariſtia emere non curantibus. Pannum maximi pretii comparavit; et ex eo co-operturas palefridis ſuis fecit; eo quod quidam dixit ſe credere quod Epiſcopus Antonius id emere non audebat. Quietis impatiens vix ultra unum ſomnum in lecto expectans, dixit illum non eſſe hominem, qui in lecto de latere in latus ſe verteret. In nullo loco manſurus, continuè circuibat de manerio in manerium, de Auſtro in Boream; et equorum, canum et avium ſectator. Et cum eſſet ſumptuoſus in multis, nunquam tamen egens erat; ſed uſque ad mortem omnia ei abundabant. Ad ſatietatem vix comedit; caſtiſſimè vixit, vix mulierum faciem fixis oculis aſpiciens. Unde in tranſlatione S. Willielmi Eboracenſis, cum alii Epiſcopi oſſa ejus timerent tangere, remordente eos conſcientia de virginitate amiſſa, iſte audacter manus impoſuit; et quod negotium popoſcerat reverenter egit* (11). B.

*** [Biſhop Tanner mentions a number of Anthony Bek's preferments; but there is a confuſion in the account of them which we ſhould not have expected in that learned writer: and two of them are evidently irreconcileable with Chronology, being placed ſeveral years after Bek's death. The ſubject is ſo trifling, and Anthony Bek hath, comparatively, ſo ſmall a title to a place in this work, that we ſhall not enter into a farther diſcuſſion of the matter. Though it is ſaid, in the text, that our Biſhop of Durham died in 1310, we think that Godwin, Wharton, and Tanner place it with greater propriety in 1311 (12). The ſame time, indeed, is intended; but it ought to be remembered, that our earlier Writers uſually reckon the beginning of the year from the birth or circumciſion of our Saviour, and not from the annunciation (13). By the way, Dr. Richardſon, in a note, corrects Godwin, as guilty of a miſtake, and refers to a Privy Seal in Rymer's Fœdera, for ſeizing our Prelate's Temporalties into the hands of the King, as a proof that Bek's death ſhould be dated in 1310. It happens that the authority of the Fœdera is directly on the other ſide (14). Leland ſpeaks of Anthony Bek's writings: No traces of them, however, we believe, are now to be found (15). Robert de Grayſtanes account of him is not a bad picture of the eccleſiaſtical pomp of the times, or rather of a pomp ſomewhat beyond the epiſcopal ſpirit even of that age itſelf, Biſhop Bek having been uncommonly rich.] K.

(*i*) Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 745, *in notis.*

(*k*) *See the remark* [*B*].

(*l*) *See* ibid.

(*) Godwin, *ubi ſupra.*

(*m*) R. de Grayſtanes, *ibid.* p. 747.

(*n*) *Id. Ibid.* p. 754.

(*o*) Monach. Norwic. anonym. de Epiſc. Norwic. *apud* Wharton, *ubi ſupra*, 414.

(9) H. Knyghton, de Eventib. Angl. l. iii. *apud* X Scriptores, col. 2504, 2505, 2506.

(10) *Ubi ſupra.*

(11) Hiſt. Dunelm. *ubi ſupra*, p. 746.

(12) Tanner's Bibliotheca, p. 83. Richardſon's Godwin de Præſul. p. 744. Wharton's Anglia Sacra, p. 745.

(13) Annual Regiſter, Vol. ii. p. 410.

(14) Godwin de Præſul. *ubi ſupra.* Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. iii. p. 251.

(15) Tanner, *ubi ſupra.*

reckoned among the Prelates of that See. Biſhop Godwin thinks, he was the ſame Thomas Bek, Archdeacon of Dorcheſter, who, in 1278, was appointed High-Treaſurer of England, and that he was brother to *Anthony Bek* Biſhop of *Durham* (p). But the laſt is probably a miſtake: for it appears by the preſent article (q), that that Prelate's brother was Biſhop of *St. David's*. This latter (*Thomas Bek*) was conſecrated in [illegible] and founded two colleges, one at Aberguilly, and another at Landewy-brewy (r). In 1286, a large ſubſidy was granted to this Biſhop, to be levied on the whole dioceſe, for the tranſacting of certain affairs relating to the clergy with Giffard the Pope's Nuncio in England (s).

(q) See reference (d).

(s) Annal. Eccleſ. Meneven. apud Wharton, *ubi ſupra*, P. ii. p. 651.

BEKINSAU (JOHN), author of a book intitled *De Supremo et* [illegible] *Imperio* [A], was born at Broadchalke in Wiltſhire [B]. He had his education in grammar learning at Wykeham's ſchool near Wincheſter: from whence he was [illegible] early to New-college in Oxford; where, having ſerved two years of probation, he was admitted Perpetual Fellow in the year 1520. In 1526 he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, being that year (as one of the Univerſity Regiſters informs us) [illegible] *beyond the ſeas for the ſake of ſtudy* [C]. In his college he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his extraordinary ſkill in the Greek language. In 1538 he reſigned his fellowſhip, [illegible] What preferment or employment he had afterwards is uncertain. He was [illegible] acquainted with, and highly eſteemed by, the moſt learned men of the nation, particularly the famous Antiquary and Hiſtorian John Leland, who has [illegible] on him [D]. He was in good eſteem with King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI. When Queen Mary came to the crown, and endeavoured to deſtroy [illegible] brother had done towards the Reformation of the Church, Bekinſau [illegible] the times, and became a zealous Roman Catholic. After Queen [illegible] when Proteſtantiſm again took place, he retired to an obſcure village in [illegible] Sherbourne; where he ſpent the remainder of his life in great [illegible] in the church of that place, the twentieth of December [illegible] years; leaving behind him this character among the Roman Catholics, [illegible] *a learned man, ſo might he have been promoted according to his deſerts,* [illegible] *to his principles* (a).

(a) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. i. col. 129.

[A] *He was the author of a book intitled,* De Supremo et Abſoluto Regis Imperio.]. This piece is a defence of the King's Supremacy againſt the claims of the Church of Rome, and is dedicated by the author to King Henry VIII. He did not venture to publiſh it, till he ſaw that the Pope's power was wholly exterminated in England. It was printed at London in 1546, in *octavo*, and afterwards in the firſt volume of *Monarchia Romani Imperii*, &c. by Melchior Goldaſt Hamensfeldius, at Franckfort 1621, in *folio* (1).

(1) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. i. col. 129.

[B] *He was born at Broadchalke in Wiltſhire.*] His father, John Bekinſau, deſcended of an antient and genteel family, was a native of Bekinſau in Lancaſhire, but reſided chiefly in Hampſhire (2). How our author came to be born in Wiltſhire we are not told.

(2) *Ibid.*

[C] *He intended to travel for the ſake of ſtudy.*] It is not certain, from the univerſity regiſter, whether our author ever put his intention of travelling in execution. But Anthony Wood informs us (3), he found it entered upon record (4), that *John Beconſaw, ſecond ſon of John Beconſaw, of Hartley-Weſpell, in Hampſhire (born at Beconſaw in Lancaſhire),* [illegible] *reader of the Greek* [illegible] *came over,* [illegible]

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *In Offic. armor. Londini,* in Reg. vel lib. C. fol. 72. b.

[D] *Leland* [illegible] contained in the following [illegible]

Ad Libellum [illegible]

Te quum [illegible]
In lucem, [illegible]
Beckenſaue [illegible]
Artes [illegible]
Quæ [illegible]
Iis, [illegible]
Et [illegible]
Vale [illegible]
Te [illegible]
Ita [illegible]
[illegible]

BELGRAVE (RICHARD) (a), a [illegible] family of the Belgraves in Leiceſterſhire [A], [illegible] mile from Leiceſter (b) [B], and [illegible]

(a) We alſo find it written *Bellogreve*, vid. Leland Comment. de Scriptor. Britan. Tom. ii. cap. 353.

[A] *Of the ancient family of the Belgraves.*] [illegible] this family the firſt that I find, ſays Burton [illegible] was William Belgrave, to whom Robert [illegible] Earl of Leiceſter in the reign of Henry II. [illegible] in Belgrave; a pleaſant place and [illegible] a mile diſtant from Leiceſter; which family [illegible] to the cuſtom of thoſe times, took their [illegible] thence (2), and hath ſince ſpread [illegible] branches, ſome yet in being in [illegible] this [illegible]rton informs us [illegible] Bel[illegible]

[B] [illegible] *at the town of* [illegible] [illegible]*ter.*] We have [illegible]

(1) Antiq. of Leiceſt. p. 39, 40.

(2) See the latter end of note [B].

ome fir-
ufus, to
ſh him
is nephew
ſame name.
the next ar-
e.

d) Wharton, Hiſt. de Epiſc. & Decan. Londinenſ. p. 46; edit. Lond. 1694.

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applied himſelf with great diligence, and the like ſucceſs, to his ſtudies, and afterwards took the degree of Doctor of Divinity (*c*). He entered himſelf into the Order of Carmelite Friars (*d*), and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his great ſkill in the Ariſtotelian Philoſophy [*C*], and School Divinity. However, he was more remarkable for the ſtrength and ſubtilty of his lectures, than the elegance of his ſtyle, the ſtudy of polite literature being generally neglected in that age. Pits (*e*) gives him the character of a man of eminent integrity and piety. He flouriſhed in the year 1320, under the reign of King Edward II., and wrote, among other works, *Theological Determinations, in one book*; the ſubject of which was, Utrum Eſſentia Divina poſſit videri? *Whether the Divine Eſſence could be ſeen (f)?* and *Ordinary Queſtions, in one book.*

⁂ [This ſingle queſtion, concerning the Divine Eſſence, is enough to ſhew the abſurdity of the inquiries and ſtudies which engaged the attention of men in that age.] K.

[*C*] *Diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his great ſkill in the Ariſtotelian Philoſophy.*] This muſt be underſtood of his reading and ſtudying it privately by himſelf: for the firſt that read Ariſtotle publicly in the ſchools at Cambridge, was, we find, a brother of his order, and not unlikely a contemporary and companion; ſo that Belgrave's great knowledge in it might probably induce Bampton (for that was the Monk's name) to introduce it, and read it afterwards publicly in the ſchools.—But as we have thus curſorily mentioned Bampton, as introducer of the Ariſtotelian Philoſophy into the ſchools, it may not be diſagreeable to the reader to have a little farther account of him, which we ſhall do in this note, his life being omitted in the body of the work.

BAMPTON (JOHN), written alſo de Bampton and de Baunton, &c. D. D. was born at *Bampton* in Devonſhire; which place, as well as his name, we find variouſly written, his name being alſo local (6). The particular time of his birth is uncertain: he flouriſhed about the year 1340; ſtudied at Cambridge, where he took his Doctor's degree in Divinity; was alſo, as we before hinted, a Monk of the order of Carmelites (7), &c. He was a great lover of learning, and excellently well learned for the times in which he lived; had a very acute wit, and was a great and ſkilful logician, or diſputant; for he well knew how to urge and how to evade all the ſubtleties of ſophiſtical arguments; in which way he wrote ſeveral pieces, as Bale (8) informs us in his Centuries, beſides ſome other things, *viz.* Opuſculum octo Quæſtionum de Veritate Propoſitionum, Lib. I. *A ſmall Work containing eight Queſtions of the Truth of Propoſitions*; of which Pits wittily ſays, Quæro de Veritate iſtius Quæſtionis, *concerning the truth of which queſtion I doubt*; that is (I preſume), whether he wrote ſuch a book (9): Alſo Lecturæ Scholaſticæ in Theologiâ, Lib. I. *Scholaſtic Lectures in Divinity.* H—N.

⁂ [He died in 1361, being at that time Rector of Stavenly, in the archdeaconry of Richmond, Yorkſhire (10).] K.

BELING (RICHARD), deſcended of an ancient Engliſh family, though long ſettled in Ireland, was born in the year 1613, at Belingſtown, in the barony of Balrothery, and county of Dublin, the ancient ſeat of his family, which was of conſiderable rank in the Engliſh Pale [*A*]. Another branch of that family was ſettled at Stradbally, in the barony of Caſtlenock, in the ſame county; and in ancient liſts are to be ſeen the numbers of archers on horſeback, which theſe two families ſent to the aid of the State, in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth, in obedience to the Chief Governor's ſummons to General Hoſtings. He was the ſon of Sir Henry Beling, Knt. and was educated in his younger years at a grammar-ſchool in the city of Dublin, but afterwards put under the tuition of ſome prieſts of his own religion, which was Popiſh; who ſo well cultivated his good genius, that they taught him to write in a fluent and elegant Latin ſtyle, as appears by ſeveral of his pieces hereafter mentioned. Thus grounded in the polite parts of literature, his father removed him to Lincoln's-Inn, to ſtudy the municipal laws of his country, where he abode ſome years, and returned home a very accompliſhed gentleman: But it does not appear that he ever made the law a profeſſion. His natural inclination turning him to arms, he early engaged in the rebellion of 1641, and, though but about twenty-eight years old, was then an officer of conſiderable rank: For, in February (*a*) that year, he appeared at the head of a ſtrong body of the Iriſh before Liſmore, and ſummoned the caſtle to ſurrender; but the Lord Broghill, who commanded in it a ſmall body of 100 new raiſed forces, ſlighted the ſummons, and another party coming to his aid, Mr. Beling thought fit to draw off, and quitted the ſiege. He afterwards became a leading member in the ſupreme council of the confederated Roman Catholics at Kilkenny, to which he was Principal Secretary; by whom he was ſent Ambaſſador (*b*) to the Pope and other Italian Princes, in 1645, to crave aid for the ſupport of their cauſe. He brought back with him a fatal preſent in the perſon of the Nuncio, John Baptiſt Rinuccini, Archbiſhop and Prince of Fermo [*B*], who was the occaſion of reviving the diſtinctions between the old Iriſh of blood, and the old Engliſh of Iriſh birth, which ſplit that party into factions, prevented all peace with the Marquis of Ormond, and ruined the country

[*A*] *Which was of conſiderable rank in the Engliſh Pale.*] The Engliſh Pale was thoſe parts of Ireland extended about Dublin, which in the reign of Henry II. were poſſeſſed and fortified by the Engliſh, comprehending ſometimes larger, and ſometimes leſs diſtricts, as the Engliſh or Iriſh power in different ages prevailed. But the counties of Lowth, Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Carlow, being for the moſt part obedient to the Engliſh laws, went under the more immediate denomination of the Pale. The word ſeems to be taken from the Engliſh *Pales*, the materials with which deer parks and other incloſures were ſurrounded, as if the Engliſh were ſeparated from the Iriſh by ſuch incloſures. Since the reign of King James I. the Engliſh laws have obtained obedience through all Ireland, and therefore the notion of the Pale is antiquated (1).

[*B*] *Archbiſhop and Prince of Fermo.*] Fermo is an Archbiſhopric and Principality in Italy, in the Marquiſate of Ancona, ſubject to the Pope.

(*c*) Balæus Illuſt. Scriptor. major. Brit. Cent. XI. cap. v. p. 51.

(*d*) Dugdale's Monaſt. Anglic. by Stevens, Vol. ii. p. 162.

(*e*) Pitſeus, de Illuſt. Angliæ Script. num. 481. p. 415, an 1320.

(*f*) Pits, *ubi ſupra.*

(6) See Dugd. Bar. Vol. i. p. 432; and the latter end of note [*B*].

(7) Pitſeus, p. 449, No. 538, anno 1341.

(8) Balæus Deſcript. Cent. X. p. 46.

(9) Pitſeus, *ut ſupra.*

(10) Tanner, p. 72.

(*a*) Borlaſe Hiſt. p. 85.

(*b*) Pet. Walſh's Hiſt. of the Iriſh Remonſtrance, p. 674. Cox, Vol. ii. p. 149.

(1) See the remark [*G*] in the article BASNET (EDWARD).

which he was ſent to ſave. When Mr. Beling had fathomed the miſchievous ſchemes of the Nuncio and his faction, and perceived that they had other views than merely to obtain a toleration for the free exerciſe of their religion, as in the beginning they pretended, nobody was more zealous than he in oppoſing and clogging their meaſures, or in promoting the peace then in agitation, and ſubmitting to the King's authority, which he did with ſuch heartineſs and ſincerity, that he became very acceptable to the Marquis of Ormond, who intruſted him with many negociations [*C*] both before and after the Reſtoration, which he executed with great fidelity and ſufficiency. When the Parliament army had ſubdued the Iriſh, Mr. Beling retired to France, where he continued ſeveral years, and in that time employed himſelf in writing ſeveral books in Latin, in oppoſition to ſuch writers of the Romiſh party as had endeavoured to clear themſelves from being the inſtruments of the rebellion, and to lay the blame thereof on the ſeverity of the Engliſh government. His account of the tranſactions of Ireland, during the period of the rebellion, is eſteemed by judicious men as being more worthy of credit than any written by the Romiſh party; and yet he is not free from a partiality to the cauſe he was at firſt embarked in, and his credulity has been taxed in the caſe of Father Finachty [*D*]. He returned home upon the Reſtoration, and was repoſſeſſed of his eſtate, by the favour and intereſt of the Duke of Ormond. He died in Dublin in September 1677, and was buried in the church-yard of Malahidert, about five miles from that city, where he hath a tomb walled in, but without any inſcription to his memory that is apparent or legible. He was father to Sir Richard Beling, Knt. Secretary to Catherine, Queen to King Charles II.; which Sir Richard marrying a lady of the name of Arundel, who was an inheritrix of a great eſtate, his children were obliged to take the name of the mother's family. Mr. Beling in his youth, and while he was a ſtudent in Lincoln's-Inn, wrote and added *a ſixth book to the Arcadia of Sir Philip Sidney*, which was printed with that romance, Lond. 1633, fol. to which he put only the initial letters of his name. During his retirement in France, he wrote in Latin, in two books, *Vindicianum Catholicorum Hiberniæ, lib.* ii. under the feigned name of Philopater Irenæus; the firſt of which gives a pretty accurate hiſtory of Iriſh affairs, from 1641 to 1649; and the ſecond is a confutation of an epiſtle written by Paul King, a Franciſcan Friar, and a Nunciotiſt, in defence of the Iriſh rebellion. This book of Mr. Beling's being anſwered by John Ponce, a Franciſcan Friar alſo, and a moſt implacable enemy to the Proteſtants of Ireland, in a tract intitled, *Belingi Vindiciæ everſæ*, our author made a reply, which he ſent abroad under the title of *Annotationes in Johannis Poncii librum, cui titulus, Vindiciæ Everſæ: acceſſerunt Belingi Vindiciæ*, Pariſiis, 1654, 8*vo*. He wrote alſo a vindication of himſelf againſt Nicholas French, titular Biſhop of Ferns, under the title of *Innocentiæ ſuæ impetitæ per Reverendiſſimum Fernenſem vindiciæ*, Pariſ. 1652, 12*mo*, dedicated to the clergy of Ireland; and is reported to have written a poem called *The Eighth Day*, which has eſcaped our ſearches.

[*C*] *Intruſted him with many negociations.*] Mr. Beling was commiſſioned by the Marquis of Ormond in 1647 to tranſact the junction of the Iriſh army with his, before the ſurrender of Dublin to the Parliament party; and, after the Reſtoration, the Marquis, then created Duke, employed him three ſeveral times to the Synod of the Romiſh Clergy, aſſembled by connivance at Dublin in 1666, to prevail on them to ſign a remonſtrance of their loyalty, which he himſelf had ſubſcribed in the year 1662. But he had no fruits from theſe negociations, the Synod abruptly breaking up before they could be prevailed upon to come to any concluſions. See this whole tranſaction in Peter Walſh's *Loyal Formulary, or Hiſtory of the Iriſh Remonſtrance.*

[*D*] *In the caſe of Father Finachty.*] Father Finachty was an ignorant Romiſh Prieſt, who both before and after the Reſtoration travelled about Ireland and England, pretending to diſpoſſeſs people of devils, and of healing all diſeaſes by his touch, inſomuch that he was followed by multitudes. Mr. Beling often declared, that in his conſcience he believed Finachty had a wonderful gift from God of curing by exorciſms and prayers; yet he could not ſay, that he, who had undergone his operations for the gout, was perfectly cured, but thought his fits were eaſier than before. This man was afterwards diſcovered to be an impoſtor, and afforded no ſmall mirth to people againſt Mr. Beling and others, who had given too much credit to this juggler. See in the *Iriſh Remonſtrance*, from page 710 to page 735, a full account of this pretender to miracles, and the manner in which he was detected. H——s.

BELMEIS or BEAUMES (RICHARD DE) I. (*a*), Biſhop of London in the reign of Henry I., was advanced to that See through the intereſt of Roger Montgomery, Earl of Shropſhire (*b*), and conſecrated [*A*] 26th July, 1108 (*c*). Immediately after his conſecration, he was appointed by the King Warden of the Marches between England and Wales, and Lieutenant of the county of Salop; which offices he held about three years, reſiding for the moſt part of the time at Shrewſbury (*d*). This Prelate expended the whole revenues of his biſhopric on the ſtructure of St. Paul's cathedral in

(*a*) *By ſome ſirnamed* Rufus, *to diſtinguiſh him from his nephew of the ſame name.* See the next article.

(*b*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Londinenſ. an. 1108.

(*c*) Simeon Dunelm. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. *apud* X. Scriptores, col. 231.

(*d*) Wharton, Hiſt. de Epiſc. & Decan. Londinenſ. p. 46, edit. Lond. 1694.

[*A*] *His conſecration.*] He was conſecrated by Anſelm, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in his chapel of Pagenham, after having made the profeſſion of canonical obedience to that Prelate. The King, it ſeems, impatient of delay, deſired he might be immediately conſecrated, though out of the metropolitical church, becauſe, knowing his addreſs in the management of ſecular affairs, he intended to employ him as ſoon as poſſible in the weſtern parts of England. *Rex enim moræ impatiens Ricardum cito (quamvis extra eccleſiam metropoliticam) conſecrari petiit, utpote qui illum in ſecularibus multum valentem ad negotia ſua apud occidentales Angliæ fines gerenda ſtatim tranſmiſſurus erat* (1). Simeon of Durham tells us (2), that the Archbiſhop was aſſiſted in the ceremony by the Biſhops of Wincheſter, Saliſbury, Chicheſter, and Exeter; and that Richard, in imitation of his predeceſſors, made a handſome preſent, on the day of his conſecration, to the cathedral church of Canterbury.

(1) Wharton, de Epiſc. et Decan. Londinenſ. p. 46. edit. Lond. 1694.

(2) De Geſt. Reg. Angl. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 231.

London [*B*]; but deſpairing ever to finiſh it, and growing tired of ſo much labour and expence, he turned the ſtream of his liberality another way; and, exchanging the manor of Landſworth for a place in the dioceſe of London called *St. Oſith de Chich*, he built there a convent of Regular Canons (*e*) [*C*]. Being ſeized with a dead palſy, and thereby diſqualified for the exerciſe of his epiſcopal functions, he intended to have reſigned his biſhopric, and to have ſpent the remainder of his life in the monaſtery of his own foundation: but whilſt he delayed his purpoſe from day to day, he was prevented by death (*f*), which took him out of this life Jan. 16, 1127 (*g*); and he was buried in the convent of St. Oſith (*h*).

(*e*) *At the diſſolution of the monaſteries, the annual rent of this houſe was* 758 *l.* 5 *s.* 8 *d.* Godwin, *ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) W. Malmſb. de Geſt. Pontif. Angl. l. ii. *apud* Scriptor. poſt Bedam, Francof. 1601.

(*g*) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. edit. 1640, Vol. i. p. 71.

(*h*) Wharton, *ubi ſupra.*

[*B*] *He expended large ſums of money on the ſtructure of the cathedral church of St. Paul's.*] He purchaſed ſeveral adjoining houſes of the owners, which he pulled down, and converted the ground they ſtood upon into a church-yard, which he ſurrounded on all ſides with a very high wall. Biſhop Godwin thinks this wall remained entire in his time, though no part of it was to be ſeen by reaſon of the houſes, with which it was on all ſides covered. *Ille vero ad eccleſiæ ſuæ ſtructuram totus intentus, ædificia quamplurima ipſi vicina à poſſeſſoribus redemit; quibus demolitis, areas illarum in cæmiterium convertit, quod muro valde excelſo cinxit undique. Vix tamen hic murus, quanquam integer adhuc ut puto, comparet uſquam, à domibus hodie uſque quaque contectus* (3). Notwithſtanding the large ſums expended by this Biſhop of London, and his ſucceſſors, on the fabric of St. Paul's, it was not finiſhed (as Dugdale in his *Hiſtory* of that cathedral informs us) till nearly two hundred years after his death, *viz.* about the year 1312, being that year paved with good firm marble (4).

(3) De Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Londinenſ. an. 1108.

(4) *See* Camden's Britannia, by Biſhop Gibſon, *laſt edit.* Vol. i. col. 375, *&c.*

[*C*] *He built a convent of regular Canons at St. Oſith de Chich.*] This place is in the county of Eſſex. Let us hear our great Antiquarian: 'Below 'this town (*Colcheſter*), where the *Coln* empties itſelf into the ſea, lies the little town of *St. Oſith*: 'the former name was *Chich*; the preſent it received 'from the holy virgin *St. Oſith*, who, devoting herſelf entirely to the ſervice of God, and being ſtabbed here by Daniſh pirates, was by our anceſtors 'eſteemed a Saint. In memory of her, Richard, 'Biſhop of London, about the year 1120, built a religious houſe, and filled it with Canons regular. 'This was made an *Honour* by act of parliament in 'the 37th year of King Henry VIII., and is the chief 'ſeat of the Right Honourable the Lords Darcy, ſtiled '*Lords of Chich*, and advanced to the dignity of Barons by Edward VI. (5).' B.

(5) Camden, *ib.* col. 422.

⁂ [Tanner informs us, that, in the monaſtery of Peterborough, there was formerly preſerved a treatiſe of our Biſhop Belmeis, written in verſe, and addreſſed to King Henry the Firſt (6).] K.

(6) Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p. 95.

BELMEIS or BEAUMES (RICHARD DE) II., Biſhop of London in the reign of King Stephen, was nephew of Richard de Belmeis, Biſhop of London in the preceding reign (*a*), by that Prelate's brother, Walter de Belmeis. Before he came of age, he was appointed by his uncle Archdeacon of Middleſex: but the Biſhop was prevailed upon by William, Dean of London, his nephew by his ſiſter Adelina, and by the Prior of Chich, to commit the adminiſtration of the archdeaconry, during Richard's minority, to Hugh, one of his Chaplains. It was with no ſmall difficulty that Richard afterwards recovered his archdeaconry out of the hands of this faithleſs guardian (*b*) [*A*]. In the beginning of October 1151, he was advanced to the See of London, in the room of Robert de Sigillo (*c*), and conſecrated at Canterbury by Archbiſhop Theobald, in the preſence of all the Biſhops of England, excepting Henry of Wincheſter, who excuſed his abſence, and approved the choice of Richard, in a letter to the Archbiſhop (*d*) [*B*]. This Prelate died [*C*] 4th May, 1162 (*e*), leaving behind him a reputation for ſingular eloquence.

(*a*) *See the foregoing article.*

(*b*) Radulf. de Diceto, Abbreviat. Chronic. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 507.

(*c*) Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. continuat. per Joh. Prior. Haguſtald. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 278.

(*d*) Radulf. de Diceto, Ymag. Hiſtor. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 527.

(*e*) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. edit 1640, Vol. i. p. 98.

[*A*] *It was with ſome difficulty he recovered his Archdeaconry out of the hands of Hugh.*] His uncle Richard being dead, Gilbert Univerſalis ſucceeded to the Biſhopric of London. And now our Richard's years and merits qualifying him for the epiſcopacy, he called upon Hugh to deliver up his truſt; but this eccleſiaſtic, finding himſelf in favour with the preſent Biſhop, and making light of the ſolemn oath he had taken to reſign, invented a thouſand frivolous excuſes to delay the reſignation. At length, Univerſalis being dead, and Richard having appealed to the Pope, his Holineſs ſent letters to the Biſhops of Lincoln and Hereford, directing them to examine into the matter; who having heard the caſe, and taken Richard's allegations, diveſted Hugh, and reſtored Richard to his juſt rights. *Tractu temporis epiſcopo Ricardo rebus humanis exempto, Gilebertus Univerſalis in epiſcopatum ſucceſſit. Advenit etiam tempus, quo Ricardus de Belmeis, ſuffragantibus annis et meritis exigentibus, poſſet etiam in epiſcopum ſublimari. Capellanus Hugo ſæpe conventus ut Ricardo reſtitueret archidiaconatum, velut immemor ſacramenti fideique tranſgreſſor, conſilium ſuum in alterius mutavit injuriam. Nam in oculis epiſcopi Londonienſis ſe videns gratiam inveniſſe, frivolas ſemper invenit occaſiunculas. Univerſali defuncto, ſua ſpes omnis cum epiſcopo ſepelitur. His in audientia communi propoſitis, dominus papa literas direxit epiſcopis tam Lincolnienſi quam Herefordenſi. Quibus de cauſa cognoſcentibus, ſuſceptis Richardi probationibus, Hugo ſpoliatus eſt, Ricardus in integrum reſtitutus* (1).

(1) Radulf. de Diceto, Abbreviat. Chronic. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 507.

[*B*] *The Biſhop of Wincheſter excuſed his abſence, and approved the choice of Richard, in a letter to the Archbiſhop.*] This letter is preſerved by Radulphus de Diceto (2), and is as follows: *Temporis brevitas, improviſa vocatio, tranſitus ſuſpecti, improba prædonum moleſtia, medicamenti ſolicitudo adhibita, excuſabiles paternitati veſtræ nos reddunt. Electioni vero factæ et conſecrationi faciundæ benignum ex affectu præbemus aſſenſum. Quoniam quidem perſona et moribus pollet, et induſtria viget, et ſcientia floret, credimus quod in domo Dei plantata, adjutrice divinitate, florebit et faciet fructum*; i. e. 'The ſhortneſs of the time, the unexpectedneſs of the ſummons, the danger of travelling, 'the annoyance of robbers, and my want of health, 'will excuſe me to your fatherhood. However, I 'give my unfeigned aſſent to the election already 'made, and the conſecration which is to be performed. And whereas the perſon choſen is of unqueſtionable morals, induſtry, and learning, I am 'perſuaded, that, being planted in the houſe of God, 'he will, by the bleſſing of Heaven, flouriſh and 'bring forth fruit.' A teſtimony ſo advantageous to the character of this Biſhop ought not to be ſuppreſſed. And, by the way, we may obſerve from this letter, that the highways at that time muſt have been infeſted with robbers in a moſt extraordinary manner; otherwiſe a Biſhop, who could, no doubt, have commanded a numerous retinue, would not have alleged the danger of travelling upon that account, as one juſtifiable reaſon of his abſence.

(2) Ymagin. Hiſtor. *apud* X. Script. col. 527.

[*C*] *His death.*] The latter part of his life (ſays an hiſtorian) was full of affliction; for being ſeveral years unable to ſpeak, he at laſt died in a wretched condition. *Cujus noviſſima plena erant mœrore; obmuteſcens enim plurimis annis, tandem triſti fine periit* (3). The reader muſt explain this for himſelf as well as he can,

(3) Simeon Dunelm. Hiſt. continuat. per Joh. Prior. Haguſtald. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 278.

eloquence (*f*). Wharton tells us, he had ſeen a ſeal of this Biſhop's, with this inſcription round it, *Ricardus Lundonienſis Epiſcopus Secundus* (*g*).

can, ſince the other hiſtorians of thoſe times ſay nothing of the manner of this Biſhop's death, nor afford us any light into the paſſage here cited. All that we can collect from it is, that the diſtemper, of which he died, had deprived him of the uſe of ſpeech for ſeveral years before his death. B.

*** [According to Dr. Richardſon, whoſe authority is a manuſcript of the late Roger Gale, Eſq; our Prelate was the writer of the famous book called *The Black Book of the Exchequer* (4).] K.

BELMEYS (JOHN), commonly called *Joannes Eboracenſis*, or *John of York*, an eminent divine in the XIIth century (*a*), was born of a good family (*b*). After having happily laid the foundations of learning in his own country, he travelled abroad, and viſited the moſt famous univerſities of France and Italy, where he acquired the reputation of being the moſt learned man of his age [*A*]. After ſome time ſpent in finiſhing his ſtudies, he returned home, and was made a Canon, and Treaſurer of the cathedral church of York: but he ſoon quitted this poſt, and went back again into Italy (*c*). He lived a conſiderable time at Rome, and had the honour of converſing familiarly with Pope Adrian IV., who was an Engliſhman by birth. Alexander III., who ſucceeded Adrian in 1159, made him Biſhop of Poitou in France [*B*], and he was conſecrated at the abbey of Dole, in the dioceſe of Berry (*d*). He ſat there twenty years, thirty weeks, and one day, and was from thence tranſlated to the archbiſhopric of Lyons, and became thereby Primate of all France [*C*]. He was Archbiſhop of that city ten years and twenty-nine weeks (*e*). It is ſaid, he returned into England in 1194, being then a very old man (*f*); but we are not told when or where he died. Bale informs us, that he vehemently oppoſed Archbiſhop Becket in the conteſts he had with King Henry II. [*D*], and that he was very expert at controverſial writing (*g*). His works, which are but few, are mentioned below [*E*].

[*A*] *He acquired the reputation of being the moſt learned man of his age.*] Let us copy Leland: 'Quo cum perveniſſet, ita ſtrenue partes ſuas egit, ut brevi nomen aliquod decuſque inter eruditos ſibi compararet; at cum jam maturior ætas ſuperveniret, eo excellentiæ devenit, ut vel princeps literatorum haberetur. Neque tamen ſatis putabat ipſa nuda ſcientiarum cognitione præſtare; quinetiam eloquentiam, hoc eſt linguarum peritiam adjiceret. In qua tantum profecit, quantum illis temporibus facilius erat ſperare, quam conſequi. Sim vanus, niſi Joannes Severianus Anglus, cui quam familiariſſimus erat, hæc eadem de illo ſcribat octavo capite ſeptimi libri *Polycraticôn*: "Vir ſingularis eloquii, et qui omnibus, quos viderim, trium linguarum gratia præſtat. Is quidem eſt Joannes Theſaurarius Eboraci (1)."'—'*When he came thither, he applied himſelf ſo diligently to his ſtudies, that he ſoon attained to ſome degree of reputation among the learned; but when he arrived to more mature years, he excelled ſo far, as even to be eſteemed the learnedeſt man of the age. He was not ſatisfied to outſtrip others in a bare knowledge of the Sciences; but he added thereto a familiar acquaintance with the Languages, in which he made ſuch a proficiency, as in thoſe times it was more eaſy to wiſh for, than to arrive at. I am deceived, if Joannes Severianus, an Engliſhman, to whom he was intimately known, did not mean him in the following paſſage of the eighth chapter of the ſeventh book of his* Polycratica: "*A man of ſingular eloquence, and who excels all that I have ſeen in the knowledge of the three tongues* (i. e. Greek, Latin, and Hebrew). *The perſon I mean is,* John, Treaſurer of York."'

[*B*] *He was made Biſhop of Poitou in France.*] Radulphus de Diceto (2) places this event in the reign of Richard I. under the year 1194; but if Belmeys was advanced to that See by Pope Alexander III., as the ſame hiſtorian tells us, this chronology muſt be wrong; for Adrian IV., the immediate predeceſſor of Alexander, died in 1159, and Alexander ſat but twenty years or thereabouts (3). And therefore the latter muſt have been dead in 1180 or 1181, which is thirteen or fourteen years earlier than this date.

[*C*] *He was tranſlated to the Archbiſhopric of Lyons.*] He was elected Archbiſhop of Narbonne; but before he could procure his Pall from Rome, Pope Lucius III., at the requeſt of the Clergy of Lyons, tranſlated him to that See. *Electus eſt in archiepiſcopum Narbonenſem. Dum autem Romam Pallium petiturus properaret, anno Domini* 1181, *a Clero Lugdunenſi petitur, et a Lucio Papa tertio conſtituitur archiepiſcopus Lugdunenſis, et Galliarum Primas* (4).

[*D*] *He vehemently oppoſed Archbiſhop Becket in the conteſts he had with King Henry* II.] He could not endure the arrogance of that Prelate, and the furious zeal with which he oppoſed the King; but, without regarding the character he bore of Primate of England and Legate of the Holy See, he boldly reproved him for it, both in perſon and in his writings. *Elatam arrogantiam in Thoma archiepiſcopo Becketo, atque ejus in regem debacchationes iniquas ſuſtinere non poterat; ſed in faciem objiciens, honeſtis ſalibus reprehendit: Nec id obſtitit, quod eſſet Anglorum Primas, aut à Romana ſede Legatus; ſed ingenuè ac validè illum et voce et ſcriptis inſectabatur* (5).

[*E*] *His works.*] Leland could not find any thing certainly written by *Joannes Eboracenſis*. He complains of the injuries of time, which have deprived us of the works of ſo learned a man; and he wiſhes he had it in his power to ſearch all the libraries of Poitou, that he might bring ſomething of his to light. *Sed vide quid tempus edax rerum et invidioſa vetuſtas faciant: nam nihil à tanto viro, quod ſciam, ſcriptum extat; et nihil ipſum ſcripſiſſe adfirmare non res levis, ſed ſtulti judicii eſſet. Quam ego nunc vellem omnes Pictavenſium bibliothecarum forulos excutere, ut aliquid ſaltem à tam docto viro ſcriptum in lucem eruerem!* Afterwards he tells us, he had met with a book, intitled, *Aurea Joannis Eboracenſis Hiſtoria*; i. e. 'The Golden Hiſtory of John of York;' but that he could not pretend to affirm, that the writer of it was the ſame with our author. He obſerves, that this book contains many remarkable particulars concerning William the Conqueror, and that the *Scalæ Chronicon* aſcribes it to a certain Vicar of Tillemuth, or Tinmouth, without mentioning his name. *Nec tamen temerè diffinio hunc eſſe Joannem, cujus vitam præpoſui. In eo opere multa quidem et præclara de Gulielmo magno, rege Anglorum: Scalæ chronica attribuunt auream Hiſtoriam cuidam, ſuppreſſo nomine, Tillemuthenſis eccleſiæ vicario* (6). In John Leland's *Collectanea* we have ſome extracts out of the *Scalæ Chronicon* here mentioned; and that which he refers to concerning the book in queſtion, is as follows: *The Vicar of Tillemouth did write an Hiſtorie, thus intitulid,* Hiſtoria Aurea, *wherin is much to be ſeene of Kinge William Conqueror's Cumming yn to Englande.* The Antiquary's marginal note upon this paſſage is this: 'The bookes of the Geſtes of Lindisfarne, Cheſter, and Derham, make much mention *de hiſtoria aurea Joannis Eboracenſis*. Therfore loke wither they be both one or no (7).' Beſides this *Golden Hiſtory*, Bale and Pits mention *Thirty-two Letters to Thomas Becket*; *An Invective againſt the ſame*; *and certain Elegant Orations*; all written by our author. B.

(*f*) *Eloquentia præditus valde commendanda.* X. Scriptor. col. 278.

(*g*) Wharton, Hiſt. de Epiſc. et Decan. Londinenſ. p. 59. edit. Lond. 1694.

(4) Richardſon's Godwin de Præſulibus, p. 177, note (*b*).

(*a*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 175.

(*b*) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. III. c. 12.

(*c*) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Scriptor. an. 1194.

(*d*) Radulf. de Diceto, Ymag. Hiſtor. *apud* X. Script. col. 675.

(*e*) *Ibid.* col. 676.

(*f*) Bale & Pits, *ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) Baleus, *ib.*

(1) Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 175.

(2) Ymag. Hiſt. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 675.

(3) *Vide* Platina, de Vit. Pontif. in Alexandro III.

(4) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Script. an. 1194.

(5) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. III. c. 12.

(6) Leland, *ubi ſupra.*

(7) J. Leland. de Reb. Britan. Collectan. edit. T. Hearne, Vol. i. p. 509.

BENBOW (John), Vice-Admiral of the Blue ſquadron, and one of the moſt eminent Engliſh ſeamen mentioned in our hiſtories. He was born about the year 1650, and was deſcended of a very ancient, worthy, and honourable family in Shropſhire (*a*), though his father, Colonel John Benbow, and moſt of his relations, were brought very low by their loyal adherence to the cauſe of King Charles I., and by the readineſs they ſhewed to aſſiſt King Charles II. for the recovery of his rights, when he advanced with the Scots army as far as Worceſter; from which accidental poverty, ſome have repreſented this Admiral as of mean parentage, directly contrary to truth, as the reader will ſee in the notes [*A*]. His father dying when he was very young, left this ſon John no other proviſion than that of the profeſſion to which he was bred, *viz.* the ſea, a profeſſion to which he had naturally a great propenſity, and in which he ſucceeded ſo happily, that before he was thirty he became maſter, and in a good meaſure owner, of a ſhip called the Benbow Frigate, employed in the Mediterranean trade, in which he would have probably acquired a good eſtate, if an accident that happened to him in the laſt voyage he made had not given a new turn to his fortunes, and brought him to ſerve in the Britiſh navy, with equal reputation to himſelf, and good fortune to his country, to which he rendered many, and thoſe very important, ſervices. In the year 1686, Captain Benbow, in his own veſſel before mentioned, was attacked in his paſſage to Cadiz by a Sallee Rover, againſt whom he defended himſelf, though very unequal in the number of men, with the utmoſt bravery, till at laſt the Moors boarded him, but were quickly beat out of the ſhip again, with the loſs of thirteen men, whoſe heads Captain Benbow ordered to be cut off, and thrown into a tub of pork pickle. When he arrived at Cadiz, he went aſhore, and ordered a negro ſervant to follow him, with the Moors heads in a ſack. He had ſcarcely landed, before the officers of the revenue inquired of his ſervant, what he had in his ſack? The Captain anſwered, Salt proviſions for his own uſe. That may be, anſwered the officers, but we muſt inſiſt upon ſeeing them. Captain Benbow alleged, that he was no ſtranger there, that he did not uſe to run goods, and pretended to take it ill that he was ſuſpected. The officers told him, that the Magiſtrates were ſitting not far off, and that if they were ſatisfied with his word, his ſervant might carry the proviſions where he pleaſed, but that otherwiſe it was not in their power to grant any ſuch diſpenſation. The Captain conſented to the propoſal, and away they marched to the Cuſtom-houſe, Mr. Benbow in the front, his man in the center, and the officers in the rear.

(*a*) The Public is indebted for theſe informations to the late Paul Calton, Eſq; who married one of the daughters and coheireſſes of Vice-Admiral Benbow.

[*A*] *Directly contrary to truth, as the reader will ſee in the notes.*] In order to clear up this point a little, and ſatisfy the world as to the fact aſſerted in the text, it will be neceſſary to give ſome account of this gentleman's father and uncle. When the civil wars broke out, King Charles I. relying ſtrongly on the affection of the inhabitants of this country, repaired in perſon to Shrewſbury, and entered that city on the 20th of September, 1642, and the ſame day made public declaration, that he did not carry on this war from a thirſt of blood, of conqueſt, or of power, but from a deſire of preſerving his own juſt rights, and thoſe of his people; ſince he was determined, if God gave him ſucceſs therein, to be as tender of the privileges of Parliament as of his own prerogative. Upon this declaration the Lords Neuport and Littleton, with the greateſt part of the gentry of the country, came in and offered his Majeſty their ſervice (1). Among theſe were Thomas Benbow and John Benbow, Eſqrs. both men of eſtates, and both Colonels in the King's ſervice. After the King's affairs fell into confuſion, ſuch gentlemen as had ſerved in his army retired to their own countries reſpectively, and lived there as privately as they could: but though their intereſts were much reduced, and their fortunes in a great meaſure ruined, yet their ſpirits remained unbroken, and they acted as cheerfully for the ſervice of King Charles II., as if they had never ſuffered at all by ſerving his father (2): So much a better principle is loyalty than corruption. When, therefore, that Prince marched from Scotland towards Worceſter, the two Benbows, amongſt other gentlemen of the county of Salop, went to attend him, and, after fighting bravely in the ſupport of their Sovereign, were both taken priſoners by the rebels. That unfortunate battle was fought September 3, 1651, and ſoon after a court-martial was ſettled at Cheſter, wherein Colonel Mackworth ſat as Preſident, and Major-General Mitton, and other ſtaunch friends to the cauſe, aſſiſted; by whom ten gentlemen of the firſt families in England were ſentenced to death for barely correſponding with his Majeſty, and five of them were executed (3). They then proceeded to try Sir Timothy Featherſtonhaugh, Colonel Thomas Benbow, and the Earl of Derby, for being in his ſervice. They were all condemned, and, in order to ſtrike the greater terror in different parts of the country, the Earl of Derby was adjudged to ſuffer death on the 15th of October at Bolton: Sir Timothy to be beheaded on the 17th at Cheſter; and Colonel Thomas Benbow to be ſhot on the 19th at Shrewſbury: All which ſentences were ſeverally put in execution; which I think ſufficiently ſhews, that the Benbows were then, or had been lately, a very conſiderable family in Shropſhire (4); for otherwiſe the Colonel would hardly have been ſent out of the world in ſo good company. As for Colonel John Benbow, he made his eſcape after a ſhort impriſonment, and lived privately in his own country till after the Reſtoration, when he was far in years, and yet ſo much to ſeek for a livelihood, that he was glad to accept of a ſmall office belonging to the Ordnance in the Tower, which juſt brought him an income ſufficient to ſubſiſt himſelf and his family without danger of ſtarving. In this ſituation he was, when, a little before the breaking out of the firſt Dutch war, the King came to the Tower to examine the magazines: there his Majeſty caſt his eye on the good old Colonel, who had now been diſtinguiſhed by a fine head of grey hair for twenty years. The King, whoſe memory was as quick as his eye, knew him at firſt ſight, and immediately came up and embraced him. My old friend, Colonel Benbow, ſaid he, what do you here? I have, returned the Colonel, a place of fourſcore pounds a year, in which I ſerve your Majeſty as cheerfully as if it brought me in four thouſand. *Alas!* ſaid the King, *is this all that could be found for an old friend at* Worceſter? *Colonel* Legge, *bring this Gentleman to me to-morrow, and I will provide for him and his family as it becomes me.* But, ſhort as the time was, the Colonel did not live to receive, or even to claim the effects of this gracious promiſe; for the ſenſe of the King's gratitude and goodneſs ſo overcame his ſpirits, that, ſitting down on a bench, he breathed his laſt (5), before the King was well out of the Tower. It may be eaſily imagined, that as our Mr. Benbow was then very young, he muſt have ſuffered very much by loſing his father, before he felt any effect of the King's promiſes: but it is not at all probable that he was ever a waterman's boy, as ſome writers have aſſerted.

(1) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 248.

(2) Bates Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 122.

(3) Heath's Chronicle, p. 102.

(4) Magn. Britan. & Hibern.

(5) From the information of the late Paul Calton, Eſq;

The Magiſtrates, when he came before them, treated Captain Benbow with great civility, told him they were ſorry to make a point of ſuch a trifle, but that ſince he had refuſed to ſhew the contents of his ſack to their officers, the nature of their employments obliged them to demand a ſight of them; and that as they doubted not they were ſalt proviſions, the ſhewing them could be of no great conſequence one way or the other. *I told you*, ſaid the Captain, ſternly, *they were ſalt proviſions for my own uſe.* Cæſar, *throw them down upon the table, and, Gentlemen, if you like them, they are at your ſervice.* The Spaniards were exceedingly ſtruck at the ſight of the Moors heads, and no leſs aſtoniſhed at the account of the Captain's adventure, who with ſo ſmall a force had been able to defeat ſuch a number of Barbarians. They ſent an account of the whole matter to the Court of Madrid, and Charles II., then King of Spain, was ſo much pleaſed with it, that he would needs ſee the Engliſh Captain, who made a journey to Court, where he was received with great teſtimonies of reſpect, and not only diſmiſſed with a handſome preſent, but his Catholic Majeſty was alſo pleaſed to write a letter in his behalf to King James, who upon the Captain's return gave him a ſhip, which was his introduction to the royal navy. After the Revolution, he was conſtantly employed, and frequently, at the requeſt of the merchants, was appointed to cruize in the channel, where he did very great ſervice, as well in protecting our own trade, as in annoying and diſtreſſing that of the enemy. He was likewiſe generally made choice of for bombarding the French ports, in which he ſhewed the moſt intrepid courage, by going in perſon in his boat to encourage and protect the engineers, who, for that reaſon, were very ſolicitous that he ſhould command the eſcorts whenever they went upon thoſe hazardous enterprizes, in which they knew he would not expoſe them more than was abſolutely neceſſary, and that he would put them upon running no ſort of danger, in which he did not willingly take his ſhare. It is certain that ſeveral of thoſe dreadful bombardments had great effects, ſpoiled ſeveral ports, and terrified the French to the laſt degree, notwithſtanding all the precautions their government could take to keep up their ſpirits [*B*]. The vigour and activity of Captain Benbow, in every ſervice on which he was employed, recommended him ſo effectually to his royal maſter King William, who was both a good judge of men, and always willing to reward merit, that he was very early promoted to a flag, and intruſted with the care of blocking up Dunkirk; the privateers from thence proving extremely detrimental to our trade during all that war (*b*). In 1695, we find him thus employed with a few Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, when the famous *Du Bart* had the good luck to eſcape him, with nine ſail of clean ſhips, with which he did a great deal of miſchief, both to our trade and to that of the Dutch. Rear-Admiral Benbow, however, followed him as well as he could; but the

(*b*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 549.

[*B*] *All the precautions their Government could take to keep up their ſpirits.*] In caſes of this nature it is always right to have recourſe to facts, that the reader may be ſatisfied as he proceeds, of the truth of what is aſſerted; and therefore it is requiſite that we ſhould give ſome accounts of the nature and effects of thoſe bombardments. We have made choice of that of St. Maloes, both becauſe it was the moſt extraordinary, and becauſe Commodore Benbow had the command of the ſquadron by which it was performed (6). On the 13th of November, 1693, Commodore Benbow, in conjunction with Captain Phillips, with a ſquadron of two men of war, four bomb-veſſels, and ten brigantines and well-boats, ſailed for St. Maloes, where they arrived on the 16th, and about four in the afternoon anchored before Quince-port. Three of the bomb-veſſels, with the brigantines and well-boats, bore in and anchored within half a mile of the town; about eleven they began to fire, and continued firing till four in the morning, when they were conſtrained to warp, to prevent grounding. On the 17th they went in again, and threw ſeventy bombs that day. They continued firing on the 18th, but with frequent intermiſſions, which made the inhabitants believe they were about to withdraw. However, they landed on an iſland near the town, and burnt a convent. On the 19th, being Sunday, they lay ſtill till the evening, when, by the favour of a freſh gale of wind, a ſtrong tide, and a very dark night, they ſent in an extraordinary fire-ſhip of about 300 tons burthen (7), (which the French will have to be a monſtrous machine) and which was intended to have reduced the town to aſhes, and indeed would have done it but for an unforeſeen accident: ſhe ſtruck upon a rock within piſtol-ſhot of the place, where they intended to have moored her. The engineer who was on board did all he could to get her off, but to no purpoſe. At laſt, finding the veſſel beginning to open, and fearing ſhe might ſink, he ſet fire to her. The ſea-water, which had penetrated in many places, prevented the carcaſes from taking fire. The exploſion, however, was terrible beyond deſcription; it ſhook the whole town like an earthquake, broke all the glaſs and earthen ware for three leagues round, and ſtruck off the roofs of three hundred houſes. The moſt extraordinary thing of all was this, that the capſtan of the veſſel, which weighed two hundred weight, was carried over the walls, and beat a houſe it fell upon down to the ground. The greateſt part of the walls towards the ſea alſo fell down; and if there had been a ſufficient quantity of land-forces on board, the place might have been taken and pillaged. As it was, they demoliſhed Quince-fort, carried off eighty priſoners, and frighted moſt of the people out of the town (8). The French writers ſay, that this was one of thoſe dreadful machines ſtiled Infernals, which the Dutch made uſe of to deſtroy the bridge over the Scheldt, when the Prince of Parma beſieged Antwerp in the year 1585. The reader will obſerve by the following deſcription, that it was in fact a fire-ſhip, contrived to operate when moored cloſe to the town walls. It was a new ſhip of about 300, or, as the Marquis de Quincy ſays, 350 tons. At the bottom of the hold were one hundred barrels of powder; theſe were covered with pitch, ſulphur, roſin, tow, ſtraw, and faggots, over which lay beams bored through to give air to the fire, and upon theſe lay three hundred carcaſſes filled with granadoes, chain-ſhot, iron bullets, piſtols loaded and wrapt in linen pitched, broken iron bars, and the bottoms of glaſs bottles (9). There were ſix holes or mouths to let out the flames, which were ſo vehement as to conſume the hardeſt ſubſtances, and could be checked by nothing but the pouring in of hot water. The French report, that the engineer who contrived this veſſel was blown up in it, becauſe they found the body of a man well dreſſed upon the ſhore, and in his pocket-book a journal of the expedition: he was, however, only a mate to one of the veſſels. This expedition was well timed and well executed: it ſtruck a panic into the inhabitants of St. Malo's, where the moſt troubleſome of the French privateers were fitted out, and it ſerved to awaken the whole nation from their golden dreams of the Empire of the Sea, by ſhewing them what a very ſmall ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips could do, when commanded by men of reſolution and experience.

(6) This account is chiefly taken from an original Letter.

(7) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV.

(8) Mercure Hiſtorique pour le Mois de Sept. 1694.

(9) This Deſcription is copied from the French Mercury.

Dutch

Dutch ſhips having, or pretending to have, no orders, quitted him, which hindered him from going to the Dogger-Bank, as he intended, and obliged him to ſail to Yarmouth Roads; into which he was hardly come, before he received advice that *Du Bart* had fallen in with the Dutch fleet of ſeventy merchantmen, eſcorted by five frigates, and that he had taken all the latter, and thirty of the veſſels under their convoy; which might probably have been prevented, if the Rear-Admiral had ſailed, as he intended, to the Dogger-Bank, and could have perſuaded the Dutch to have continued with him *(c)*. As it was, he ſafely convoyed a great Engliſh fleet of merchantmen to Gottenburgh, and then returned to Yarmouth Roads, and from thence to the Downs for a ſupply of proviſions. He afterwards reſumed his deſign of ſeeking *Du Bart*; but his ſhips being much cleaner than the Rear-Admiral's, he eſcaped him a ſecond time, though once within ſight of him: but, however, he ſecured three rich Engliſh Eaſt-Indiamen, that came north about, and brought them ſafe home *(d)*. In 1697, he ſailed, the 10th of April, from Spithead, with ſeven third-rates and two fire-ſhips, and after ſome time returned to Portſmouth for proviſions; after which he had the good fortune to join the Virginia and Weſt-India fleets, and ſaw them ſafe into port. He then repaired to Dunkirk, where he received, from Captain Bowman, two orders or inſtructions from the Lords of the Admiralty; one to purſue M. Du Bart, and to deſtroy his ſhips, if poſſible, at any place, except under the forts in Norway and Sweden; the other to obey the King's commands, purſuant to an order from his Majeſty for that purpoſe *(e)*. On the 30th of July, Rear-Admiral Vandergoes joined him with eleven Dutch ſhips, when he propoſed that one of the ſquadrons ſhould be ſo placed, as that Dunkirk might be ſouth of them, and the other in or near Oſtend Road, that if Du Bart ſhould attempt to paſs, they might the better diſcover him: but all the anſwer he received from the Dutch commander was, that his ſhips being foul, they were not in a condition to purſue him. Rear-Admiral Benbow being diſappointed in this project, immediately formed another; for, obſerving, in the beginning of Auguſt, that ten French frigates were hauled into the baſon to clean, he judged their deſign to be, what it really proved, to put to ſea by the next ſpring-tide: and therefore, as his ſhips were all foul, he wrote up to the Board to deſire that four of the beſt ſailors might be ordered to Sheerneſs to clean, and that the others might come to the Downs, not only to take in water, which they very much wanted, but alſo to heel and ſcrub, which he judged might be done, before the next ſpring-tide gave the French an opportunity of getting over the bar. But this was not then thought adviſeable, though he afterwards received orders for it, when the thing was too late. By this unlucky accident, the French had an opportunity given them of getting out with five clean ſhips; which, however, did not hinder the Admiral from purſuing them as well as he was able, and ſome ſhips of his ſquadron had the good luck to take a Dunkirk privateer of ten guns and ſixty men, which had done a great deal of miſchief *(f)*. This was one of the laſt actions of the war, and the Rear-Admiral ſoon after received orders to return home with the ſquadron under his command. It is very remarkable, that as the diſappointments we met with in the courſe of this war occaſioned very loud complaints againſt ſuch as had the direction of our maritime affairs, and againſt ſeveral of our Admirals, there was not one word ſaid, in any of the warm and bitter pamphlets of thoſe times, to the prejudice of Mr. Benbow. On the contrary, the higheſt praiſes were beſtowed upon him in many of thoſe pieces, and his vigilance and activity made him equally the darling of the ſeamen and the merchants; the former giving him always the ſtrongeſt marks of their affection, and the latter frequently returning him thanks for the ſignal ſervices he did them, and for omitting no opportunity that offered, of protecting their commerce, even in caſes where he had no particular orders to direct or to require his ſervice *(g)*. But we are to conſider theſe paſſages as inſtances only of his merit and their gratitude, and not imagine them in any degree owing to his affecting popularity, which was by no means the caſe. He was a plain downright ſeaman, and ſpoke and acted upon all occaſions without any reſpect of perſons, and with the utmoſt freedom [*C*].

(c) From the Journal of that Year's Service.

(d) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 550. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. ii. p. 178.

(e) This is taken from a Journal of that Voyage.

(f) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 569—571.

(g) See a quarto pamphlet, intituled, *The Sea-Service impartially repreſented*, p. 21.

[*C*] *Without any reſpect of perſons, and with the utmoſt freedom.*] At this time the nation was diſtracted by factions, and in moſt public offices there was a great deal of that ſort of influence, which, however uſeful it might be to private families, was very fatal to the public, and in nothing more ſo than in the management of the navy, which occaſioned very loud and general complaints throughout the kingdom. The Earl of Torrington, who was at the head of the navy, immediately after the Revolution found ways and means to gain ſo ſtrong an intereſt in the fleet, that it was judged by many inconſiſtent with the public ſafety. After this, Admiral Ruſſel, who in proceſs of time was created Earl of Orford, came to have the direction of our naval affairs, and in point of influence followed the ſame ſteps with his predeceſſor (10). It does not at all appear that our Rear-Admiral was much obliged to either of theſe great perſons, but rather owed his flag to his own merit and the general voice of the ſeamen, which was the reaſon that he never attached himſelf to any party: and, to ſay the truth, politics were never his ſtudy; ſo that if he wanted the ſupport of any faction, he ſtood likewiſe unexpoſed to oppoſition: both ſides treated him civilly, conſidered him as a good and uſeful officer, and as an able ſeaman (11). The King conſulted him about a famous queſtion of thoſe times, which was as to the expediency of preferring Tars, as they were called, or Gentlemen in the Navy; and though Mr. Benbow conſidered himſelf, and was conſidered by all the world, as one of the former, yet he told the King it was ſafeſt to employ both, and that the danger lay in preferring *Gentlemen* without *merit*, and *Tars* beyond their *capacities* (12). He intereſted himſelf upon all occaſions in favour of the ſailors; and as he always uſed them well while a private Captain, ſo, after he was promoted to the rank of a Flag-Officer, he was conſtantly their patron, which made him much

(10) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. ii. p. 195.

(11) See Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 598.

(12) Life of Vice-Admiral Benbow.

After the concluding of the peace of Ryſwick, and even while the partition treaties were negociating, King William formed a deſign of doing ſomething very conſiderable in the Weſt-Indies, in caſe his pacific views ſhould be diſappointed, or Charles II. of Spain ſhould die ſuddenly, as was daily expected. There were, indeed, many reaſons, which rendered the ſending a ſquadron at that time into thoſe parts highly uſeful and requiſite. Our colonies were in a very weak and defenceleſs condition, the ſeas ſwarmed with pirates, the Scots had eſtabliſhed a colony at Darien, which, very unluckily for them, gave the Engliſh little ſatisfaction, at the ſame time that it provoked the Spaniards very much (*h*). King William himſelf fixed upon Rear-Admiral Benbow to command this ſquadron, which proved but a very ſmall one, as conſiſting only of three fourth-rates; and when he went to take upon him his command, he received private inſtructions from the King to make the beſt obſervations he could on the Spaniſh ports and ſettlements, but to keep as fair as poſſible with the Governors and to afford them any aſſiſtance he could, if they deſired it. He was, likewiſe, inſtructed to watch the galleons; for the King of Spain, Charles II., was then thought to be in a dying condition (*i*). Rear-Admiral Benbow ſailed in the month of November 1698, and did not arrive in the Weſt-Indies till the February following, where he found things in a very indifferent ſituation. Moſt of our colonies were in a bad condition, many of them engaged in warm diſputes with their Governors, the forces that ſhould have been kept up in them for their defence ſo reduced by ſickneſs, deſertion, and other accidents, that little or nothing was to be expected from them: but the Admiral carried with him Colonel Collingwood's regiment, which he diſpoſed of to the beſt advantage in the Leeward Iſlands (*k*). This part of his charge being executed, he began to think of performing the other part of his commiſſion, and of looking into the ſtate of the Spaniſh affairs, as it had been recommended to him by the King; and a proper occaſion of doing this very ſpeedily offered: for being informed, that the Spaniards at Carthagena had ſeized two of our ſhips, with an intent to employ them in an expedition they were then meditating againſt the Scots at Darien, he, like a brave and public-ſpirited Commander, as he really was, reſolved to prevent it, and reſtore thoſe ſhips to their right owners. With this view, he ſtood over to the Spaniſh coaſt, and coming before *Boccachica* caſtle, he ſent his men aſhore for wood and water, which though he aſked with great civility of the Spaniſh Governor, he would ſcarcely permit him to take. This highly nettled the Admiral, who thereupon ſent his own Lieutenant to the Governor, with a meſſage importing, that he not only wanted thoſe neceſſaries, but that he came likewiſe for three Engliſh ſhips that lay in the harbour, and had been detained there for ſome time, which, if not ſent to him immediately, he would come and take by force. The Governor anſwered him in very reſpectful terms, that if he would leave his preſent ſtation, in which he ſeemed to block up their port, the ſhips ſhould be ſent out to him. With this requeſt the Admiral complied; but finding the Governor trifled with him, and that his men were in danger of falling into the country diſtemper, which they doubted the Spaniſh Governor foreſaw, he ſent him another meſſage, that if in twenty-four hours the ſhips were not ſent him, he would come and fetch them; and that if he kept them longer than that time, he would have an opportunity of ſeeing the regard an Engliſh officer had to his word. The Spaniards, however, did not think fit to make the experiment, but ſent out the ſhips within the time, with which the Admiral returned to Jamaica. There he received an account, that the Spaniards at Porto-Bello had ſeized ſeveral of our ſhips employed in the ſlave-trade, on the old pretence, that the ſettlement at Darien was a breach of peace. At the deſire of the parties concerned, the Admiral ſailed thither alſo,

(*h*) Complete Hiſtory of England. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times. The Life of King William III.

(*i*) Extracted from the Journal of this Voyage, by P. C.

(*k*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 576.

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beloved by them. He very ſeldom intereſted himſelf in preferments; and where it was in his own power to beſtow them, he always conſidered long ſervice and merit. His acquaintance with the merchants, and having been bred in their ſervice, gave him a great concern for commerce; and, therefore, he always preferred ſecuring our own merchant-ſhips to the making prizes: he was a great enemy to privateers, becauſe he thought they ruined diſcipline, and, after a war was over, ſeldom failed of producing pirates. He never had any great intereſt at court, nor did he affect it; but when his judgment was aſked, he gave it very freely, and ſometimes gave it unaſked to the Lords of the Admiralty (13). He had a very high notion of the Engliſh naval power, and always thought that we were a great over-match for the French. He had a better opinion than moſt other ſeamen of the bombarding the coaſts of France; and it was obſervable, that none of thoſe expeditions ſucceeded ſo well as that under his direction. He knew the importance of deſtroying Dunkirk, and, therefore, he was for encouraging all attempts for that purpoſe, in which he expoſed his perſon very freely; but it appears from ſeveral papers, that he had no great opinion of blocking up that port, eſpecially with large ſhips, and therefore more than once propoſed the keeping a convenient number of light clean frigates conſtantly upon that ſtation. He ſometimes differed with the Dutch, but never quarrelled with their commanders, imputing their ſlowneſs to their orders, and the bad condition of their ſhips to ſome diſorders in their government. On the other hand, the Dutch had a very good opinion of him, and ſpoke of him as a very vigilant and active officer in their Gazettes and public papers. He looked upon diſcipline as a point of the greateſt conſequence, eſpecially amongſt officers; and in this there were many who thought him a little too ſevere; but he very early foreſaw the miſchiefs that muſt follow from any relaxation of diſcipline amongſt commanders, and that it would have conſequences very fatal to the public ſervice (14). He was the more ſtrict in this reſpect, becauſe he was never wanting in his own example, ſpending his whole time in his duty; and when others alleged that there muſt be ſome leiſure for amuſement, diverſion, and going aſhore to their friends, and about buſineſs, his anſwer was, *Why ſhould people who have other buſineſs, or love being on ſhore, think of going to ſea?* But this conduct, however right in itſelf, raiſed him many enemies, and indeed all the enemies he had; and which, as will appear in the ſequel, proved fatal to his life.

(13) As in the expedition of 1697, mentioned in the text.

(14) See note [*G*].

and demanded theſe ſhips, but received a ſurly anſwer from the Admiral of the Barlovento fleet, who happened to be then at Porto-Bello. Rear-Admiral Benbow expoſtulated with him on this head, inſiſting, that as the ſubjects of the crown of England had never injured thoſe of his Catholic Majeſty, he ought not to make prize of their ſhips for injuries done by another nation. The Spaniards replied ſhrewdly, that ſince both crowns ſtood on the ſame head, it was no wonder that he took the ſubjects of the one crown for the other. After many altercations, however, and when the Spaniards ſaw that the colony at Darien received no aſſiſtance from Jamaica, the ſhips were, with much to do, reſtored *(l)*. The Admiral, in the mean time, ſailed in queſt of one Kidd, a pirate, who had done a great deal of miſchief in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, and of whom, hereafter, we ſhall in the notes ſpeak more largely. On his return to Jamaica, towards the latter end of the year, he received a ſupply of proviſions from England, and, ſoon after, orders to return home, which he did with ſix men of war, taking New England in his way, and arrived ſafe (*m*), bringing with him from the Plantations ſufficient teſtimonies of his having diſcharged his duty, which ſecured him from all danger of cenſure, though the Houſe of Commons expreſſed very high reſentment at ſome circumſtances that attended the ſending this fleet. But in regard to the Admiral, the greateſt compliments were paid to his courage, capacity, and integrity, by all parties; and the King, as a ſignal mark of his kind acceptance of all his ſervices, granted him an augmentation of *arms*, which conſiſted in adding to the *three Bent Bows*, he already bore, as many *Arrows*; which ſingle act of royal favour ſufficiently deſtroys the fooliſh report of his being of mean extraction (*n*). His conduct in this expedition raiſed him ſo much in the King's eſteem, that he conſulted him as much or more than any man of his rank, and yet without making the Admiral himſelf vain, or expoſing him in any degree to the diſlike of the Miniſters [*D*]. It may be eaſily imagined, that, in the time the Rear-Admiral ſpent in the Weſt-Indies, the face of affairs was much changed: indeed ſo much they were changed, that the King was forced to think of a new war, though he was ſenſible the nation ſuffered ſeverely from the effects of the old one. His firſt care therefore was, to put his fleet into the beſt order poſſible, and to diſtribute the commands therein to officers that he could depend upon; and to this it was that Mr. Benbow owed his being promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Blue (*o*). He was at that time cruizing off Dunkirk, in order to prevent, what was then much dreaded here, an invaſion. There was as yet no war declared between the two crowns, but this was held to be no ſecurity againſt France; and it was no ſooner known

(l) Ibid. p. 577.

(*m*) Taken from the Journal of this Voyage.

(*n*) From the information of P. Calton, Eſq;

(*o*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 588.

[*D*] *In any degree to the diſlike of the Miniſters.*] It has been before owned, and, indeed, there could have been no juſtice done this gentleman's character without owning it, that he was no politician or courtier, and ſurely he was ſtill leſs a pretender to patriotiſm or popularity: but yet ſuch a charm there is in truth, and a conſcientious regard to duty, that he came home in the good graces of all parties, without having in the leaſt ſtudied to oblige any of them. It muſt be confeſſed, that many accidents concurred to render this expedition of his ſo remarkable; but it may be likewiſe averred, that it was his conduct turned them all to his advantage. His care and diligence in viſiting the Plantations, and not barely viſiting them, but inquiring into their wants, and yielding them all the aſſiſtance and relief that was in his power, gained him a great reputation in the Weſt-Indies, and with all who had any concerns in that part of the world. His vigilance in purſuing pirates, and his recovering ſo many ſhips out of the hands of the Spaniards, recommended him to the merchants. The whole nation of Scotland thought themſelves obliged, by the pains he took to thwart the Spaniſh expedition againſt Darien; and nothing could be more grateful to the people of England, than the ſpirit he had ſhewn in ſupporting the honour of the Engliſh Flag. We have a ſtrong proof of his diſintereſted zeal for juſtice, and concern for the honour of his country, in the readineſs with which, at the requeſt of the Governor of one of our Colonies, he went to expoſtulate with a Daniſh commander for giving ſhelter to, and entering into commerce with, pirates, contrary to the ſtrict rules of honour, as well as to the law of nations. The fact is very clearly ſet down by one who was well acquainted with it, and is remarkable enough to deſerve our notice (15). 'At the requeſt of the Preſident of the Council of Nevis, he ſailed to the iſland of St. Thomas, inhabited chiefly, if not altogether, by ſubjects of Denmark, and demanded by what authority they bore the flag of that nation on Crab Iſland, ſince it appertained to the King of England, his maſter. He alſo let the Governor know, that it was not agreeable to the law of nations to trade with pirates (it being evident that he had ſuffered great part of Kidd's effects to be landed at that port), and demanded of him all ſubjects of England who were non-reſident there. The Governor ſeemed ſurpriſed at his making any objections to the Flag, and inſiſted that the iſland whereon it flew was actually the King of Denmark's. The port, he ſaid, was free; and ſince the Brandenburgh factors had received part of Kidd's effects, he could by no means moleſt, but, on the contrary, was obliged to protect them. He averred, that there were not any of the ſubjects of England on the iſland, Captain Sharpe, a noted pirate, only excepted, who was confined for miſdemeanors, and having ſworn allegiance to the King of Denmark, could not juſtifiably be delivered up; ſo that the Rear-Admiral was obliged to deſiſt, for his inſtructions did not empower him to act in an hoſtile manner.' Some other men, when veſted with ſuch a command, might have taken it ill from a proviſional Governor of a little colony, to be thus directed in the diſcharge of their duty: but the Vice-Admiral had quite another notion of things, and neither pretended to knowledge that he had not, nor thought himſelf above taking the opinion, or following the advice, of ſuch as he had reaſon to judge might have a better opportunity of underſtanding things than he. There had happened in his abſence a conſiderable change in King William's miniſtry: but that no way affected the fortune of our Commander; for as he was the creature of no miniſtry, ſo, as it was very natural, every adminiſtration was very well pleaſed to reap the benefit of his ſervices: and this was the reaſon, that when it ſoon after appeared requiſite, and even abſolutely neceſſary, to ſend another ſquadron into thoſe ſeas, as well to look after our own affairs, as to be in a condition to attack the French whenever a war broke out, the new miniſtry immediately thought of Mr. Benbow, as a man not only well qualified for that ſervice, but whoſe reputation was ſo well eſtabliſhed, that they ran no kind of hazard in recommending him to that poſt, though it was then judged, and with good reaſon, a thing of the laſt conſequence, and upon which the ſucceſs of the war might in a great meaſure depend, or at leaſt the length of it, in caſe we had been ſo lucky as to have ſeized the galleons (16).

(15) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 579.

(16) Burnet, Kennet, &c.

that they were fitting out a ſtout ſquadron at Dunkirk, than it was firmly believed to be intended to cover a deſcent. Vice-Admiral Benbow ſatisfied the Miniſtry, that there was no danger on this ſide; and then it was reſolved to proſecute, without delay, the projects formerly concerted, in order to diſappoint the French in their views upon the Spaniſh ſucceſſion: and to facilitate this, it was thought neceſſary to ſend immediately a ſtrong ſquadron to the Weſt-Indies. This ſquadron was to conſiſt of two third-rates, and eight fourths, which was as great a ſtrength as could be at that time ſpared; and it was thought perfectly requiſite that it ſhould be under the command of an officer, whoſe courage and conduct might be relied on, and whoſe experience might give the world a good opinion of the choice made of him for this command, upon the right management of which, it was believed the ſucceſs of the approaching war would in a great meaſure depend (*p*). Mr. Benbow was thought on by the Miniſtry as ſoon as the expedition was determined, but the King would not hear of it. He ſaid that Benbow was in a manner juſt come home from thence, where he had met with nothing but difficulties, and therefore it was but fit ſome other officer ſhould take his turn. One or two were named and conſulted; but either their health or their affairs were in ſuch diſorder, that they moſt earneſtly deſired to be excuſed (*q*). Upon which the King ſaid merrily to ſome of his Miniſters, alluding to the dreſs and appearance of theſe gentlemen, *Well then, I find we muſt ſpare our* Beaus, *and ſend honeſt* Benbow. His Majeſty accordingly ſent for him upon this occaſion, and aſked him, whether he was willing to go to the Weſt-Indies? aſſuring him, that if he was not, he would not take it at all amiſs if he deſired to be excuſed. Mr. Benbow anſwered bluntly, that he did not underſtand ſuch compliments; that he thought he had no right to chuſe his ſtation; and that if his Majeſty thought fit to ſend him to the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, or any where elſe, he would cheerfully execute his orders as became him (*r*). Thus the matter was ſettled in very few words, and the command of the Weſt-India ſquadron conferred, without any mixture of envy, on our Vice-Admiral Benbow. To conceal the deſign of this ſquadron, but, above all, to prevent the French from having any juſt notion of its force, Sir George Rooke, then Admiral of the fleet, had orders to convoy it as far as the Iſles of Scilly, and to ſend a ſtrong ſquadron with it thence, to ſee it well into the ſea; all which he punctually performed: ſo that Admiral Benbow departed in the month of October 1701, the world in general believing that he was gone with Sir John Munden, who commanded the ſquadron that accompanied him into the Mediterranean; and to render this more credible, the Dutch Miniſter at Madrid was ordered to demand the free uſe of all the Spaniſh ports, which was accordingly performed (*s*). As ſoon as it was known in England that Vice-Admiral Benbow was ſailed with ten ſhips only for the Weſt-Indies, and it was diſcovered that the great armament at Breſt was intended for the ſame part of the world, a mighty clamour was raiſed here at home, as if he had been ſent to be ſacrificed, and heavy reflections were made upon the inactivity of our grand fleet (*t*); whereas, in truth, the whole affair had been conducted with all imaginable prudence, and the Vice-Admiral had as conſiderable a ſquadron, as, all things maturely weighed, it was, in that critical juncture, thought poſſible to be ſpared (*u*). It is certain that King William formed great hopes of this expedition, knowing well that Mr. Benbow would execute, with the greateſt ſpirit and punctuality, the inſtructions he had received, which were, to engage the Spaniſh Governors, if poſſible, to diſown King Philip; or in caſe that could not be brought about, to make himſelf maſter of the galleons (*w*). In this deſign it is plain that the Admiral would have ſucceeded, notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of his force, if his officers had done their duty; and it is no leſs certain, that the anxiety the Vice-Admiral was under about the execution of his orders, was the principal reaſon for his maintaining ſo ſtrict a diſcipline, which proved unluckily the occaſion of his coming to an untimely end. Yet there is no reaſon to cenſure either the King's project, or the Admiral's conduct: both were right in themſelves, though neither was attended with the ſucceſs they deſerved, which is too often the caſe, even of the beſt concerted expeditions [*E*]. The French had the ſame reaſons that we had, to

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(*p*) Complete Hiſtory of England. Life of King William. Hiſtory of Europe for 1701.

(*q*) From Mr. Calton's information.

(*r*) From the ſame information.

(*s*) Life of King William III. p. 627.

(*t*) See note [*E*].

(*u*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 590.

(*w*) Taken from the Journal of this Voyage.

[*E*] *Which is too often the caſe, even of the beſt concerted expeditions.*] We need not wonder that great complaints were made, as to the management of theſe affairs at this juncture, when we find that even ſo great a man as Biſhop Burnet is pleaſed to ſay of the tranſactions of this year, 'That our fleets lay all this ſummer idle in thoſe ſeas, while the French had many ſquadrons lay in the Spaniſh Ports, and in the Weſt-Indies (17).' He did not certainly conſider, that as yet there was no war declared; that the French King had procured a Neutrality in Germany; that things were far from being ſettled between us and our Allies abroad, and the minds of the people and their repreſentatives much farther from being ſettled at home; ſo that the only uſe that could be made of the fleet, was to amuſe the French and Spaniards, to diſturb and diſtract their meaſures, and to put things into the beſt method for acting when war ſhould be actually declared. But to make this matter ſtill clearer, we will give the reader a paragraph from a very popular pamphlet publiſhed at that time, in which this matter is ſet in the ſtrongeſt light that angry people could repreſent it (18). 'A new war, *ſays he*, I believe to be unavoidable, and we are much beholden to the laſt Parliament that we are not entered into it already; and ſo become the Fight-alls, the Pay-alls, and the Loſe-alls of Europe, as we have hitherto been. But if we have a war managed as was the laſt, we had better ſpend a little money in bombs and chains to ſecure our ſhips in harbour, than to ſend them abroad to loſe our money, loſe our reputation, and not ſecure our trade. I cannot perſuade myſelf that the Parliament of England will ever more ſend the native ſtrength of their country abroad in other people's quarrels, and to be at the charge of levies, cloathing, arms, and tranſportation, to put their own liberties in danger at home by a ſtanding army,

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(17) Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. ii. p. 288.

(18) The preſent Condition of the Engliſh Navy, Lond. 1702, 4to, p. 24, 25.

be very attentive to what paſſed in the Weſt-Indies; and it muſt be acknowledged, that they proſecuted their deſigns with great wiſdom and circumſpection; and, which is very extraordinary, they ſo contrived as to ſend for this purpoſe a force much ſuperior to ours (*x*), which however would have availed them little, if Admiral Benbow's officers had been of the ſame ſtamp with himſelf: But it ſo fell out, that he ſhewed much more conduct than even his friends expected, and his officers leſs courage than any Engliſhmen ever did, which gave an advantage to the French, that their own ſchemes, though cloſely laid, could never otherwiſe have obtained [*F*]. Admiral Benbow's ſquadron, conſiſting of two third and eight fourth rates, arrived at Barbadoes on the third of November 1701, from whence he ſailed to the Leeward-Iſlands, in order to examine the ſtate of the French colonies and our own. He found the former in ſome confuſion, and the latter in ſo good a ſituation, that he thought he ran no hazard in leaving them to go to Jamaica, where, when he arrived, his fleet was in ſo good a condition, the Admiral, officers, and ſeamen being moſt of them uſed to the climate, that he had not occaſion to ſend above ten men to the Hoſpital, which was looked upon as a very extraordinary thing (*y*). There he received advice of two French ſquadrons being arrived in the Weſt-Indies, which alarmed the inhabitants of that iſland and of Barbadoes very much. After taking care, as far as his ſtrength would permit, of both places, he formed a deſign of attacking Petit Guavas; but before he could execute it, he had intelligence, that Monſieur Du Caſſe was in the neighbourhood of Hiſpaniola, with a ſquadron of French ſhips, with an intent to ſettle the Aſſiento in favour of the French, and to deſtroy the Engliſh and Dutch trade for

(*x*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire. P. Daniel Hiſtoire de France. Mercure Hiſtorique, &c.

(*y*) London Gazette, No. 3286.

‘ when they have done the buſineſs of our Allies abroad. The men we loſt, and the money we ſpent in the late war, as alſo how hard it was to get them diſbanded, in oppoſition to the intereſt of men that wanted them to ſupport their titles to their illegal grants and ill-gotten gain, is too freſh in our memories ever to bring ourſelves under the like hardſhips. I foreſee now, that the war will be at ſea, and we have but a very ill omen of ſucceſs from the laſt ſummer's expedition of our fleet: our modern Whigs, in their Legion letters, and Kentiſh Petition, exclaimed againſt the Parliament, becauſe they raiſed no more money. But I hope thoſe folk, if they have any brains or honeſty, are now ſenſible of their groundleſs complaint, when they find how little has been done for what was there raiſed. They gave one million five hundred thouſand pounds for the fleet for this ſummer's expedition; and what has been the effect? The whole fleet went to convoy Benbow in his way to the Weſt-Indies, and while they were gone, our modern Whigs boaſted of the conduct, and built caſtles in the air, to hold the money they would bring home in the Spaniſh galleons: but in a ſhort time we found them all at Spithead, except a few ſhips that proceeded with Benbow to the Weſt-Indies, where, if they be not *Talmaſhed*, they have good fortune. Would it not have tended much to the good of the Empire, and to the ſtrengthening of the confederacy for England, to have had a good ſquadron this Summer in the Streights, which might have animated the Neapolitans in the Emperor's intereſt, and ſo diſheartened the French party, that in all probability Naples had been in the Emperor's hands.’ At this diſtance of time we can ſee plainly that there is very little, either of ſenſe or honeſty, in theſe objections. In the beginning of the paragraph a new war is unavoidable, in the ſpeaker's judgment, (for this pamphlet is a dialogue) unneceſſary; but the fleet's inactivity is a crime for all this, and ſending Benbow a crime likewiſe: but, worſt of all, our not ſending a fleet to the Mediterranean, though the ſending and keeping fleets there in the laſt war, is moſt bitterly inveighed againſt through the whole pamphlet.

[*F*] *Their own ſchemes, though cloſely laid, could never otherwiſe have obtained.*] It is impoſſible to form a right judgment of the conduct of Admiral Benbow in this expedition, without knowing what meaſures were taken, with reſpect to the affairs of the Weſt-Indies, by the French, who, as ſoon as they reſolved to accept the Will of Charles II., in favour of the Duke of Anjou, immediately projected the ſending a ſquadron, with all ſorts of neceſſaries, to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies; and the perſon they made choice of for this command was M. Du Caſſe, Governor of St. Domingo: but before he could be ſent upon this ſervice, it was requiſite to have the conſent of the Spaniards, who, though they could not but be ſenſible of their own weakneſs, had notwithſtanding ſo ſtrong an averſion to the French, that it was foreſeen they would make a great difficulty of accepting their aſſiſtance; and therefore M. Du Caſſe was diſpatched to Madrid to ſettle all theſe points, which in ſome time, and with much pains, he did (19). But after the Spaniſh nobility had once given their conſent, that this ſquadron ſhould be received in the Spaniſh ports of America, they were continually preſſing the French to have it ſent thither. The French miniſtry foreſaw what would come to paſs, and therefore had taken care to have a ſquadron ready at Breſt, conſiſting of five ſhips of the Line, and ſeveral large veſſels laden with arms and ammunition, which, under the command of the Marquis de Coetlogon, in the month of April, 1701, ſailed for the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies; and on the 20th of October the Count de Chateau Renaud ſailed with fourteen ſhips of the Line, and ſixteen frigates, to meet the galleons that were ſuppoſed to be already departed from the Havanna, under the eſcort of the Marquis de Coetlogon; and after all this, M. Du Caſſe likewiſe ſailed with his ſquadron; from whence the Engliſh reader will eaſily ſee, that as Admiral Benbow received no ſupplies, he was likely to have been cruſhed by the ſuperior power of the enemy, and that extraordinary diligence which was uſed to ſtrengthen and ſupport them (20). Yet the French authors themſelves own, that all the great projects they had formed for attacking Jamaica and the Leeward Iſlands, and even for driving the Engliſh out of moſt of their poſſeſſions in America, were entirely diſappointed and defeated; and inſtead of finding themſelves in any condition of executing them as they expected, they were obliged to act upon the defenſive: and the Dutch writers of thoſe times expreſsly ſay, after all their bluſtering, the Engliſh Admiral, with a ſmall ſquadron, remained a long time maſter in thoſe ſeas, alarmed and inſulted the French ſettlements in Hiſpaniola, took a great number of prizes, and ſo effectually protected the Britiſh commerce, that, notwithſtanding the great ſuperiority of the French, they were not able to do any thing conſiderable (21). Theſe teſtimonies ſufficiently ſhew what mighty things the naval force of this country is able to perform when conducted by an active and experienced officer, who has the intereſt of his country at heart, and on whom our colonies can ſafely place their dependance. This was certainly the caſe with reſpect to our Admiral, who never had any differences with the Governors in the Weſt-Indies, or diſputes with the inhabitants or merchants, which after his death proved ſo fatal to the ſervice in that part of the world, as the reader may find not only in our general and naval Hiſtories, but alſo in the repreſentations from the Houſe of Lords, and in the addreſſes and votes of the Houſe of Commons, complaining of the bad behaviour of ſeveral ſubſequent Commanders, whence it may be eaſily conceived how great a loſs the public had, by the untimely death of this brave and worthy officer.

(19) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire.

(20) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 593.

(21) Mercure Hiſtorique pour 1702.

Negroes.

Negroes (z). Upon this he detached Rear-Admiral Whetſtone in purſuit of him, and on the eleventh of July 1702, he ſailed from Jamaica, in order to have joined the Rear-Admiral, but having intelligence that Du Caſſe was expected at Leogane, on the north ſide of Hiſpaniola, he plied for that port, before which he arrived on the twenty-ſeventh. Not far from the town he perceived ſeveral ſhips at anchor, and one under ſail, who ſent out her boat to diſcover his ſtrength, which coming too near was taken; from the crew of which they learned, that there were ſix merchant ſhips in the port, and that the ſhip they belonged to was a man of war of fifty guns, which the Admiral preſſed ſo hard, that the Captain ſeeing no probability of eſcaping, ran the ſhip on ſhore and blew her up. On the twenty-eighth the Admiral came before the town, where he found a ſhip of about eighteen guns hauled under the fortifications, which however did not hinder his burning her. The reſt of the ſhips had ſailed before day, in order to get into a better harbour, *viz. Cul de Sac.* But ſome of our ſhips between them and that port, took three of them and ſunk a fourth (*a*). The Admiral, after alarming Petit Guavas, which he found it impoſſible to attack, ſailed for Donna Maria Bay, where he continued till the tenth of Auguſt, when, having received advice that Monſieur Du Caſſe was ſailed for Carthagena, and from thence was to ſail to Porto Bello, he reſolved to follow him, and accordingly ſailed that day for the Spaniſh coaſt of Santa Martha (*b*). On the nineteenth of Auguſt in the afternoon, he diſcovered ten ſail near that place, ſteering weſtward along the ſhore under their top-ſails, four of them from ſixty to ſeventy guns, one a great Dutch built ſhip of about thirty or forty, another full of ſoldiers, three ſmall veſſels, and a ſloop. The Vice-Admiral coming up with them, about four the engagement began. He had diſpoſed his line of battle in the following manner, *viz.* the Defiance, Pendennis, Windſor, Breda, Greenwich, Ruby, and Falmouth. But two of theſe ſhips, the Defiance and Windſor, did not ſtand above two or three broadſides before they loofed out of gun-ſhot, ſo that the two ſternmoſt ſhips of the enemy lay on the Admiral, and gauled him very much, nor did the ſhips in the rear come up to his aſſiſtance with the diligence they ought to have done (*c*). The fight laſted however till dark, and though the firing then ceaſed, the Vice-Admiral kept them company all night. The next morning at break of day he was near the French ſhips, but none of his ſquadron except the Ruby was with him, the reſt being three, four, or five miles a-ſtern. Notwithſtanding this, the French did not fire a gun at the Vice-Admiral, though he was within their reach. At two in the afternoon the French drew into a line, though at the ſame time they made what ſail they could without fighting. However the Vice-Admiral and the Ruby kept them company all night, plying their chaſe guns. Thus the Vice-Admiral continued purſuing, and at ſome times ſkirmiſhing with the enemy, for four days more, but was never duly ſeconded by ſeveral of the ſhips of his ſquadron (*d*). The twenty-third, about noon, the Admiral took from them a ſmall Engliſh ſhip, called the Anne Galley, which they had taken off of Liſbon; and the Ruby being diſabled, he ordered her to Port Royal. About eight at night the whole ſquadron was up with the Vice-Admiral, and the enemy not two miles off. There was now a proſpect of doing ſomething, and the Vice-Admiral made the beſt of his way after them; but his whole ſquadron, except the Falmouth, fell a-ſtern again. At two in the morning, the twenty-fourth, the Vice-Admiral came up with the enemy's ſternmoſt ſhip, and fired his broadſide, which was returned by the French ſhip very briſkly, and about three the Vice-Admiral's right-leg was broken to pieces by a chain-ſhot (*e*). In this condition he was carried down to be dreſſed, and while the ſurgeon was at work, one of his Lieutenants expreſſed great ſorrow for the loſs of his leg, upon which the Admiral ſaid to him, *I am ſorry for it too, but I had rather have loſt them both, than have ſeen this diſhonour brought upon the Engliſh nation. But, do ye hear, if another ſhot ſhould take me off, behave like brave men and fight it out* (*f*). As ſoon as it was practicable, he cauſed himſelf to be carried up, and placed, with his cradle, upon the quarter-deck, and continued the fight till day. They then diſcovered the ruins of one of the enemy's ſhips, that carried ſeventy guns, her main-yard down and ſhot to pieces, her fore top ſail-yard ſhot away, her mizen-maſt ſhot by the board, all her rigging gone, and her ſides tore to pieces. The Admiral, ſoon after, diſcovered the enemy ſtanding towards him with a ſtrong gale of wind. The Windſor, Pendennis, and Greenwich, a-head of the enemy, came to the leeward of the diſabled ſhip, fired their broadſides, paſſed her, and ſtood to the ſouthward. Then came the Defiance, fired part of her broadſide, when the diſabled ſhip returning about twenty guns, the Defiance put her helm a-weather, and run away right before the wind, lowered both her top-ſails, and ran in to the leeward of the Falmouth, without any regard to the ſignal of battle. The enemy ſeeing the other two ſhips ſtand to the ſouthward, expected they would have tacked and ſtood towards them, and therefore they brought their heads to the northward, but when they ſaw thoſe ſhips did not tack, they immediately bore down upon the Admiral, and ran between their diſabled ſhip and him, and poured in all their ſhot, by which they brought down his main top-ſail-yard, and ſhattered his rigging very much, none of the other ſhips being near him, or taking the leaſt notice of his ſignals, though Captain Fogg ordered two guns to be fired at the ſhip's head, in order to put them in mind of their duty. The French, ſeeing things in this condition, brought to, and lay by their own diſabled ſhip, remanned, and took her into tow (*g*). The Breda's rigging

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(*z*) Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique pour 1702, p. 657.

(*a*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 593, 594.

(*b*) Taken from the Journal of that Voyage.

(*c*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 594.

(*d*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 595, compared with the Journal before mentioned.

(*e*) As before, from the ſeveral accounts compared.

(*f*) From the information of Mr. Calton, confirmed by ſome on board his ſhip.

(*g*) From the Journal before mentioned.

being much ſhattered, ſhe was forced to lie by till ten o'clock, and being then refitted, the Admiral ordered the Captain to purſue the enemy, then about three miles to the leeward, his line of battle ſignal out all the while; and Captain Fogg, by the Admiral's orders, ſent to the other Captains, to order them to keep the line and behave like men. Upon this Captain Kirkby came on board the Admiral, and told him, *He had better deſiſt, that the French were very ſtrong, and that from what had paſſed he might gueſs, he could make nothing of it.* The brave Admiral Benbow, more ſurpriſed at this language, than at all that had hitherto happened, ſaid very calmly, that this was but one man's opinion, and therefore made a ſignal for the reſt of the Captains to come on board, which they did in obedience to his orders, but when they came, they fell too eaſily into Captain Kirkby's ſentiments, and, in conjunction with him, ſigned a paper, importing, *that*, as he had before told the Admiral, *there was nothing more to be done*; though at this very time they had the faireſt opportunity imaginable of taking or deſtroying the enemy's whole ſquadron: for ours conſiſted then of one ſhip of ſeventy guns, one of ſixty-four, one of ſixty, and three of fifty, their yards, maſts, and in general all their tackle in as good condition as could be expected, the Admiral's own ſhip excepted, in which their loſs was conſiderable; but in the reſt they had eight only killed and wounded, nor were they in any want of ammunition neceſſary to continue the fight. The enemy, on the other hand, had but four ſhips of between ſixty and ſeventy guns, one of which was entirely diſabled and in tow, and all the reſt very roughly handled; ſo that even now, if theſe officers had done their duty, it is morally certain they might have taken them all (*h*). But Vice-Admiral Benbow, ſeeing himſelf abſolutely without ſupport (his own Captain having ſigned the paper before mentioned), determined to give over the fight, and to return to Jamaica, though he could not help declaring openly, that it was againſt his own ſentiments, in prejudice to the public ſervice, and the greateſt diſhonour that had ever befallen the Engliſh navy (*i*). The French, glad of their eſcape, continued their courſe towards the Spaniſh coaſts, and the Engliſh ſquadron ſoon arrived ſafe in Port-Royal harbour, where, as ſoon as the Vice-Admiral came on ſhore, he ordered the officers who had ſo ſcandalouſly miſbehaved, to be brought out of their ſhips and confined, and immediately after directed a commiſſion to Rear-Admiral Whetſtone to hold a Court-Martial for their trial, which was accordingly done, and upon the fulleſt and cleareſt evidence that could be deſired, ſome of the moſt guilty were condemned, and ſuffered according to their deſerts (*k*) [*G*] Some

(*h*) See the authorities before mentioned, and note [*G*].

(*i*) So he declared himſelf before the Court-Martial.

(*k*) Col. Kirkby and Capt. Wade, were ſhot April 16, 1703, at Plymouth.

[*G*] *The moſt guilty were condemned, and ſuffered according to their deſerts.*] The Vice-Admiral, upon his arrival at Jamaica, thought it a thing of the laſt importance to ſecure the ſhips under his command, by bringing thoſe officers immediately to a trial whoſe fidelity he had ſo much reaſon to ſuſpect; and therefore he iſſued a commiſſion to Captain Whetſtone, whom he had appointed Rear-Admiral of his ſquadron, to hold a Court-Martial for the trial of the offenders, which he accordingly did, and nobody made the leaſt ſcruple of acting under that authority, though it has been doubted whether he had a power to grant ſuch a commiſſion; and Mr. Secretary Burchet is very clear he could not, for he ſays expreſsly, that he had no authority to delegate his power to another: but the Admiral it ſeems thought otherwiſe, and believed it more agreeable to the rules of juſtice and common-ſenſe, to delegate his power to another, than to act as judge, party, and witneſs himſelf; and I believe moſt people, who conſider the caſe, will be rather of the Admiral's than of the Secretary's opinion, who, though he probably intended no more than to cenſure poor Vice-Admiral Benbow for preferring juſtice and humanity to form, yet, if his cenſure hath any force, it falls upon the Queen and the whole nation, by whom the proceedings of that Court-Martial were ratified, and the criminals put to death upon their ſentence. But be that as it will, the Court-Martial thus appointed was held on board her Majeſty's ſhip the Breda, in Port-Royal Harbour, on the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 12th days of October, 1702, wherein the following gentlemen ſat.

PRESIDENT,

William Whetſtone, Eſq; Rear-Admiral for her Majeſty's ſhips in the Weſt-India ſquadron.

CAPTAINS.

John Hartnoll,
John Smith,
John Redman,
George Walton,
William Ruſſel,
Barrow Harris,
Hercules Mitchel,
Philip Boyce,
and
Charles Smith.

Colonel Richard Kirkby, Commander of the Defiance, was tried upon a complaint exhibited by Arnold Browne, Eſq; Judge-Advocate, for cowardice, neglect of duty, breach of orders, and other crimes, committed by him in a fight at ſea, commencing the 19th of Auguſt, 1702, between the honourable John Benbow, Eſq; Vice Admiral of the blue ſquadron, Admiral and Commander in chief, &c. and M. du Caſſe, with four French ſhips of war, which continued until the 24th of Auguſt incluſive. The witneſſes ſworn in the behalf of the Queen were the honourable John Benbow, Eſq; Captain Samuel Vincent, Captain Chriſtopher Fogg, eight Lieutenants, five Maſters, and five inferior officers, in all twenty-one, who in general depoſed, ' That the ſaid Richard Kirkby led the van in the line of battle the 19th of Auguſt: about three in the afternoon, the ſignal of battle being out, the Admiral was forced to ſend his boat on board of Kirkby, and command his making more ſail, and get a-breaſt of the enemy's van, for he was reſolved to fight them; but the ſaid Kirkby did not fire above three broadſides, then looffed up out of the line, and out of gun-ſhot, leaving the Admiral engaged with two French ſhips till dark, and the ſaid Kirkby receiving no damage, that his behaviour cauſed great fear of his deſertion. At night the ſaid Kirkby fell a-ſtern, leaving the Admiral to purſue the enemy. That on the 20th, at day-light, the Admiral and Ruby were within ſhot of all the enemy's ſhips; but Colonel Kirkby was near three or four miles a-ſtern: The Admiral then made a new line of battle, and took the van himſelf, and ſent to each ſhip, with a command to the ſaid Kirkby to keep his line and ſtation, which he promiſed to do, but did not, keeping two or three miles a-ſtern, though the ſignal for battle was out all night. The French making a running fight, the Admiral and Ruby plied the enemy with their chace-guns till night. That the 21ſt day, at light, the Admiral was on the quarter of the ſecond ſhip of the enemy's rear, and the Ruby on the broadſide very near, who plied him warmly, and met the ſame return, by which he was ſo much diſabled, though the Admiral came in to his aſſiſtance, that he was forced to be towed off, and this prevented the Admiral's deſign of cutting off the enemy's ſternmoſt ſhip. This action laſted two hours, during which time the ſaid Kirkby lay of the French writers (according to their uſual cuſtom) have given quite another turn to this tranſaction, and have endeavoured to make the world believe, that the bravery of his men,

‘ abroadſide of the ſternmoſt ſhip, as did alſo the Windſor, John Conſtable, Commander. The Admiral then commanded the ſaid Kirkby to ply his broadſides on him; but this having no effect, the ſecond time he commanded the ſame, but he fired not one gun; nay his own boatſwain and ſeamen repeated the Admiral's command to him, but were ſeverely uſed, and threatened that he would run his ſword through the boatſwain; and had the ſaid Kirkby done his duty, and Captain Conſtable done his, they muſt have taken or deſtroyed the French ſhips. The Admiral, though he received much damage in his ſails, rigging, yards, &c. yet continued the chace all night. That the 22d in the morning, at day-light, the Greenwich was three leagues a-ſtern, and the Defiance, Colonel Kirkby, with the reſt of the ſhips, three or four miles, the Falmouth excepted, whoſe ſtation was in the rear. That the ſaid Captain Samuel Vincent ſeeing the behaviour of him, and the reſt, came up with the Admiral, and ſent his Lieutenant on board, deſiring leave to aſſiſt him, which was accepted, the ſaid Kirkby never coming up, and by his example the reſt did the ſame, as if they had a deſign to ſacrifice the Admiral and Falmouth to the enemy, or deſert. The enemy were now about a mile and a half a-head. Standing into the ſhore with a ſmall breeze at weſt, fetched within Sambey, the Admiral firing at the ſternmoſt till night, and continuing the purſuit, and a Flemiſh ſhip that was in M. Du Caſſe's company, on board of which were all the French and Spaniſh new Governors, and other officers, made her eſcape. That the 23d in the morning, at day-light, the enemy bore north-weſt, diſtant about four or five miles, the Admiral and Falmouth purſuing; but the ſaid Colonel Kirkby, with the reſt of the ſhips, being three or four miles a-ſtern (though there was not a ſhip both before and after the battle but ſailed better than the Admiral's). About ſeven in the evening, it having been ſome time calm, a gale of wind ſprung up; the Admiral and Falmouth were about two miles from the enemy, and at eight the ſaid Kirkby and his ſeparate ſquadron were fair up with the Admiral; and this day the Admiral ſent away the diſabled Ruby, George Walton, Commander, to Port-Royal, and under his convoy the Anne-Galley, retaken from the French. That the 24th in the morning, about two o'clock, the Admiral came up, with the ſternmoſt of the enemy, within call, and the Falmouth pretty near, but the ſaid Colonel Kirkby, with the reſt of the ſhips, according to cuſtom, were three or four miles a-ſtern. The Admiral and Falmouth engaged the ſaid ſhip, and at three the Admiral was wounded, his right leg being broke, but commanded the fight to be vigorouſly maintained; and at day-light the enemy's ſhip appeared like a wreck, her mizen maſt ſhot by the board, her main yard in three or four pieces, her foretopſail-yard the ſame, her ſtays and rigging all ſhot to pieces. Soon after day the ſaid Kirkby, with the reſt of his ſhips, being to windward of the ſaid diſabled ſhips, he the ſaid Kirkby, with the reſt of his ſeparate ſquadron, fired about twelve guns at the ſaid ſhip, and fearing a ſmart return from her, he lowering his mizen-yard, his top-ſails on the caps, ſet his ſprit-ſail top-ſail, and fore-top-ſail ſtay-ſail, and having waired his ſhip, ſet his ſail, and ran away before the wind from the poor diſabled ſhip, the reſt following his ſaid example, though they had but eight men killed on board them all (except the Admiral). The other three French men of war were at this time of action about four miles diſtant from their maimed ſhip; whereupon the enemy ſeeing the cowardice of the ſaid Colonel Kirkby, and the reſt of the Engliſh ſhips, in a ſquall bore down upon the Admiral, who lay cloſe by the diſabled ſhip, and having got in their ſprit-ſail-yard, gave him all their fire, and running between him and the diſabled ſhip, remanned her, and took her in tow. The Admiral's rigging being very much ſhattered, was obliged to lie and refit till ten o'clock, and then continued the purſuit, and the reſt of the Fleet following in the greateſt diſorder imaginable. The Admiral commanded Captain Fogg to ſtand a-breaſt of the enemy's van, and then to attack him; and having then a fine ſteady gale, the like not happening during the whole engagement; and further ordered that he ſhould ſend to all the reſt of the Captains to keep the Line of battle, and behave themſelves like Engliſhmen: And this meſſage was ſent by Captain Wade, then on board the Breda. That the ſaid Colonel Kirkby on the receipt of this meſſage, and ſeeing the Admiral's reſolution to engage, came on board him, who then lay wounded in a cradle, and without common reſpect of enquiring after his health, he the ſaid Kirkby expreſſed theſe words following, *viz.* That he wondered the Admiral ſhould offer to engage the French again, it being not neceſſary, ſafe, nor convenient, having had ſix days trial of their ſtrength, and then magnified that of the French, and leſſened that of the Engliſh. But the Admiral, being ſurprized at his ſpeech, ſaid, It was but one man's opinion, and that he would have the reſt of the Captains; and accordingly ordered the ſignal to be made for all the Captains to come on board, and at this time the Admiral and the reſt of the ſhips were to windward, and within ſhot of the enemy, and had the faireſt opportunity that in ſix days preſented, to chaſe, engage, and deſtroy the enemy. That the ſaid Colonel Kirkby had endeavoured to poiſon the reſt of the Captains, forming a writing under his own hand, which was cowardly and erroneous; the ſubſtance of which was, not to engage the enemy any more. He the ſaid Colonel Kirkby brought it to the Admiral, who reproved him for it, ſaying, It would be the ruin of them all; upon which he the ſaid Colonel Kirkby went away and writ another in the following words.

‘ It is the opinion of us whoſe names are underwritten,

‘ I. Of the great want of men in number, quality, and the weakneſs of thoſe they have.

‘ II. The general want of ammunition of moſt ſorts.

‘ III. Each ſhip, maſts, ſails, and rigging, being all in a great meaſure diſabled.

‘ IV. The winds are ſo ſmall and variable, that the ſhips cannot be governed by any.

‘ V. Having experienced the ſtrength of the enemy, in ſix days battle, following the ſquadron, conſiſting of five men of war, and a fireſhip under the command of M. Du Caſſe, their equipage conſiſting in guns from ſixty to eighty, and having a great number of ſeamen and ſoldiers on board for the ſervice of Spain.

‘ For which reaſons above mentioned we think it not fit to engage the enemy at this time, but to keep them company this night and obſerve their motion, and if a fair opportunity ſhall happen of wind and weather, once more to try our ſtrength with them.

Richard Kirkby,
Samuel Vincent,
John Conſtable,
Chriſtopher Fogg,
Cooper Wade, and
Thomas Hudſon.

‘ That during the ſix days engagement he never encouraged his men, but by his own example of dodging behind the mizen-maſt, and falling down on the deck on the noiſe of ſhot, and denying them the proviſions of the ſhip, the ſaid men were under great diſcouragement. That he amended the maſter of the ſhip's journal of the tranſactions of the fight according to his own inclination.

‘ All which being proved as aforeſaid,

‘ The ſaid Col. Richard Kirkby denying the whole, excepting the pretended written conſultation, which being ſhewed to him, he owned his own hand and name thereto. He brought ſeveral of his men to give an account of his behaviour during the fight, but their teſtimonies were inſignificant, and his behaviour to the Court and witneſſes moſt unbecoming a gentleman; and being particularly aſked by the Court, Why he did not fire at the enemy's ſternmoſt men, and the conduct of Commodore Du Caſſe, enabled him to beat an Engliſh ſquadron of ſuperior force, and that if he had been appriſed of the ſhattered condition to which he had reduced them, he might have purſued and taken ſeveral, if not all the ſhips of which it conſiſted (*l*). But Du Caſſe himſelf, who was both a brave officer and an able ſeaman, was far enough from treating things in this way, and candidly acknowledged, that he had a very lucky and unlooked-for eſcape [*H*]. As for Vice-Admiral Benbow, though he ſo far recovered from the fever induced by his broken leg, as to be able to attend the trials of the Captains who deſerted him, and thereby vindicated his own honour, and that of the nation; yet he ſtill continued in a declining way, occaſioned partly by the heat of the climate, but chiefly from that grief which this miſcarriage occaſioned, as appeared by his letters to his lady, in which he expreſſed much more concern for the condition in which he was like to leave the public affairs in the Weſt-Indies, than for his own (*m*). During all the time of his illneſs, he behaved with great calmneſs and preſence of mind, having never flattered himſelf, from the time his leg was cut off, with any hopes of recovery, but ſhewed an earneſt deſire, to be as uſeful as he could while he was yet living; giving the neceſſary directions for ſtationing the ſhips of his ſquadron, for pro-

(*l*) Hiſtoire de S. Doming. Vol. iv. p. 203.

(*m*) From the information of the late Mr. Calton, who ſaw thoſe Letters.

' ſternmoſt ſhip, which lay point-blank with him the ' 21ſt of Auguſt? He replied, Becauſe they did not ' fire at him, for they had a reſpect for him; which ' words, upon ſeveral occaſions during the trial, he ' repeated three ſeveral times.

' Whereupon due conſideration of the premiſſes, of ' the great advantages the Engliſh had in number, ' being ſeven to four, of guns two hundred and ' twenty-two more than the other, with his acts and ' behaviour as aforeſaid, and more particularly his ' ill-timed paper or conſultation as afore-recited, ' which obliged the Admiral, for the preſervation of ' her Majeſty's fleet, to give over the chace and fight, ' to the irreparable diſhonour of the Queen, her ' crown and dignity, and come to Port-royal, in Jamaica. For which reaſons the Court was of opinion, that he fell under the eleventh, twelfth, ' fourteenth, and twentieth articles of war, and adjudged accordingly, That he ſhould be ſhot to ' death; but further decreed, that the execution of ' Col. Kirkby be deferred till her Majeſty's pleaſure ' be known therein; but he to be continued a cloſe ' priſoner till that time (22).' Captain Conſtable, who commanded the Windſor, was next tried; and it fully appeared that he followed the example of Col. Kirkby in every reſpect, except perſonal cowardice; for he remained upon the quarter-deck, encouraged the men, gave them rum, and took ſo much of it himſelf, that he was drunk moſt part of the action. He acknowledged his hand to the paper, but ſaid he ſigned it at the requeſt of Colonel Kirkby. The ſentence paſſed upon him was, That he ſhould be caſhiered, rendered incapable, and ſent home a priſoner. Captain Cooper Wade, Commander of the Greenwich, came next to his trial, and againſt him it was proved, by ſixteen witneſſes, that he never kept the Line of battle, fired all his ſhot away, as never being within reach of the enemy. That being told ſo by his Lieutenants, he ſaid, *It muſt be ſo, that if they did not fire, the Admiral would not believe they fought.* It alſo appeared, that he cenſured the Admiral's conduct during the engagement, and that beſt part of the time he was in drink. He behaved very well upon his trial, ſaid he had been miſunderſtood with reſpect to the Admiral's conduct, for that he did not believe any man living could act better, or more for the honour of his Queen and nation, than Admiral Benbow did, and therefore he put himſelf upon the mercy of the Court, who adjudged him, as well as Colonel Kirkby, to be ſhot. Captain Vincent and Captain Fogg were tried for ſigning the paper, which the reader has ſeen. They ſaid, that ſeeing themſelves deſerted by the Captains Kirkby, Conſtable, Wade, and Hudſon, they were afraid of being made priſoners; as alſo that thoſe Captains would have gone over to the enemy, and that by ſigning the paper they hoped to hinder them from becoming deſperate. Vice-Admiral Benbow coming into Court, ſaid, That during the ſix days fight, Captain Fogg behaved like a true Engliſhman: That Captain Vincent alſo came in to his aſſiſtance when deſerted by all the other ſhips; and that, if it had not been for his coming to his relief, he had fallen into the hands of M. Du Caſſe. The Court thought, however, that by ſigning this paper theſe Gentlemen fell under the twentieth article of war, and therefore directed they ſhould be ſuſpended, but that the ſuſpenſion ſhould not take place till the Lord High-Admiral's pleaſure was known; and immediately after their coming home the ſuſpenſion was taken off. As for Captain Thomas Hudſon, he died on board his ſhip in Port-Royal harbour before he could be brought to a trial (23). The true deſign of Colonel Kirkby, who was the ringleader of this buſineſs, was to have let the Admiral fall into the hands of the French, and then have thrown the blame of all that happened upon his raſhneſs and ill-conduct; and the reaſon of his bearing this ill-will to that gentleman, and meeting with ſuch concurrence in other officers, was the ſtrictneſs of the Admiral's diſcipline, who thought that men would never behave well, if not encouraged to it by the example of their officers. There was great interceſſion made to the Queen, in favour both of Kirkby and Wade, but to no effect; for warrants for their execution were lodged in all the ports, and they were ſhot the ſame day they came into Plymouth; both of them behaving in their laſt moments with much decency and courage (24).

[*H*] *He had a very lucky and unlooked-for eſcape.*] The French never had a braver officer or better ſeaman in their ſervice than this M. Du Caſſe, who was too much a man of honour to leſſen another officer's merit. Admiral Benbow boarded his ſhip thrice, in which he received a ſhot in the arm, and a wound in the face; and, if he had been well ſeconded, would infallibly have carried that ſhip. This M. Du Caſſe was ſo ſenſible of, that ſoon after his arrival at Carthagena, he wrote the Admiral a letter, the original of which is ſtill in the hands of the family, and the tranſlation follows (25).

' SIR,

' I Had little hopes on Monday laſt but to have ſupped in your Cabbin: it pleaſed God to order ' it otherwiſe; I am thankful for it. As for thoſe ' cowardly Captains who deſerted you, hang them ' up, for by —— they deſerve it.

' Your's,

DU CASSE.'

It is very remarkable, that the day mentioned in this letter was Monday, Auguſt 24, the very day that the pretended conſultation was ſigned, in which the ſtrength of the enemy was ſo much magnified; and therefore we need not wonder, that all impartial writers have treated this affair with reſpect to Colonel Kirkby, and of his aſſociates, as one of the baſeſt and moſt diſhonourable that ever happened in our Navy. The author of the Hiſtory of our Colonies, ſpeaking of this matter, ſays (26), ' This ſentence was certainly very juſt, for during the whole courſe of the ' wars between England and France, never did two ' Engliſhmen bring ſuch diſhonour upon their country as Kirkby and Wade, through their cowardice ' and treachery; beſides the great profit that they ' hindered the nation from receiving by the deſtruction of M. Du Caſſe and his ſquadron, which perhaps would have prevented the French in all their ' deſigns on the Weſt-Indies, and forwarded the reduction of the Spaniſh dominions there: But this ' fair opportunity was loſt, and, without the gift of ' Prophecy, we can foreſee, we ſhall not ſoon have ' ſuch another.'

tecting

(22) Taken from the Minutes of the Court Martial, printed at London, fol. 1703.

(23) See the Minutes above mentioned; and Appendix to the Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1702.

(24) This the author received from eye-witneſſes.

(25) Communicated by Paul Calton, Eſq;

(26) The Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. ii. p. 339.

tecting the commerce and incommoding the enemy. He continued thus diſcharging his duty to the laſt moment; for dying of a ſort of conſumption, his ſpirits did not fail him till very near his end, and his ſenſes were very ſound to the day he expired, which was the fourth of November, 1702. His royal Miſtreſs ſpoke of his loſs, when ſhe heard of it, with great tenderneſs and concern; and it may be truly ſaid, that no man of his rank was more ſincerely regretted by the bulk of the nation; ſo that one cannot help wondering at the ſingular method taken by a certain hiſtorian, to ſink the names of thoſe offenders, who ſo juſtly ſuffered for betraying ſo brave a man; and at the ſame time, treating the Vice-Admiral's character with apparent marks of diſreſpect (*n*) [*I*]. The Vice-Admiral's ſiſter made a preſent of his picture to the corporation of Shrewſbury, who cauſed it to be hung up in their town-hall, where it remains as a teſtimony of the regard his countrymen have, for the memory of ſo worthy a man, ſo gallant an officer, and ſo true a patriot, who manifeſted his love to his country, not by fair profeſſions and fine ſpeeches, but by ſpending his whole life in her ſervice. The Vice-Admiral left behind him a widow and ſeveral children of both ſexes, but his ſons dying without iſſue, his two ſurviving daughters became coheireſſes, of whom the eldeſt married Paul Calton, Eſq; of Milton near Abingdon in Berks, the gentleman ſo often mentioned in the courſe of this article, and who deceaſed very lately at his ſeat before mentioned. He was a perſon of great reading and general knowledge, very communicative, and had a great deſire that the memory of his worthy father-in-law ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity with due honour, and with a juſt regard to truth. It is certain, that but for his attention in this reſpect, the Public had been deprived of the moſt curious circumſtances relative to the actions of this great man, and known nothing more of him, than had been preſerved in the traditional recitals

(*n*) Naval Hiſtory, p. 597, 598.

[*I*] *Treating the Vice-Admiral's character with apparent marks of diſreſpect.*] In order to ſtate this matter fairly, it will be neceſſary firſt of all to give the paſſage from Mr. Burchet's Hiſtory at large, that the reader may be the better able to judge of our remarks (27). ‘The twentieth of September the York and Norwich arrived at Jamaica, bringing a neceſſary ſupply of ſtores and proviſions; and as ſoon as the Vice-Admiral could have matters got in readineſs for trying at a Court-Martial the Captains who had ſo ſcandalouſly failed in the performance of their duty, he ordered Rear-Admiral Whetſtone to examine thoroughly thereinto, chuſing rather ſo to do (though the Admiral had not authority to delegate his power to another), than to ſit as Preſident of the Court himſelf; and after ſeveral days were ſpent in examining witneſſes, and hearing what the priſoners could alledge in their own juſtification, the Captains of the Defiance and Greenwich received ſentence of death, which was not put in execution until they arrived in the Briſtol at Plymouth, aboard which ſhip they were ſhot, for the orders ſent from hence did not come time enough to Jamaica. The Captain of the Windſor was caſhiered, and ſentenced to be impriſoned during her Majeſty's pleaſure. He who commanded the Pendennis died before the trial, otherwiſe he would in all probability have received the ſame ſentence as thoſe of the Defiance and Greenwich; and the Vice-Admiral's own Captain, with the Commander of the Falmouth, were ſuſpended for ſigning to the paper drawn up and delivered by the others; wherein they gave their reaſons for not renewing the engagement: but he having repreſented that thoſe two gentlemen had behaved themſelves very well in the action, the Lord High-Admiral was pleaſed to ſend orders for their being employed again. As I have forborn mentioning the names of thoſe two unhappy gentlemen, who ſuffered (one of whom on other occaſions had diſtinguiſhed himſelf) more for the ſake of their relations than any other conſideration; ſo thus much may be obſerved as to Vice-Admiral Benbow's conduct, that although he was a good ſeaman and a gallant man, and that he was qualified in moſt reſpects to command a ſquadron, eſpecially in the Weſt-Indies, in which parts of the world he had had long experience; yet when he found his Captains ſo very remiſs in their performance of their duty, I think he ought, in point of diſcretion, to have ſummoned them (and even that at firſt) on board his own ſhip, and there confined them, and placed their firſt Lieutenants in their rooms, who would have fought well, were it for no other reaſon than the hopes of being continued in their commands had they ſurvived.’ It has been ſhewn in the former note, on what motives Vice-Admiral Benbow acted in granting a Commiſſion for trying theſe officers, and how little reaſon there was for inſinuating the illegality of a proceeding juſtified by the whole nation, and which could only ſerve to help other bad men to a means of taking ſhelter under the *Law* againſt *Juſtice*. But it is ſtill more extraordinary, that the author of ſuch a Hiſtory ſhould think himſelf under any obligation to ſuppreſs the names of criminals out of regard to their families. Were they better men than the Duke of Monmouth, Sir Thomas Armſtrong, Sir John Fenwick, or any other, whoſe names are mentioned by all writers? Is there any inſtance of tenderneſs of this kind? or is it reaſonable there ſhould be any? Was there any doubt of their being guilty, or was it thought that their puniſhments were greater than they deſerved? Why then ſhould this gentleman have deſired that their names ſhould be concealed, at the ſame time that he bears ſo hard upon the memory of the brave Admiral Benbow? Let us ſee next what ground there is for the reflection he makes, which at the bottom amounts to this, that if the Admiral had underſtood his duty, and performed it, the engagement had ended otherwiſe than it did. But what probability is there of this? The reader has ſeen that Colonel Kirkby had ſuch an influence over all the reſt of the Captains, as to prevail upon them to ſign his paper, which was as ſtupid and fooliſh, as it was baſe and cowardly. It was natural, therefore, for him to provide for his own ſafety, and the ſafety of the Queen's ſhips, ſince after ſuch behaviour he might very well apprehend, as he really did, they would retire, and leave the Breda, diſabled as ſhe was, to fall into the hands of the French, which if they had done, there was no doubt thoſe officers would have eſcaped the hands of juſtice. As it was, there were great endeavours uſed to ſave them, as appears by the following account taken from an author who wrote at this very time, and ſet down things juſt as they occurred, and who had not, it ſeems, any ſcruples about inſerting the names of men, who, by ſhewing ſo little concern for, were ſo indifferently intitled to the pity of their country. ‘On the 14th of April, *ſays he* (28), came in the Briſtol man of war from Jamaica, which brought priſoners from thence, Captain Kirkby, Captain Wade, and Captain Conſtable, of whom the two former were ſhot to death on the 16th on board the ſaid ſhip, in purſuance of the ſentence given againſt them by the Court-Martial held at Jamaica in October 1702, for their cowardice, breach of orders, and neglect of duty, in the fight between the brave Admiral Benbow and M. Du Caſſe. We were for ſome months ſtrangely amuſed, as if after all the guilt of theſe Commanders, they would at laſt be pardoned; but the event made it plainly appear to the contrary, much to the reputation of the Government.’

(27) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 597, 598.

(28) Hiſtory of Europe, for 1703, p. 183.

of ſailors, who are remarkably fond of claiming Benbow as their own, and are ſure to mention him upon every diſpute, where the virtue of the Tars is called into queſtion. Benbow and Shovell are their favourites, they were ſailors, roſe by being ſailors, and were proud of being ſailors much more than of their Flags. Men, who by a long courſe of obedience learned how to command, and who directed ſuch as ſerved under them, as much by example as orders. In fine, men diſtinguiſhed in and by their profeſſion, and who, after many years employment, left behind them ſmall fortunes and great reputations. C.

BENBOW (John) ſon to the Vice-Admiral before mentioned. He was intended by his father for a ſea-man, and educated accordingly. His misfortunes began very early, *viz.* in the ſame year his father died in the Weſt-Indies; by being ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Madagaſcar, where, after many diſmal and dangerous adventures, he was reduced to live with, and in the manner of, the natives, for many years, and at laſt, when he leaſt expected it, he was taken on board by a Dutch Captain, out of reſpect to the memory of his father, and brought ſafe to England, when his relations thought him long ſince dead (*a*). He was a young gentleman naturally of a very briſk and lively temper; but by a long ſeries of untoward events, came to alter his diſpoſition entirely, ſo as to appear, after his return, very ſerious, or rather melancholy, and did not much affect ſpeaking, except amongſt a few intimate friends. But the noiſe of his remaining ſo long, and in ſuch a condition, upon the iſland of Madagaſcar, induced many to viſit him, and to enquire into the circumſtances of the life he led there, whom he civilly received, and readily ſatisfied their curioſity, though otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed (as has been ſaid) by his taciturnity; but he always looked upon his preſervation there, and his eſcape from thence, as ſuch ſignal inſtances of the favour of providence, that he did not judge himſelf at liberty to conceal them. But notwithſtanding his freedom in communicating this part of his hiſtory, very few particulars relating to it can now be recovered [*A*]. It is very probable, that the world might receive full ſatisfaction in this, as well as many other re-

(*a*) This from the information of Mr. Calton and others acquainted with Mr. Benbow, junior.

[*A*] *Very few particulars are to be recovered.*] All we know with any certainty, as to his affairs, amounts only to this: He ſailed in quality of fourth mate on board the Degrave Eaſt-Indiaman, which lay in the Downs when his father proceeded on his laſt expedition. She paſſed through February 19, 1701, bound for Fort St. George, and thence to Bengal. She was a very fine veſſel of 700 tons and 52 guns, and performed this voyage happily: but at Bengal the Captain died, the firſt mate ſoon followed him, by which the command devolved on the Captain's ſon, who was ſecond mate, and Mr. Benbow ſucceeded in his place. From Bengal they ſailed for the Cape of Good Hope; but in going out of the river the ſhip run a-ground and ſtuck faſt: ſhe floated again the next high tide, and put to ſea with little or no damage as they then imagined, but they ſoon after found her ſo leaky, that they were forced to keep two chain-pumps continually going. In this condition they ſailed two months before they reached the iſland of St. Maurice, inhabited by the Dutch, who received them very kindly, gave them all the aſſiſtance in their power, permitting them to ſet up a tent on ſhore, into which they brought moſt part of their cargo, having unladen the ſhip in order to ſearch for the leak, which however they could not find. After about a month's ſtay at the iſland of St. Maurice, and taking about 50 Laſcars or Mooriſh ſeamen, they ſailed directly for the Cape of Good Hope. They had then about 170 hands on board, and though the Laſcars could not do much in point of navigation, yet they were of great uſe, as they eaſed the Engliſh ſeamen of the labour of pumping. Yet after all, it was fatal for them that this raſh reſolution was taken of putting to ſea before they had ſtopped, or even diſcovered the leak; for in a few days time it gained ſo much upon them, that notwithſtanding they pumped day and night, it was as much as they could do to keep the veſſel above water, though they were ſtill 600 leagues from their intended port. The crew thereupon acquainted Captain Young, that for the common ſafety it would be beſt to run the ſhip aſhore on the neareſt land, which was that of Madagaſcar, which he accordingly did: but, in ſpite of all the care he could take, the ſhip was wrecked and broke to pieces, and he, who was the laſt man in her, obliged to throw himſelf into the ſea, in order to ſwim on ſhore as well as he could, which with difficulty he performed. They were quickly made priſoners by the King of that part of the iſland, who carried them 50 miles up into the country, where they found one Captain Drummond and one Captain Stewart, with a few of their ſhip's crew, and who ſoon let them into a perfect knowledge of their condition, by aſſuring them that the King intended to make them ſerve in his wars, and never permit them to return to Europe, which ſtruck them with the utmoſt conſternation. In this diſtreſs the Captains Drummond, Stewart, and Young, held a conſultation, in conjunction with Mr. Prat and Mr. Benbow, in which Captain Drummond propoſed as the only expedient by which they could recover their liberty, to ſeize the Black King, and march off with him priſoner into ſome other province of the iſland where ſhips frequently came. Mr. Benbow warmly eſpouſed this propoſal, and aſſiſted with great courage in the execution of it, which was performed with more eaſe than was expected; and the King, his ſon, and the Queen, were made priſoners, but the Queen was releaſed by Captain Young out of mere pity. It is not very eaſy to conceive a bolder enterprize than this, where between 50 and 60 white people, and not above half of theſe armed, carried off a Black Prince out of the midſt of his capital, and in the ſight of ſome hundreds, nay ſome thouſands of his ſubjects better armed than themſelves, who were notwithſtanding reſtrained from firing by Captain Young's threatening to kill their King if they did. Afterwards, however, they managed the thing ſtrangely; for, upon a propoſal by the Negroes to give ſix guns for their King, it was agreed to upon a ſuppoſition that they would then follow them no farther, and this notwithſtanding Mr. Benbow oppoſed it, and ſhewed them the conſequences with which it muſt be attended. The King being ſet free, they ſtill continued to follow them: at laſt it was agreed to give up the Prince too, in hopes that would put an end to the purſuit, taking three people, whom the Blacks told them were their principal men, as hoſtages, two of whom made their eſcape, and then the Blacks not only purſued, but began to fire, which hitherto they had not done. The weakneſs of their own conduct, and the wiſdom of Mr. Benbow's advice, was now viſible; and as it appeared that they had nothing for it but fighting, they began to diſpoſe their little army in order of battle, their 36 armed men were formed into four bodies under the three Captains and Mr. Benbow; but after an engagement, laſting from noon till evening, it was agreed to treat. The Negroes demanded their arms, promiſing to let them go. This propoſition was vigorouſly oppoſed by Mr. Benbow; and when it came to be put in execution, the Capſpects, if a large work he compoſed on the ſubject, intitled, *A complete Deſcription of the ſouth Part of the Iſland of* Madagaſcar, *in reference to the Soil, Climate, Produce, Animals, and Inhabitants, with Remarks on the Coaſts, Harbours, and Commerce of that Iſland, and the Improvements of which they are capable*, could be met with. This was a large and very comprehenſive book, containing a multitude of very curious circumſtances, which occaſioned its being often borrowed by ſome or other of his acquaintance, in whoſe cuſtody (if yet remaining) it is to be found: for notwithſtanding the ſtricteſt ſearch made immediately after his deceaſe, and the cloſeſt enquiries by the family ſince, they have been able to obtain no account of it whatever. But if, upon this notice, any gentleman ſhould be able to diſcover it, there is no queſtion that even now the publication of it would be very acceptable to the world; for though the facts are of an old date, they are ſtill ſo extraordinary as to deſerve memory, and the deſcription of the country, and its natural and civil hiſtory, would not only afford much entertainment, but might be highly uſeful. Our author lived ſeveral years after his return to England, but paſſed his days in privacy, and died without iſſue.

tains Drummond and Stewart, and ſome of their crew, refuſed to deliver their arms, and marched off unperceived in the dark, accompanied by Mr. Benbow, and got ſafe to Port Dauphine, while all the reſt were cruelly murdered, except one boy, whom they preſerved and made a ſlave. C.

BENDLOWES (Edward), author of ſome poetical pieces [*A*], was ſon and heir of Andrew Bendlowes, Eſq; [*B*], and born in the year 1613 (*a*). This gentleman was carefully educated in grammar learning, and, at ſixteen years of age, admitted a Fellow-Commoner of St. John's-college in Cambridge, to which he was afterwards a benefactor. From thence he went with a tutor to travel, and having gone through ſeveral countries, and viſited ſeven Courts of Princes, he returned home a moſt accompliſhed gentleman both in behaviour and converſation, but a little tinctured with the principles of Popery. Being very imprudent in the management of his worldly concerns, he made a ſhift (though he was never married) to ſquander away his eſtate (which amounted to ſeven hundred, or a thouſand pounds a year) on poets, muſicians, buffoons, and flatterers, and in buying curioſities. He gave a handſome fortune with a niece named Philippa, who was married to ——— Blount, of Maple-Durham in Oxfordſhire, Eſq; [*C*]; and having beſides engaged himſelf for the payment of other mens debts, which he was not able to diſcharge, he was put into priſon at Oxford: but, being ſoon after releaſed, he ſpent the remainder of his life, which was eight years, in that city. He was eſteemed in his younger days a great patron of the poets, eſpecially Quarles, Davenant, Payne, Fiſher, *&c.* who either dedicated books to him, or wrote epigrams and poems on him. His flatterers uſed to ſtyle him *Benevolus*, by way of anagram on his name, in return for his generoſity towards them. Towards the latter end of his life, he was drawn off from his inclination to Popery, and would often take occaſion to diſpute againſt the Papiſts and their opinions, and particularly diſliked the favourers of Arminius and Socinus. This gentleman, reduced, through his own indiſcretion, to great want, died at Oxford the

(*a*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* Vol. ii. col. 204, 205.

[*A*] *He was author of ſome poetical pieces.*] Anthony Wood mentions the following (1). I. *Sphinx Theologica, ſeu Muſica Templi, ubi diſcordia concors.* Camb. 1626, in *octavo.* II. *Honorifica armorum ceſſatio, ſive Pacis et Fidei Aſſociatio.* Febr. 11, *ann.* 1643, in *octavo.* III. *Theophila; or, Love-Sacrifice*; a divine poem. Lond. 1652, in *folio*, with the author's picture before it. Several parts of this poem were ſet to Muſic by Mr. John Jenkyns, an eminent Muſician, whom Mr. Bendlowes patronized; and a whole canto of it, conſiſting of above 300 verſes, was turned into elegant Latin verſe, in the ſpace of one day, by the ingenious Mr. John Hall of Durham. IV. *A Summary of Divine Wiſdom.* Lond. 1657, in *quarto.* V. *A Glance at the Glories of ſacred Friendſhip.* Lond. 1657, printed on one ſide of a large ſheet of paper. VI. *De Sacra Amicitia*; printed with the former in Latin verſe and proſe. VII. *Threnothriambeuticon; or, Latin Poems on King Charles the Second's Reſtoration.* Lond. 1660; printed on a ſide of a large ſheet of paper. A few were printed on white ſattin; one copy of which, in a frame ſuitable to it, he gave to the Public Library at Oxford. VIII. *Oxonii Encomium.* Oxon. 1672, in four ſheets in *folio.* It is moſtly in Latin verſe. IX. *Oxonii Elogia.* Oxon. 1673; printed on one ſide of a large ſheet of paper. It conſiſts of twelve ſtanzas, and is followed by 1. *Oxonii Elegia.* 2. *Academicis Serenitas.* 3. *Academicis Temperantia.* 4. *Studioſis Cautela*, and ſome other pieces. X. *Magia Cæleſtis.* Oxon. 1673. It is a Latin poem, printed on one ſide of a large ſheet of paper. The three laſt-mentioned pieces were compoſed at Oxford. XI. *Echo veridica joco-ſeria.* Oxon. 1673, printed on one ſide of a large ſheet of paper. It is a Latin poem, chiefly againſt the Pope, the Papiſts, Jeſuits, &c. XII. *Truth's Touch-ſtone*, conſiſting of an hundred diſtichs, printed on one ſide of a long ſheet of paper, and dedicated to his niece Mrs. Philippa Blount. XIII. *Annotations for the better confirming the ſeveral truths in the ſaid poem*; uncertain, when printed. XIV. Mr. Bendlowes wrote a *Mantiſſa* to Richard Fenn's *Panegyricon Inaugurale*, intitled, *De celeberrima et florentiſſ. Trinobantiados Auguſtæ Civ. Prætori, reg. ſenatui populoque.* Lond. 1673, in *quarto*; in the title of which piece he ſtiles himſelf, *Turmæ Equeſtris in Com. Eſſex. Præfectus.* Theſe writings (our Antiquary informs us) acquired Mr. Bendlowes the name of a *Divine Author.*

(1) *Faſti Oxon.* Vol. ii. col 204, 205.

[*B*] *Son and heir of Andrew Bendlowes, Eſq;*] Andrew Bendlowes, Eſq; was ſon of William Bendlowes, Eſq; ſon and heir of Andrew Bendlowes, Serjeant at law, &c., all Lords of the manor of Brent-hall, and other lands in Eſſex; but deſcended from the family of the Bendlowes in Yorkſhire (2).

(2) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

[*C*] *He gave a handſome fortune with his niece Philippa, who was married to ——— Blount of Maple-Durham in Oxfordſhire, Eſq;*] Mr. Wood ſeems to charge this gentleman and his wife with ingratitude towards Mr. Bendlowes, in not aſſiſting him in his neceſſities: For he tells us, that this gentleman portioned his niece out of his eſtate of Brent-hall, *ſuppoſing thereby that ſo long as they lived he ſhould not want; but the caſe being otherwiſe, he lived afterwards in a mean condition* (3): unleſs we are to conclude from theſe words, that one or both of them were dead, or that they were themſelves ſo reduced in their circumſtances, that they were not able to relieve the wants of their uncle.

(3) *Ibid.*

eighteenth

eighteenth of December 1686, aged ſeventy-three years. He was buried in the north *iſle* of St. Mary's church; and the expences of his funeral were defrayed by a contribution of ſeveral ſcholars, to whom he had been particularly known. His picture hangs in the gallery belonging to the public library of Oxford. B.

BENEDICT (Biscop (*a*) or Episcopus) (*b*), a famous Abbot in the VIIth century, was born of a noble family among the Engliſh Saxons, and flouriſhed under Oſwi and Egfrid Kings of Northumberland. In the twenty-fifth year of his age, he abandoned all temporal views and poſſeſſions, to devote himſelf wholly to religion [*A*]. To this purpoſe he travelled to Rome in the year 653, where he acquired an exact knowledge of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, which, upon his return home, he laboured to eſtabliſh in Britain. In 665, he took a ſecond journey to Rome [*B*]; and after ſome months ſtay in that city, he received the tonſure in the monaſtery of Lerins, where he continued about two years in a ſtrict obſervance of the monaſtic diſcipline. He was ſent back by Pope Vitalian, in company with Theodore of Tarſus, lately conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury [*C*], and an Abbot called Adrian. Upon his return, he took upon himſelf the government of the monaſtery of Canterbury, to which he had been elected in his abſence. Two years after, he reſigned the abbey to Adrian, and went a third time to Rome, and returned with a very large collection of the moſt valuable books. Then he went to the court of Egfrid King of Northumberland, who had ſucceeded Oſwi. That Prince, with whom he was highly in favour, gave him a tract of land on the eaſt ſide of the mouth of the river *Were*; where he built a large monaſtery, called, from its ſituation, *Weremouth* (*c*); in which, it is ſaid, he placed three hundred Benedictine Monks (*d*). The church of this convent was built of ſtone after the Roman architecture, and the windows glazed, by artificers fetched from France, in the year of Chriſt 674, and the fourth of King Egfrid; and both the monaſtery and the church were dedicated to St. Peter. In 678, Benedict took a fourth journey to Rome, and was kindly received by Pope Agatho. From this expedition he returned loaden with books, relics of the Apoſtles and Martyrs, images, and pictures [*D*]; when, with the Pope's conſent, he brought over with him

(*a*) Bede, Hiſt. Abbat. Wiremuthenſ. & Gyrwenſ. *apud* ejuſdem Hiſt. Eccleſ. *Cantab.* 1722, p. 293, &c.

(*b*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. lxxxi.

(*c*) Bede, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) Leland, *ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] *He abandoned all temporal views and poſſeſſions, to devote himſelf wholly to religion.*] Let us hear Venerable Bede: 'Cum eſſet miniſter *Oſuiu* regis et poſſeſſionem terræ ſuo gradui competentem illo donante 'perciperet, annos natus circiter viginti et quinque, 'faſtidivit poſſeſſionem caducam, ut adquirere poſſet 'æternam; deſpexit militiam cum corruptibili donativo terreſtrem, ut vero regi militaret, regnum in ſuperna civitate mereretur habere perpetuum; reliquit 'domum, cognatos, et patriam propter Chriſtum et 'propter Evangelium, ut centuplum acciperet et vitam 'æternam poſſideret; reſpuit nuptiis ſervire carnalibus, 'ut ſequi valeret agnum virginitatis gloria candidum 'in regnis cæleſtibus; abnuit liberos carne procreare 'mortales, prædeſtinatus a Chriſto ad educandos ei 'ſpirituali doctrina filios cæleſti in vita perennes (1). '—— *About the twenty-fifth year of his age, being then 'in the ſervice of King Oſwy, who had given him 'lands ſufficient to maintain him according to his rank, 'he deſpiſed the fleeting poſſeſſion, that he might obtain 'an eternal one: he ſet light by a terreſtrial warfare, 'with its corruptible recompence, that he might ſerve 'under the true King, and merit an everlaſting kingdom 'in the heavenly city: he left his family, relations, and 'country, for the ſake of Chriſt and his Goſpel, that he 'might receive an hundred fold, and enjoy eternal life: 'he refuſed to marry, that he might follow the ſpotleſs 'and virgin lamb in the kingdom of heaven; neither 'would he beget mortal children after the fleſh, being 'predeſtinated by Chriſt to bring up everlaſting ſons, 'through the doctrine of the Spirit, who ſhould inherit 'the cæleſtial life.*' Bede acquaints us here, that Benedict, at the time when he renounced the world, was in the ſervice of King Oſwy; *cum eſſet miniſter Oſuiu regis:* but he does not expreſsly tell us what that ſervice was. Leland pretends he ſerved that Prince in his army, and gave extraordinary proofs of his valour, often returning home laden with the ſpoils of the enemy. *Juvenis audaciſſimi animi ſub Oſuuio Tranſabrinæ provinciæ rege militavit*; *unde non raro ab inimicis gloriam et ſpolia opima reportavit* (2). It is remarkable, that Bale, Pits, and other authors, make no mention of this circumſtance, for which there ſeems to be no better foundation than theſe words of Bede juſt now cited; *deſpexit militiam cum corruptibili donativo terreſtrem, ut vero regi militaret.* But whoever conſiders the whole paſſage, will have reaſon to think that it is no other than a figurative expreſſion, the more ſtrongly to paint his great ſelf-denial, in renouncing all worldly advantages for the mortified ſtate of religion. So that we may venture to ſay, that our judicious antiquary is miſtaken in ſuppoſing Benedict to have been a ſoldier in his youth.

[*B*] *He took a ſecond journey to Rome.*] Bede informs us, that Alcfrid, one of the ſons of King Oſwy, deſigning to take a journey to Rome out of devotion, had made choice of Benedict to accompany him; but though the King thought fit to forbid the young Prince's journey, and obliged him to continue at home, Benedict would not be diſappointed, and therefore proſecuted the intended voyage with the utmoſt expedition (3).

[*C*] *Theodore of Tarſus, lately conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury.*] Ecbert, King of Kent, had ſent Uighard, a perſon ſufficiently inſtructed in eccleſiaſtical matters by the diſciples of St. Gregory, to Rome, to be ordained a Biſhop; rightly judging, that himſelf and his ſubjects would be more perfectly inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith and myſteries, by a Prelate of their own nation and language, than by a foreigner with the help of an interpreter. Uighard being come to Rome, before he could receive the epiſcopal character, was ſeized with a mortal diſtemper, of which he died. Hereupon Pope Vitalian made choice of Theodore of Tarſus, an Eccleſiaſtic of great learning and abilities, whom he conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſent into Britain, together with an Abbot named Adrian, as his colleague and adviſer. At the ſame time he prevailed with Benedict, who was then at Rome, to accompany the new Prelate in his journey, both as his conductor and his interpreter (4).

[*D*] —— *and pictures.*] He brought over thoſe of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and the Apoſtles; pictures of ſeveral events in the Goſpel Hiſtory, and of the viſions of St. John in the Apocalypſe; all which he hung up in his new church dedicated to St. Peter. He had a farther view, than that of mere ornament, in this; intending thereby to affect the minds of the ſpectators with an awful ſenſe of religion, by preſenting to their eyes lively repreſentations of the amiable aſpect of our Saviour and his Saints, the glories of his Incarnation, and the terrors of the laſt judgment. *Quatenus intrantes eccleſiam omnes etiam literarum ignari, quaquaverſum intenderent, vel ſemper amabilem Chriſti Sanctorumque ejus, quamvis in imagine, contemplarentur aſpectum; vel Dominicæ Incarnationis gloriam vigilantiore mente recolerent; vel extremi diſcrimen examinis quaſi coram oculis habentes, diſtrictius ſe ipſi examinare meminiſſent* (5).

(1) Vit. Abbat. Wiremuthenſ. & Gyrwenſ. *apud* Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 293.

(2) Comment. de Script. Brit. c. lxxxi.

(3) Bede, *ibid.*

(4) Bede, *ubi ſupra*, 294.

(5) *Id. ibid.* p. 295.

John, Arch-Chanter of St. Peter's, and Abbot of St. Martin's, who introduced the Roman manner of ſinging maſs. In 682, King Egfrid gave him another piece of ground (*e*), on the banks of the Tyne, four miles from Newcaſtle (*f*); where he built another monaſtery called *Girwy* or *Jarrow* [*E*], dedicated to St. Paul, and placed therein ſeventeen Monks under an Abbot named Ceolfrid. About the ſame time, he appointed a Preſbyter named *Eaſterwinus* to be Joint-Abbot with himſelf of the monaſtery of Weremouth [*F*]: ſoon after which, he took his fifth and laſt journey to Rome, and, as before, came back enriched with a farther ſupply of eccleſiaſtical ornaments [*G*]. He had not been long at home before he was ſeized with a dead palſy, which put an end to his life on the twelfth of January 690. His behaviour during his ſickneſs was truly Chriſtian and exemplary [*H*]. He was buried in his own monaſtery of Weremouth (*g*). Leland will tell us the fate of Benedict's two monaſteries [*I*]. He wrote ſome pieces mentioned below [*K*]. The famous

[*E*] *He built another monaſtery, called* Girwy, *or* Jarrow.] Camden tells us (6), there is ſtill to be ſeen the following inſcription, which is fairly legible on the church-wall of the town of Jarrow:

DEDICATIO BASILICÆ
SCI PAULI VIIII KL: MAI
ANNO XVI ECFRIDI REG.

CEOLFRIDI ABB: EJUSDEM
Q' ECCLES: DO: AUCTORE
CONDITORIS ANNO IIII.

i. e. *The dedication of the church of St. Paul, the ninth of the Calends of May, in the ſixteenth year of King Ecfrid, and the fourth year of Ceolfrid Abbot, and (with the divine aſſiſtance) founder of the ſaid church.* 'In this inſcription (the right reverend editor tells 'us) the XVI ſhould be XV. For King Egfrid 'reigned no more than fifteen years; and ſo Sir 'James Ware has given it in his notes upon Bede's 'Hiſtory of the Abbots of Weremuth. But it ought 'not to be inferred from the inſcription, that Ceol'frid was the founder of this monaſtery, ſince it ap'pears from Bede's account, that he was only con'ſtituted firſt Abbot of the place by *Benedictus Biſco*'*pius*, who ſent him thither, with a colony of about 'ſeventeen Monks, from Weremouth (7).' William of Malmeſbury miſtook the ſituation of this ſecond monaſtery, when he wrote thus concerning Benedict. *Hic Wiræ amnis utraſque ripas (qui apud Northumbros non incelebris famæ habetur) monaſteriis prætexuit, ſub apoſtolorum Petri et Pauli nomine charitatis et regulæ unione non diſcrepantibus* (8); i. e. 'This Abbot co'vered both the banks of the famous river Wire in 'Northumberland with monaſteries, dedicated to St. 'Peter and St. Paul, united by the ties of brotherly 'love, and profeſſion of the ſame rule.' This Hiſtorian ſuppoſes both Benedict's monaſteries to have been built on the oppoſite banks of the ſame river; whereas that of Girwy or Jarrow was at the mouth of the Tyne, ſome miles diſtant from that of Weremouth. The harmony and union which, William of Malmeſbury tells us, ſubſiſted between the two convents, was what the pious founder had chiefly in view, as we learn from Bede. 'Monaſterium Beati Pauli 'Apoſtoli conſtruxit, ea duntaxat ratione, ut una 'utriuſque loci pax et concordia, eadem perpetua 'familiaritas conſervaretur et gratia; ut ſicut, verbi 'gratia, corpus a capite per quod ſpirat non poteſt 'avelli, caput corporis ſine quo non vivit nequit ob'liviſci, ita nullus hæc monaſteria primorum apoſto'lorum fraterna ſocietate conjuncta aliquo ab invicem 'temptaret diſturbare conatu (9). ——— *He built the* '*monaſtery of St. Paul with this view only, that union* '*and agreement, and the ſame friendly intercourſe, might* '*perpetually ſubſiſt between the two ſocieties; that, in* '*like manner as the body cannot be torn away from the* '*head by which it breathes, nor the head forget the* '*body by which it lives; ſo no one might endeavour to* '*ſeparate from each other, or diſturb the union which* '*ſubſiſted between theſe monaſteries dedicated to the two* '*chief Apoſtles, and joined together in brotherly ſociety.*'

[*F*] *He appointed Eaſterwinus to be Joint-Abbot with himſelf of the monaſtery of Weremouth.*] His frequent journies into foreign countries, and the uncertainty of the time of his return, made it neceſſary that he ſhould have an aſſociate in the government of his monaſtery. And in this, Bede aſſures us (10), he followed the example of St. Peter himſelf, who (as hiſtorians inform us) appointed two ſubordinate *Popes* at Rome, for the better government of the Church. *Nam et beatiſſimum Petrum Apoſtolum Romæ Pontifices ſub ſe duos per ordinem ad regendam eccleſiam conſtituiſſe cauſa inſtante neceſſaria tradunt hiſtoriæ.* He inſtances likewiſe in the famous St. Benedict, who, as St. Gregory writes concerning him, ſet twelve Abbots at one time over his diſciples.

[*G*] *He came back enriched with a farther ſupply of eccleſiaſtical ornaments.*] Theſe chiefly conſiſted of books and pictures. Among the latter were ſome which repreſented the connexion between the Old and New Teſtament; ſuch as, Iſaac bearing the wood with which himſelf was to be ſacrificed, and Jeſus Chriſt bearing the croſs on which himſelf was to ſuffer; alſo the ſerpent erected by Moſes in the wilderneſs, and the Son of Man hanging on the croſs. He brought over, likewiſe, two ſilken palls of exquiſite workmanſhip, with which he afterwards purchaſed of King Alfrid, who ſucceeded Ecfrid, a piece of land on the ſouth-ſide of the mouth of the Were (11).

[*H*] *His behaviour during his ſickneſs was truly chriſtian and exemplary.*] Bede is very copious in deſcribing the circumſtances of Benedict's ſickneſs and death; but we ſhall abridge his narrative. Though his diſtemper laſted full three years, he bore it with a moſt wonderful patience and reſignation. Thoſe nights, in which he could not ſleep through the violence of his diſeaſe, he ſpent in hearing the book of Job, or ſome other parts of Scripture, read to him, and in ſinging of pſalms with two of the Monks. He was particularly careful to provide for the future welfare of his monaſteries. And to this purpoſe he exhorted the Monks to a ſtrict obſervance of the rule he had taught them; which was not, he ſaid, the offspring of his own thought and judgment, but compoſed of the beſt inſtitutions he had met with in ſeventeen monaſteries that he had viſited in his frequent travels. '*Neque enim putare habetis, inquit, quod ex meo hæc* '*quæ vobis ſtatui decreta indoctus corde protulerim. Ex* '*decem quippe et ſeptem monaſteriis, quæ inter longos* '*meæ crebræ peregrinationis diſcurſus optima comperi,* '*hæc univerſa didici, et vobis ſalubriter obſervanda* '*contradidi.*' He adviſed them carefully to preſerve the library he had collected for the inſtruction of the Church, and not ſuffer it to be diſſipated. But what he moſt earneſtly recommended to them was, that, in the choice of his ſucceſſor, they would regard the moral character and abilities of the candidate, and not his birth and family; wiſhing that the place whereon the monaſtery ſtood might rather become a deſert, than be governed by an unworthy perſon. '*Et vere,* '*inquit, dico vobis, quia in comparatione duorum malo*'*rum tolerabilius mihi multo eſt totum hunc locum in quo* '*monaſterium feci, ſi ſic judicaverit Deus, in ſolitudi*'*nem ſempiternam redigi, quam ut frater meus carnalis,* '*quem novimus viam veritatis non ingredi, in eo re*'*gendo poſt me abbatis nomine ſuccedat.*' On the night, in which the good Abbot died, the Monks aſſembled in the church of the monaſtery, and continued praying and ſinging pſalms 'till he expired. 'And thus '(ſays his Hiſtorian) this holy ſoul, long tried and 'purified in the fire of a happy affliction, eſcaped 'from the earthly priſon of the body, and took its 'flight to the glories of everlaſting felicity.' *Et ſic anima illa ſancta longis flagellorum felicium excocta atque examinata flammis, luteam carnis fornacem deſerit, et ſupernæ beatitudinis libera pervolat ad gloriam* (12).

[*I*] *Leland will tell us the fate of his two monaſteries.*] They were plundered and ſet on fire by the Danes, about the time of Egbert or Oſwulph King of Northumberland; and what theſe barbarous invaders left

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(*e*) Bede, *ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) Leland, *ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) Bede, *ibid.*

(6) Britannia, by Biſhop Gibſon, laſt edit. Vol. ii. col. 956.

(7) *Ibid.*

(8) *Apud* Scriptor. poſt Bedam. edit. Francof. 1601, p. 294.

(9) Bede, *ubi ſupra*, p. 296.

(10) *Ibid.*

(11) Bede, *ibid.* p. 297.

(12) *Id. ibid.* p. 297, 298, 299.

famous hiſtorian Bede, who wrote the *Lives* of *four* of the *Abbots* of *Weremouth* and *Jarrow* (*b*), was one of the Monks in thoſe convents, and pronounced an homily on the death of Benedict, which is ſtill extant among that author's Homilies (*i*). This hiſtorian gives us a character of our Abbot in the words of St. Gregory [*L*]. His body was purchaſed at a great price by Adelwold (*k*) or Ethelwold, Biſhop of Norwich, about the time of King Edgar, and depoſited in the monaſtery of Thorney in Cambridgeſhire (*l*).

(*b*) *Namely*, Benedict, Ceolfrid, Eaſterwinus, *and* Huætberetus.

(*k*) W. Malmſb. de geſt. Pontif. Anglor. p. 94. *ap*. Scriptor. poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601.

(*i*) Pits, de Illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. an. 703.

(*l*) Leland, *ubi ſupra*.

left of them was afterwards deſtroyed by the Normans, who came in with William the Conqueror. But not long after, three Monks of Eveſham, the chief of whom was Aldwinus, going into Northumberland, in order to reſtore there the monaſtic life, among others repaired the convents of Weremouth and Jarrow, though in a very ſlight manner. And but lately (ſays Leland, who lived about the latter end of Henry VII.) they were inhabited by three or four Monks from the monaſtery of Durham. The greatneſs and magnificence of theſe buildings may be inferred from the vaſt heaps of ruins, which our Antiquary himſelf ſaw, not without admiration, and a melancholy reflection on the tranſitory condition of the greateſt things on earth. *Ingentes tamen utrinque ruinæ maximorum olim ædificiorum manifeſta indicia etiam nunc extant, quas ego nuper non ſine admiratione aſpexi, rerum viciſſitudines tantarum deplorans* (13).

[*K*] *He wrote ſome pieces.*] Leland aſcribes to him only a treatiſe, intitled, *De Conſonantia Regulæ Monaſticæ Vitæ*; i. e. ‘ Of the Agreement of the rule ‘ of the Monaſtic Life.’ Bale and Pits give this book the title of *Concordia Regularum*; i. e. ‘ The ‘ Harmony of the Rules.’ And the laſt-mentioned author informs us, that the deſign of this book was to prove, that the Rules of all the Holy Fathers tallied exactly with that of St. Benedict, Founder of the Benedictines. He wrote likewiſe *Exhortationes ad Monachos*; i. e. ‘ Advice to the Monks.’ *De ſuo Privilegio*; i. e. ‘ Concerning his own Privilege.’ And *De celebratione Feſtorum totius anni*; i. e. ‘ Of the ‘ celebration of the Feſtivals throughout the year.’

[*L*] *Bede commends him in the words of St. Gregory.*] ‘ Qui, ut beati Papæ Gregorii verbis, quibus cogno- ‘ minis ejus abbatis vitam glorificat, utar; fuit vir ‘ vitæ venerabilis, Gratia *Benedictus* et nomine, ab ‘ ipſo pueritiæ ſuæ tempore cor gerens ſenile, ætatem ‘ quippe moribus tranſiens, nulli animum voluptati ‘ dedit (14).——*To uſe the words of the holy Pope Gre-* ‘ *gory, in which he celebrates an Abbot of the ſame* ‘ *name; he was a man venerable for his conduct, a* ‘ *Saint both in name and life; from his very infancy as* ‘ *wiſe as the aged, and addicted to no ſort of worldly* ‘ *pleaſure.*’ This character, to be ſure, did not appear a juſt one to the Biſhop of Offory, who cenſures him ſeverely for being the firſt who imported Glaziers, Painters, Architects, and other Artificers, ſubſervient to the pleaſures of mankind; ‘ from ‘ whence one may ſee (*ſays he*), how delicate and ‘ luxurious theſe Holy Fathers were from the very ‘ beginning.’ *Vitriarios, Pictores, Architectos, et id genus alios ad voluptatem artifices, in Angliam omnium primus ex tranſmarinis provinciis advexit. Quibus videre licet, quam curioſi, molles ac petulantes fuerint hi ſancti Patres, a prima ſtatim origine* (15). Fuller is not behind in the ſeverity of his judgment on our Abbot. ‘ He left religion in England (ſays that ‘ author) *braver*, but not *better* than he found it. ‘ Indeed, what Tully ſaid of the Roman Lady, that ‘ *ſhe danced better than became a modeſt woman*, was ‘ true of God's ſervice, as by him adorned, the *gau-* ‘ *dineſs* prejudicing the *gravity* thereof. He made ‘ all things according (not to the *pattern in the Mount* ‘ with Moſes, but) the *Precedent of Rome*; and his ‘ convent, being but the *Romiſh Tranſcript*, became ‘ the *Engliſh Original*, to which all the monaſteries ‘ in the land were ſuddenly conformed (16).’ B.

*** [Mr. Thomas Warton, who mentions ſeveral of the circumſtances above related, ſpeaks of Benedict Biſcop as one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the Saxon Eccleſiaſtics. The library which he added to his monaſtery, was ſtored with Greek and Latin volumes. Bede has thought it worthy to be recorded, that Ceolfrid, his ſucceſſor in the government of Weremouth-Abbey, augmented this collection with three volumes of Pandects, and a book of Coſmography wonderfully enriched with curious workmanſhip, and bought at Rome. Benedict, in one of his expeditions to Rome, brought over John, Arch-chantor of St. Peter's in that city, who introduced the Roman method of ſinging maſs. He taught the Monks of Benedict's abbey; and all the ſingers of the monaſteries of that province came from various parts to hear him ſing. With regard to Bale's cenſure of Benedict, Mr. Warton obſerves, that it is the language of a PURITAN in LIFE, as well as in religion (17).] K.

(13) Leland, *ubi ſupra*.

(14) Bede, *ubi ſupra*, p. 293.

(15) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. I. c. lxxxii.

(16) Fuller's Worthies of England. *Yorkſhire*, p. 192.

(17) Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, Vol. i. Diſſ. II.

BENEDICT, Abbot of Peterborough in the XIIth century, was originally a Benedictine Monk in the monaſtery of Canterbury, afterwards Prior of that houſe (*a*), and from thence, in the year 1177, advanced by King Henry II. to the abbacy of Peterborough, in the room of William Watervill, who had been depoſed by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*b*). Benedict had ſtudied at Oxford, and taken the degree of Doctor in Divinity; and became intimately acquainted with the famous Archbiſhop Becket. After that Prelate's death, he wrote an *Hiſtory* of his *Life* and *Miracles* [*A*]. He has the general character of a very learned man (*c*); though the Biſhop of Offory beſtows very hard words upon him, and can afford him no better an appellation than that of a *vile impoſtor*, for no other reaſon, as appears, but becauſe he wrote the Life of Becket (*d*). Biſhop Nicolſon tells us (*e*), he died in the year 1200.

(*a*) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. III. c. lii.

(*b*) Chronic. Jo. Bromt. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 1120.

(*c*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. clxxxix. & Pits, de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. *an*. 1200.

(*d*) *See the remark* [*A*].

(*e*) *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library*, edit. Lond. 1736, p. 113.

[*A*] *He wrote an* Hiſtory *of the* Life *and* Miracles *of* Archbiſhop Becket.] Bale and Pits ſpeak of two pieces, which probably are but one and the ſame; the firſt, intitled, *Vita Thomæ Cantuarienſis*; i. e. ‘ The Life of Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury;’ the other, *Miracula Thomæ Martyris*; i. e. ‘ The ‘ Miracles of Thomas the Martyr.’ Leland, who mentions only *The Life of Becket* as written by our author, gives it the character of an elegant performance (1). But Bale treats it as a mere heap of lies and forgeries, in order to palm Becket on the multitude for a firſt rate Saint, and interceſſor with God. *Ut pro magno eccleſiæ Martyre Becketus coleretur, et ut ſanctiſſimus ad Deum patronus vulgo haberetur, acceſſit hic quintus vel ſextus, ſed non ultimus, fucatæ ejus ſanctimoniæ teſtis, confictis mille mendaciorum ſignis, miraculorum loco* (2). Nor is this author's ſpleen confined to Benedict, but extends itſelf to the Monks of thoſe times in general, whom he repreſents as a ſet of mere debauchees and impoſtors, concealing their vices under a maſk of piety, and cheating the people with the moſt diabolical illuſions. *His diebus peſſimis, ventri indulgentes monachi et hypocritæ, præſtigiis pluſquam diabolicis mundum illudebant* (3). Dr. Cave tells us (4), that the author of the *Quadrilogus* tranſcribed a great part of Benedict's Life of Becket into the third and fourth books of his work. This *Quadrilogus*, or *De Vita et Proceſſu S. Thomæ Cantuarienſis et Martyris ſuper Libertate eccleſiaſtica* (Biſhop Nicolſon tells us), is collected out of four Hiſtorians, who were contemporary and converſant with Becket, in his height of glory, and loweſt depreſſion; namely, *Herbert de Hoſcham*, *Johannes Carnotenſis*, *William of Canterbury*, and *Alan of Teukſbury*; who are brought in as ſo many ſeveral relaters of matters of fact, interchangeably (5). Here is no mention of our Benedict in this liſt; ſo that either the Doctor is miſtaken in his aſſertion, or the Biſhop is not exact in his account of the authors from whence the *Quadrilogus* was compiled. The reader will find a long catalogue of authors, who

(1) Leland, de Script. Brit. c. clxxxix.

(2) Baleus, de Script Brit. Cent. III. c. lii.

(3) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. III. c. lii.

(4) Hiſtoria Literaria, Sæc. Waldenſe, an. 1177.

(5) *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library*, edit. Lond. 1736, p. 113.

have recorded the Life and Actions of that Arch-Saint in the article BECKET (Thomas). B.

*** [The ſeverity of Bale's principles and temper, and his averſion to the Monks, ſometimes carried his repreſentations of them to an exceſs. There was, however, in many caſes, ſufficient reaſon to expoſe their ignorance, their idleneſs, their ſuperſtitions, their frauds, and their debaucheries. The various evils that aroſe from the prevalence of the religious orders of the church of Rome, and from the multitude of monaſteries and convents, will now be generally acknowledged; and we cannot ſufficiently rejoice at the demolition of them, and the far ſuperior advantages, in point of knowledge, civility, refinement, ſocial happineſs, and religion which we now enjoy. At the ſame time, we may be permitted to look back with a philoſophical eye, upon the collateral and occaſional benefits that, in the ages of darkneſs and barbarity, were derived from monaſtic inſtitutions; and to admire the wiſdom and benevolence of that Providence which hath educed good from ill. By the means of monaſteries, the ancient languages and manuſcripts were preſerved; arts and learning, in a certain degree, maintained; and cultivation extended. This ſubject hath been diſcuſſed with equal ingenuity, elegance, and penetration, by Mrs. Barbauld (6); and it has been well illuſtrated by Mr. Warton, in reſpect to books and literature (7).]
K.

(6) Miſcel. Pieces, by her and her brother, Mr. John Aikin, p. 88—118.

(7) Hiſt. of Poetry, *ubi ſupra.*

BENEFIELD (Sebastian), an eminent Divine of the XVIIth century, was born, Auguſt the 12th, 1559, at Preſtonbury in Glouceſterſhire. He was educated at Oxford, being admitted, at ſeventeen years of age, a Scholar of *Corpus Chriſti* college, Auguſt the 30th, 1586; and Probationer-Fellow of the ſame houſe, April the 16th, 1590. After he had taken the degree of Maſter of Arts, he went into holy orders, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a preacher. In 1599, he was appointed Rhetoric-Reader of his college, and the year following was admitted to the reading of the ſentences. In 1608, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity, and five years after was choſen Margaret-Profeſſor in that univerſity. He filled the Divinity-Chair with great reputation, and after fourteen years reſigned it. He had been preſented, ſeveral years before, to the rectory of Meyſey-Hampton, near Fairford in Glouceſterſhire, upon the ejection of his predeceſſor for Simony; and now he retired to that benefice, and ſpent there the ſhort remainder of his life (about four years) in a pious and devout retreat from the world. Dr. Benefield was ſo eminent a Scholar, Diſputant, and Divine, and particularly ſo well verſed in the Fathers and Schoolmen, that he had not his equal in the univerſity. He was ſtrongly attached to the opinions of Calvin, eſpecially that of Predeſtination; inſomuch that Humphry Leach (*a*) calls him *a downright and doctrinal Calviniſt.* He has been branded likewiſe with the character of a Schiſmatic: but Dr. Ravis, Biſhop of London, acquitted him of this imputation, and declared him to be *free from Schiſm, and much abounding in Science.* He was remarkable for ſtrictneſs of life and ſincerity; of a retired and ſedentary diſpoſition, and conſequently leſs eaſy and affable in converſation. We ſhall mention his Works in the remark [*A*]. This worthy Divine died in the parſonage houſe of Meyſey-Hampton, Auguſt the 24th, 1630, and was buried in the chancel of his pariſh-church, the 29th of the ſame month (*b*).

(*a*) In his *Triumph of Truth,* Part ii. chap. iii. p. 2.

(*b*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. i. col. 547, 548; and *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* l. ii. p. 239.

[*A*] *His works.*] They are, I. *Doctrinæ Chriſtianæ ſex Capita totidem Prælectionibus in Schola Theologica Oxonienſi pro forma habitis diſcuſſa et diſceptata*; i. e. 'Six Points of Chriſtian Doctrine diſcuſſed and examined in as many Lectures read in the Divinity-School of Oxford.' *Oxon.* 1610, 4to. II. *Appendix ad Caput ſecundum de Conſiliis Evangelicis,* &c. *adverſus Humphredum Leach*; i. e. 'An Appendix to the ſecond Point concerning the Counſels of the Goſpel, &c. in anſwer to Humphrey Leach.' This is printed with the foregoing treatiſe. III. *Eight Sermons publicly preached in the Univerſity of Oxford, the ſecond at St. Peter's in the Eaſt, the reſt at St. Mary's church. Began Dec.* 14, 1595. *Oxford,* 1614, 4to. IV. *The Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt diſcovered, and other Chriſtian Doctrines delivered, in twelve Sermons upon part of the tenth chapter of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews,* Oxford, 1615, 4to. V. *A Commentary or Expoſition upon the firſt chapter of Amos, delivered in twenty-one Sermons in the pariſh-church of Meyſey-Hampton in the dioceſe of Gloceſter.* Oxford, 1613, 4to. This work was tranſlated into Latin by Henry Jackſon of Corpus-Chriſti-College, and printed at Oppenheim in 1615, 8vo. V. Several Sermons, as *The Chriſtian Liberty,* &c. on the 1 Cor. ix. 19. Oxford, 1613, 8vo. This ſermon was preached at Wootton-Underedge before the Clergy at an Epiſcopal Viſitation, and was printed with his Commentary on Amos. *A Sermon at St. Mary's in Oxford,* on Pſalm xxi. 6. preached March the 24th, 1610, being King James's Inauguration-day. Oxford, 1611, 4to. *The Haven of the Afflicted,* preached at the Cathedral Church of Glouceſter, Auguſt the 10th, 1613, on Amos iii. 6. London, 1620, 4to. VII. *A Commentary, or Expoſition upon the ſecond chapter of Amos, delivered in twenty-one Sermons, in the pariſh-church of Meyſey-Hampton,* &c. London, 1620, 4to. VIII. *Prælectiones de Perſeverantia Sanctorum*; i. e. 'Lectures on the Perſeverance of the Saints.' *Francfort,* 1618, 8vo. IX. *A Commentary, or Expoſition on the third chapter of Amos,* &c. London, 1629, 4to. X. There is extant likewiſe a Latin Sermon of Dr. Benefield's on *Revelations* v. 10. Printed in 1616, 4to (1).
B.

(1) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. i. col. 547, 548.

*** [One cannot eaſily peruſe the preceding catalogue of Dr. Benefield's publications, without reflecting on the oblivion to which the works of many learned men are conſigned. The writings of this once eminent ſcholar, diſputant, and divine, are now, we believe, totally neglected. We do not recollect that they are held in eſtimation, or even much known, by thoſe perſons who value themſelves on their regard for the old divinity. What a mortification would it have been to a number of diligent authors, who have riſen early, and ſitten up late, to promote the benefit of poſterity, if they had foreſeen that poſterity would pay no attention to their labours! But ſuch will ever be the caſe, when the ſtudies of men are devoted to temporary, or comparatively trifling controverſies, and when they write with a ſcholaſtic attachment to ſome prevailing ſyſtem.]
K.

BENIGNUS (St.) Archbiſhop of Armagh in Ireland, was the immediate ſucceſſor of St. Patrick in that See, *Anno* 455; though it muſt be confeſſed, that this is a point which has afforded ſome controverſy [*A*]. Writers differ as to his name: ſome
call

[*A*] *A point which has afforded ſome controverſy.*] The greateſt ſucceſſor (1) of St. Patrick that ever ſat in the See of Armagh, has taken ſome pains to ſtate this controverſy in its full extent, and with ſuch
learning

(1) Archbiſhop Uſher, Primord. 4to edit. p. 873, & ſeq.

(a) Probus Vita Patricii, cap. i. lib. ii.

call him Stephen (*a*), ſome Beneneus (*b*), others Beona (*c*), and by an Iriſh termination of the word Benin, in Latin Benignus. It is probable that St Patrick baptized him by the name of Stephen, and that he obtained the nick-name of Benin from his incomparably ſweet diſpoſition, and his great affection to St Patrick, the word *Bin*, in the Iriſh language, ſignifying *ſweet*; and that from thence the other names flowed. He was the ſon of Seſgnen, a man of wealth and power in Meath, who, in the war in 433, hoſpitably entertained St. Patrick in his journey from the port of Colp [*B*], where he landed, to the Court of King Leogair at Tarah, and, with his whole family, embraced Chriſtianity and received baptiſm. The youth grew ſo fond of his father's gueſt, that he could not be ſeparated from his company. St. Patrick took him away with him at his departure, and taught him his firſt rudiments of learning and religion: Benin profited greatly under ſuch a maſter, and became afterwards a man eminent for piety and virtue, whom St. Patrick thought worthy to fill the See of Armagh, which he reſigned to him in 455. Benin died in 468, on the ninth of November, having alſo reſigned his See three years before his death. The writers of the dark ages, however different they are from one another in other particulars, yet in the main agree as to the ſucceſſion of St. Benin in the government of the See of Armagh [*C*]. However, there is ſome diſcordance among them as to the place of his death and burial, which will be ſhewn in the remarks [*D*]. William of Malmeſbury has

(b) *Ibid.* lib. i. chap. xlv.

(c) William of Malmſbury. Uſher, Primord. p. 877.

learning and judgment, that his arguments can admit of no reply. He ſhews, that what has miſled Campian (2) and other writers (3), in placing St. Senan in the ſucceſſion to the See of Armagh immediately after St. Patrick, was a miſconſtruction of a prophecy of St. Patrick in a Poetical life of St. Senan, publiſhed by John Colgan (4) out of an ancient MS. of the Franciſcan Friers of Kilkenny. The Prophecy runs thus:

(2) Hiſtor. Hib. l. i. c. xiv.

(3) Colgan. Act. Sanct. p. 542.

(4) *Ibid.* ad 8 Martii.

Naſcetur vobis parvulus,
Futurus Dei famulus,
Qui et Senanus nomine;
In meo ſtabit ordine,
Mihi, Deo propitio,
Succedens Epiſcopio.

To you an infant ſhall be born,
A future miniſter of God;
Who call'd Senanus ſhall adorn
This place of my abode;
And by the grace of God ſhall be
Succeeding Biſhop after me.

Uſher ſhews, from ſeveral authorities, but more particularly from a MS. Life of St. Brigid, that St. Senan governed the See of Inis-Catty in the river Shannon, and not that of Armagh; and that the Prophecy related to his ſucceſſion in the former of theſe Sees, and not in the other: For St. Patrick made it his conſtant practice where he eſtabliſhed an epiſcopal See, to govern it himſelf for ſome time, and then to appoint a ſucceſſor, who from his example might know the nature of the government he was deſirous ſhould be exerciſed; and this was what he did at Inis-Catty, and the ſame he purſued at Armagh, which he reſigned to Benignus thirty-eight years before his death. By comparing the Ulſter Annals with thoſe of Munſter, which Uſher (5) has done with great exactneſs, it is impoſſible that St. Senan ſhould have been Archbiſhop of Armagh immediately after St. Patrick: but to enter into Uſher's Chronology and reaſons upon this occaſion, would ſwell this note to too great length, which would fatigue the reader, whom therefore I ſhall refer to him for full ſatisfaction, and only obſerve, that the moſt correct writers (6) of the Life of St. Patrick have made Benignus the immediate ſucceſſor of St. Patrick in the See of Armagh. The ſame reaſons ſerve to clear the point, not only as to St. Senan, but as to Secundin or Sechnal (who was Biſhop of Dunſhaghlin in Meath), and to Sen-Patrick, who are by the Pſalter of Caſhel both placed in the See of Armagh before St. Benignus, the firſt of whom died in 448, when, paſt queſtion, St. Patrick himſelf governed that See, and the other in 458, three years after the advancement of Benignus.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 874.

(6) Probus, l. ii. c. i. Jocelin, c. xxxix. Tirechan. MS.

[*B*] *From the port of Colp.*] Colp, anciently called Portus-Colbdi, is a little port at the mouth of the river Boyne, near Drogheda, which, according to the Iriſh Hiſtorians (7), took its name from Colptha, the brother of Heremon, King of Ireland, who was drowned here about the year of the world 3500. At the hill of Tarah was the palace of the ſupreme Monarchs of Ireland.

(7) Flaherty's Ogygia, p. 182.

[*C*] *The writers of the dark ages agree in the ſucceſſion of Benin to the See of Armagh.*] So ſay Probus, Tirechan, and Jocelin, as quoted above in the text; the latter of which writers is very expreſs and full in that particular. Having firſt given an account of the father, he proceeds, ‘ Habebat vir ille filium quem ſanctus undâ ſalutari abluens ac nomen ei ex re adaptans nominavit Benignum; et verè ſicut vocabulo, ſic et vitâ et moribus erat Benignus, dilectus Deo et hominibus in terrâ et cœlo gloria et honore dignus. Hic S. Præſulis lateri firmiter adhæſit, nec ab illo avelli ullatenus potuit. Cum enim Sanctus quieti membra daturus, lecto ſe recipiſſet, ille puriſſimus puer a patre et matre fugiens, ad pedes Sancti ſe projecit, ipſoſque ad pectus ſuum ſuis manibus conſtringens, crebròque deoſculans ibidem pauſavit. In craſtinum cum Sanctus procinctus ad iter uno pede in ſandalibus, altero in terrâ poſito, vehiculum aſcenderet, puer pedem illius ſtrictis manibus apprehendit, obſecrans et adjurans ne ſe relinqueret. Et cum illum amovere a ſancti veſtigiis, et ſecum retinere vellet uterque parens, puer cum magno fletu et ejulatu clamavit, dicens, recedite, quæſo, recedite, dimitte me ut pergam cum meo ſpirituali patre. Sanctus vero in tenello corde et corpore devotionem tantam intuens in nomine Domini illum benedixit, ſecum illum levari in vehiculum jubens; *ipſum ſucceſſorem miniſterii ſui, ſicut et fuit, fore prædixit. Idem namque Benignus in Regimine Pontificatus primatuſque totius Hiberniæ ſucceſſit S. Patricio, virtutibus et miraculis clarus quievit in Domino.* Seſgnen had a ſon, whom St. Patrick baptized, and, adapting his name to his diſpoſition, called him *Benignus*; and, in truth, his life and temper made good the name; for he was gentle and good-natured, beloved by God and men, and worthy of glory and honour both in this world and the next. This youth ſtuck cloſe to the ſide of the Prelate, and could by no means be kept aſunder from him: For when the holy man was going to take his reſt, this moſt pure child running from his father and mother, caſt himſelf at his feet, and preſſing them with his hands to his breaſt, and imprinting many kiſſes thereon, reſted with him. On the morrow, when St Patrick was prepared for his journey, and ready to get into his chariot, the boy laid hold of his foot, beſeeching and adjuring him not to leave him behind; and when both his parents would have ſeparated him from their gueſt, and retained him with them, the lad, with tears and lamentations, begged them to let him go with his ſpiritual father. The Saint, ſeeing ſuch great devotion in ſo tender a heart and body, bleſſed him in the name of the Lord; and, taking him up in his chariot, propheſied, *That he ſhould be the ſucceſſor of his miniſtry, as indeed he was: For this ſame Benignus ſucceeded St. Patrick in the Government of his Biſhopric and Primacy of all Ireland; and, at length, being celebrated for his great virtues and miracles, he reſted in the Lord.*’

[*D*] *Some diſcordance among them as to his burial, which will be ſhewn in the remarks.*] The Annals of Inisfall ſay he died at Rome in 467 or 468, November has given us this barbarous epitaph, which he ſays was inſcribed on his monument at Ferlingmore, near Glaſtonbury, in England.

> Hoc Patris in lapide Beonæ St. oſſa locata;
> Qui Pater extiterat Monachorum hic tempore priſco.
> Hunc fore Patricii dudum fortaſſe miniſtrum
> Fantur Hiberniginæ, & Beonam de nomine dicunt.
>
> *Father Beonna's bones in this tomb lie*;
> *Of old the Father of the Monks hereby*;
> *Diſciple to St. Patrick ſo much fam'd,*
> *The Iriſh ſay he was a Beon nam'd.*

(*d*) Primord. p. 877.

But Uſher is of opinion (*d*), that Beonna mentioned in this epitaph was a different perſon from our Benignus; eſpecially if what the Tripartite writer of the Life of St. Patrick ſays be true, viz. that his remains were depoſited with great honour at Armagh; which paſſage, I muſt obſerve, is not to be found in the printed Tripartite Life, ſaid to be written by St. Evin. Some writings are aſcribed to him, of which an account may be ſeen in the notes [*E*],

(8) MS. in Bibl. Cotton.

(9) Sanctilogium.

(10) Primord. p. 877.

ber the 9th; others ſay at Ferlingmore near Glaſtonbury, concerning which may be ſeen this paſſage in a catalogue of the reliques of the Abbey of Glaſtonbury in the Cotton library (8). 'In the coffin of St. Benignus, an Iriſh Biſhop and Diſciple of St. Patrick, 'are contained his reliques entire, except his head 'and teeth, which are wanting. He took a journey 'to this place for the love he bore to St. Patrick. 'The Lord hath often manifeſted, by the many diſcoveries of the virtues of St. Benignus, in what a 'high degree of favour he ſtood with God: his miracles wrought at Ferlingmore bear witneſs to this 'truth. His prayers produced a large river, and 'from his ſapleſs ſtaff ſprung an huge tree, green 'and bearing leaves. He led an eremitical life in an 'iſland near Glaſtonbury, called Ferlingmore, and 'there made a good end; and after a revolution of 'many years was honourably tranſlated to Glaſtonbury,' viz. in the year 1091, as appears in John of Tinmouth (9): but Uſher (10) obſerves, that if what the author of the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick expreſsly affirms, that he was buried at Armagh, be true, that then the Benignus of Glaſtonbury, and the Benignus of Armagh, muſt be two different perſons, as is obſerved in the text.

[*E*] *Some writings aſcribed to him, of which an account may be ſeen in the notes.*] Theſe are,

I. *A Book partly in Latin, and partly in Iriſh, on the virtues and miracles of St. Patrick*; to which Jocelin (11) confeſſes he was indebted.

II. *An Iriſh Poem, written on the Converſion of the people of Dublin to the Chriſtian Faith.*

III. *The Munſter Book of Reigns*, called by ſome *Leabhar Bening*, or *Bening's Book*, and by others *Leabhar na Geart*, qu. d. the book of Genealogy, which is aſcribed to him by Dr. Nicolſon (12), Biſhop of Derry. H——s.

(11) Vit. Patr. cap. clxxxvi.

(12) Iriſh Hiſt. Libr. p. 51.

*** [With regard to St. Benignus's epitaph, it hath been obſerved to us, that theſe verſes, if properly written, would not appear ſo barbarous, but much above the compoſition of Monks. The firſt line ought to be,

'In lapide hoc patris Beonæ ſunt oſſa locata.] K.

BENNET, or **BENET** (Henry), Earl of Arlington, was an eminent ſtateſman in the reign of King Charles II., and in great favour with that monarch. He was deſcended of a very ancient and honourable family, ſeated at Arlington, in the county of Middleſex; being the ſecond ſon of Sir John Bennet, Knight, by Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Crofts, of Saxham, in the county of Norfolk, Knight (*a*); ſo that he came into the world with all the advantages, in point of birth, that a private gentleman could have [*A*]. He was born ſome time in the year 1618, and having received the rudiments of

(*a*) Pedigree of the family of Benet.

(1) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 552.

(2) Baronage, P. iii. p. 483.

(3) Rymer's Fœder. Tom. iv. p. 402.

(4) Fuller's Worthies, in Berkſhire.

(5) From the Pedigree of the family of *Benet*, for ſo they formerly wrote their names.

[*A*] *In point of birth that private gentleman could have.*] The reader will hereafter ſee, that when this Gentleman came to his higheſt preferments, the Great Duke of Ormond was pleaſed to ſtyle him one whom he had known a *very little* Gentleman (1). Dugdale is entirely ſilent on this head; and when he treats of him as a Peer, does not ſo much as tell us who was his father (2). It is however certain, that he was born of a very good family, and that there was not the leaſt reaſon for treating him as an upſtart. We find mention made of William Benet in the reign of Edward the Third (3): but whether this family is derived from him is uncertain. The higheſt we can trace them is to the year 1433 (4), when John Bennet was ſeated in the county of Berks, whoſe grandſon was Thomas Bennet, of Clapcot near Wallingford in that county, who, by his wife Anne, had iſſue Richard Bennet his ſon and heir, and Thomas Bennet who was Lord Mayor of London, and knighted by King James the Firſt on the 26th of July 1603, in the firſt year of his reign, which Sir Thomas Bennet left a numerous poſterity of both ſexes, who married into ſome of the beſt families in England (5). As for Richard Bennet, the eldeſt ſon and heir of Thomas Bennet before mentioned, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Tiſdale of Deanly, in the county of Berks, Eſq; and had iſſue Ralph Bennet, his ſon and heir, from whom thoſe of Moreden in Surry derive themſelves; Sir John Bennet, Knt. ſecond ſon, anceſtor to the preſent Earl of Tankerville; Thomas, third ſon, Alderman of London, who dying *Anno* 1622, left iſſue three ſons, whereof Richard the eldeſt ſon, by his firſt wife, left only one daughter, Jane, married to James Scudamore, eldeſt ſon and heir of John Lord Scudamore; likewiſe by his ſecond wife, he had an only daughter Dorothy, married to Sir Henry Capel, Knight of the Bath, created Lord Capel of Tewkſbury, but died without iſſue. Thomas the ſecond ſon was ſeated at Baberham in Cambridgeſhire, and was created a Baronet on the 22d of November 1660, but this title is now extinct. Sir John Bennet, Knt. ſecond ſon of Sir Richard Bennet, was ſeated at Dawley in the county of Middleſex, and was created on the 6th of July 1589, 31 Eliz. Doctor of Laws by the univerſity of Oxford (6), having been one of the Proctors there. He was afterwards Vicar-General in Spirituals to the Archbiſhop of York, and Prebendary of Langtoft in the church of York. In the 24th of Eliz. bearing the title of Doctor of Laws, he was in commiſſion with the Lord-keeper Egerton (7), the Lord-Treaſurer Buckhurſt, and ſeveral other Noblemen, for the ſuppreſſion of Hereſy. He was alſo in that reign returned to Parliament for the city of York, and was a leading member of the Houſe of Commons, as appears from ſeveral of his ſpeeches in Townſhend's Collections. He received the honour of Knighthood from King James before his coronation, on the 23d of July 1603, at Whitehall,

(6) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 138.

(7) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. xvii. p. 386.

of learning in his father's houſe, was afterwards ſent to Chriſt-church college in Oxford, where he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the vivacity of his parts, as well as by his ſtrict application to learning. But what was chiefly remarkable in him at this time, was his turn for Engliſh poetry; ſo that there are very few of the univerſity collections upon ſolemn occaſions, while he was at college, in which there are not one or more pieces of Mr. Bennet's (*b*). Upon the King's coming to Oxford, after the breaking out of the civil war, Mr. Bennet was ſoon introduced to him, had the honour of kiſſing his hand, and entered in a double capacity into his ſervice: for firſt of all he entered himſelf a volunteer, and was afterwards made choice of by the famous George Lord Digby, then Secretary of State, to be at the head of his office, which was a very early, as well as honourable employment for ſo young a man (*c*). This brought him very ſoon into buſineſs, and into an intimate acquaintance with the greateſt perſons in the kingdom. His civil employment might certainly have excuſed him from any immediate ſervice in the army, if he had been ſo inclined; but he thought it a ſhame to remain ſafe at Oxford, when the King his maſter, the Prince of Wales, and the Princes Rupert and Maurice, were daily expoſing themſelves in the field, and therefore he let no opportunity ſlip of ſignalizing his courage in the royal cauſe; and was particularly in a very ſharp rencounter which happened at Andover, where he received ſeveral wounds, of which he lay ſome time ill at Oxford (*d*). Thus, at a time of life when many young gentlemen have ſcarcely finiſhed the ordinary courſe of their ſtudies, he had rendered himſelf conſiderable in the different capacities of a Wit, a Soldier, and a Stateſman. While he remained in the univerſity he took the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts; but at what time does not appear; owing, as I conceive, to ſome omiſſion in the regiſters, in thoſe times of public confuſion. He attended the King his maſter as long as it was poſſible; and when it was no longer in his power to ſerve the royal cauſe at home, or even to remain in England with ſafety, he retired to France, and from thence went into Italy; but whether with any private commiſſion, or purely for the ſake of travel and improvement, we have no certain information (*e*). But it was not long, before either his own inclinations, or the commands of the royal family (*f*), brought him back again to France in 1649, where he became Secretary to his Royal Highneſs James Duke of York, not by his own choice, but by the expreſs direction of his brother King Charles II., who, in the ſummer of the year 1654, recommended him to his Royal Highneſs in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible (*g*) [*B*]. It

(*b*) Wood's Faſt. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 156.

(*c*) Memoirs of what paſſed during the King's reſidence at Oxford, p. 13.

(*d*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) Miſcellanea Aulica, p. 130.

(*f*) Cowley's Letters, p. 1.

(*g*) See that recommendation in the King's own words, in note [*B*].

Whitehall, and was made in that reign Chancellor to Queen Anne (conſort of King James), Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and Chancellor to the Archbiſhop of York. In the beginning of the year 1617, he was ſent Embaſſador to Bruſſels to queſtion the Archduke, in behalf of his maſter the King of Great Britain, concerning a libel written and publiſhed, as it was ſuppoſed, by Erycus Puteanus, who neither apprehended the author, nor ſuppreſſed the book, until he was ſolicited by the King's agent there: He only interdicted it, and ſuffered the author to fly out of his dominions. In 1620, Sir John Bennet being intitled Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, was in a ſpecial commiſſion with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other Noblemen, to put in execution the laws againſt all Hereſies, great errors in matters of Faith and Religion, &c. and the ſame year bearing the title of Chancellor to the Archbiſhop of York, he was commiſſioned with the Archbiſhop of York, and others, to execute all manner of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within the Province of York. He died in the pariſh of Chriſt-church in London, in the beginning of the year 1627, having had iſſue by Anne his wife, daughter of Chriſtopher Weekes of Saliſbury, in the county of Wilts, Eſq; Sir John Bennet, his ſon and heir; Sir Thomas Bennet, Knt. ſecond ſon, Doctor of the Civil Law, and Maſter in Chancery; and Matthew, third ſon, who died unmarried. His eldeſt ſon, Sir John Bennet of Dawley, received the honour of Knighthood in the life-time of his father, at Theobalds, on the 15th of June 1616. He married Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Crofts of Saxham, in the county of Norfolk, Knt. by whom he had iſſue ſix ſons, John, his ſon and heir; Henry, ſecond ſon, afterwards created Earl of Arlington, who is the ſubject of our preſent article (8). His eldeſt brother was made Knight of the Bath at the coronation of King Charles II., was advanced to be Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Penſioners, and by letters patent, dated the 24th of November 1682, was created Baron of Oſſulſton, one of the hundreds of the county of Middleſex; and his ſon Charles Lord Oſſulſton having married the only daughter and heireſs of Ford (Grey) Earl of Tankerville, he was by King George the Firſt, October 19, 1714, created Earl of Tankerville on account of that marriage, and was great-grandfather to the preſent Earl of Tankerville (9).

(8) Pedigree of the family of *Benet.*

(9) Peerage of England, Vol. ii. p. 133.

[*B*] *Recommended him to his Royal Highneſs in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible.*] It is not very hard to gueſs at the reaſons which made Mr. Bennet ſo great a favourite with the King. He had known him as long as any man, there was a great reſemblance in their tempers, Mr. Bennet had been a man of buſineſs in his father's court, and his family were then engaged in the King's ſervice in England, with great danger and expence to themſelves. Mr. Bennet had been for ſome time about the Duke, as appears from ſeveral letters to him from Mr. Abraham Cowley, who was Secretary to Lord Jermin, afterwards Earl of St. Alban's; but now he was eſpecially appointed his Secretary, or the perſon who was to have the care of his buſineſs, on whom both himſelf and the King was to rely, as will appear from the following paper, written by King Charles II. with his own hand, and ſent to him at the time Mr. Bennet was to take poſſeſſion of his office, and which therefore deſerves the reader's notice (10).

(10) Miſcellanea Aulica, p. 108, 109.

Private Inſtructions for my Brother the Duke of York, July 13, 1654.

'I. You know the model of my affairs in England, and therefore will not employ any perſons to 'treat there. When I go myſelf for Scotland, I 'will tranſmit to you the buſineſs of England, with 'all particulars; in the mean time it muſt be managed by myſelf, and in the way I have put it. 'II. You muſt not employ or truſt *Bamfield* in any 'thing, ſince I am reſolved to have nothing to do 'with him, and to forbid all my friends to give credit to him in any thing that concerns me. III. As 'ſoon as I think of making any general officers of an 'army, I will advertiſe you of it, and I pray do not 'make any promiſes of ſuch offices to any perſon 'whatſoever, without firſt acquainting me with your 'thoughts. IV. Let nobody perſuade you to engage 'your own perſon in any attempt or enterprize, without firſt imparting the whole deſign to me, which 'will be eaſily done whilſt there is no ſea between us; 'and when that comes to be the caſe, aſſure yourſelf 'I will deſire nothing more than either to have you 'with me, or in action in ſome other place. But, 'to

It is certain that no man was in greater credit than Mr. Bennet with the Queen-mother, the King, the Duke of York, the Duke of Glouceſter, and all the royal family. He was not only truſted by them as a faithful ſervant and an able Miniſter, but careſſed alſo as an intimate friend, and a thorough favourite, which is the more extraordinary, becauſe even in thoſe difficult and dangerous times, there wanted not factions in their little court; nor was the harmony amongſt themſelves altogether ſo great, as, under ſuch circumſtances, might have been reaſonably looked for and expected. But Mr. Bennet took no ſhare in any of theſe diviſions, remaining for ſeveral years in the ſame high degree of favour with all the royal perſonages before mentioned. It is however certain, that he had trouble enough in his office about the Duke of York, who was very far from being the moſt governable perſon; and therefore it is no wonder that Mr. Bennet was very ſoon weary of his place, and would willingly have quitted it, if that had been conſiſtent with the King's affairs (*b*); but as it was not, and as his Majeſty ſignified this to him in the moſt obliging manner, he was content to remain where he was, till ſome favourable alteration happened. At laſt, in 1658, the King found that opportunity which he had long expected, of ſending him into Spain, which he propoſed very ſoon after he was reconciled to that Court, and had liberty to go and reſide in the Auſtrian Netherlands, but wanted a convenient occaſion, which offering itſelf now, his Majeſty, in the month of March, conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, and ſent him very ſoon after, in quality of his Miniſter, to the Court of Madrid. This is certainly a genuine account of that matter, though it differs in ſome reſpects from what we are told by the *Noble Hiſtorian*, in reference to this affair; which ſhews that even the greateſt men may be in ſome meaſure miſtaken, as to points with which they think themſelves moſt perfectly acquainted (*i*) [*C*]. It is on all hands agreed, that Sir Henry Bennet conducted himſelf with

to deal freely with you, till I am myſelf in action in ſome part of my dominions, which I will endeavour as ſoon as poſſible, I ſhould be very ſorry to ſee you engaged before me; and therefore let no man perſuade you to it under what pretence ſoever. V. I have told you what the Queen hath promiſed me concerning my brother *Harry* in point of religion, and I have given him charge to inform you if any attempt ſhall be made upon him to the contrary; in which caſe you will take the beſt care you can to prevent his being wrought upon, ſince you cannot but know how much you and I are concerned in it. VI. You muſt be very kind to Harry Bennet, and communicate freely with him; for as you are ſure he is full of duty and integrity to you, ſo I muſt tell you, that I ſhall truſt him more than any other about you, and cauſe him to be inſtructed at large in thoſe buſineſſes of mine, when I cannot particularly write to you myſelf, &c.

CHARLES *Rex*.’

Theſe inſtructions are very curious, and will appear more ſo to the reader when ſome of them are explained. The *firſt* gives us the reaſon why Mr. Bennet was now appointed his Secretary by the King, after having acted in that quality to the Duke of York for ſeveral years. It appears that his Majeſty had at this time thoughts of making ſome attempt for the recovery of his dominions, and this attempt was deſigned in Scotland; in which caſe the care of Engliſh affairs was to be transferred to the Duke of York, by which means his Secretary would have been, in effect, Secretary of State, and therefore the King thought it neceſſary to make a ſpecial appointment of Mr. Bennet to this office. It is neceſſary to obſerve here, that in the year 1650, when the King was before in Scotland, his Royal Highneſs acted a very ſtrange part: for being then at Paris, he was prevailed upon by Sir Edward Herbert and Sir George Ratcliff to leave that city and go to Bruſſels (11), upon a preſumption that the King was dead, and this without the knowledge of the Lord Byron his Governor, or Mr. Bennet his Secretary, who were however ordered by the Queen his mother to attend him thither; which exploit made the King a little tender of truſting him ever after, eſpecially without ſome check, which in the preſent caſe his Secretary Bennet was intended to be. In the *ſecond* article there is mention made of one *Bamfield*, who was a ſpy of Cromwell's, and kept a conſtant correſpondence with Secretary Thurloe (12); from whence it appears, that this caution of the King's was very neceſſary. He is continually complaining, in his accounts, of Mr. Bennet, who, he ſays, intercepted his letters, and whom he repreſents as having ſuch an intereſt at Paris, that there was no being ſafe for him, and therefore he was obliged to ſend his letters a great way round (13). The *third* and *fourth* articles ſhew how much the King was afraid of his brother's enterprizing temper at that time, for which he had very good reaſons, as we learn from more authors than one. The *fifth* was occaſioned by the repeated endeavours of the Queen-Mother to pervert the Duke of Glouceſter to Popery, which on his ſteady refuſal had once proceeded ſo far as turning him out of doors, and leaving him in want of a dinner or a bed, if Lord Hatton had not generouſly ſupplied him, with great riſk to himſelf (14). The *laſt* article is a clear proof of the King's entire dependance upon Mr. Bennet, as one he was ſure would adhere ſteadily to his duty, and contribute all he could by his advice to keep the Duke, his maſter, within the like bounds. We may therefore very well conclude from hence, that Mr. Bennet needed no recommendations to, or interceſſor with, the King his maſter, who certainly confided in him (15) as much as in any man about him during his exile, and for any thing that appears from Hiſtory, had very good reaſons ſo to do, ſince nobody ſerved him better, more affectionately, or with greater fidelity.

[*C*] *With which they think themſelves moſt perfectly acquainted.*] There is no doubt to be made that the Earl of Clarendon had great opportunity of knowing what he wrote, and that he ſet down faithfully what he knew; yet in reſpect to this tranſaction he is ſomewhat miſtaken: and there is ſo much the more reaſon to correct this miſtake, becauſe hitherto all the writers, who have mentioned this affair, have followed him implicitly. After having related the manner in which the Earl of Briſtol had contributed to the ſurpriſing St. Ghiſlain, he proceeds thus (16): ‘ This ſervice was of very great importance to the Spaniards, and no leſs detriment to the French, and conſequently gave great reputation to the Earl, who then came to the King at Bruges, and ſaid all that he thought fit of Don Juan to the King; and, amongſt the reſt, that Don Juan adviſed his Majeſty to ſend ſome diſcreet perſon to Madrid to ſolicit his affairs there, but that he did not think the perſon he had deſigned to ſend thither (who was Sir Henry de Vic, that had been long reſident in Bruſſels) would be acceptable there. This was only to introduce another perſon who was dear to him, Sir Henry Bennet, who had been formerly in his office when he was Secretary of State, and bred by him, and was now Secretary to the Duke of York; but upon the factions that were in that family, was ſo uneaſy in his place, that he deſired to be in another poſt, and was about this time come to the King as a forerunner, to inform him of the Duke of York's purpoſe to be ſpeedily with him, being within a few days to take his leave of the court of France. Bennet had been long a perſon very acceptable to

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(*b*) Miſcellanea Aulica, p. 109.

(*i*) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 685.

(11) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 611.

(12) The reader may be ſatisfied of this, by conſulting Thurloe's Letters.

(13) Thurloe's Letters, Vol. v. p. 435. 510.

(14) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 663. Carte's Hiſtory of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 164, 165. 167.

(15) Miſcellanea Aulica, p. 127.

(16) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 685.

with great wiſdom and diſcretion in this negociation, and thereby did his maſter ſo much ſervice, with Don Lewis de Haro, then his Catholic Majeſty's Prime-Miniſter, that he obtained from him leave to invite his maſter to thoſe conferences, which were to be held between him and Cardinal Mazarine, previous to the peace between the two crowns (*k*). At the ſame time that he adviſed the King to this journey, he gave a great proof of his attachment to his ſervice, independently of all private obligations; for he at the ſame time gave his Majeſty a caution not to bring the Earl of Briſtol with him, in which however the King declined following his advice, though, in the courſe of his journey, he had ſufficient reaſon to repent his not doing it. The Earl, who thought he had a greater intereſt in the Spaniſh Miniſtry than he really had, firſt led the King out of the way, and would then have carried him to Madrid, in which, if he had prevailed, it might have been in many reſpects prejudicial to the King's ſervice (*l*). Don Lewis de Haro complained loudly of this to Sir Henry Bennet, who undertook to prevent it, and though the treaty was over, promiſed to bring the King to that Miniſter, and to prevent his taking any ſteps in Spain but by his advice, in which he effectually ſucceeded, to the great ſatiſfaction of Don Lewis de Haro, who, after ſeveral conferences with the King, adviſed him to return to Bruſſels, and made him a preſent of ſeven thouſand piſtoles in gold, for the expences of his journey (*m*). Sir Henry Bennet continued to manage his Majeſty's affairs at the Court of Madrid, after the King his maſter was reſtored, which ſeems to be the true cauſe of his not returning ſo early, as might otherwiſe have been expected, to England (*n*); though it is indeed reported that he had changed his religion before this time, and therefore was afraid to return till he heard of Lord Colepepper's death, who had threatened him upon that head, and upon a ſuppoſition that he had been inſtrumental in perſuading the King to turn Papiſt (*o*), which, though very confidently affirmed by ſome authors, appears however not a little uncertain [*D*]. It was not long however

(*k*) Memoirs of the King's Exile, p. 139.

(*l*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 709.

(*m*) *Id. ibid.* p. 710.

(*n*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. p. 156.

(*o*) Carte's Hiſtory of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 254.

‘ the King, and therefore his Majeſty very readily ‘ conſented that he ſhould go to Madrid inſtead of ‘ De Vic; ſo he returned with the Earl to Bruſſels, ‘ that he might be preſented and made known to Don ‘ Juan, from whom the Earl doubted not to procure ‘ particular recommendation.’ It is very clear, from the whole of this account, that in the judgment of the noble author, Sir Henry Bennet ſtood indebted to the Earl of Briſtol for his being appointed Miniſter in Spain: but from what has been ſaid in the laſt note, it will appear very evident that he had as good an intereſt with the King as that Earl or any body elſe. But the truth is, that he was ſent into Spain becauſe he had been all along intruſted with the ſecret of that negociation, as appears from the inſtructions given him two years before, when he was ſent to Paris to acquaint the Queen-Mother and the Duke of York with that meaſure. Theſe inſtructions are dated June the 20th, 16 6; the laſt article of which will ſufficiently prove, that before his going into Spain he knew as much, or more, of theſe tranſactions, than the Earl of Briſtol himſelf did. That article is the fourth of the paper, intitled, *Inſtructions for* Harry Bennet (17).

‘ You muſt remember, that I formerly told you ‘ how much the Count of Fuenſaldagna and Don ‘ Alfonſo inſiſted, when we firſt entered into the ‘ treaty, upon the point of ſecrecy, and how jealous ‘ they expreſſed themſelves to be, that any thing ‘ ſhould be known in France which paſſed between ‘ us; and how they obliged me from any communi‘cation of that matter for ſome certain time; and ‘ this is the true reaſon why I have not been able to ‘ impart what I deſired to the Queen of it.’

We are told on the other hand, on the authority of the Marquis, afterwards Duke, of Ormond, that before Sir Henry Bennet's being ſent into Spain, there were very high differences between the Earl of Briſtol and Sir Henry Bennet, the Earl alleging that Sir Henry had perſuaded the King to declare himſelf a Papiſt, which himſelf thought would be his ruin (18). The Earl of Clarendon himſelf ſays, that Sir Henry adviſed the King to leave the Earl of Briſtol behind him (19) when he came into Spain, which one can hardly imagine he would have done if he had owed that employment to the Earl's recommendation. The noble Hiſtorian likewiſe thinks that Sir Henry acted very prudently in that negociation; and his reaſon for it is, becauſe he croſſed the Earl of Briſtol's propoſals in every reſpect (20), and had ſo much a better intereſt with his maſter, that he engaged him to follow his, and not the Earl's opinions. But what ſeems to put this matter out of doubt, is, that before the Earl of Briſtol's journey with the King into Spain, he addicted himſelf entirely to Don Juan, and therefore one would have thought, if Sir Henry Bennet had been promoted by him, he would have taken the ſame courſe, whereas he took the quite contrary, and applied himſelf wholly to Don Lewis de Haro. Upon the whole therefore, there is the greateſt reaſon to believe that he did not owe this employment in the leaſt to the Earl of Briſtol's intereſt with the King, but to his own merit.

[*D*] *Appears however not a little uncertain.*] We have very different accounts of this matter, and ſuch as place Sir Henry Bennet's going over to the Church of Rome at very different times. We have what follows as taken down by a Prelate (21), from the mouth of the Great Duke of Ormond, in reference both to Sir Henry's and the King's converſion. ‘ The ‘ Duke had ſome ſuſpicion of it from the time that ‘ they removed from Cologne into Flanders; for ‘ though he never obſerved that zeal and concern for ‘ divine things, which he often wiſhed in the King, ‘ yet ſo much as appeared in him at any time looked ‘ that way. However, he thought it ſo very little, ‘ that he hoped it would ſoon wear off upon returning ‘ to his kingdoms, and was not fully convinced of ‘ his change till about the time the treaty of the ‘ Pyrenees was going to be opened. The Duke was ‘ always a very early riſer, and, being then at Bruſ‘ſels, uſed to amuſe himſelf at times, when others ‘ were in bed, in walking about the town and ſeeing ‘ the churches. Going out one morning early, and ‘ ſeeing a church where a great number of people ‘ were at their devotions, he ſtepped in, and, ad‘vancing near the altar, he ſaw the King on his ‘ knees at maſs. He readily imagined that his Ma‘jeſty would not be pleaſed that he ſhould ſee him ‘ there, and therefore retired as cautiouſly as he ‘ could, went to a different part of the church near ‘ another altar where nobody was, kneeled down, ‘ and ſaid his own prayers, while the King was ‘ gone. Some days afterwards Sir Henry Bennet ‘ came to him, and told his Grace, that the King's ‘ obſtinacy, in not declaring himſelf a Roman Ca‘tholic, put them to great difficulties: That the ‘ Kings of France and Spain preſſed him mightily to ‘ it, and their Embaſſadors ſolicited it daily, with ‘ aſſurances, that if he would make that public de‘claration, they would both aſſiſt him jointly with ‘ all their powers, to put him on the throne of Eng‘land like a King: That he and others had urged ‘ this, and endeavoured to perſuade him to declare ‘ himſelf, but all in vain: That it would ruin his ‘ affairs if he did not do it, and begged of the Duke ‘ of Ormond to join in perſuading him to declare ‘ himſelf. The Duke ſaid, he could never attempt ‘ to

(17) Miſcellanea Aulica, p. 125.

(18) See that paſſage at large in note [*D*].

(19) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 709.

(20) *Ibid.* p. 710.

(21) Carte's *Life of the Duke of Ormond*, Vol. ii. p. 254, 255.

however after the King's Reſtoration, and his affairs being ſettled in England, that he recalled Sir Henry Bennet from Madrid, and ſoon after his coming home appointed him *Privy*

to perſuade his Majeſty to act the hypocrite, and declare himſelf to be what he was not in reality. Sir Henry thereupon replied, that the King had certainly profeſſed himſelf to be a Roman Catholic, and was a real convert, only that he ſtuck at the declaring himſelf ſo openly. The Duke of Ormond anſwered, he was very ſorry for it, but he would not meddle in the matter; for the King having never made a confidence of it to him, would not be pleaſed with his knowledge of the change he had made; and for his own part he was reſolved never to take any notice of it to his Majeſty, till he himſelf firſt made him the diſcovery. Some time afterwards George Earl of Briſtol came to the Duke, and complained of the folly and madneſs of Bennet, and others about the King, who were labouring to perſuade him to what would abſolutely ruin his affairs. The Duke aſking what it was, the other replied, It was to get the King to declare himſelf a Roman Catholic, which, if he once did, they ſhould be all undone, and therefore deſired his Grace's aſſiſtance to prevent ſo fatal a ſtep. The Duke of Ormond ſaid, it was very ſtrange that any body ſhould have the aſſurance to perſuade his Majeſty to declare himſelf what he was not, eſpecially in a point of ſo great conſequence. Briſtol anſwered, That was not the caſe, for the King was really a Roman Catholic, but the declaring himſelf ſo would ruin his affairs in England; and as for the mighty promiſes of aſſiſtance from France and Spain, you (my Lord) and I know very well that there is no dependance or ſtreſs to be laid on them, and that they would give more to get one frontier garriſon into their hands, than to get the Catholic Religion eſtabliſhed, not only in England, but all over Europe; and then deſired his Grace to join in diverting the King from any thoughts of declaring himſelf in a point which would certainly deſtroy his intereſt in England for ever, and yet not do him the leaſt ſervice abroad. The Duke allowed that the Earl judged very right in the caſe; but excuſed himſelf from meddling in the matter, becauſe the King had kept his converſion as a ſecret from him, and it was by no means proper for him to ſhew that he had made the diſcovery.' There is a very different detail of this given us by Biſhop Kennet, who, after tranſcribing the Earl of Clarendon's account of the King's journey into Spain, proceeds thus (22): ‘ It is farther certain, that the Earl of Briſtol, who was the King's companion and guide to the place of this treaty, and Sir Henry Bennet, who was the prime agent for the King, did both of them turn Papiſts about this time, as if they did it upon a compact then made; and there is a ſtory to confirm all, which I have reaſon to think true. Sir Henry Bennet was ſoon after ſeen to wait upon the King from maſs, at which ſight the Lord Culpepper had ſo much indignation, that he went up to Bennet, and ſpoke to this effect. *I ſee what you are at: Is this the way to bring our maſter home to his three kingdoms? Well, Sir, if ever you and I live to ſee* England *together, I will have your head, or you ſhall have mine*; which words ſtruck ſuch a terror upon Sir Henry Bennet, that he never dared to ſet foot in England till after the death of the Lord Culpepper, who met with a very abrupt death within a few months after the King's return. When he was taken out of the way, Sir Henry Bennet came to Court, and ſoon roſe into honours and preferments, and was in diſguiſe a mere creature of the Papiſts, and had the dying courage to take off that diſguiſe (23).' This paſſage is confirmed, or rather copied, by another reverend Hiſtorian, in the following words. ‘ He was immediately ſucceeded in his place by Sir Henry Bennet, lately the King's Reſident in Spain, a perſon of no mean ability, but one who ſecretly eſpouſed the cauſe of Popery, and one who had much influenced the King towards embracing that religion, the year before his Reſtotion, at Fontarabia, for which he was ſo much threatened by the Lord Culpepper, that it is believed he durſt not return into England till after the death of that Nobleman. Not only the removal of Secretary Nicholas, and the ſettlement and influence of the Queen-Mother, but likewiſe the abſence of the Duke of Ormond, ſeemed to conſpire towards the diminution of the Chancellor's intereſt. That great man and firm friend had been ſent over into Ireland, where, as Lord-Lieutenant, he was received with greater honour and triumph, with more magnificence and larger preſents, than was ever known in that kingdom.' Theſe accounts differ very much from one another, ſo that it is impoſſible they ſhould be all true, though it is not eaſy to ſay how far they may be all falſe. The firſt of them is ſaid to have been taken from the mouth of the Duke of Ormond; but there are ſome paſſages in it that I cannot account for; as for inſtance, the Duke of Ormond took it for granted the King was a Papiſt, becauſe he ſaw him at prayers in a church at Bruſſels, and to avoid being ſeen by the King, went to another altar in the ſame church, kneeled down, and ſaid his own prayers. If the King had ſeen him in this poſture, he might have pronounced the Duke a Papiſt, upon as good grounds as he did him, and perhaps have been as much in the right; for the Earl of Clarendon, long after this, declares poſitively, that the King was a ſound Proteſtant (24); and, if I am not miſtaken, the King declared as much to all the Papiſts in England, in writing, by an Agent of theirs about that time (25). It is very ſtrange that Sir Henry Bennet ſhould urge the King to declare himſelf a Papiſt, which was ſo directly contrary to his own conduct, if himſelf was one; but it is not at all ſtrange that the Earl of Briſtol ſhould diſſuade his Majeſty from that ſtep, who, though he both lived and died in the profeſſion of Popery, was by his own daughter, the Counteſs of Sunderland, thought never to have been a Papiſt in his heart. At the time he exhibited articles againſt the Earl of Clarendon in the Houſe of Lords, he charges him, amongſt other things, with inſinuating that Sir Henry Bennet was a Papiſt, though he avers that he was a Proteſtant (26). So that there is great contrariety of evidence even from the ſame perſons: but with reſpect to the ſtory of Lord Culpepper, which is very largely refuted by the honourable Roger North (27), it could not be true for this plain reaſon, which however is not taken notice of by any writer, viz. that Lord did not attend the King in his journey. Sir Henry Bennet never returned to Bruſſels, therefore it is impoſſible that any ſuch diſcourſe could paſs between them, or that his Lordſhip ſhould be poiſoned to make way for Sir Henry Bennet's coming ſafely home. Biſhop Burnet, who had much better opportunities of knowing paſſages of this nature than either of the two laſt writers, gives us a very different account of the matter, and I believe the trueſt character of the noble perſon of whom we are ſpeaking, that is any where to be met with (28). ‘ Not long after the Reſtoration, *ſays he*, Bennet, advanced afterwards to be Earl of Arlington, was by the intereſt of the Popiſh party made Secretary of State, and was admitted into ſo particular confidence, that he began to raiſe a party in oppoſition to the Earl of Clarendon. He was a proud man; his parts were ſolid, but not quick; he had the art of obſerving the King's temper, and managing it beyond all the men of that time: He was believed a Papiſt, he had once profeſſed it, and when he died he again reconciled himſelf to that Church: Yet in the whole courſe of his miniſtry he ſeemed to have made it a maxim, that the King ought to ſhew no favour to Popery, but that his whole affairs would be ſpoiled if ever he turned that way, which made the Papiſts become his mortal enemies, and accuſe him as an apoſtate and the betrayer of their intereſts.' We will conclude this note with what is ſaid by Mr. North before mentioned, in anſwer to the paſſage already cited from Biſhop Kennet, the facts mentioned in which are moſt certainly true. Having mentioned that Prelate's remark with reſpect to Bennet Earl of Arlington, that he lived a diſguiſed Papiſt, and had the dying courage to take off the diſguiſe (29), ‘ The ſenſe, ſays Mr. North, of this reflection is, *That the King was a diſguiſed Papiſt as well as he, but had not the courage, even at his death, to pull off the diſguiſe*. The Lord Arlington lived as a Proteſtant,

(22) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. iii. p. 220.

(23) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 805.

(24) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 725.

(25) Thurloe's Letters, Vol. i. p. 744.

(26) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. iii. p. 246.

(27) In his *Examen*, or an Enquiry into the Credit and Veracity of a pretended Complete Hiſtory, 4*to*, 1740.

(28) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. i. p. 39.

(29) North's *Examen*, or Enquiry, &c. p. 29.

Privy Purſe. till ſome other employment ſhould fall, more worthy of his acceptance, and of the friendſhip and kindneſs with which his Majeſty had always honoured him *(p)*. It was not long before an occaſion offered, or, as ſome ſay, way was made for his promotion, by Sir Edward Nicholas reſigning the office of Secretary of State, whom he ſucceeded October 2, 1662 *(q)*. It is commonly ſuppoſed this was the firſt ſtep to the forming a party againſt the Earl of Clarendon, then Lord Chancellor, and that it was brought about by the Popiſh faction, who, at that time, favoured Sir Henry Bennet *(r)*; but thoſe who are contented with plain facts, rather than the refined motives which make the chief merit of Secret Hiſtories, may meet with many other, and perhaps no leſs certain reaſons, for the King's beſtowing on him this preferment [*E*]. In the latter end of the ſucceeding year, viz. September 28, 1663, the univerſity conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws, as a teſtimony of the reſpect due to him from Oxford *(s)*. On the fourteenth of March following, he was created Baron of Arlington, in the county of Middleſex *(t)*, and was then looked on as a great Miniſter of State, and one of his Majeſty's moſt favoured ſervants. He had, as Secretary, almoſt the ſole management of foreign affairs, and has left us ample teſtimonies of his abilities, in his letters during this period, in relation to various points of importance *(u)*. Almoſt all our hiſtorians agree in ſetting him at the head of the party againſt the great Chancellor Clarendon, and ſay he promoted his fall: but his letters ſhew nothing of this; and that Earl himſelf, who corrected and put his Hiſtory into order at Rouen, in the time of his exile, ſpeaks very reſpectfully of him upon all occaſions. It is certain Lord Arlington had a great ſhare

(p) Hiſtory of the King's Reſtoration, p. 195.

(q) Kennet's Regiſter, p. 788.

(r) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. iii. p. 245.

(s) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 156.

(t) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 243.

(u) Theſe Letters were publiſhed by Mr. Bebington of Gray's Inn, in two volumes *8vo*, 1701.

‘ had Chaplains, and our ſervice in his family, and built a very fine church at Euſton, where the Church-ſervice was conſtantly uſed, and he, as Courtiers commonly, might have little regard for religion. But if he ſhewed any partiality that way it was towards the Fanatic, and ſo far, which was not a little, he appeared inclinable to Popery. His courage had been greater to have diſmaſked it in full health; and as for his declaring on his death-bed, it is not ſtrange, that one who had lived as he had done, coming to die, which is no Court-trick, ſhould have qualms come over his conſcience, and be deſirous of ſome religious reconciliation; and then his former deliberations abroad came into his weak mind, and Prieſts ſtill exaggerated no ſalvation out of their holy Church; as under ſuch circumſtances their way is to gain the fame of a feeble convert, he ſubmitted to the forms which the author calls *taking off the diſguiſe*.’ I look on this to be the moſt material part of our noble perſon's hiſtory, if it were poſſible to clear it up to one's entire ſatisfaction; and from what has been laid down, as well as from what will hereafter appear, I perſuade myſelf that the reader will not be much deceived, if he takes it for a truth, that Sir Henry Bennet, afterwards Lord Arlington, neither profeſſed himſelf a Papiſt, nor did any ſervice to the Popiſh faction during the reign of King Charles II.; ſo that whatever notions he might have when worn out with years and buſineſs, his abilities were entirely Proteſtant, and, generally ſpeaking, applied as they ought to be, to the joint ſervice of the King and nation.

[*E*] *No leſs certain reaſons for the King's beſtowing on him this preferment.*] It is a very difficult thing to give an account of Court tranſactions at any diſtance of time, and it is ſtill more difficult to diſprove matters which are very poſitively aſſerted, and that too by men of great character, and who are preſumed to have been very well acquainted with the facts that they relate. But a perſon who has any ſhare in a work of this nature, is certainly under the ſtrongeſt obligation to repreſent things fairly, which muſt be my apology for differing upon this occaſion from ſome of our greateſt writers. It was natural for the Earl of Clarendon to be diſpleaſed with this promotion, for almoſt all the reaſons that a man could have to be diſpleaſed with any thing. The perſon removed was an old Miniſter, with whom the Earl had lived long in the ſtricteſt friendſhip. The perſon that was to come in was one he did not like, and who, he was thoroughly perſuaded, did not like him. There was ſtill a third reaſon, as ſtrong as any of the former, and ſtronger it could not well be. The old Secretary was entirely governed by the Earl, ſo that removing him was taking from Clarendon, as a Miniſter, ſo much power. We need not wonder therefore that he was ſo angry at it, that he conſidered it as the firſt ſtep to his fall, and that he treated it in this light in his petition to the Houſe of Lords, which was the laſt public act he did in this kingdom (30). All our Hiſtorians are governed in this reſpect by what Lord Clarendon ſays, without ever conſidering that all he ſaid was in anger. This alone ought to put us upon enquiring what was ſaid, or might be ſaid, on the other ſide; and that I find may be reduced to theſe particulars. The King found his government weak on the ſide of foreign affairs, and upon inquiring into the cauſes of it, he found that neither of his Secretaries underſtood them: he thought it reaſonable therefore to have at leaſt one Secretary that was fit for his buſineſs; and knowing that Sir Edward Nicholas was old, infirm, and willing to retire, he was content he ſhould do ſo; and to make this the eaſier to him, as well as to afford him an eſſential mark of his eſteem for his long ſervices, he was contented to give him, by way of equivalent for what he might have acquired by remaining in his office, ten thouſand pounds. There is nothing in all this that reflects at all upon the King's judgment, or upon the tenderneſs that he ought to have had for his father's old ſervant and his own. But it may be inquired upon what authorities theſe facts are grounded; in anſwer to which I ſhall give Biſhop Burnet's character of the two Secretaries; and I preſume it cannot be objected that this Prelate was inclined to miſrepreſent men in great poſts, in compliment to King Charles II. His words are theſe (31): ‘ Another man raiſed by the Duke of Albemarle was Maurice, who was the perſon that had prevailed with Monk to declare for the King. Upon that he was made Secretary of State. He was very learned, but full of pedantry and affectation. He had no true judgment about foreign affairs, and the Duke of Albemarle's judgment of them, may be meaſured by what he ſaid when he found the King grew weary of Maurice, but that in regard to him he had no mind to turn him out. *He did not know what was neceſſary for a good Secretary of State, in which he was defective, for he could ſpeak French and write Short-hand.* Nicholas was the other Secretary, who had been employed by King Charles I. during the war, and had ſerved him faithfully, but had no underſtanding in foreign affairs. He was a man of virtue, but could not fall into the King's temper, or become acceptable to him.’ Theſe characters very clearly ſhew, that the nation did not at all ſuffer by the King's reſolution to remove one of theſe Secretaries, to make way for one he had reaſon to believe better verſed in the buſineſs of his office. As to the money which was paid to Sir Edward Nicholas, we take that on the credit of Lord Clarendon, who is not contradicted by any writer that I have met with. I look therefore upon what has been ſaid in the text to be fully made good, and that we may, with as great probability of being right, ſuppoſe that the King made this change upon very reaſonable and juſt motives, as that he did it purely to gratify the Popiſh party, who, from any thing that appears from facts, were no gainers by it, or what followed from it.

(30) See this Petition of the Earl of Clarendon's, in the firſt Volume of the valuable Collection of Pieces wrote by him, p. 297.

(31) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. i. p. 99.

in the firſt Dutch war; but he likewiſe appears to have had no ſmall concern in the negociations for peace, which he puſhed in ſuch a manner, as by no means ſhews him to have loved war, or to have adviſed the King his maſter to purſue it beyond meaſure (*w*). In this ſpace, on the recommendation of the Duke of Ormond, he brought Mr. Temple, afterwards Sir William Temple, into buſineſs, and employed him in the treaty with the Biſhop of Munſter, for attacking the Dutch by land, while we did it by ſea (*x*). He afterwards fixed that famous Miniſter at Bruſſels, and we may perceive as much friendſhip and confidence on one ſide, and as much reſpect and gratitude on the other, in the letters paſſing between them, as it was poſſible for words to expreſs, or men to conceive (*y*). Whatever difference therefore grew afterwards between them, we muſt allow to the honour of Lord Arlington's memory, that he diſtinguiſhed the great talents of that admirable perſon, and firſt produced them to the world, by bringing him on the theatre of public action. By the correſpondence between them it very plainly appears, that though the view of uniting the crowns of Great Britain and Sweden with the States-General, in ſetting bounds to the ambition of France, and ſecuring the Spaniſh Low-Countries, was Sir William Temple's own, yet it as plainly appears that he opened this to, and was ſupported therein by, Lord Arlington, who was then in the higheſt point of truſt and favour. It was he who brought that glorious deſign to bear; and though he never pretended to the honour of making the TRIPLE ALLIANCE, yet the love of truth obliges one to ſay, that without him it never had been made. We might be able to ſet all theſe matters in a much clearer point of light, if the firſt part of thoſe Memoirs were extant in which Lord Arlington made ſo great a figure, the ſecond and third parts of which do him ſo little honour; and perhaps the firſt were burnt, and the two laſt preſerved, for that very reaſon (*z*) [*F*]. But however that matter may be, it will always do honour to this noble

(*w*) Arlington's Letters, Vol. i. p. 142.

(*x*) Temple's Works, Vol. ii. p. 1.

(*y*) Arlington's Letters, Vol. i. p. 14. 35, 78. Temple's Works, Vol. ii. p. 51.

(*z*) See a remarkable paſſage from the Preface before the third part of Temple's Memoirs, in note [*F*].

[*F*] *The firſt was burned, and the two laſt preſerved for that very reaſon.*] It was certainly a very ſingular and a very great advantage to Mr. Temple, that he came abroad and into buſineſs recommended by the Duke of Ormond, and ſupported by the Earl of Clarendon and Lord Arlington (32). His firſt negociation was in the year 1665 with the Biſhop of Munſter, and he was afterwards employed as the King's Reſident at Bruſſels to the Governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, and had his patent for a Baronet ſent him over thither. All this was plainly the effect of Lord Arlington's kindneſs for him, who teſtified upon all occaſions a very juſt, that is, a very high, eſteem for his abilities; and there is very little reaſon to doubt that Sir William Temple, who was a very polite, well-bred man, made very proper returns to this Miniſter, though it muſt be confeſſed, that there is not much of this kind to be found in ſuch of his letters as have been made public. Yet, for the ſatiſfaction of the reader in this point, I ſhall give him the cloſe of a letter from Lord Arlington to Sir William Temple, when he was appointed Reſident, as is before mentioned, which will ſhew how far he was dependant upon that noble Peer, and how ſenſible he was at that time of his good offices (33). This letter is dated October 26, 1665.

(32) Life of Sir William Temple, prefixed to the firſt volume of his Works, p. 5.

(33) Arlington's Letters, Vol. i. p. 34, 35.

'Herewith you receive his Majeſty's credentials for you to the Marquis Caſtel Rodrigo, which gives you poſſeſſion of your Reſidency with him. It ought to be accompanied with new inſtructions to you, but I muſt defer them till my next, againſt which time I hope we ſhall have ſome other matters riper for your knowledge than they are now. *I will not return you compliments in proportion to the length and warmth of your's, leſt they ſhould troubleſomely multiply on both ſides, contenting myſelf only with aſſuring you that I am*, &c.'

This affords us at once an inſtance of our Miniſter's gratitude, and of his Patron's modeſty. Their friendſhip continued uninterrupted for about three years, during all which time he conſtantly correſponded with Lord Arlington, and received from him thoſe inſtructions that did belong to his place to give. We muſt alſo obſerve, that theſe three years proved equally honourable for the Secretary and the Miniſter. They both acquired much reputation within that ſpace; at the latter end of which Sir William Temple tells us, it was a common ſaying (34) among the Politicians abroad, *That there had been for nine months the greateſt Miniſtry in the world in England.* The reader will obſerve, that this was before the Cabal came into play, and when foreign affairs were in a manner wholly under the management of Lord Arlington (35). It may not be amiſs to confirm the truth of what is advanced here and in the text, by the teſtimony of the famous John de Witte, than whom a more illuſtrious witneſs cannot be produced in ſupport of Lord Arlington's character. This letter is dated February 14, N. S. 1668, and runs thus (36):

(34) Temple's Letters in his Works, Vol. ii. p. 180.

(35) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. i. p. 34.

(36) Temple's Letters in his Works, Vol. ii. p. 68.

'My Lord,

'AS it was impoſſible to ſend a Miniſter of greater capacity, or more proper for the temper and genius of this nation, than Sir William Temple, ſo I believe no other perſon either will, or can, more equitably judge of the diſpoſition wherein he has found the States, to anſwer the good intentions of the King of Great Britain. Sir William Temple ought not to be leſs ſatisfied with the readineſs wherewith the States have paſſed over to the concluding and ſigning theſe treaties, for which he came hither, than they (the States) are with his conduct and agreeable manner of dealing in the whole courſe of his negociation. It appears, my Lord, that *you* thoroughly underſtand men, and beſtow your friendſhip only upon ſuch as deſerve it, ſince you cauſe perſons to be employed who acquit themſelves ſo worthily. I think myſelf happy to have negotiated with him, and that by his means your Lordſhip hath been pleaſed to give me a teſtimony of your good will. For the favour you ſay his Majeſty is pleaſed to have for me, I have no other ways deſerved it, than by my reſpects for his Royal perſon, whereof I ſhall endeavour to give proofs upon all occaſions his Majeſty will pleaſe to afford me. In the mean while I ſhall wait with impatience for ſome opportunity to ſhew how ſenſible I am of all your Lordſhip's civilities, which I ſhall ever acknowledge by a true eſteem for your merits, and by a ſtrong paſſion to let you ſee that I am with as much ſincerity as you can deſire,

'My Lord, your's, &c.'

It was very decent and proper for the Grand Penſionary to pay theſe compliments to Sir William Temple, whoſe conduct in negociating and concluding the Triple Alliance can never be enough admired or applauded, conſidering it was the ſubject of this letter; but Sir William himſelf, in a letter to Lord Arlington about the ſame time, ſpeaks of this very matter in the following terms (37): 'I cannot but rejoice in particular with your Lordſhip upon the ſucceſs of this affair, having obſerved in your Lordſhip, as well as my Lord-Keeper, a conſtant ſteady bent in ſupporting his Majeſty's reſolution, which is here ſo generally applauded as the happieſt and wiſeſt that any Prince ever took for himſelf or his neighbours. What in earneſt I hear every hour, and from all hands, of that kind, is endleſs, and even extravagant. God of heaven ſend his Majeſty

(37) Temple's Letters, as before, p. 51.

noble perſon's memory, that while he was looked upon to be at the head of the miniſtry his maſter's affairs had the moſt flouriſhing aſpect, our concerns went eaſy and harmoniouſly at home, and the nation's credit abroad was at its greateſt height. It is indeed too true that this fair proſpect was but of a ſhort continuance; though at the ſame time we may affirm, it laſted full as long as his abſolute intereſt, and never declined till other men came to have at leaſt an equal, by degrees a ſuperior, credit with the King his maſter, who was but too apt to prefer, in his Miniſters, quick parts to ſolidity of underſtanding. There was, beſides the Duke of Bucks, another man of the ſame ſtamp, who came at this time into the King's favour, and had for ſome time afterwards much more intereſt with the King, and with his brother the Duke of York, than he deſerved. This was Sir Thomas Clifford, a concealed, but a zealous Papiſt, a ſtaunch friend to the French, and an implacable enemy to the Dutch (*a*). Lord Arlington, who had hitherto maintained a ſtrict friendſhip with the Lord-Keeper Bridgman, and for ſome time directed abſolutely foreign affairs, found himſelf now under a neceſſity of either retiring from buſineſs, or entering into ſome degree of friendſhip with theſe new favourites; and the perſon he fixed upon was the Duke of Bucks, who profeſſed himſelf, though very falſely, a friend to moderate meaſures, and to that ſyſtem of foreign affairs, which had been both framed and eſtabliſhed by Lord Arlington. Lord Aſhley, afterwards the famous Earl of Shafteſbury, was likewiſe brought into high favour at this time, and finding that the King remembered the buſineſs at Chatham, where the Dutch burnt his fleet, when a treaty of peace was not only negociating, but on the point of ſigning at Breda, he ſtruck in with this diſpoſition of the King's, and being a man that liked ſtorms and tempeſts, as the weather that ſuited him beſt, he projected a ſecond Dutch war (*b*). It has ſince appeared, that Lord Arlington had done much better if he had quitted his poſt when he viſibly declined in his credit. But he had been long in buſineſs, loved a Court, and the King was very unwilling to part with him; ſo that he flattered himſelf with the hopes of taking ſome favourable opportunity of bringing things about again, and by this means was drawn in to join with men, who had neither the good of the nation, the honour of their maſter, or the ſucceſs of his meaſures at heart; and though it is certain that Lord Arlington ſtruggled a long time in ſupporting the Duke of Ormond, and in his endeavours to prevent a new war, yet he was forced to give way at laſt; and from having been at the head of a Miniſtry, that had gained the greateſt reputation of any this nation ever ſaw, came to act no very conſiderable part in an adminiſtration, which was the worſt that ever was intruſted with power ſince we were a nation [*G*]. The former ſcheme of politics being entirely

(*a*) See the article of CLIFFORD (THOMAS) in this Dictionary.

(*b*) Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c.

'to run on the ſame courſe, and I have nothing left 'to wiſh, ſince I know your Lordſhip will continue 'to eſteem me what I am, with ſo great paſſion and 'truth, my Lord, your's, &c.' It was the juſt ſenſe Sir William Temple had of the honour *this tranſaction* did to the King and his Miniſtry, that put him upon writing Memoirs (38) of all that happened in relation to it; and Dr. Swift, in his preface to the third part of his Memoirs, gives us a very plain and probable account of what became of them, which, when peruſed, will leave nothing neceſſary to be farther ſaid upon this topic.

(38) The ſecond part of Sir William Temple's Memoirs was publiſhed by himſelf; and the third by Dr. Jonathan Swift.

'The ſubject of the firſt part was chiefly the Triple 'Alliance during the negociation, of which my Lord 'Arlington was Secretary of State and chief Miniſter. 'Sir William Temple often aſſured me he had burnt 'thoſe Memoirs, and for that reaſon was content his 'letters, during his embaſſies at the Hague and Aix-la-Chapelle, ſhould be printed after his death, in 'ſome manner to ſupply that loſs. What it was that 'moved Sir William Temple to burn theſe firſt Memoirs, may perhaps be conjectured from ſome paſſages in the ſecond part, formerly printed. In one 'place the author has theſe words: *My Lord* Arlington, *who made ſo great a figure in the former part of* '*them, was now grown out of all credit*, &c. In 'other parts he tells us, that Lord was *of the Miniſtry* 'which broke the Triple League, adviſed the Dutch 'war and French alliance, and, in ſhort, was at the 'bottom of all thoſe ruinous meaſures which the 'Court of England was then taking; ſo that, as I 'have been told from a good hand, and as it ſeems 'very probable, he could not think that Lord a perſon fit to be celebrated for his part in forwarding 'that famous League while he was Secretary of State, 'who had made ſuch counterpaces to deſtroy it.' This is an unexceptionable proof of his being at the *head* of *one* Miniſtry; and in the courſe of this article the reader will have a very clear account of the *ſhare* he had in the *other*; for men of ordinary capacities think it juſtice to ſhew both ſides of a character, and not barely that which gratifies either their immediate intereſts or inclinations.

[*G*] *The worſt that ever was intruſted with power in this nation.*] One ſeems to be juſtified in ſaying this, becauſe hitherto no writer that I know of has ever ventured to ſay a word in their vindication. It is very juſt that it ſhould be ſo; for theſe people forced themſelves into the adminiſtration without either having, or pretending to have, any ſort of principles, my Lord Arlington only excepted, who ſeems to have complied rather than acted with them, and therefore is repreſented as a man of inferior genius to the reſt. The engine by which they raiſed themſelves, was a pretended influence over the Parliament. The King, to gratify his own inclination of being rid of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, had ſuffered a great ſpirit to be raiſed againſt him in the Houſe of Commons, and had ſeen the ſame kind of ſpirit managed under his own eye in the Houſe of Lords for the like purpoſe, and by this ſtrange conduct made way for all that followed (39). Thoſe who in this conjuncture gained themſelves credit in Parliament, made themſelves ſo formidable thereby to the King, that he was obliged to take them for his Miniſters, as being ſenſible that they had it both in their will and in their power to diſturb and diſtreſs any others of whom he had made choice. As this was their firſt ſtep to greatneſs, ſo to make ſure of the adminiſtration, and not to leave the King at liberty to turn them out, they reſolved to change the whole ſyſtem of affairs. The Duke of Bucks had always kept fair with the Sectaries, and he inſiſted upon an indulgence for them againſt Law. Lord Aſhley, afterwards Earl of Shafteſbury, projected the circumſcribing the power of the Houſe of Commons, and was in reality the author of the war, though in that, as well as in the ſhutting up of the Exchequer, Clifford appeared to be the man (40). The Earl, afterwards Duke of Lauderdale, anſwered for Scotland, that the King might enlarge his power there, which he did to the utmoſt extent; and that nobleman uſed it with ſo much violence, that never any man was more hated and feared than his Grace. Lord Arlington ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded that theſe men meant his maſter well, and ſo he kept his poſt of Secretary,

(39) See Kennet, Echard, Burnet.

(40) See North's *Examen*, P. i. chap. ii.

entirely overturned, Buckingham and Shafteſbury came to have the direction of all affairs at home, and, in conjunction with Clifford, introduced a new ſyſtem with reſpect to foreign affairs, which conſiſted in a cloſe conjunction with France, in a war againſt the Dutch, wherein Lord Arlington does not appear to have acted farther than he was obliged to act as Secretary of State (*c*), which nevertheleſs did not protect him from the reſentment of the nation, very juſtly provoked by the conſequences with which this war was attended. Yet if any judgment can be formed from facts, he was the only perſon, that, in this ſad ſcene of affairs, had it either in his thoughts, or in his power, to ſecure his maſter from being involved in a new civil war, or the nation from being oppreſſed, by the change of the conſtitution into an abſolute monarchy. The four other great Lords thought this laſt meaſure practicable; and though it is certain that two of them hated the King, and very far from being certain whether any of them loved him, yet they were ſo infatuated with the thoughts of governing all things at their own will under his name, that they preſſed him, as they had gained the Duke of York, to continue firm in his reſolutions, and to venture all in order to bring this deſperate project to bear, towards which, in their ſeveral ſtations, they went boldly as far as they could (*d*). Arlington, however, could never be brought to reliſh this meaſure; nor is he charged with it by any one writer of credit. On the contrary, there is the beſt authority to prove, that he was the firſt who ſaw the King's danger, and the only one that endeavoured to make him ſee it and ſenſible of it. In the month of April 1672, his Majeſty was pleaſed to raiſe him to the dignity of Earl of Arlington in the county of Middleſex, and Viſcount Thetford in the county of Norfolk (*e*). On the fifteenth of June following, he was elected one of the Knights Companions of the moſt noble Order of the Garter (*f*), and was ſoon after appointed, in conjunction with the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of Halifax, Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Utrecht, where the French King then kept his Court, to treat of a peace between the Allies and the States General (*g*); but this negociation came to nothing. But the war proving not ſo ſucceſsful, at leaſt for us, as was expected, his Majeſty began

(*c*) See the proofs of this in note [*G*].

(*d*) North's Examen, p. 453, 454.

(*e*) Bill ſign. Apr. 20, ann. 24, Car. II.

(*f*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 483.

(*g*) From a Letter of the Lord High Treaſurer Clifford to Sir B. Gaſcoyne, dated June 28, 1672.

cretary, with ſome ſmall ſhare in the direction of things, and a much larger in the confidence of his maſter, which enabled him to prevent his going all the lengths theſe men would have carried him: And when Shafteſbury ſaw this, he ſtruck into the ſame path, and began to take meaſures for his own ſafe retreat. This, as far as one can judge from the hiſtories of thoſe times, was the true character of this motley Miniſtry. But it is requiſite that the reader ſhould alſo ſee what other authors have delivered upon ſo important a ſubject; and when he has done this, compared what they ſay, and conſidered their reſpective characters, he may poſſibly be the better pleaſed with that ſhort account that we have given him, without the leaſt degree of prejudice or partiality to any. Mr. Echard tells us (41), that the King and his Miniſtry at this time began more and more to practiſe the arts of diſſimulation, of which they were all thought to be maſters, to enter into dark and foreign deſigns, and to purſue different meaſures from thoſe of the Parliament; and that the Miniſtry was now made up of a different ſpecies of perſons, than in the firſt and moſt happy part of the reign, conſiſting of a heterogenous body of Counſellors, a ſelect Cabinet of five noted men, *Clifford*, *Aſhley* (afterwards *Shafteſbury)*, *Buckingham*, *Arlington*, and *Lauderdale*, the initial letters of whoſe titles cauſed them to obtain that well-known name of the CABAL, which was judged to have been ſo ominous to the Engliſh affairs. The projects and proceedings, ſays Mr. Echard, of this remarkable ſet of men, proved manifeſtly and highly prejudicial to the main intereſt of the nation. Father Orleans the Jeſuit, who fancied he had ſufficient information of this and other matters from the mouth of King James II. himſelf, after diſcourſing of that Prince's long concealment of his religion, mentions an extraordinary project, which gave him hopes of the liberty to diſcover it, which he tells us was as follows (42): 'That in the year 1670, the Court of England perceiving the republican ſpirit inſenſibly creeping into the Parliament again, ſeriouſly conſidered how to remedy that evil, which foreboded many more: That the managers of that enterprize were five Lords, who were called the *Cabal*, as well from the ſtrict union amongſt them, as from the firſt letters of their names compoſing that word.' He tells us then, that the Earl of Arlington had the leaſt genius of the five, but that this was well ſupplied by his experience, which gained him great knowledge in foreign affairs. 'Theſe Lords, *continues* Father Orleans, firmly bound to their maſter by their high places and favours, could not without indignation obſerve, what advances the republican ſpirit, which began to revive again, had cauſed the Parliament to make againſt the regal authority: among others, the Triple Alliance, to which that *republican Cabal* had forced the King againſt his will, appeared to them as an audacious incroachment upon the prerogative, of which the conſequences were to be prevented. Filled with theſe juſt reſentments, they perſuaded the King to be as abſolute, as he was intitled by the Crown and the laws of the Realm, to confine the Parliament to the bounds preſcribed them by immemorial cuſtom, and to take care that a mixture of commonwealth with monarchy, introduced by violence and ſubjects uſurpation, did not produce a monſtrous anarchy, which might again expoſe England to that dreadful confuſion from which it was ſcarce recovered. To effect all this, it was neceſſary to have a war which might furniſh the King with a pretence to raiſe an army; and this they had againſt the Dutch, and the more favourable, becauſe the honour of the Engliſh nation was equally concerned; for the old controverſy about the Flag began to be renewed, and the Eaſt-India merchants daily complained that they were unfairly treated by the Dutch. This, I ſay, was the pretence: but the real motive for pitching upon this war, rather than any other, was the cloſe correſpondence between the Engliſh republicans and thoſe of Holland; the latter inceſſantly inſtilling into the minds of the former, that love of liberty there ſo highly valued, to make them averſe to monarchy, and to excite them to throw off the yoke of regal dominion; being always ready to ſupport any faction that ſhould attack it.' This French Hiſtorian writes our Hiſtory as moſt of the French Poets do their plays, without conſidering where the ſcene is laid, or the manners proper for the characters he would repreſent; ſo that though his work may deſerve reading, yet the very ſtyle in which it is penned ſhews plainly it deſerves no credit. As to what he ſays here with ſo much confidence, every man who is but indifferently ſkilled in our Hiſtory, muſt at firſt ſight perceive it to be as abſurd and fooliſh, as it is falſe and unfounded. In all King Charles the Second's reign there never was ſo able, or ſo well principled a Miniſtry, as that by whom the Triple Alliance was made; ſo that, as there was no colour for abuſing them at all, there could be no abuſe ſo glaringly groundleſs, as calling their adminiſtration *republican*. But it is poſſible Father d'Orleans, hearing King James ſay ſomething on this ſubject, miſtook the perſons he ſpoke of, and threw in the epithet *republican* in the wrong place.

(41) Hiſtory of England, p. 864, 865.

(42) Revolutions of England, p. 91.

to be more inclinable to hearken to a peace, which is attributed to the influence of the Earl of Arlington, the cabal being now ſeparated, Lord Clifford having reſigned the poſt of High-Treaſurer, which was beſtowed upon Sir Thomas Oſborn, afterwards Earl of Danby, and in proceſs of time Duke of Leeds; and it was alſo known that the King intended to take the Great-Seal from the Earl of Shafteſbury, which however was delayed till the meeting of the Parliament, that it might be ſeen what ſervice he could do there (*h*). The ſeſſion was accordingly opened October 20, 1673; but it very ſoon appeared that the Houſe of Commons diſliked the war, and were determined to call thoſe Miniſters to an account, who had either adviſed or promoted it. This, however, was prevented for the preſent by a prorogation; ſoon after which the Seal was taken from the Earl of Shafteſbury, and given to Sir Heneage Finch (*i*). On the ſeventh of January the Parliament met again, not at all in a better temper than when they met laſt, and therefore determined to proceed againſt thoſe they eſteemed evil Miniſters. The firſt they fell upon was the Duke of Lauderdale, againſt whom they voted an addreſs for removing him from his employment, and from the King's preſence and councils (*k*). They next fell upon the Duke of Bucks, who deſired to be heard, which was complied with. The firſt day he fell into ſuch confuſion that he could not ſpeak, upon which he complained that he was ill, and the hearing was put off to the next day. He then made a very florid ſpeech, in which he hinted ſome things to the prejudice of the King and Duke, but laid the greateſt blame, in the heavieſt and moſt expreſs terms, upon the Earl of Arlington. His Grace ſubmitted afterwards to anſwer interrogatories, and in them charged the Earl ſtill more deeply (*l*). The Houſe thought fit thereupon not only to vote an addreſs againſt the Duke, of the ſame nature with that againſt Lauderdale (*m*), but likewiſe reſolved to proceed againſt the Earl of Arlington, who thereupon deſired to be heard in his own defence as the Duke had been. When he came accordingly into the Houſe for that purpoſe, he made a very long and clear ſpeech, in which he much exceeded the hopes of his friends, and laid a foundation for defeating the deſigns of his enemies (*n*) [*H*]. But, however, he did not ſo far ſatisfy the Commons as to prevent farther proceedings; yet they did not vote an addreſs, as in the two former caſes, but choſe rather to frame articles of impeachment, which were drawn up in very ſtrong terms, though afterwards this came to nothing, and his Lordſhip was by a ſmall majority acquitted (*o*). The heads of this impeachment are curious and of great importance, for which reaſon they are inſerted in the notes [*I*]. The Earl, in the mean time, continued to preſs the King to conſent to

a ſeparate

(*h*) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. iii. p. 296.

(*i*) North's Examen, p. 49.

(*k*) See the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, Jan. 1673-4.

(*l*) See the Speech in the Journals.

(*m*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 900, 901.

(*n*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. i. p. 365, 366. Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 901.

(*o*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time, *ubi ſupra.*

[*H*] *For defeating the deſigns of his enemies.*] This was certainly a very trying conjuncture. The Earl of Shafteſbury had reconciled himſelf to the Country Party by very extraordinary ſteps, and the Duke of Buckingham viſibly followed his example, ſo that Arlington ſeemed delivered up as a victim. The Duke of Lauderdale was condemned, Buckingham and Shafteſbury were become informers, the King and Duke ſeemed not well pleaſed with this method of applying to the Houſe of Commons, yet the Earl perſiſted in his reſolution. He ſpoke very modeſtly, and with much decency, accuſing nobody, but excuſing himſelf (43). He ſaid the Eaſt-India company and the Merchants complained of the Dutch that the Flag was diſputed, the King perſonally inſulted, and therefore the war was judged abſolutely neceſſary, as the Lord Chancellor Shafteſbury told them in his ſpeech after it was begun: That believing the war neceſſary, he diſcharged the duty of his office in purſuing of it, but that *delenda eſt Carthago*, the utter ruin of the Dutch republic was no maxim of his: That he was againſt our accepting towns, becauſe he looked upon this as a war of reparation, and not of conqueſt (44): That as to the making the *Triple Alliance* it was the work of Sir William Temple, and a meaſure he ſupported and applauded, as well as the ſubſequent Treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle; but that he did not conceive thoſe tranſactions tied the King's hands from vindicating the honour of his crown, and his title to the dominion of the Britiſh ſeas, which made him jealous of his Flag: That throughout the whole war he had either done nothing but by the King's command, or with an honeſt well-meaning view towards peace: That he received new honours to give luſtre to his embaſſy; and if he failed of bringing home the Olive Branch, it was not owing to any want of endeavours in him, but to the haughtineſs of a Prince, who fancied victory muſt always attend him: That he wiſhed them to conſider he had been near twelve years Secretary of State, that in a long courſe of buſineſs he might well commit ſome miſtake, not through any error of his will, but of his judgment: That he always inclined to peace and moderate meaſures, and was a friend to Parliaments: That he hoped theſe points conſidered, and the neceſſity ſome were under to blacken others to ſecure themſelves, they would regard facts and not rumours; but that if they determined to proceed againſt him, he deſired it might be judicially, and with an opportunity of making a defence, and not by a cenſure, that would cruſh him without reply, and with his places and honours deprive him of the means of enjoying the remainder of his days in peace, which he could never taſte while under their diſpleaſure. The King was very well pleaſed at his making ſo well timed and ſo well managed a defence; but the Duke was not of the ſame opinion. He looked upon all compliances as mean, and imputed the Earl's behaviour to a want of firmneſs; and thenceforward they proceeded very different ways in their political journey, as the reader will ſee in the text. Yet in this caſe the Duke's reſentment did him no hurt, for the Houſe of Commons thought it a ſign he ſpoke truth, and was the man he profeſſed himſelf, which ſaved him.

[*I*] *For which reaſon they are inſerted in the notes.*] The charge againſt him was digeſted under the following title: *Articles of treaſonable and other crimes of high miſdemeanour againſt the Earl of* Arlington, *Principal Secretary of State*; in which they accuſe him, I. 'That he had been a conſtant and vehement promoter of Popery and Popiſh councils; 1. By procuring commiſſions for all the Papiſts, lately in command, who made their application to him only as a known favourer of that faction, there being not one commiſſion ſigned by the other Secretary, many of which commiſſions were procured and ſigned by him ſince the ſeveral addreſſes of the two Houſes of Parliament to his Majeſty, and the paſſing of the late Act againſt Popery. 2. By procuring his Majeſty's letter, commanding Iriſh Papiſts and rebels to be let into Corporations, and to be admitted into the commiſſions of the peace, and other offices of truſt, military and civil, contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws and conſtitutions of that realm, to the great terror of the King's Proteſtant ſubjects there. 3. By not only ſetting up and ſupporting the aforeſaid Papiſts there, but bringing the moſt

'violent

(43) Copied from a MS. Journal, formerly in the hands of Auditor *Done*.

(44) See the Duke of Bucks' Speech, in Echard's Hiſtory, p. 901.

a ſeparate peace with the Dutch; and when he had brought this about, procured Sir William Temple to be charged with that negociation, and it was intended that he ſhould have gone to the Hague *(p)* for that purpoſe, but the States-General, in rhe mean time, having ſent full powers to the Marquis del Freſno, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador Extraordinary, it was agreed to treat with him, and in three conferences the treaty was concluded

‘ violent and fierceſt of them to command companies and regiments of the King's Engliſh ſubjects here, to the great diſhonour and danger of this kingdom. 4. By openly and avowedly entertaining and lodging in his family a Popiſh Prieſt, contrary to the known laws of the land; which ſaid Prieſt was a noted ſolicitor of the Popiſh faction, and hath ſince fled out of this Kingdom. 5. By procuring penſions in other mens' names for Popiſh officers, contrary to and in illuſion of the late Act of Parliament. 6. By obtaining grants of conſiderable ſums of money to be charged upon the revenues of Ireland, for the moſt violent and pernicious Papiſts there, particularly two thouſand pounds for one Colonel Fitz-Patrick, a notorious Iriſh rebel, whoſe mother was hanged in the late wars for murdering ſeveral Engliſh, and making candles of their fat; this grant being procured for the ſaid Fitz-Patrick at a time when he was accuſed to the ſaid Lord Arlington of high crimes by the now Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. 7. By procuring his Majeſty to releaſe to ſeveral of the Iriſh Papiſts, ſome whereof were deeply engaged in the rebellion of that kingdom, the chieferies or head-rents reſerved to the Crown out of the aforeſaid eſtates of the Papiſts there, being a principal part of his Majeſty's revenues in that kingdom. II. That the ſaid Earl hath been guilty of ſeveral undue practices to promote his own greatneſs, and hath embezzled and waſted the treaſure of this nation; 1. By procuring vaſt and exorbitant grants for himſelf, both in England and Ireland, breaking into the ſettlement of that kingdom, and diſpoſſeſſing ſeveral of the Engliſh adventurers and ſoldiers of the properties and freeholds in which they were legally and freely ſtated, without any colour of reaſon or ſuggeſtion of right. 2. By charging exceſſive and almoſt exorbitant ſums for falſe and deceitful intelligence. 3. By procuring his Majeſty's hand for the giving away, from his firſt entrance into his office, the value of three millions of ſterling money at the leaſt, the ſeveral grants whereof are extant counterſigned by him, and by him only. 4. That the ſaid Earl preſuming to trample on all eſtates and degrees of the ſubjects of this realm, the better to ſubdue them to his will and pleaſure, he cauſeleſsly and illegally impriſoned many of his Majeſty's ſubjects. 5. That he did procure a principal Peer of the realm to be unjuſtly impriſoned, and to be proclaimed a traitor without any legal proceeding or trial, and did maliciouſly ſuborn falſe witneſſes with money to take away his life, upon pretence of treaſonable words. III. That the ſaid Earl hath falſely and traiterouſly betrayed the great truſt repoſed in him by his Majeſty, as a Counſellor and Principal Secretary of State; 1. By entertaining a more than uſual intimacy with the French Embaſſador, not only lodging him in his houſe, but letting him into the King's moſt ſecret councils. 2. By altering in private, and ſingly by himſelf, ſeveral ſolemn determinations of his Majeſty's council. 3. By procuring a ſtranger to have the chief command of the late raiſed army, and for the invaſion of Holland, to the great diſhonour and diſcouragements of all the legal nobility and gentry of this nation. 4. By adviſing his Majeſty to admit of a ſquadron of French ſhips to be joined with our Engliſh fleet (the ſad conſequence whereof we have ſince felt), notwithſtanding the King of France had agreed to ſend a ſupply of men, in order to have the fleet wholly Engliſh. 5. Whereas the King was adviſed by ſeveral of the counſellors to preſs the French King to deſiſt from making any farther progreſs in the conqueſt of the inland towns in Holland, whereof England was to have no benefit, and to turn his army upon thoſe maritime towns that were by the treaty to be ours, his Lordſhip gave the King counſel to deſiſt, whereby that part of our expedition was wholly fruſtrated. 6. Whereas the King was adviſed by ſeveral of his council, not to enter into this war till his Majeſty was out of debt, and had adviſed with his Parliament, his Lordſhip was of opinion to the contrary, and gave his advice accordingly. 7. When the French ſhips were diſperſed after the late fight at ſea, and had loſt all their anchors and cables by reaſon of the foul weather that then enſued, he perſuaded his Majeſty to ſend them eighty cables and anchors, although it was then objected, that his Majeſty had not at that time any more in his ſtores to ſupply his own ſhips, in caſe of the like neceſſity. 8. He hath traiterouſly correſponded with the King's enemies beyond the ſeas, and, contrary to the truſt repoſed in him, hath given intelligence to them.’

Theſe articles appear to be of a very high and heinous nature: but then, like thoſe againſt the Earl of Clarendon, they were in all probability difficult to be proved, otherwiſe his Lordſhip had hardly eſcaped. The charge of his being popiſhly affected was a thing of courſe, and the circumſtances alleged in ſupport of it from grants, &c. counterſigned by him, is grounded on what he did of courſe in his office, but the grants were procured by the Lord-Treaſurer Clifford. The reaſon there were none ſigned by the other Secretary was, becauſe they were not in his province. In the many years that he held his office, he muſt have ſigned abundance of warrants for money as any other Secretary would have done; and he alſo ſigned in the like capacity warrants for commitments. That of the Lord above mentioned was the Duke of Bucks, who was as forward as any of the Miniſters in the Cabal, though now to ſave himſelf the moſt bitter enemy the Earl of Arlington had in the world. The French Miniſter he was ſo intimate with was M. Rouvigny, a Proteſtant, whoſe ſon was created Earl of Galway by King William, and commanded the Britiſh forces in Portugal in the reign of Queen Anne. The foreign General he brought over was M. Schombergh, afterwards the famous Marſhal of that time, and created an Iriſh Duke by King William. He was for a French fleet's fighting, that they might not be bare ſpectators of the war between the Maritime Powers, and maintain their naval force entire, while we were waſting ours. He was againſt obtaining the Dutch maritime towns, as not aiming at the deſtruction of the Republic, as the Earl of Shafteſbury and Lord Clifford did at the beginning of the war. By giving intelligence to the King's enemies, no more is to be underſtood than his correſponding with his wife's relations (for he had married a Dutch Lady); in order to the bringing about a peace, to which he was the only one of the Cabal that ever was inclined. This was the ſubſtance of what was ſaid for him by his friends, when theſe articles were read in the Houſe; but there is not the leaſt notice of them in any of our hiſtories, wherein, to ſay the truth, this whole affair is very ſtrangely hurried over, and many of its moſt important particulars omitted (45). Biſhop Burnet very juſtly obſerves, that his coming off was the more extraordinary, conſidering the many orders and warrants he had ſigned as Secretary; and aſcribed his acquittal to his ſpeech entirely, in which he ſays *he excuſed himſelf without blaming the King*; but it is not eaſy to underſtand the conſequence he draws, ‘That the care he took of himſelf, and his ſucceſs in it, loſt him his high favour with the King, and as the Duke was out of meaſure offended at him, he quitted his poſt, &c. (46)’——We ſhall ſhew that this was really a favour, and conſequently no foundation for ſuch a reflection. Yet, after all, it was neither his ſpeech nor his cauſe that brought him off, but the perſonal friendſhip of a noble perſon nearly allied to him, viz. the Earl of Oſſory, eldeſt ſon to the Duke of Ormond, and then the moſt popular man of his quality in England, who ſtood for five days that the debate laſted in the lobby of the Houſe of Commons (47), and ſolicited the Members in his favour as they entered the Houſe. This brought over ſome of the moſt violent men on the other ſide, and induced others to attend who might probably have declined it (48).

(p) Temple's Memoirs, ſecond part, in his Works, Vol. i. p. 376, 377.

(45) See Echard's Hiſtory, p. 902.

(46) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. i. p. 366.

(47) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 503.

(48) Hiſtory of the Reign of Charles II. p. 197.

and ſigned, chiefly by the interpoſition of this noble Lord, and his great intereſt with the King, as even thoſe writers agree, who cannot be ſuſpected of an intention to flatter him (q) [K]. This great point being over, and the Earl of Arlington being unwilling to run any more ſuch hazards, determined to retire from the poſt of Secretary of State, which he had the King's leave to ſell, and accordingly treated with Sir William Temple for that purpoſe, to whom he offered it for ſix thouſand pounds, and on his refuſal, bargained with Sir Joſeph Williamſon for that employment (r). At the ſame time, however, the Earl of St. Albans being inclined to reſign the office of Lord-Chamberlain (probably for a valuable conſideration) the Earl of Arlington was appointed to ſucceed him, and September 11, 1674, the White Staff was delivered him, with this public declaration from the King his Maſter, that it was in conſideration of his long and faithful ſervice, particularly in the execution of his office of Principal Secretary of State, for the ſpace of twelve years, to his great ſatisfaction (s). He was ſoon after this ſent over, with his brother-in-law the Earl of Oſſory, and the Lord-Treaſurer Danby's eldeſt ſon, into Holland, on a commiſſion of very high importance to the Prince of Orange, ſome parts of which were of a nature not to be well received, and therefore could be undertaken from no motive of ambition, but purely for his Maſter's ſervice; and of this journey we have two accounts from great men, who valued themſelves upon being in the Prince of Orange's confidence, and ſpeaking from his own mouth. Their relations are very curious and entertaining, and give us an excellent picture of courts and courtiers, and in that reſpect deſerve very well the reader's notice (t) [L]. But with reſpect to fact,

(q) Burnet, Oldmixon, &c.

(r) See the Life of Sir William Temple.

(s) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. iii. p. 483.

(t) Temple's Memoirs in his Works, Vol. i. p. 337, 338.

[K] *Suſpected of an intention to flatter him.*] The great points to be ſettled here is, whether the Engliſh nation were gainers by this treaty of London beyond what they were by that of Breda; and if they were, to whom they owed the obligation of bringing the King to conclude this peace. Biſhop Burnet gives us his ſentiments on both heads, thus (49). 'The Prince of Orange brought the States to make application to the King in the ſtile of thoſe who begged a peace, though it was viſible they could have forced it. In concluſion, a project of peace with England was formed, or rather the peace of Breda was writ over again, with the offer of two or three hundred thouſand pounds for the expence of the war, and the King ſigned it at the Lord Arlington's office. He came up immediately into the drawing-room, where, ſeeing Rouvigny, he took him aſide, and told him he had been doing a thing that went more againſt his heart than loſing his right hand. He had ſigned a peace with the Dutch, the project being brought him by the Spaniſh Embaſſador. He ſaw nothing could content the Houſe of Commons, or draw money from them; and Lord Arlington had preſſed him ſo hard, that he had ſtood out till he was weary of his life. He ſaw it was impoſſible for him to carry on the war without ſupplies, of which it was plain he could have no hopes (50).' After this account of the peace, the ſame Prelate tells us what effect it had upon all parties, cloſing the whole with this remark, 'But Lord Arlington, who had brought all this about, was ſo entirely loſt by it, that tho' he knew too much of the ſecret to be ill uſed, yet he could never recover the ground he had loſt.' There is no queſtion the Biſhop ſpoke as he thought, and took it for granted that the money prevailed on the King to ſign the Breda treaty over again; but he was miſinformed in theſe particulars. The King had little or none of the money: it went to the Prince of Orange, who perſuaded the States to beg a peace, as they really did. The treaty of London was ſo far from being like the peace of Breda, that it was the moſt honourable and advantageous we ever made with the States General, as appears by the inconteſtable evidence of Sir William Temple (51). 'The articles, ſays he, being public, need no place here. The two points of greateſt difficulty were that of the flag, and the recalling all Engliſh troops out of the French ſervice. This laſt was compoſed by private engagements, to ſuffer thoſe that were there to wear out without any recruits, and to permit no new ones to go over, but at the ſame time to give leave for ſuch levies as the States ſhould think fit to make in his Majeſty's dominions, both of Engliſh and Scotch regiments. The other of the flag was carried to all the height his Majeſty could wiſh, and thereby a claim of the crown, the acknowledgments of its dominions in the narrow ſeas, allowed by treaty from moſt powerful neighbours at ſea, which had never yet been yielded to by the weakeſt of them that I remember in the whole courſe of our pretence, and had ſerved hitherto but for an occaſion of quarrel whenever we or they had a mind to it upon other reaſons or conjectures. Nothing, I confeſs, had ever given me a greater pleaſure, in the greateſt public affairs I had run through, than this ſucceſs, as having been a point I ever had at heart, and in my endeavours to gain upon my firſt negociations in Holland; but I found Monſieur de Witte even inflexible, though he agreed with me that it would be a rock upon which our firmeſt alliances would be in danger to ſtrike and to ſplit, whenever other circumſtances fell in to make either of the parties content to alter the meaſures we had entered into upon the Triple Alliance. The ſum of money given his Majeſty by the States, though it was not conſiderable in itſelf, and leſs ſo to the King by the greateſt part of it being applied to the Prince of Orange's ſatisfaction for his mother's portion that had never been paid; yet it gave the King the whole honour of the peace, as the ſum given by the Parliament upon it, and the general ſatisfaction of his people made the eaſe of it; and thus happily ended our part of a war, ſo fatal to the reſt of Chriſtendom.' There were very few people in that age more capable of judging of what concerned the general ſyſtem of affairs than Sir William Temple; none was more likely to ſpeak his mind freely upon them; and as to this matter he knew it more thoroughly than any man, as appears from the language in which he ſpeaks of it. Here indeed he ſays nothing of the Earl of Arlington, (for he never mentions him but where it is neceſſary); but in his letters he owns his bringing about this peace, and approves his notions with reſpect to the Dutch after he was again ſettled in his embaſſy at the Hague (52). Upon the whole, therefore, nothing can be clearer, than that, ſetting our ſyſtem of foreign affairs right again, was the work of this noble perſon, and was what chiefly drew on him the hatred of the popiſh faction.

[L] *Deſerve very well the reader's notice.*] Amongſt all the tranſactions of King Charles's reign, there is not one of more importance than this journey of the Earl of Arlington's to Holland, and the commiſſion with which he was intruſted to the Prince: but the great difficulty is to come at the truth of this, and to ſee the whole tranſaction in its natural light, and as it really happened (53). Sir William Temple thought he was the moſt capable man in the world of ſhewing it, and it was chiefly to draw up the hiſtory of this journey, that he penned the ſecond part of his ingenious Memoirs, in which he tells us (54), that the Earl of Arlington found himſelf a ſufferer by having ſo deeply engaged in the Cabal, and that his country was againſt him, and that the King was diſpleaſed at his ill ſucceſs. However, he ſtill thought himſelf out of danger with the Parliament, and therefore appeared zealous for their ſitting, and to increaſe his reputation with them, and to become a favourite, he ſet himſelf all he could to proſecute the Roman Catholics, and to oppoſe the French intereſt. To ſhew his zeal againſt the firſt, he revived ſome old dormant orders for prohibiting

(49) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. i. p. 367.

(50) *Id. ibid.* p. 368.

(51) Temple's Memoirs, Part ii. p. 377, 378.

(52) Temple's Works, Vol. ii. p. 327.

(53) See Kennet, Echard, &c.

(54) Temple's Works, Vol. i. p. 396.

fact, moſt certainly there are ſome miſtakes or miſrepreſentations in both, which it is very fit, ſhould,

ing Papiſts to appear about the King, and put them in execution at his firſt coming into his office of Lord Chamberlain; and he had gone ſo far as to join with the Duke of Ormond and Secretary Coventry, to perſuade the King to remove his brother wholly from Court and public buſineſs, as a means to appeaſe the diſcontents of the Parliament, occaſioned by the late conduct of affairs. By this counſel he had very much offended the Duke, and finding himſelf ill both with his Royal Highneſs and the people, and daily declining in credit with the King, he thought that there was no way of retrieving his intereſt, but by making himſelf the inſtrument of ſome ſecret and cloſe meaſures, that might be taken between the King and the Prince of Orange abroad. He firſt infuſed into his Majeſty the neceſſity and advantage of ſuch a negociation, and then that of his being employed in it, from the intereſt which his Lady's friends and kindred in Holland would be able to give him, as well from the credit of having been ſo long in the ſecret of the King's affairs, and ſo beſt able to give them ſuch colours as might render the late conduct of them the leſs diſagreeable to the Prince. The reader will obſerve, that all this time Sir William Temple was himſelf in Holland, and ſo could no way gain an abſolute certainty of theſe circumſtances which attended the Earl of Arlington's voyage, but muſt have truſted to his intelligence from London, and his own ſagacity in making the moſt of it. But with regard to the progreſs of this negociation, as it fell more immediately under his own notice and obſervation, and he had ſo great a ſhare in it himſelf, that he could not but know every particular, we may the better depend upon it, eſpecially conſidering the writer's ſincerity. Though Lord Arlington profeſſed a great friendſhip for Sir William Temple, then at the Hague, yet he repreſented him as unlikely to be truſted with ſuch confidence from the Prince, as was requiſite in this critical affair, for having been ſo intimate with de Witte in his former embaſſy. His ſuggeſtions prevailed upon the King, who could not refuſe an old ſervant, into whoſe family he had married a ſon; and ſo he went over with all the auxiliaries that ſeemed uſeful in this expedition, carrying not only his own Lady, ſiſter of the Dutch embaſſador Odyke, but her ſiſter, Madam Beverwaert, married to the Lord Oſſory, which Lady's converſation was agreeable to the Prince; Sir Gabriel Sylvius, who pretended a great intimacy with Monſieur Bentinck; Dr. Durrel, a man proper to deal with Monſieur de Mareſt, a French Miniſter, in credit with the Prince and the Lord Oſſory, who had a great ſhare in the Prince's eſteem and kindneſs, as well from his marriage in the Beverwaert family, as from his bravery, ſo much applauded in all the actions where he had been, which was a quality loved by the Prince, though employed againſt him. All this was concerted without the knowledge of the Lord-Treaſurer Danby, who had been made to believe that a letter from the Prince to Monſieur Odyke had given occaſion to this journey, as if the Prince had deſired ſome perſon at the Hague from the King, with whom he might enter into the laſt confidence. But his Highneſs aſſured Sir William Temple, who gives the whole account of this affair, that there was no ſuch thing, and that therefore Monſieur de Rouvigni, the French Ambaſſador at London, had more part in the journey than he, and perhaps any man elſe, and that all the endeavours uſed towards a general peace came from that ſide. However inſtructed, at leaſt thus accompanied, the Lord Arlington went to the Hague, and told Sir William Temple at their firſt meeting, that he came over to ſet things right between the King and the Prince, which he doubted were amiſs, and ſettle a perfect kindneſs and confidence between them, to effect which, he muſt go to the bottom of the ſore, and rake into things paſt, which was an unpleaſant taſk, and which Sir William could not do, as having no part in the King's buſineſs during that time, wherein the Prince took offence at the councils of England; that his Majeſty had choſen him for this office, becauſe he could beſt juſtify his Maſter's intentions to his Highneſs in the whole courſe of that affair: That as for the intended peace, though his Majeſty deſired it, yet he would not meddle in it, unleſs the Prince of himſelf made any overtures about it, but would only endeavour to give the Prince what light he could, as to the ſtate of things in general, and what he might hope from his allies, as well as from France: That if the Prince made no advances to him upon it, he would let it fall, and leave it in Sir William Temple's hands. He ſaid beſides, that having fought the King's battle with the Prince, he muſt fight another of his own, who did not deſerve the coldneſs which his Highneſs had of late expreſſed to him, and when that was done all his buſineſs was ended; he therefore deſired Sir William to introduce him and the Lord Oſſory the firſt time to the Prince, and after that he would give his Excellency no more trouble. Sir William told his Lordſhip, that he was glad to ſee him, let his buſineſs be what it would: That he ſhould be gladder yet, that the King's buſineſs ſhould be done, let it be by whom it would, but much more that it might be done by him: That for ſetting matters right between the King and the Prince, he thought it the beſt office which could be done them both: That for the way which he mentioned of raking into the ſore, and fighting battles in defence or juſtification of what was paſt, he knew not what to ſay to it, but would leave it to his own prudence; but from what he knew in particular as to the Prince's humour and thoughts, whatever he did of that ſort he believed ſhould be very gentle, and not go too deep, being of opinion, *that expoſtulations were very apt to end well between lovers, but ill between friends.* Sir William Temple was told by the Lord Arlington what he thought fit of all that paſſed between the Prince and him; and his Highneſs told him not only the thing but the manner of it, which was more important than the matter itſelf; for this had no effect, but the other a great deal, and that laſted long. His Lordſhip told him much of his expoſtulations, and with what good turns of wit he had juſtified both the King's part in the late war and his own, but that upon all he found the Prince very dry and ſullen, or at the beſt uneaſy, and as if he wiſhed it ended: That upon diſcourſe of the ſtate of Chriſtendom, and what related to the war, which he was engaged in, he made no overture at all, nor entered further, than that the King might bring him out of it with honour if he pleaſed, and with ſafety to Europe, if not, it muſt go on till the fortunes of the parties changing, made way for other thoughts than he believed either of them had at that time: That this might happen after another campaign, which none but his Majeſty could prevent, by inducing France to yield to ſuch terms as he thought juſt and ſafe for the reſt of Chriſtendom. On the other ſide, the Prince told Sir William Temple with what arrogance and inſolence the Lord Arlington had entered upon all his expoſtulations with him, ſhewing not only in his diſcourſe as if he pretended to deal with a child, whom he could by his wit make believe what he pleaſed, but in the manner of it, as if he had taken himſelf for the Prince of Orange, and him for the Lord Arlington: That all he ſaid was ſo artificial, and giving ſuch falſe colour to things which every body knew, that he who was a plain man could not bear it, and was never ſo weary of any converſation in his life. In ſhort, ſays Sir William Temple, all the Prince told me of it looked ſpighted at my Lord Arlington, and not very well ſatisfied with the King's intentions upon this errand, though he ſaid he was ſure his Majeſty never intended he ſhould treat it in the manner he had, if he remembered that he was his nephew, though nothing elſe. After the firſt converſations, Lord Arlington ſtaid near ſix weeks in Holland, either upon contrary winds to return his diſpatches, or to carry him away, often at dinner with the Prince at Court, or at Count Waldeck's, or Monſieur Odyke's, or with Sir William Temple, putting on the beſt humour and countenance, affecting the figure of one who had nothing of buſineſs in his head, or in the deſign of his journey, but at heart weary of his ſtay in Holland, and unwilling to return with no better account of his errand; and, as it proved, he had reaſon for both. The Penſionary and Count Waldeck perceived that his bent was to draw the Prince into ſuch meaſures of a peace as France then ſo much deſired; into a diſcovery of thoſe perſons who had made advances to the Prince, or the States, of raiſing commotions in England during the late war; into ſecret meaſures with the King, of aſſiſting him againſt any rebels at home, as well as enemies abroad; and into hopes or deſigns of a match with the Duke's eldeſt ſhould, for the ſake of truth, and the ſatisfaction of poſterity, be ſet in a clear light (u) [M]. At this diſtance of time, there can be no juſt cauſe, why we ſhould give any preference to

(u) See the note [M], where this fact is impartially examined.

daughter. Though they ſaid that the Earl found the Prince would not enter at all into the firſt, was obſtinate againſt the ſecond, treated the third as diſreſpect to the King, to think that he ſhould be ſo ill beloved, or ſo imprudent, as to need it; and upon mention made by Lord Oſſory of the laſt, he took no farther hold of it, than ſaying that his fortunes were not in a condition for him to think of a wife. Thus ended this myſtical journey, which, ſays Sir William Temple, *I have the rather unveiled, becauſe perhaps no other could do it, nor I without ſo many ſeveral lights from ſo many ſeveral hands*; *and becauſe though it brought forth no preſent fruits, yet ſeeds were then ſcattered, out of which ſprung afterwards ſome great events.* ‘The Lord Arlington after his return was received but coldly by the King and ill by the Duke, who was angry that any mention ſhould be made of his daughter the Lady Mary, though it was only done by the Lord Oſſory, and whether with order from the King or not, was not known; ſo that never any ſtrain of Court ſkill and contrivance ſucceeded ſo unfortunately as this had done, and ſo contrary to all the ends which the author of it propoſed to himſelf. Inſtead of advancing the peace he left it deſperate; inſtead of eſtabliſhing a friendſhip between the King and the Prince, he left all colder than he found it; inſtead of entering into great perſonal confidence and friendſhip with the Prince, he left an unkindneſs which laſted ever after; inſtead of retrieving his own credit at Court, which he found waining by the increaſe of Lord Danby's, he made an end of all that he had left with the King, who never afterwards uſed him with any confidence further than the forms of his place, and found alſo the Lord Treaſurer's credit with the King more advanced in ſix weeks, which he had been away, than it had in many months before.’ We have another account of this extraordinary affair from Biſhop Burnet, which is a good deal ſhorter, but I think full as curious as the former. He takes notice of ſome correſpondence there was between the Malecontents in Holland and the Prince of Orange; and that one Carſtairs, who had been employed between them, had been ſeized; then he proceeds thus (55): ‘The alarm that thoſe diſcoveries from Holland gave our Court, made Lord Arlington offer at one trial more for recovering the King's confidence; he offered to go over to Holland with the Earl of Oſſory, for they fancied they had a great intereſt in the Prince by their having married two of Bevervardt's daughters, and the Prince had always a particular affection for Lord Oſſory. Lord Arlington ſaid he would go to the bottom of every thing with the Prince, and did not doubt but he would bring him into an entire dependance on his uncle, and particularly diſpoſe him to a general peace, on which the King was much ſet, it being earneſtly deſired by the French. It was likewiſe believed that he had leave to give the Prince the hope of marrying her, whom he afterwards married. The Duke told me he knew nothing of the matter. He had heard Lord Arlington had talked as if the managing that was his chief errand; and upon that he had aſked the King, who aſſured him, that he had poſitive order not ſo much as to ſpeak of that matter. Whether notwithſtanding this he had a ſecret order, or whether he did it without order, he certainly talked a great deal of it to the Prince, as a thing which he might depend on, if he would in all other things be governed by the King’ It is plain enough, that in various circumſtances theſe accounts do not very well agree, though in the main they do, and may be taken together for one way of telling the ſtory.

[M] *For the ſake of truth, and the ſatisfaction of poſterity, be ſet in a clear light.*] According to the beſt lights that at this diſtance of time are to be had concerning this matter, from private memoirs and letters of perſons then living, and deeply engaged in public affairs, the Earl of Arlington was neither the principal perſon in, nor the contriver of, this affair. The King was deſirous of paſſing the remainder of his reign in peace, and, if poſſible, ſecuring quiet to his ſubjects after his demiſe, in order to which he judged it neceſſary to come to a right underſtanding with the Prince of Orange; and to ſecure him to his brother's intereſts, reſolved to give him the Lady Mary, his Royal Highneſs's eldeſt daughter, being very ſenſible this match would prove very acceptable to the nation in general, to whom he was now endeavouring to give as much content as it was poſſible. When his Majeſty had digeſted this project in his own mind, he began to conſider of proper perſons to be intruſted with this delicate negociation; for he reſolved to employ one perſon to expoſtulate with his Highneſs as from himſelf, and that another ſhould be charged with the compliments of the Duke, and none of the diſagreeable part of the commiſſion. For this he ſoon caſt his eyes upon the Earl of Oſſory as the fitteſt perſon in his dominions, for many reaſons; as he was a man of very high quality, great parts, and unblemiſhed reputation; as having married a Lady who was very near in blood to the Prince of Orange; and as being known to ſtand higher in his Highneſs's favour than any other Engliſhman whatever. In making choice of the Lord Chamberlain for his own part of the negociation, his Majeſty wanted not many reaſonable motives: for he was beſt acquainted with the grounds of his maſter's conduct, as having been a Miniſter conſtantly employed during his reign; he had married alſo a Dutch Lady (ſiſter to the Counteſs of Oſſory), had great correſpondencies in Holland, had always expreſſed much zeal for his Highneſs's ſervice, and been thanked for it by him. Beſides, he was conſidered in Holland as the Miniſter who had made the peace, and his relation to and intimacy with the Earl of Oſſory, made him the propereſt perſon in the world to accompany him, who was to act not for the King but the Duke. They ſet out from London, Nov. 10, 1674, and returned Jan. 6, 1674-5, and in their own opinion were neither ill received by the Prince abroad, or by the King and Duke upon their coming home. It falls out very happily that the Earl of Oſſory gave an account of this tranſaction to the Duke of Ormond his father (who did not love Arlington) in a private letter, dated Jan. 15, 1674-5, which is ſtill preſerved, and ſo far as it regards this matter runs thus (56): ‘When I have given you an account of my late commiſſion, you will judge who and what influences affairs at preſent. The King judged an alliance by the Duke's daughter to the Prince of Orange to ſuit moſt with his occaſions, as alſo a right underſtanding between them. My Lord Chamberlain was commiſſionated to handle the eclairciſſment on the King's ſide, and my part was that relating to the Duke. The objection that the King made was, that the Prince of Orange, during and ſince the war, had endeavoured to raiſe up ſedition at home. His anſwer was, that before the peace he uſed his beſt endeavours to obtain, if not conſtrain, the King to it, but not by any thing tending to a rebellion: That afterwards he would own himſelf a villain, if ever he had done any thing that might give any ſuſpicion thereof. My Lord Lauderdale had one Carſtaires ſeized upon and examined, who ſaid that the Prince of Orange bid him compliment Duke Hamilton. This he owned, for it was not unlawful (he thought) after wars to be civil to perſons of worth and honour. This was all the quarrel on our ſide. Upon the King's deſiring to know who he had treated with, and the King's promiſe that the perſons named ſhould not ſuffer, he deſired to be excuſed, with this promiſe, that if for the future any thing came to his knowledge that might diſturb the quiet of the kingdoms, he would give notice of it in time. The Prince of Orange's complaints were, that the King, inſtead of helping him in his greateſt diſtreſs, had ſent over Embaſſadors, who made a ſtricter league with France, but that he forgot all things paſt which could not be helped. He ſaid, that it was inſinuated to him that ſomething was intended for the Duke of Monmouth to his prejudice. To this we gave him ſatisfaction by the King's re-iterated commands. That which moſt touched was, the King's conniving at levies for France, and his ſtrictneſs againſt ſuch as deſired to ſerve under him; upon which he preſſed extremely that thoſe troops might be recalled, or that he might have leave to raiſe ſome for the ſervice of the States. To this he received not the ſatisfaction he wiſhed; upon which he ſeveral times ſaid, that he was to ex-

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(55) Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. i. p. 377.

(56) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 448.

to the Lord Treaſurer's, or the Lord-Chamberlain's party. It is certain that the former got the better of the latter in the King's confidence, and that the Earl loſt alſo the affection of the Duke of York, for adviſing his being ſent from Court, which, however, is allowed to have been a very right meaſure for King Charles's ſervice (*w*). It is alſo ſaid, that the King, by degrees, loſt all eſteem for the Earl of Arlington to ſuch a height, as to ſuffer ſome to mimic him in his preſence, on the ſcore of his pretending zeal againſt Popery, and whether true or not, the ſtory is worth the hearing [*N*]. But however that Monarch might behave on ſome occaſions, moſt certainly he gave all outward teſtimonies of eſteem and favour to the Earl of Arlington, even to the laſt moment of his life (*x*). He not only continued him in his office of Lord-Chamberlain, but in his Privy-Council in all the changes it ſuffered, and thoſe were not a few; and he married his favourite ſon, the Duke of Grafton, into his family, and truſted him in all his buſineſs, when thoſe who had ſupplanted him were no longer ſeen at Court. So that, at the King's death, excepting the Duke of Ormond, he left not an older ſervant behind him than his Chamberlain the Earl of Arlington. It was, perhaps, owing to this, that King James, though he did not love him, continued his Lordſhip in that office to the day of his death, which happened July 28, 1685, early in the morning, at the age of ſixty-ſeven. His corpſe was afterwards conveyed to Euſton in Suffolk, and interred in a vault under the church there, which was of his own erecting. On his death-bed, as ſome writers ſay, he was reconciled to the Church of Rome (*y*); but it is more certain that he profeſſed himſelf, and educated his only daughter, a Proteſtant. As to his character, the reader will meet with it in the notes [*O*]. He married Iſabella, daughter to Lewis de Naſſau, Lord Beverwaert,

(*w*) See Temple's Memoirs.

(*x*) North's Examen, p. 29.

(*y*) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. iii. p. 220.

pect little from us, during our partiality and fear of diſpleaſing France, and that whilſt thoſe of my Lord Lauderdale's principles had ſo much credit, the French intereſt would overbalance his. At our parting he bid us not only thank the King, but aſſure him, that if occaſion were he would venture for his ſervice his life and fortune. I come now to my part. The King told me his nephew and his niece's marriage was the only thing capable of helping the Duke, and that for that, as well as other reaſons, he had ſpoke to the Duke of it, who conſented that, upon the Prince of Orange's deſiring it, I ſhould undertake the propoſition would be accepted. This commiſſion I had from both, and upon its being moved to me by the Prince of Orange, I declared to him ſo much, and ſhewed him the account I gave of it to the Duke, from which letter, by my making a comma inſtead of a full ſtop, the criticks would infer that I had made the offer firſt. Upon this the Duke expreſſed all the anger imaginable, but the Prince's letter by me fully juſtified the contrary. The Duke will have the whole letter to be a civil denial, to which I have nothing to ſay, but that I am ſure the Prince thought it otherwiſe, for I ſhewed it him, who approved thereof. During our abſence, the King's mind had been wrought upon in this affair ſo much, as I believe thoſe, who wiſh not a good underſtanding between him and his nephew, will have their aim. I almoſt forgot to tell you, that the Duke, before our going, ſaid, he would not have his daughter marry before a peace was made. But this the King oppoſed, believing, that when we had nothing to ſay upon that account, it would give a jealouſy that other ends were ſought under this negociation, which he would not have any way clogged. The Duke's expoſtulation was mingled with much kindneſs, but avowed that he liked not the thing from the firſt, and accuſing me of too much haſte. His carriage ſince to me is very fair and open. I find the Duke of Monmouth much of the ſame mind, there being beſides croſſneſs of intereſts, ſome private piques between the Prince and him. I fear I have been too tedious in my narratives as to public concerns.' By comparing theſe accounts, and conſidering the views, the characters, and the diſpoſitions of their reſpective authors, the reader will be able to diſcover much of the truth: whereas, by reading them ſeparately, he can only learn what another perſon would have him take for truth, which may be quite another thing.

[*N*] *Whether true or not, the ſtory is worth the hearing.*] We have this tale from Mr. Archdeacon Echard, who aſſures us he had it from an unqueſtionable hand. As he does not name his authority, however, we can take it on his credit only. It runs thus (57). 'As the credit of this Earl declined, ſo ſeveral perſons at Court took the liberty to act and mimic his perſon and behaviour, as had been formerly done againſt the Lord Chancellor *Clarendon*, and it became a common jeſt for ſome Courtier to put a black patch upon his noſe, and ſtrut about with a white ſtaff in his hand, in order to make the King merry. Yet he held his Lord Chamberlain's place to the day of his death. The reaſon of the King's coldneſs, or perhaps diſpleaſure, is believed to proceed from his late turning towards the popular ſtream, and more eſpecially his outward proceedings againſt the Papiſts, when the Court believed him to be one inwardly himſelf. Concerning this I have received an unqueſtionable ſtory from an unqueſtionable hand; namely, that Colonel *Richard Talbot*, afterwards Earl of *Tyrconnel*, having been ſome time abſent from the Court, upon his return found the Earl of *Arlington*'s credit in a low condition, and ſeeing him one day acted by a perſon with a patch and ſtaff, he took occaſion to expoſtulate this matter with the King, with whom he was very familiar, remonſtrating *how very hard it was, that poor Harry Bennet ſhould be thus uſed, after he had ſo long and faithfully ſerved his Majeſty, and followed him every where in his exile.* The King hereupon began to complain too, declaring what cauſe he had to be diſſatisfied with *Harry Bennet*'s conduct, *who had of late behaved himſelf after a ſtrange manner; for not content to come to prayers as others did, he muſt be conſtant at ſacraments too. Why,* ſaid *Talbot*, interrupting him, *does not your Majeſty do the very ſame thing? God's fiſh,* replied the King with ſome heat, *I hope there is a difference between* Harry Bennet *and* me.' This very ſtory, if true, very fully proves that the Earl of Arlington was conſidered at Court as a perſon concerned in a ſtrict and ſteady oppoſition to the Popiſh faction, and as a perſon of great gravity and circumſpection, which his enemies ſtudied to repreſent as mere pride and grimace. But we have a much ſtronger and better proof of this in Coleman's Letters (58); wherein it is expreſsly ſaid, that there was a time when all the King's Miniſters were willing to have come into and proſecuted the Duke of York's meaſures, the Earl of Arlington only excepted; and upon this information it was, that the French court entered into ſuch ſuſpicion of his Lordſhip, as to direct their Embaſſadors to live no longer in ſtrict correſpondency with him, as being a man capable of making them believe the execution of their inſtructions was in many points impracticable, and ſo diſcouraging them from attempting it.

[*O*] *The reader will meet with it in the notes.*] It fares with the characters as with the pictures of great men, we ſee many drawn for them, but few like them. The circumſtances of the Earl of Arlington's life and fortunes bring him into general Hiſtories and private Memoirs, ſo that accounts of him are frequent, and yet none of them do him ſtrict juſtice. He entered the world very early, as appears by a copy of verſes of his, printed in a univerſity collection, when he was but nineteen (59), and thenceforward he compoſed either in

(57) Hiſtory of England, p. 911.

(58) *Ibid.* p. 918.

(59) Coronæ Carolinæ Quadratura, Oxoniæ 1636, 4to.

Beverwaert, ſon to Maurice, Prince of Orange and Count Naſſau, by whom he had his only daughter Iſabella, who married, Auguſt 1, 1672, Henry Earl of Euſton, ſon to King

in Engliſh or Latin on all ſuch occaſions. He was but three and twenty at the time he entered into the ſervice of King Charles I. at Oxford, and he continued in a very uniform conduct in reſpect to loyalty, from his firſt coming into buſineſs, to his going out of this world. He was Secretary to the Duke of York long, but never a favourite: he was in that capacity truſted by the King, and ſerved him faithfully. In the buſineſs of the Duke's excurſion, and in his embaſſy to the Court of Spain, we find Bennet's conduct irreproachable by ſuch as loved him leaſt (60). His becoming Secretary of State, Privy-Counſellor, and Miniſter, was the pure effects of his capacity; and that it was every way equal to his poſts, Sir William Temple confeſſes, even when he was leaſt pleaſed with him (61). He ſhewed his genius moſt when in the zenith of his power, and leaſt when he conſented to ſhare that power by making one in the Cabal. It was with difficulty he recovered himſelf, but he ſcorned to do it by laying any load upon his maſter. He ruined himſelf with the Duke, by adviſing what he thought neceſſary to prevent the ruin of the King. His journey to Holland was another proof of his being determined to ſerve but one maſter. He had ſo much good ſenſe as to put little in the power of his enemies, and ſo much ſincerity, that he never wanted friends. He remained a Courtier from his birth to his grave, came into place before he could well write man, and through all ſtorms, tempeſts, and changes, held it till he was an old man, ſometimes in danger, often in a ſtate of coolneſs, but never in diſgrace. ——In many things, however, he might ſeem unhappy: as in being oppoſite to the Earl of Clarendon, and thereby drawing on himſelf an angry reflection fatal to his peace, his credit, and his memory: In his difference with Sir William Temple, who had the better of him as a writer, though not as a ſtateſman; yet Biſhop Burnet has done ſevere juſtice, in giving the grounds of their quarrel (62): Arlington *had thrown him off, and* Temple *was too proud to bear contempt, or forget ſuch an injury ſoon:* In falling in with Buckingham and Shafteſbury, Clifford and Lauderdale, all men of flame and violence, who had no great kindneſs for him, and who meant nothing but their own advantage. His view, on the other hand, was to keep ſome ſhare of power, and be within reach of the King: In bringing himſelf under the imputation of Popery, though he defended the King from Papiſts: In having the Prince of Orange prejudiced againſt him, becauſe he would have deterred him from correſponding with the malecontents againſt his uncle's government: In bringing upon himſelf the Duke's reſentment, by adviſing what he diſliked, and yet was obliged to obey: In provoking the Papiſts, by preventing their approaching the Royal perſon, which he thought neceſſary for the King's ſafety, and they reſented as the higheſt inſolence of office: In cauſing a ſuſpicion amongſt the friends of the Church, that he courted the Fanatics: And. finally, in having the misfortune to ſuffer by men of all religions, while either he had none, or diſſembled what he had.——But notwithſtanding theſe abatements, few Stateſmen's accounts have appeared fairer when balanced. He was perfectly uniform in his political conduct; he was affectionate to his Prince, and thought this beſt expreſſed by loving his people. No engagements ever came into competition with theſe; he diſliked Papiſts, not perſonally, but as a party; he married a Dutch woman, without ſacrificing the principles of an Engliſh Stateſman; he durſt venture any thing for the King, as appears evidently by his courting neither the Duke of York nor the Prince of Orange. While ſole Miniſter he made the Triple Alliance. He ſaved the King or the nation by diſſolving the Cabal. The current of common opinion, and parliamentary reſentment, never ran ſo ſtrong againſt any man without bearing him down, and yet in ſaving himſelf he never ſacrificed his maſter. He ſerved his friends not only without boaſting, but without mentioning his ſervices; but then he expected to be conſidered and treated as one that could ſerve them. On this head the Duke of Ormond, who had high notions of his own quality, made a ſtrange excuſe (63). *That Lord,* ſaid he, *expects to be treated as if he had been born with a blue ribband, and forgets* Harry Bennet *that was but a very little gentleman.* He formed very true judgments of men, things, and circumſtances, and expreſſed himſelf on them freely to his maſter, whoſe affairs went always beſt when our Lord Arlington was moſt in favour. His life was diverſified with a vaſt variety of ſcenes, but it muſt be allowed that all of them are very properly diſpoſed. His younger years ſpent in travel, not idly, but in buſineſs; his middle age in the moſt arduous employment in the ſtate, in which he executed all that was proper for him to execute himſelf; his decline of life in an honourable retirement. In a word, his parts recommended him to the Royal favour, his fidelity preſerved it, and his engaging the King to ſign the treaty of London ſecured his throne and the honour of the FLAG to this nation. His honours were many, becauſe his ſervices were great; and having raiſed, in the ſpace of twenty-five years employment, a moderate, not a miniſterial fortune, he beſtowed the heireſs of it on the ſon of him from whom it came, by the Lady to whom he had the higheſt obligations, and left behind him various teſtimonies, that a man may be an excellent Courtier, and at the ſame time a friend to the people. Many more glittering characters than his appear in Britiſh hiſtory, more amiable, but few. C.

⁂ [This is one of the articles cenſured by Mr. Walpole, and on account of which he hath ſaid, that he could not help calling our work *Vindicatio Britannica.* There is no inſtance, we believe, wherein the title may ſo juſtly be applied. It muſt be acknowledged, that the conduct of Lord Arlington is palliated beyond all truth and reaſon. At the ſame time, every man who knew Dr. Campbell will be ſenſible that he could have no intereſt in doing this: and that he was led aſtray by that amiableneſs and philanthropy of temper, which engaged him to ſee characters in the moſt favourable light. Nor can it be denied, that the whole article is ſingularly ingenious, and that there is diſplayed in it a vaſt compaſs of hiſtorical and critical knowledge. Still, however, we are obliged to differ, in many particulars, from our worthy and learned predeceſſor. Not to enlarge on every circumſtance and every expreſſion that we cannot approve, and which, indeed, may ſafely be left to the diſcernment of our readers, we can ſee no reaſon why moſt of the good meaſures of a certain part of King Charles the Second's reign ſhould be aſcribed to the Earl of Arlington. The utmoſt that can juſtly be ſaid is, that he acted in concurrence with the other Miniſters of State. Dr. Campbell is peculiarly wrong in making him the only faultleſs perſon of the CABAL. It will appear, in the courſe of our obſervations, that the very contrary was the caſe: But as this could not be known when the article was drawn up, the writer of it ought not to be blamed on that account. What may, nevertheleſs, truly be alleged is, that even as the evidence then ſtood, there was no reaſonable ground for believing that Lord Arlington was not equally criminal with the reſt of the Cabal. His abilities, likewiſe, are repreſented in too exalted a view; and his virtues are carried to a height, of which we are ſorry to obſerve, that we cannot find ſufficient traces in his real character.

It is ſaid above, that the Earl of Clarendon, in his Hiſtory of the Rebellion, ſpeaks very reſpectfully of Lord Arlington upon all occaſions. But whatever decorum and reſerve the noble Hiſtorian might think proper to maintain, with regard to him, in that work, it is certain that he hath treated him with great freedom in the Continuation of his own Life, and given a picture of him which is far from being in his favour. This will be evident from the character he hath drawn of him on his return from Spain, and which, as containing ſeveral particulars not before noticed, we ſhall inſert at length. 'There were two 'perſons now introduced to act upon that ſtage (the 'Houſe of Commons) who diſdained to receive or'ders, or to have any method preſcribed to them; 'who took upon them to judge of other men's de'fects, and thought their own abilities beyond excep'tion. The one was Sir Harry Bennet (*), who had 'procured himſelf to be ſent Agent or Envoy into 'Spain, as ſoon as the King came from Bruſſels;

'being

(60) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. iii. p. 388, 389. 613.

(61) Temple's Letters in his Works, Vol. ii. p. 749.

(62) Hiſtory of his own Time. Vol. i. p. 378.

(63) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 552.

(*) The other Mr. William Coventry.

King Charles II., by Barbara Dutcheſs of Cleveland, created afterwards Duke of Grafton. Her father's honours being limited to her, ſhe aſſiſted, after the death of the Duke her huſband

‘ being a man very well known to the King, and for his pleaſant and agreeable humour acceptable to him: And he remained there at much eaſe till the King returned to England, having waited upon his Majeſty at Fuentarabia in the cloſe of the treaty between the two Crowns, and there appeared by his dexterity to have gained good credit in the Court of Spain, and particularly with Don Lewis de Haro; and by that ſhort negociation he renewed and confirmed the former good inclinations of his Maſter to him. He had been obliged always to correſpond with the Chancellor, by whom his inſtructions had been drawn, and to receive the King's pleaſure by his ſignification; which he had always done, and profeſſed much reſpect and ſubmiſſion to him: Though whatever orders he received, and how poſitive ſoever, in particulars which highly concerned the King's honour and dignity, he obſerved them ſo far and no farther than his own humour diſpoſed him; and in ſome caſes flatly diſobeyed what the King enjoined, and did directly the contrary, as in the caſe of the Jeſuit Peter Talbot; who having carried himſelf with notorious inſolence towards the King in Flanders, had tranſported himſelf into England, offered his ſervice to Cromwell, and after his death was employed by the ruling powers into Spain, upon his undertaking to procure orders, by which the King ſhould not be ſuffered longer to reſide in Flanders; of all which his Majeſty having received full advertiſement, he made haſte to ſend orders into Spain to Sir Harry Bennet, “ that he ſhould prepare Don Lewis for his reception by letting him know, that though that Jeſuit was his natural ſubject, he had ſo miſbehaved himſelf, that he looked upon him as a moſt inveterate enemy and a traitor; and therefore his Majeſty deſired, that he might receive no countenance there, being as he well knew ſent by the greateſt rebels to do him prejudice.”

‘ This was received by Sir Harry Bennet before the arrival of the man, who found no inconvenience by it; and inſtead of making any complaint concerning him, he writ word, “ That Talbot had more credit than he at that Court, that he profeſſed to have great devotion for the King; and therefore his advice was, that the King would have a better opinion of him, and employ him in his ſervice:” And himſelf received him into his full confidence, and conſulted with no man ſo much as with him; which made all men believe that he was a Roman Catholic, who did believe that he had any religion. But he had made his full excuſe and defence for all this at the interview at Fuentarabia, from whence the King returned with marvellous ſatisfaction in his diſcretion as well as in his affection. And until, contrary to all his expectation, he heard of the King's return into England, all his thoughts were employed how to make benefit of the Duke of York's coming into Spain to be Admiral of the gallies; which he writ to haſten all that might be.

‘ Though he continued his formal correſpondence with the Chancellor, which he could not decline, yet he held a more ſecret intelligence with Daniel O Neile of the Bedchamber, with whom he had a long friendſhip. As ſoon as the King arrived in England, he truſted O Neile to procure any Direction from the King immediately in thoſe particulars which himſelf adviſed. And ſo he obtained the King's conſent, for his conſenting to the old league that had been made between England and Spain in the time of the late King, and which Spain had expreſsly refuſed to renew after the death of that King (which was ſuddenly proclaimed in Spain, without ever being conſulted in England); and preſently after leave to return into England without any letter of revocation: both which were procured, or rather ſignified, by O Neile, without the Privity of the Chancellor or of either of the Secretaries of State; nor did either of them know that he was from Madrid, till they heard he was in Paris, from whence he arrived in London in a very ſhort time after. So far the Chancellor was from that powerful intereſt or influence, when his credit was at higheſt.

‘ But he was very well received by the King, in whoſe affections he had a very good place: and ſhortly after his arrival, though not ſo ſoon as he thought his high merit deſerved, his Majeſty conferred the only place then void (and that had been long promiſed to a noble perſon, who had behaved himſelf very well towards his Majeſty and his bleſſed father) upon him, which was the office of Privy Purſe; received him into great familiarity, and into his nightly meeting, in which he filled a principal place to all intents and purpoſes. The King very much deſired to have him elected a member in the Houſe of Commons, and commanded the Chancellor to uſe his credit to obtain it upon the firſt opportunity: And in obedience to that command, he did procure him to be choſen about the time we are now ſpeaking of, when the Parliament aſſembled in February (64).’

Lord Clarendon, a little after, ſpeaking of Sir Harry Bennet and Mr. Coventry, between whom he ſays there had been as great a league of friendſhip, as there could be between two very proud men, equally ill-natured, aſſerts, that the former of them knew no more of the Conſtitution and Laws of *England* than he did of *China*, nor had in truth a care or tenderneſs for Church or State, but believed *France* was the beſt pattern in the world (65).

Upon occaſion of Sir Harry Bennet's being brought in to have a conſiderable management in the Houſe of Commons, the Noble Hiſtorian expreſſes himſelf in the following terms: ‘ By theſe means, and with theſe circumſtances, this alteration was made in the conduct of the King's ſervice in the Parliament; upon which many other alterations followed by degrees, though not at once. Yet preſently it appeared, that this introduction of new confidents was not acceptable to thoſe, who thought they had very well diſcharged their truſt. Sir Harry Bennet was utterly unknown to them, a man unverſed in any buſineſs, who never had, nor ever was like to ſpeak in the Houſe, except in his ear who ſat next to him, to the diſadvantage of ſome who had ſpoken, and had not the faculties to get himſelf beloved; and was thought by all men to be a Roman Catholic, for which they had not any other reaſon but from his indifference in all things which concerned the church (66).’

From Lord Clarendon's relation of Sir Harry Bennet's being made Secretary of State, it is apparent that his Lordſhip did not approve of that tranſaction: and when he gives an account of Sir Harry's being raiſed to the Peerage, he ſufficiently ſhews his diſlike of it; and at the ſame time mentions an anecdote concerning it, which is ſomewhat curious. Having ſpoken of Sir Charles Berkeley's being advanced, at the requeſt of the Duke of York, from the title of Viſcount Fitzharding in Ireland, to that of Earl of Falmouth in England, before he had one foot of land in the world, the Hiſtorian goes on as follows: ‘ And to gratify the King for this favour, the Duke likewiſe propoſed that the King would make Sir Harry Bennet a Lord, whom all the world knew he did not care for; which was as willingly granted: And he had no more eſtate than the other, and could not ſo eaſily find a title for his Barony. But becauſe he had no mind to retain his own name, which was no good one, his firſt warrant was to be created Cheney, which was an ancient Barony expired, and to which family he had not the leaſt relation: And for ſome days upon the ſigning the warrant he was called Lord Cheney, until a Gentleman of the beſt quality in Buckinghamſhire, who though he had no title to the Barony, was yet of the ſame family, and inherited moſt part of the eſtate, which was very conſiderable, and was married to a daughter of the Duke of Newcaſtle, heard of it, and made haſte to ſtop it. He went firſt to Sir Harry Bennet himſelf, and deſired him, “ not to affect a title to which he had no relation; and to which, though he could not pretend of direct right, yet he was not ſo obſcure, but that himſelf, or a ſon huſband, at the ceremony of King George the Firſt's coronation, as Counteſs of Arlington,

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(64) Clarendon's Life and Continuation, Vol. ii. p. 345, 348.

(65) *Ibid.* p. 350, 351.

(66) *Ibid.* p. 355, 356.

"of his might hereafter be thought worthy of it by the Crown; and in that reſpect it would be ſome trouble to him to ſee it veſted in the family of a ſtranger." The Secretary did not give him ſo civil an anſwer as he expected, having no knowledge of the gentleman. Yet ſhortly after, upon information of his condition and quality (as he was in all reſpects very worthy of conſideration), the patent being not yet prepared, he was contented to take the title of a little farm that had belonged to his father, and was ſold by him, and now in the poſſeſſion of another private perſon; and ſo was created Lord Arlington, the proper and true name of the place being Harlington, a little village between London and Uxbridge (67).'

The ſubſequent tranſaction, while it ſets the Earl of Clarendon's integrity in the ſtrongeſt and moſt commendable light, will do no credit to Lord Arlington. 'One day the Chancellor and the Lord Arlington were together alone, and the Secretary, according to his cuſtom, was ſpeaking ſoberly of many great miſcarriages by the licence of the court, and how much his Majeſty ſuffered thereby; when the King ſuddenly came into the room to them, and after he was ſate aſked them what they were talking of? to which the Chancellor anſwered, "that he would tell him honeſtly and truly, and was not ſorry for the opportunity." And the other looking with a very troubled countenance, he proceeded, and ſaid, "that they were ſpeaking of his Majeſty, and, as they did frequently, were bewailing the unhappy life he lived, both with reſpect to himſelf, who, by the exceſs of pleaſures which he indulged to himſelf, was indeed without the true delight and reliſh of any; and in reſpect to his government, which he totally neglected, and of which the kingdom was ſo ſenſible, that it could not be long before he felt the ill effects of it: That the people were well prepared and well inclined to obey; but if they found that he either would not or could not command, their temper would quickly be changed, and he would find leſs obedience in all places, than was neceſſary for his affairs: And that it was too evident and viſible, that he had already loſt very much of the affection and reverence the nation had for him."

'He ſaid, "that this was the ſubject they two were diſcourſing upon when his Majeſty entered; and that it is the argument upon which all thoſe of his council with whom he had any converſation did every day enlarge, when they were together, with grief of heart, and even with tears; and that he hoped that ſome of them did, with that duty that became them, repreſent to his Majeſty their own ſenſe, and the ſenſe his good ſubjects had, of his condition of living, both with reference to God, who had wrought ſuch miracles for him, and expected ſome proportionable return; and with reference to his people, who were in the higheſt diſcontent. He doubted all men did not diſcharge their duty this way; and ſome had confeſſed to him, *that they durſt not do it leſt they might offend him*, *which* he had aſſured them often *that they would not do, having had ſo often experience himſelf of his goodneſs in that reſpect*; and that he had the rather taken this opportunity to make this repreſentation to him in the preſence of another, which he had never uſed to do:" And concluded "with beſeeching his Majeſty to believe that which he had often ſaid to him, *that no Prince could be more miſerable, nor could have more reaſon to fear his own ruin, than he who hath no ſervants who dare contradict him in his opinions, or adviſe him againſt his inclinations, how natural ſoever.*"

'The King heard all this and more to the ſame effect with his uſual temper (for he was a patient hearer), and ſpake ſenſibly, as if he thought that much that had been ſaid was with too much reaſon; when the other, who wiſhed not ſuch an effect from the diſcourſe, inſtead of ſeconding any thing that had been ſaid, made uſe of the warmth the Chancellor was in, and of ſome expreſſions he had uſed, to fall into raillery, which was his beſt faculty; with which he diverted the King from any farther ſerious reflections; and both of them grew very merry with the other, and reproached his over-much ſeverity, now he grew old, and conſidered not the infirmities of younger men: which increaſed the paſſion he was in, and provoked him to ſay, "that it was obſerved abroad, that it was a faculty very much improved of late in the court, to laugh at thoſe arguments they could not anſwer, and which would always be requited with the ſame mirth amongſt thoſe who were enemies to it, and therefore it was pity that it ſhould be ſo much embraced by thoſe who pretended to be friends;" and to uſe ſome other, too plain expreſſions, which it may be were not warily enough uſed, and which the good Lord forgot not to put the King in mind of, and to deſcant upon the preſumption, in a ſeaſon that was more ripe for ſuch reflections, which at the preſent he forbore to do, and for ſome time after remembered only in merry occaſions (68).'

It is well known from our general hiſtories, as well as from Lord Chancellor Clarendon's Continuation, that the Earl of Arlington was deeply engaged in the party which oppoſed that great man, and that he contributed not a little to his diſgrace and fall. On this account, it may naturally be ſuppoſed that the Chancellor would ſpeak of the Secretary in unfavourable terms. What he hath ſaid, therefore, againſt him muſt be taken with ſome degree of abatement; though, we are afraid, not with ſuch a degree of abatement as will ſerve to place Lord Arlington's character in a very eſtimable point of view. In ſaying this, we do not enter into the queſtion, how far Lord Clarendon's political conduct was right or wrong. That is not the object of preſent diſcuſſion. That the Chancellor was not ſometimes exempt from ſtrong prejudices in his repreſentations of public men, is manifeſt, among other inſtances, from the uncommon ſeverity with which he always ſpeaks of Sir William Coventry; who will now, generally, be agreed to have been a gentleman of eminent virtues, as well as of diſtinguiſhed talents.

But there are other allegations that may be mentioned to the diſadvantage of the Earl of Arlington, of which it cannot be ſaid that they came from a perſonal enemy. A moſt important charge, indeed, ariſes againſt him, from the collection of letters lately publiſhed by Sir John Dalrymple. From theſe it appears, that our ſtateſman was ſo far from being the only faultleſs member of the Cabal, that he and Lord Clifford were the moſt guilty of them all. He and Lord Clifford (then Sir Thomas Clifford), in conjunction with Lord Arundel of Wardour, and Sir Richard Bealling (*), were the commiſſioners, who, on the 22d of May, 1670, Old Style, concluded and ſigned at Dover, with Monſ. Colbert the French ambaſſador, a ſecret league between Charles the Second of England, and Lewis the Fourteenth of France; by which Charles agreed to declare himſelf a Roman Catholic, and to engage in a war for the deſtruction of the United Provinces (69). This is a tranſaction of ſuch great importance in the Engliſh hiſtory, and is ſo intimately connected with the Earl of Arlington's political character, that we ſhall be excuſed in laying it, at large, before our readers. The project of the treaty, as it hath been taken, by Sir John Dalrymple, from the *Depot des aſſaires etrangeres* at Verſailles, was as follows: 'It hath been treated, agreed, and concluded, that there ſhall be for ever a good, ſure, and firm peace, union, true brotherſhip, confederacy, friendſhip, alliance, and good correſpondence, between the King of Great Britain, his heirs and ſucceſſors, of the one part, and the moſt Chriſtian King of the other part; and between all and every of their kingdoms, ſtates, and territories; between their ſubjects and vaſſals that they now have and poſſeſs, or that they may hereafter have and poſſeſs, as well by ſea and freſh waters as by land. And as a teſtimony that this peace ſhall remain inviolable, and beyond the power of any thing in the world to diſturb it, there follow articles of ſo great confidence, and otherwiſe ſo advantageous to the ſaid Sovereign Lords, that it is hardly poſſible to find in any age more important ones agreed and concluded upon. The King of Great Britain being convinced of

(67) *Ibid.* p. 481, 482.

(68) Continuation, Vol. iii. p. 681—683.

(*) King James the Second, in his *own Life*, calls him Sir Robert Beling. He drew up the project of the treaty. Macpherſon's Original Papers, Vol. i. p. 52. Dalrymple's Appendix, Part I. p. 44.

(69) Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 58, Appendix, Part I.

ton, &c. in her own right, and, on her deceaſe, Feb. 7, 1722-3, thoſe titles deſcended to her only ſon Charles, the late Duke of Grafton (z). C.

of the truth of the Catholic religion, and reſolved to declare himſelf a Catholic, and be reconciled to the church of Rome, thinks the aſſiſtance of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty neceſſary to facilitate his deſign: It is therefore agreed and concluded upon, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall furniſh to the King of England, before the ſaid declaration, the ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds Sterling; the one half of the ſaid ſum ſhall be paid three months after the reciprocal ratification of the preſent treaty, and the other half three months after the expiration of that time: And farther, that the ſaid Lord the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall aſſiſt his Britannic Majeſty with troops and money as often as there ſhall be need, in caſe the ſubjects of the ſaid Lord the King ſhall not acquieſce with the ſaid declaration, but rebel againſt his ſaid Britannic Majeſty (which cannot be believed). And to the end that the ſaid declaration may have the wiſhed-for ſucceſs, and be executed with the greater ſafety, it is likewiſe agreed, that the day for executing the deſign ſhall be entirely in the option of the King of England.

' 2. It is alſo agreed between the moſt Chriſtian King and his Britannic Majeſty, that the ſaid Lord the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall not break nor ever infringe the peace he hath made with Spain; and that he will not controvert in any manner what he hath promiſed by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; and conſequently the King of Great Britain ſhall be allowed to maintain the ſaid treaty conformable to the conditions of the triple alliance, and the engagements that depend thereon.

' 3. That if there ſhould fall hereafter to the moſt Chriſtian King any new rights and titles on the Spaniſh monarchy, it is agreed between the King of Great Britain and the moſt Chriſtian King, that the ſaid King of Great Britain ſhall aſſiſt the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King with all his forces, as well by ſea as land, to facilitate the acquiſition of the ſaid rights; the whole at the expence of the moſt Chriſtian King. And in order to obviate all diſputes that may happen about adjuſting the accounts of the ſaid troops, it is concluded and agreed between the ſaid Lords the Kings, that the levying and tranſporting all the land-forces which the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall have occaſion for, or may require, ſhall be at the expence of the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King; and the preſent treaty being concluded, particular articles ſhall hereafter be adjuſted, as well touching the pay and ſubſiſtence of the ſaid land-forces, as to regulate the manner and conditions upon which they are to ſerve: But as a calculation cannot well be made of the expences of a naval armament, ſubject to ſuch a variety of accidents, and compoſed of ſo many parts, it is neceſſary to reduce the whole to one head; it is therefore agreed, that the naval forces which ſhall be employed, as above mentioned, in the ſervice of the moſt Chriſtian King, ſhall be paid by his ſaid moſt Chriſtian Majeſty at the rate of 3 l. 16 s. a man *per* month, including the pay of all officers and ſailors, the proviſion, ammunition, rigging, wear, and loſs of ſhips during the war; and that from the time the ſaid troops ſhall be raiſed till they are diſcharged, computing twenty-eight days to a month: And, on theſe conditions, ſuch a number of ſhips ſhall be furniſhed, and of ſuch force as his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall judge neceſſary for his ſervice, and at ſuch time as he ſhall think proper; and as it may happen that this aſſiſtance will be demanded to bring under his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's obedience ſome diſtant provinces and places towards the Mediterranean, which at preſent are under ſubjection to the Spaniards, and that it may be inconvenient, nay impoſſible, for his Britannic Majeſty's fleets to keep the ſea, without having ſome ports and havens where they may from time to time put in to careen, get proviſions and ammunition, and have magazines and proper places to refit, it is agreed between the ſaid Sovereign Lords, that the King of Great Britain ſhall have for ever for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, the iſland of Minorca; as alſo, for the greater convenience of his land and ſea forces, ſhall have to himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, the port and town of Oſtend in the Low Countries, with as much of the country round about as ſhall be judged capable of paying as much contribution as will ſubſiſt ſuch a garriſon as it ſhall be judged neceſſary to keep there; and in order to take the ſaid places, and put his Britannic Majeſty in poſſeſſion of them, the moſt Chriſtian King will uſe the ſame efforts, and employ as many troops as he ſhall to take the places, the poſſeſſion of which are to remain with him. And farther, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty promiſes and engages, as well in his own name as that of the moſt Chriſtian Queen, their heirs and ſucceſſors, and having cauſe (the before-named claims on the Spaniſh monarchy being fallen to him) to aſſiſt the King of Great Britain to make himſelf maſter of the countries and places in America, which at preſent are under the Spaniſh domination, and to do all in his power to oblige the people who inhabit thoſe countries and places in America, to ſubmit themſelves to the government of the ſaid Lord the King of England, his heirs and ſucceſſors; and having ſubmitted themſelves, or being reduced to ſubmiſſion, the ſaid people ſhall always be accounted ſubjects of the ſaid Lord the King of Great Britain, and of his heirs and ſucceſſors. It is alſo agreed and concluded, that neither of the ſaid Sovereigns ſhall make a peace, without the conſent and approbation of the other, with any Prince or State whatever, who ſhall oppoſe the juſt rights and titles devolved to the moſt Chriſtian King, as is before mentioned.

' 4. It is covenanted between the ſaid two Sovereigns, that they ſhall make war againſt the States-General of the United Provinces with all their forces by land and ſea; and the ſaid Sovereigns ſhall declare all treaties heretofore made with the ſaid States, null, except that already mentioned of the triple alliance made in conſequence of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and neither of the ſaid Kings ſhall make peace with the ſaid States without the conſent of the other. All commerce between the ſubjects of the ſaid Kings and of the ſaid States ſhall be prohibited; and if the ſubjects of either of the ſaid Sovereigns traffic with the ſubjects of the ſaid States, the ſhips and goods of ſuch ſubjects ſo trading ſhall be ſeized by the ſubjects of the other, and deemed lawful prizes; and if after the declaration of war the ſubjects of either of the ſaid Sovereigns ſhall be enrolled in the ſervice of the ſaid States, and taken priſoners, they ſhall be puniſhed with death by the Sovereign whoſe ſubjects ſhall take them. And foraſmuch as the ſenate and republic of Hambourg are united in intereſts with the States-General, and experience having ſhewn that the ſaid republic will always aſſiſt the ſaid States under-hand, it is farther agreed and concluded upon, that war ſhall be declared at the ſame time by the ſaid Sovereigns againſt the ſaid ſenate and republic: And as the preparations by ſea, in order to bring the war to a happy iſſue, will neceſſarily be exceſſive, and that the burthen (much more heavy than that of an army at land) will principally fall upon his Britannic Majeſty, the moſt Chriſtian King engages to pay to the King of Great Britain, ſo long as the war ſhall continue, the ſum of eight hundred thouſand pounds Sterling, by way of ſubſidy, to defray a part of the very great expence which the King of Great Britain muſt neceſſarily be at in fitting out all his naval force; which he propoſes and obliges himſelf to do every year during the courſe of this war. The half of the ſaid ſum of eight hundred thouſand pounds Sterling ſhall be furniſhed and advanced to the ſaid King of Great Britain three months before the declaration of the ſaid war, and the other half ſix months after the ſaid declaration; and thus annually, as long as the war ſhall laſt, the half in the beginning of each year, and the other half ſix months after. Beſides the ſaid fleet, his Britannic Majeſty will always keep on foot a body of 6000 infantry, which he will tranſport at his own expence; and of all the conqueſts that ſhall be made upon the States-General, the King of Great Britain will be ſatisfied with the following places, to wit, the iſland of Walkeron, l'Ecluſe, and the iſland of Caſſante. The manner of attack, and continuing the war, ſhall be ſettled by a regulation

(z) Peerage of England, Vol. i. p. 64.

‘ hereafter to be concerted. And as the diſſolution of the government of the States-General, which is the principal end propoſed by this war, will neceſſarily cauſe great prejudice to the Prince of Orange, nephew to the King of England, and as many places, towns, and governments, belonging to him will be found in the diviſion it is propoſed to make of the country, it hath been agreed and concluded, that the ſaid Sovereigns will do all in their power that the ſaid Prince may find his advantages in the continuation and end of this war, as ſhall be hereafter ſtipulated in ſeparate articles, ſince it is to be preſumed, that the credit they will thereby give to the ſaid Prince, and his adherents, will contribute much to the good ſucceſs of the war; at leaſt will ſow ſuch ſeeds of jealouſy and diviſions among the Dutch, that the conqueſt of the country will be rendered much more eaſy.

‘ 5. It is alſo agreed, that, before the declaration of war, the two Sovereigns ſhall uſe all their efforts jointly or ſeparately, as occaſion may require, to perſuade the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, or one of the two, to enter into this war againſt the States-General; or at leaſt to oblige themſelves to remain neuter; and they ſhall alſo endeavour to draw into this party the Electors of Cologn and Brandenbourg, the houſe of Brunſwick, the Duke of Newbourg, and the Biſhop of Munſter. The ſaid Sovereigns ſhall alſo do all in their power to perſuade the Emperor and the Crown of Spain not to oppoſe the conqueſt of the ſaid country.

‘ 6. Theſe fundamentals being ſettled, and the King of Great Britain, after having declared himſelf a Catholic, and being in peace at home, leaves to the moſt Chriſtian King the liberty to name the time when they ſhall make war with their united forces againſt the States-General; it has alſo been agreed and concluded, that the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall name the time which ſhall appear to him moſt proper for the declaration of the ſaid war; the King of Great Britain being aſſured, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in naming the ſaid time, will have regard to the intereſts of both crowns, which, after the concluſion of this treaty, are to be common and inſeparable.

‘ 7. If, upon account of this agreement, the one or the other of the ſaid Sovereigns ſhall find himſelf hereafter engaged in foreign or domeſtic wars, the one who is not attacked ſhall aſſiſt the other with all his forces till the foreign war or rebellion ſhall be ended.

‘ 8. If, in any preceding treaty made by the one or the other of the ſaid Sovereigns with any Prince or State whatſoever, there ſhould be found any clauſes contrary to thoſe which are ſpecified in this league, the ſaid clauſes ſhall be void, and thoſe contained in this preſent treaty ſhall remain in their full force and vigour (70).’

From the diſpatches in the *Depot* it appears, ſaith Sir John Dalrymple, that, in the courſe of the treaty, France refuſed to agree to the war againſt Hamburgh; agreed to give two millions of livres, which was at that time about 150,000 l. for the King's converſion, with a ſubſidy of three millions for the Dutch war; and ſoftened the expreſſions about the money for the King's converſion in the following words: ‘ The King of Great Britain being convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion, is reſolved to reconcile himſelf to the church of Rome, as ſoon as the affairs of his kingdom will permit him; and though he has every reaſon to hope and promiſe himſelf from the affection and fidelity of all his ſubjects, even thoſe to whom the Almighty has not as yet ſufficiently ſpread his grace to diſpoſe them, after ſuch an auguſt example, to become converts, that they will not fail in that inviolable obedience which all people, even of a different religion, owe their Sovereigns; nevertheleſs there are often found in large ſtates turbulent and inquiet minds, who ſtudy to diſturb the public peace, particularly when they have ſo plauſible a pretext as that of religion, his Britannic Majeſty, who hath nothing more at heart, after having given peace to his own conſcience, than to confirm that which the mildneſs of his government hath procured to his ſubjects, believes the beſt means to prevent its being altered, would be the certainty, in caſe of trouble, of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's aſſiſtance; who, being willing on this occaſion to give the ſaid King of Great Britain effective proofs of his friendſhip, and the deſire he hath to contribute to the good ſucceſs of a deſign ſo advantageous to his Britannic Majeſty and the whole Catholic religion, hath promiſed, and doth hereby promiſe, to furniſh to the ſaid King of Great Britain the ſum of, &c. (71).’

At length, however, we are told that the treaty was concluded upon the original plan, by the four Popiſh commiſſioners, and unknown to King Charles's Proteſtant miniſters. The treaty itſelf is not, it ſeems, in the *Depot*; but there is the following private ratification of it by Lewis the Fourteenth, in a letter written by him to the King of England, and dated the 10th of June, 1670.

‘ Sir, my Brother,

‘ I HAVE ſeen and examined the articles of the treaty that was concluded and ſigned at Dover the $\frac{\text{22 May}}{\text{1 June}}$ by Mr. Colbert my ambaſſador, and the Lords Arlington and Arundel of Wardour, and the Chevaliers Clifford and Beling, your commiſſioners; and though I have this day cauſed my letters of ratification to be expedited in the beſt form poſſible, and agreeable to what had been agreed between the ſaid ambaſſador and commiſſioners; nevertheleſs, as they have thought proper, in order to keep this treaty a greater ſecret till it be time to put it in execution, that our letters of ratification ſhould not be ſealed with our great ſeals, but only with our privy ones, I thought it neceſſary to aſſure your Majeſty by theſe lines written with my own hand, that I approve and ratify all the contents of the ſaid treaty; and I promiſe, on the faith and word of a King, to obſerve and keep them inviolably in all points, without ever acting contrary thereto in any manner whatſoever. I hope God will bleſs our ſtrict union of friendſhip and intereſts with all the good ſucceſs we can wiſh from it, as well for his own glory as the common good of our ſubjects. I am, &c. (72).’

A letter from Colbert in the *Depot* of the 16th of October, 1670, mentions Charles's ratification to have been *la ſignature du Roy avec ſon ſceau, et une lettre de ſa main*: ‘ The King's ſignature and ſeal, and a letter by his hand (73).’

We wiſh that the treaty itſelf could have been produced; as a doubt might be ſtarted, though, we believe, with little reaſon, how far it exactly coincided with the project of it, inſerted above. In ſaying this, we do not ſuppoſe that any exculpation could hence be drawn of Lord Arlington's conduct; for it is manifeſt, from the whole of the negociation, that he was a confident, and an agent, in the moſt wicked counſels and deſigns of Charles the Second, during the earlier part of that monarch's reign. It has generally been underſtood that our ſtateſman was a concealed Papiſt; and an additional proof, that, on his deathbed, he declared his faith publicly, appears, as we are informed by Sir John Dalrymple, from a ſubſequent part of the French diſpatches in the *Depot* (74).

In the extracts from the Life of James the Second, lately publiſhed by Mr. Macpherſon, the Earl of Arlington is frequently mentioned. The Duke of York declares, that the Chancellor firſt brought Sir Henry Bennet into the King's favour, and that, in ſo doing, Lord Clarendon had a view to oppoſe Sir Charles Berkley, by the means of Bennet (75). But this account is ſo unſuitable to the relation of things given by the noble hiſtorian himſelf, that we cannot pay it the leaſt credit. We may remark, by the way, that this is not the only inſtance in which there is reaſon to believe that James the Second is erroneous in his facts. And if he was miſtaken with regard to facts themſelves, we may be well aſſured that his principles and prejudices would otherwiſe lead him into great miſrepreſentations. The extracts, therefore, from his life ſhould be read with great caution; and the ſame caution ought to be applied to many other memoirs and ſtate-papers.

To return to our ſubject: It is ſaid that Lord Arlington, after he had contributed to the diſgrace of the Earl of Clarendon, was very unwilling to join with the reſt of his own party againſt his friend, the Duke of Ormond; but, at length, he was threatened into it by them; and was particularly bullied into it by the Ladies Harvey and Trevor (76). James confirms the account of the ſecret treaty with France in 1670. He deſcribes Lord Arlington as concerned in that

(70) *Ibid.* p. 49—54.

(71) *Ibid.* p. 55, 56.

(72) *Ibid.* p. 58.

(73) *Ibid.*

(74) *Ibid.* p. 30.

(75) Macpherſon's Original Papers, Vol. i. p. 23, 24.

(76) *Ibid.* p. 42. 45.

that treaty, and ſays that he and Clifford concurred with the meaſures of the Dutcheſs of Orleans, in engaging King Charles to begin with the Dutch war (77). When Shafteſbury was made Chancellor, and Clifford Treaſurer, Arlington, we are told, was diſcontented, becauſe he could not get the ſtaff. But the King ſaid, he had too much kindneſs for him to let him have it, for he was not fit for the office; and, if he gave it him, it would be his ruin, and expoſe him to the malice of his enemies (78). In general, King James ſpeaks of our ſtateſman with conſiderable diſlike; and repreſents him as a weak man, and, with his pride, very timorous, who yet had curſed cunning (79). His character is drawn by Mr. Macpherſon with conciſeneſs, ſpirit, and juſtice. 'Arlington ſupplied the place of extenſive talents by an 'artful management of ſuch as he poſſeſſed. Accommodating in his principles, and eaſy in his 'addreſs, he pleaſed when he was known to deceive; 'and his manner acquired to him a kind of influence 'where he commanded no reſpect. He was little 'calculated for bold meaſures, on account of his na'tural timidity; and that defect created an opinion 'of his moderation, that was aſcribed to virtue. 'His facility to adopt new meaſures was forgotten in 'his readineſs to acknowledge the errors of the old. 'The deficiency of his integrity was forgiven in the 'decency of his diſhoneſty. Too weak not to be 'ſuperſtitious, yet poſſeſſing too much ſenſe to own 'his adherence to the church of Rome, he lived a 'Proteſtant, in his outward profeſſion; but he died 'a Catholic. Timidity was the chief characteriſtic 'of his mind; and that being known, he was even 'commanded by cowards. He was the man of the 'leaſt genius of the party; but he had moſt expe'rience in that ſlow and conſtant current of buſineſs, 'which, perhaps, ſuits affairs of ſtate better than the 'violent exertions of men of great parts (80).'

We ſhall conclude this long note with a collateral obſervation or two, from a learned correſpondent. With reſpect to the Duke of Ormond's ſeeing Charles the Second on his knees at maſs, in a church at Bruſſels, perhaps it may be ſaid, that the Duke miſtook another perſon for the King. At an early hour of the morning, and in the gloomy light of a chapel, ſome ſwarthy Spaniard might have been miſtaken for his Majeſty.

It would ſeem, from ſome letters of King William's, when Prince of Orange, publiſhed in 1734, that he had an eſteem for Lord Arlington; or, at leaſt, that he wrote to him with more warmth than he would have done, had he believed him to be his enemy, or the enemy of the Dutch. It is probable that the Earl of Arlington, after he ceaſed to be Secretary of State, entered no farther into any political connections which were hoſtile either to the United Provinces in general, or to the Prince of Orange in particular.] K.

(77) *Ibid.* p. 50. 54.

(78) *Ibid.* p. 67.

(79) *Ibid.* p. 48.

(80) Macpherſon's Hiſtory of Great Britain, Vol. i. p. 132, 133.

BENNET (Christopher), an eminent Phyſician of the XVIIth century, and author of ſome pieces mentioned below [*A*], was the ſon of John Bennet of Raynton in Somerſetſhire, and became a Commoner of Lincoln college in Oxford, in Michaelmas-term 1632, being then fifteen years of age. After he had taken the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, he entered upon the Phyſic Line, but was created Doctor in that faculty elſewhere. He was afterwards choſen a Fellow of the College of Phyſicians in London, where he practiſed with great ſucceſs. Dr. Bennet died in April 1655, and was buried, on the 2d of May, in St. Gregory's church, near St. Paul's in London (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. ii. col. 191.

[*A*] *His writings.*] He gave the public a treatiſe on *Conſumptions*, intitled, *Theatri Tabidorum Veſtibulum*, &c. Lond. 1654, in 8*vo*. Alſo *Exercitationes Diagnoſticæ, cum hiſtoriis demonſtrativis, quibus alimentorum et ſanguinis vitia deteguntur in pleriſque morbis*, &c. Our author corrected and enlarged a book written originally by Dr. Thomas Moffet, and intitled, *Health's Improvement; or, Rules comprizing or diſcovering the nature, method, and manner of preparing all ſorts of food uſed in this nation.* Lond. 1655, in 4*to*. Dr. Bennet had one or two more pieces ready for the preſs at the time of his death (1). B.

(1) Wood, *Ath Oxon.* Vol. ii. col. 191.

BENNET (Dr. Thomas), an eminent Divine in the XVIIIth century, was born in the city of Saliſbury, in Wiltſhire, on the 7th of May, 1673, and educated in the free-ſchool there; where he made ſo great a progreſs in learning, that he was ſent to St. John's college in the univerſity of Cambridge, in the beginning of the year 1688, before he was full fifteen years of age (*a*). He regularly took the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts; the latter in 1694, when but twenty-one years old; and was choſen Fellow of his college. In 1695, he wrote a copy of Hebrew verſes on the death of Queen Mary, printed in the collection of poems of the univerſity of Cambridge upon that occaſion. As he was moſtly conſiderable as a writer, this article will chiefly conſiſt of an account of the ſeveral things he publiſhed. The firſt was, 'An Anſwer to the 'Diſſenters Pleas for Separation, or an Abridgment of the London Caſes; wherein the 'Subſtance of thoſe books is digeſted into one ſhort and plain Diſcourſe.' Lond. 1699, 8*vo* [*A*]. About the end of the year 1700, he took a journey to Colcheſter, to viſit his friend

(*a*) General Dictionary, under the article BENNET (Dr. Thomas).

[*A*] *An Anſwer to the Diſſenters Pleas for Separation*, &c.] In the preface, Mr. Bennet obſerves, that the 'Collection of Caſes and other Diſcourſes, writ'ten by the moſt eminent of the Conforming Clergy, 'to recover Diſſenters to the Communion of the 'Church of England, had met with ſuch an univerſal 'approbation, that he needed not ſpeak any thing 'in commendation of it.'——But the Collection itſelf being large and dear (1), he thought it convenient to reduce it to a leſs bulk and ſmaller price, that thoſe perſons who had not either money to buy, or time to peruſe, ſo big a volume, might reap the benefit of it upon eaſier terms. He next informs us, that he had uſed his beſt endeavours to avoid obſcurity, and all other faults commonly charged upon Abridgments; and had omitted nothing material, though the number of ſheets in his Abridgment is not the *Sixth Part* of thoſe contained in the original. The 11th and 12th chapters, he tells us, received the corrections of Dr. Sharpe, then Archbiſhop of York, author of the Diſcourſes therein epitomized; and other parts were ſubmitted to the cenſure of other worthy perſons. Archbiſhop Tillotſon's Diſcourſe of *Frequent Communion* is omitted, as wholly foreign to the deſign of the Collection. This preface is dated from St. John's-college in Cambridge, October 2, 1699.——As for the ſeveral Tracts contained in *the Abridgment of the London Caſes*, they are as follows, according to the method they are diſpoſed in by our author. I. 'Archbiſhop *Tenniſon*'s Argument 'for Union, taken from the true intereſt of thoſe 'Diſſenters in England who profeſs and call them'ſelves Proteſtants (2).' II. Biſhop *Williams*'s Caſe of Lay-Communion with the Church of England. III Dr. *Sherlock*'s Reſolution of ſome Caſes of Conſcience, with reſpect to Church-Communion. IV. His Letter to Anonymus, in anſwer to his Three Letters to Dr. Sherlock about Church-Communion (3). V. Biſhop *Williams*'s Caſe of indifferent things uſed in the worſhip of God. VI. His Vindication of the

(1) It was publiſhed at firſt in ſeveral Tracts, 4*to*, commonly bound in three Volumes; afterwards in one Volume, *fol.* 1698, and in three Volumes, 8*vo*, 1718.

(2) This is the *Introduction*, in the Abridgment.

(3) Chap. I. of the Abridgment.

friend Mr. John Rayne, Rector of St. James's in Colcheſter; and finding him dead when he came, he undertook the office of preaching his funeral ſermon, which was ſo highly approved of by the pariſhioners, that their recommendation was no ſmall inducement to Dr. Compton, then Biſhop of London (*b*), to preſent him to that living (*c*). He had inſtitution to it January the 15th, 1700-1 (*d*). In this large place he applied himſelf with great diligence and ſucceſs to the ſeveral duties of his function; and being a perſon of great learning, of a ſtrong voice, and good elocution, he was extremely followed and admired; and the more, as moſt of the other livings were but indifferently provided for: ſo that he became Miniſter, not only of his own two pariſhes (*e*), but in a manner of that whole noble, and then flouriſhing, town. And the ſubſcriptions and many preſents he had from all parts, raiſed his income to nearly three hundred pounds a year. But that afterwards was very much reduced, as will appear in the ſequel. In the beginning of the year 1701, he publiſhed ‘ A Confutation of Popery, in III parts. Wherein, 1. ‘ The Controverſy concerning the Rule of Faith is determined. 2. The particular ‘ Doctrines of the Church of Rome are confuted. 3. The Popiſh Objections againſt the ‘ Church of England are anſwered.’ Cambr. 8*vo* [*B*]. About the ſame time, he was engaged in a controverſy with ſome Diſſenters, which produced the following book of his, ‘ A Diſcourſe of Schiſm: Shewing, 1. What is meant by Schiſm. 2. That Schiſm ‘ is a damnable Sin. 3. That there is a Schiſm between the Eſtabliſhed Church of ‘ England and the Diſſenters. 4. That this Schiſm is to be charged on the Diſſenters ‘ ſide. 5. That the modern pretences of Toleration, Agreement in Fundamentals, &c. ‘ will not excuſe the Diſſenters from being guilty of Schiſm. Written by way of letter ‘ to three Diſſenting Miniſters in Eſſex, *viz.* Mr. Gilſon and Mr. Gledhill of Colcheſter, ‘ and Mr. Shepherd of Braintree. To which is annexed, An Anſwer to a book intitled, ‘ *Thomas againſt Bennet, or the Proteſtant Diſſenters vindicated from the Charge of Schiſm.*’ Cambr. 1702, 8*vo* [*C*]. This book being animadverted upon by Mr. Shepherd, our author publiſhed, ‘ A Defence of the Diſcourſe of Schiſm; in anſwer to thoſe Objections ‘ which Mr. Shepherd has made in his *three Sermons of Separation*, &c.’ Cambr. 1703, 8*vo* [*D*]: And, towards the end of the ſame year, ‘ An Anſwer to Mr. Shepherd's Con-

(*b*) The Biſhop had lately purchaſed that living, with ſeveral others, from Mr. Audley of Beerchurch.

(*e*) With St. James's, he held St. Nicolas by ſequeſtration.

(*c*) General Dict. *ut ſupra.*

(*d*) Newcourt's Repertorium Eccleſ. Vol. ii. edit. 1710, p. 170.

Caſe of indifferent things, &c. (4). VII. Dr. *Scott*'s Caſes of Conſcience reſolved, concerning the lawfulneſs of joining with Forms of Prayer in public worſhip. In two parts (5). VIII. Dr. *Claggett*'s Anſwer to the Diſſenters Objections againſt the Common-Prayers, and ſome other parts of Divine Service preſcribed in the Liturgy of the Church of England (6). IX. Dr. *Hickes*'s Caſe of Infant-Baptiſm (7). X. Dr. *Reſbury*'s Caſe of the Croſs in Baptiſm (8). XI. Mr. *Evans*'s Caſe of kneeling at the Holy Sacrament (9). XII. Biſhop *Fowler*'s Reſolution of this Caſe of Conſcience, Whether the Church of England's ſymbolizing, ſo far as it doth, with the Church of Rome, makes it unlawful to hold Communion with the Church of England? XIII. His Defence of the Reſolution, &c. XIV. Dr. *Hooper*'s Church of England free from the imputation of Popery (10). XV. Dr. *Freeman*'s Caſe of Mixt Communion (11). XVI. Dr. *Haſcard*'s Diſcourſe about Edification. XVII. Biſhop *Patrick*'s Diſcourſe of profiting by Sermons (12). XVIII. Archbiſhop *Sharpe*'s Diſcourſe concerning Conſcience. In two parts (13). XIX. Dr. *Calamy*'s Diſcourſe about a ſcrupulous Conſcience (14). XX. His Conſiderations about the Caſe of Scandal, or giving offence to weak brethren (15). XXI. Dr. *Cave*'s Serious Exhortation, with ſome important advices relating to the late Caſes about Conformity. XXII. Biſhop *Grove*'s Perſuaſive to Communion with the Church of England (16). The *Abridgment* of theſe ſeveral Tracts is compriſed in fourteen chapters, beſides the Introduction and Concluſion.

(4) Chap. II.

(5) Chap. III.

(6) Chap. IV.

(7) Chap. V.

(8) Chap. VI.

(9) Chap. VII.

(10) Chap. VIII.

(11) Chap. IX.

(12) Chap. X.

(13) Chap. XI. XII.

(14) Chap. XIII.

(15) Chap. XIV.

(16) Concluſion.

[*B*] *A Confutation of Popery*, &c.] The author obſerves in his Preface, That though the nation is plentifully furniſhed with books againſt Popery in our own language, yet ſome treating only of one or more particular diſputes, and being full of learning, and likewiſe very numerous, ſo that a good collection is ſcarcely to be found, and not to be purchaſed but at a great price, and others being too ſhort and unſatiſfactory; he had therefore thought it adviſeable to publiſh this Confutation of it; which, he was perſuaded, would give the reader a full view of all the material branches of the Popiſh Controverſy. This Preface is dated from Colcheſter, Feb. 13, 1700-1. In the firſt part of the book, he overthrows *Tradition*, and proves, That the Scriptures are the only rule of Faith. In the ſecond, he ſhews, That Tranſubſtantiation is abſolutely falſe, as are alſo the other particular doctrines of the Church of Rome, *viz.* Adoration of the Hoſt, Communion in one kind, Purgatory, &c. In the third, he anſwers the Popiſh objections againſt the Church of England; namely, 1. The Charge of Schiſm. 2. The Pretence of our many Diviſions. 3. The pretended Novelty of our Religion. 4. The Invalidity of our Orders.

[*C*] *A Diſcourſe of Schiſm*, &c.] In the Preface, dated Colcheſter, Feb. 21, 1701-2, he tells us, That he had endeavoured in that Diſcourſe to make our tedious and intricate diſputes concerning *Schiſm* both ſhort and clear, and level to the underſtandings of the moſt unlearned perſons. To that end he had been obliged to explain the nature of Schiſm, and manage the charge of it againſt the Diſſenters, in a *Manner* ſomewhat different from that of our beſt authors, who have formerly written upon the ſame ſubject. However, that his *Principles* and *Notions* are the very ſame which have been conſtantly received and maintained by the Conforming Divines. ‘ The whole Controverſy (as he goes on) turns upon the determination ‘ of this ſingle queſtion, *Whether the Eſtabliſhed* ‘ *Church does impoſe any one unlawful Term of Lay-* ‘ *Communion, or no?* If the Eſtabliſhed Church does ‘ impoſe any one unlawful Term of Lay-Communion ‘ with her, doubtleſs ſhe is ſchiſmatical, and the ſeparation of the Diſſenters is not only lawful, but ‘ neceſſary. But if the Eſtabliſhed Church does not ‘ impoſe any one unlawful Term of Lay-Communion ‘ with her, then it is utterly impoſſible for the Diſ- ‘ ſenters to juſtify their ſeparation from her, &c.’ To confirm his ſentiments, he quotes ſeveral paſſages out of Mr. Mead's *Two Sticks made one*; Dr. Bryan's *Dwelling with God*; Mr. R. Baxter, and other eminent Diſſenters.——The annexed Anſwer to *Thomas againſt Bennet* was occaſioned by a book ſo intitled, written by a Diſſenter; wherein the author endeavoured to ſhew, that Mr. Bennet's *Confutation of Popery* was inconſiſtent with his *Abridgment of the London Caſes*, and will vindicate the Diſſenters from the charge of Schiſm.

[*D*] *A Defence of the Diſcourſe of Schiſm*, &c.] Mr. Shepherd having, among other things, intimated (17), That the Diſſenters *outpreach the Clergy of the Eſtabliſhed Church*; our author inquires, in one part of this *Defence* (18), ‘ Whether the Sermons of ‘ the Diſſenters are preferable to thoſe of the Eſta- ‘ bliſhed Church?’ This gives him occaſion to quote paſſages out of the ſermons of Ni. Lockyer, Provoſt of Eaton in Oliver's time, and of R. Gouge's, Teacher at Coggeſhall, abounding with glaring abſurdities, and moſt egregious nonſenſe; equal to any thing mentioned by Dr. Echard in his Contempt of the Clergy.

(17) Page 74.

(18) Chap. XV. p. 80.

‘ ſiderations on the Defence of the Diſcourſe of Schiſm.’ Cambr. 8*vo* [*E*]: As alſo a treatiſe intitled, ‘ Devotions, *viz.* Confeſſions, Petitions, Interceſſions, and Thankſgivings, for every day in the week; and alſo before, at, and after, the Sacrament; with occaſional prayers for all perſons whatſoever.’ 8*vo*. In 1705, he publiſhed ‘ A Confutation of Quakeriſm; or a plain proof of the falſhood of what the principal *Quaker* writers (eſpecially Mr. *R. Barclay*, in his *Apology* and other works) do teach concerning the neceſſity of *Immediate* Revelation in order to a ſaving Chriſtian Faith; the being, nature, and operation of the pretended *Univerſal Light within*; its ſtriving with men, moving them to prayer, and calling them to the Miniſtry; Regeneration, Sanctification, Juſtification, Salvation, and Union with God; the nature of a Church; the Rule of Faith; Water-Baptiſm; and the Lord's Supper. Diverſe Queſtions alſo concerning Perfection, Chriſt's Satisfaction, the Judge of Controverſies, *&c.* are briefly ſtated and reſolved.’ Cambr. 8*vo* [*F*]. In 1707, he cauſed to be printed in a ſmall pamphlet, 12*mo*, ‘ A Diſcourſe of the Neceſſity of being baptized with water, and receiving the Lord's Supper; taken out of the Confutation of Quakeriſm.’ Cambr. For the ſake of thoſe, who wanted either money to purchaſe, or time to peruſe, the Confutation of Quakeriſm, the year following he publiſhed, ‘ A brief Hiſtory of the joint uſe of precompoſed ſet forms of prayer; ſhewing, 1. That the ancient Jews, our Saviour, his Apoſtles, and the primitive Chriſtians, never joined in any prayers, but precompoſed ſet forms only. 2. That thoſe precompoſed ſet forms in which they joined, were ſuch as the reſpective Congregations were accuſtomed to, and thoroughly acquainted with. 3. That their practice warrants the impoſition of a National precompoſed Liturgy. To which is annexed, A Diſcourſe of the Gift of Prayer; ſhewing, That what the Diſſenters mean by the Gift of Prayer, *viz.* a Faculty of conceiving Prayers *extempore*, is not promiſed in Scripture.’ Cambr. 8*vo*. The ſame year he publiſhed likewiſe ‘ A Diſcourſe of joint Prayer; ſhewing, 1. What is meant by joint Prayer. 2. That the joint uſe of Prayers conceived *extempore* hinders Devotion, and conſequently diſpleaſes God; whereas the joint uſe of ſuch precompoſed ſet forms as the Congregation is accuſtomed to, and thoroughly acquainted with, does moſt effectually promote Devotion, and con-

[*E*] *An Anſwer to Mr.* Shepherd's *Conſiderations*, &c.] In the Preface, he complains, That it was his great misfortune to be engaged with an adverſary, who was neither able nor willing to make the Controverſy depending between them two uſeful to the reader. Then he adds, ‘ Were not *He* my neighbour, and had not Providence placed me in a very great town full of all ſorts of Diſſenters and Enthuſiaſts; I ſhould have thought it unlawful for me to miſemploy the ſmalleſt portion of my time in anſwering ſuch a writer, as does neither underſtand the matters he treats of, nor know when he is confuted,’ *&c.* And indeed he was a moſt ſorry and incoherent writer. This Preface is dated March 24, 1702-3.

[*F*] *A Confutation of Quakeriſm*, &c.] In the Preface, dated March 10, 1704-5, he obſerves, That he cannot but think *Quakeriſm* one of the vileſt and moſt pernicious hereſies that our unhappy nation has ever been infected with: and therefore he was heartily grieved that the Clergy of the Eſtabliſhed Church, who have written with great learning and accuracy upon moſt other points, ſhould almoſt wholly neglect the Quaker Controverſies. ‘ 'Tis poſſible, adds he, ſome of thoſe great men, who have ſo frequently triumphed over other adverſaries, are of opinion that the Quakers are below their notice. —— 'Tis true this Sect, when it firſt appeared in the world, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſuch an incredible variety of *Enthuſiaſtic Freaks*, as made their perſons utterly ridiculous. Their books alſo were then ſtuffed with ſuch prodigious quantities of *Ribaldry and Jargon*, of *Bitterneſs*, moſt *unchriſtian Language*, and even *Blaſphemy* itſelf, as inclined all ſober perſons to believe, that they ought rather to be burnt than confuted. —— At length Mr. *William Penn*, Mr. *George Keith*, and Mr. *Robert Barclay*, aroſe. Theſe dreſſed up their religion to the beſt advantage. The two laſt eſpecially endeavoured to refine Quakeriſm.’—— Afterwards he obſerves, that ‘ Mr. *Barclay*'s *Apology* is certainly the exacteſt piece that ever was written in defence of *Quakeriſm*.’ And This is what our author hath undertaken to confute in this book now before us. In the firſt nine chapters, he proves, That there is no neceſſity of *immediate* Revelation in order to a *Saving* Chriſtian Faith; and explains ſeveral texts that have been perverted by the Quakers, to ſerve their purpoſe. In the Xth, XIth, XIIth, and XIIIth chapters, he ſhews, That there is no ſuch *Univerſal Light* within as the Quakers pretend; and reflects upon ſeveral of their doctrines that depend thereon. The XIVth, *&c.* contain reflections upon divers other of their doctrines. And, from the XVIIIth to the end, he treats of Baptiſm. —— This book was anſwered by Benjamin Lindley, in two volumes, 4*to*, 1710 and 1713, under the title of ‘ The Neceſſity of Immediate Revelation toward the Foundation and Ground of true Faith proved, *&c.*’ And a paſſage in the Xth chapter of it (19) was ſeverely animadverted upon by one Richard Claridge, formerly Rector of Peopleton in Worceſterſhire, who turned afterwards Independent and Quaker (20). Mr. Bennet's words were, —— ‘ Whereas we affirm, that the Nature of the Meſſiah or Man Chriſt *is compounded of the Godhead and the Manhood immediately united*; our adverſaries affirm, that the Nature of the Meſſiah or Man Chriſt is compounded, 1. Of the Godhead. 2. The Light. 3. The Manhood, *viz.* Human Soul and Body; which two laſt, *viz.* the Light and the Manhood, they affirm to be immediately united to the Godhead.’ —— This, Claridge calls ‘ An aſſertion ſo groſsly erroneous, that, to uſe our author's own phraſe (21), *it threatens deſtruction to the Goſpel of our Lord, by ſapping the very foundations of it*;’ ſince it lays the axe to the root of Chriſtianity, and ſets up a new and another Chriſt than the holy Scriptures teſtify of. For, 1. If the Meſſiah, or Man Chriſt, is compounded of the Godhead and Manhood, then he is, as the Socinians falſely ſay, a mere creature; for compoſition plainly implies ſomething made out of other things, which it was not before; and if Chriſt be a mere creature, then he is not God bleſſed for ever. And if ſo, what is become of the foundation of the Chriſtian Religion? 2. If the Meſſiah is compounded of the Godhead and the Manhood, then he had no exiſtence antecedent to this compoſition; for the thing compounded has no exiſtence as ſuch, before it is compounded. 3. This compoſition renders Chriſt neither perfect God nor perfect Man; for if he is compounded of both, he cannot be truly either. 4. It deſtroys the diſtinction of the Godhead and Manhood in Chriſt, and of the eſſential properties of both natures; for, if they are compounded, they cannot remain diſtinct the one from the other, as the common opinion is. —— Such a Chriſt as this, ſays R. Claridge, is T. Bennet's Chriſt, one not of two complete and diſtinct Natures, but of two Natures compounded; out of which compoſition he fancies ariſes a certain third thing, which he affirms to be the Meſſiah or Man Chriſt (22).

(19) Page 113.

(20) See Wood, Athenæ, edit. 1721, Vol. ii. col. 945.

(21) Preface to the Confutation of Quakeriſm, p. 3.

(22) J. Whiting's *Rector corrected*, *&c.* Lond. 1708, 8*vo*, p. 129.

ſequently is commanded by God. 3. That the Lay Diſſenters are obliged, upon their own Principles, to abhor the Prayers offered in their ſeparate Aſſemblies, and to join in Communion with the Eſtabliſhed Church.' Cambr. 8*vo* (*f*) [*G*]. Towards the end of the ſame year, he publiſhed ‘ A Paraphraſe with Annotations upon the Book of Common Prayer, wherein the Text is explained, Objections are anſwered, and Advice is humbly offered, both to the Clergy and the Laity, for promoting true Devotion in the uſe of it.' Lond. 8*vo* [*H*]. The next thing he put out was, ‘ Charity-Schools recommended, in a Sermon preached at St. James's church in Colcheſter, on Sunday, March 26, 1710. Publiſhed at the requeſt of the Truſtees.' 8*vo*. The ſame year he wrote ‘ A Letter to Mr. B. Robinſon, occaſioned by his *Review of the Caſe of Liturgies, and their Impoſition*;' and ‘ A ſecond Letter to Mr. B. Robinſon, *&c.* on the ſame Subject.' Both printed at London, 1710, 8*vo*. In 1711, he publiſhed ‘ The Rights of the Clergy of the Chriſtian Church: or, A Diſcourſe, ſhewing, that God has given and appropriated to the Clergy, Authority to Ordain, Baptize, Preach, Preſide in Church-Prayer, and conſecrate the Lord's Supper. Wherein alſo the pretended Divine Right of the Laity to elect either the perſons to be ordained, or their own particular Paſtors, is examined and diſproved.' Lond. 1711, 8*vo* [*I*]. He had begun a ſecond part

(*f*) The Preface to theſe two books is dated from *Colcheſter*, *Oct.* 27, 1707.

[*G*] *A brief Hiſtory of the joint Uſe of precompoſed ſet Forms of Prayer*, &c.—— *A Diſcourſe of joint Prayer*, &c.] Several anſwers were returned to theſe books; namely, 1. ‘ A brief Reply to the Scriptural and argumentative part of Mr. *Bennet's Brief Hiſtory of the joint Uſe of precompoſed ſet Forms of Prayer*, &c.' by John Horſeley. 2. ‘ A direct and full Reply to Mr. Bennet's *Diſcourſe of joint Prayer*, with a Preface, containing a ſhort Vindication of the *Brief Reply to Mr. Bennet's brief Hiſtory*, from the unjuſt and ſcurrilous cenſures of the *Cenſura Temporum* for the month of March, 1709.' By the ſame author. Lond. 1710, 8*vo*. 3. ‘ Brief Remarks upon Mr. Bennet's Brief Hiſtory, *&c.*' By Dr. Wainewright. 4. ‘ Some Reflections on Mr. Bennet's Diſcourſe of joint Prayer, by a Preſbyter of the Church of England.' Suppoſed to be Mr. Ollyffe; who aſſerts (23), that Mr. Bennet's notion, which he ſo warmly eſpouſes, is contrary to the general ſenſe, not only of Diſſenters, but of all that have been acquainted with it, and ſeems to be a ſhock upon the reaſon of mankind. 5. Dr. John Edwards, formerly our author's fellow-collegian, and a rigid Calviniſt, doth alſo ſeverely reflect, in the third part of his *Preacher*, on theſe books; and ſome others written by Dr. Bennet (24).

(23) Page 24.

(24) Preacher, 3d Part, p. 4, 5, 6. 145, 146. 152, *&c.*

[*H*] *A Paraphraſe, with Annotations, upon the Book of Common-Prayer*, &c.] As for the occaſion of this work, the author himſelf gives it us in the following words (25): ‘ It is too notorious, that the Book of Common-Prayer is very little underſtood by ſome, and very negligently uſed by others, even of our own communion; and that the Diſſenters have raiſed almoſt innumerable objections againſt it, hoping thereby to juſtify their Separation from us. The conſideration of theſe great evils has conſtrained me to publiſh the following *Paraphraſe*, &c. wherein the Text is explained, Objections are anſwered, and Advice is humbly offered, both to the Clergy and the Laity, for promoting true devotion in the uſe of it.'——His method is this: He hath printed the Morning and Evening Service, Litany, Collects, Communion, Public Baptiſm, and other occaſional Offices, with a Paraphraſe interwoven into the Text; and at the bottom of the page, Notes to explain the Text, to clear Difficulties, anſwer Objections, *&c.*——He is of opinion (26), That a mere Deacon may pronounce the Abſolution; and obſerves, That the Morning Prayer, the Litany, and the Communion-Service, were intended and uſed as diſtinct Offices in former times; though they are now generally uſed at one and the ſame time, in one continued order, contrary to the firſt intention of our Church (27). At the end there is an Appendix, containing Five Diſcourſes. No. I. ‘ A Diſcourſe of the Original of the Book of Common-Prayer; ſhewing, that it is not taken out of the Maſs-Book, and other Popiſh Liturgies.' In this he divides the matter of the Book of Common-Prayer into four parts. 1. Such particulars as are not at all to be found in any of the Popiſh Liturgies. 2. Such as, though they be found in the Popiſh Liturgies, are notwithſtanding borrowed out of the Scriptures. 3. Such as, though they be found in the Popiſh Liturgies, are notwithſtanding borrowed by them out of the Apocryphal writings, or the ancient Fathers of the four firſt centuries. 4. Such as muſt be acknowledged to be found in the Popiſh Liturgies, and in no other book written before the year of Chriſt 400 (28).——Now, if we ſet aſide the three firſt ſorts of particulars, there remains in the whole Morning Prayer but about one *Fourteenth* part. All the reſt is either new made, as the Confeſſion, *&c.* or taken from either the Scriptures, as *O come let us*, &c. the Verſicles and Reſponſes, *&c.* or the Apocryphal writings, as *O all ye works*, &c. or the writings of the four firſt centuries, as the Apoſtles Creed, and *We praiſe thee O God*, &c. or the Greek Church, as the prayer aſcribed to St. Chryſoſtom.——Of the Evening Prayer about one *Eleventh* part is taken from the Popiſh Liturgies.——About one *Tenth* part of our Litany, and the laſt and ſhorteſt prayer of the eleven ſubjoined to the Litany, and not one of the eight Thankſgivings following thoſe prayers, are taken out of the Popiſh Liturgies.——Of the Collects for the day, many were taken out of the Popiſh Liturgies, but ſeveral amended and corrected, and a great number new made.——Of the Communion-Office about one *Eleventh* part, and of all the following Offices, even to the end of the Commination, almoſt nothing is taken out of the Popiſh Liturgies.—— After which he adds, ‘ If ſuch an inconſiderable quantity is all that we owe to the Papiſts, how can it be ſaid that we had our Offices from them? It may with vaſtly greater reaſon be ſaid, that they were taken out of the Scriptures, or wholly made new: For, if one part muſt give a denomination to the whole, certainly the far greater part ought to do it (29).' To proceed: No. II. of the Appendix is, ‘ A Diſcourſe of the Church's uſing Apocryphal Leſſons.' No. III. ‘ A Diſcourſe of our Church's uſing that which is commonly called the Athanaſian Creed.' No. IV. ‘ A Diſcourſe of praying againſt Sudden Death.' No. V. ‘ Of kneeling at the Holy Communion.' Under this laſt head he ſhews (30), ‘ that the Chriſtians of the firſt ages, long before the monſtrous doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation was heard of, received in an adoring poſture; which was either kneeling or ſtanding, according to the difference of circumſtances. And whereas it is pretended, that Kneeling at the Sacrament was introduced by Pope Honorius III., it is a miſtake; for what that Pope introduced, was only a bow at the elevation of the Hoſt, and at the carrying it to ſick perſons.'

(25) Preface, p. 2. This Preface is dated from *Colcheſter*, *April* 16, 1708.

(26) Page 27, note 22.

(27) Page 156.

(28) Page 246.

(29) Page 248, 249, 250.

(30) Page 311.

[*I*] *The Rights of the Clergy of the Chriſtian Church*, &c.] The Preface to this book is dated from Colcheſter, Jan. 13, 1710-11; and the chief heads of it are, That the Catholic Church is one, holy, ſpiritual, and perpetual Society, of which Chriſt is the Head, which was inſtituted by God, and of which alſo it is neceſſary for every perſon to whom the Goſpel is preached, to become and continue a member: That Baptiſm, the Lord's Supper, Church Prayer, and preaching in Chriſtian Aſſemblies, are perpetual Ordinances in the Church: That, from the beginning of Chriſtianity down to our own times, there have always been certain Officers in the Church, whoſe buſineſs it was to adminiſter the Ordinances aforeſaid: That, from the beginning of Chriſtianity, there

Preface two dated cheſter, 1707.

part of this work, but it was never publiſhed. Therein he intended to ſhew, that the Clergy are, under Chriſt, the ſole ſpiritual Governors of the Chriſtian Church; and that God has given and appropriated to them authority to enact laws, determine controverſies, inflict cenſures, and abſolve from them. The pretended Divine inſtitution of Lay Elders was alſo diſproved, and the ſucceſſion of the preſent Clergy of the Eſtabliſhed Church vindicated. And thereto was annexed a Diſcourſe of the Independency of the Church on the State, with an account of the ſenſe of our Engliſh Laws, and the judgment of Archbiſhop Cranmer touching that point *(g)*. About this time, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity. In 1714, he publiſhed ‘ Directions for ſtudying, I. A general ‘ Syſtem or Body of Divinity; II. The Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. To which is ‘ added St. Jerom's Epiſtle to Nepotianus.’ Lond. *8vo* [*K*]. The year following was publiſhed his ‘ Eſſay on the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, agreed on in 1562, and ‘ reviſed in 1571; wherein (the Text being firſt exhibited in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, and the ‘ minuteſt variations of eighteen the moſt ancient and authentic copies carefully noted) ‘ an Account is given of the Proceedings of Convocation in framing and ſettling the text ‘ of the Articles; the controverted clauſe of the Twentieth Article is demonſtrated to be ‘ genuine; And the Caſe of Subſcription to the Articles is conſidered in point of Law, Hiſ‘ tory, and Conſcience. With a Prefatory Epiſtle to *Anthony Collins*, Eſq; Wherein the egre‘ gious Falſehoods and Calumnies of the author of *Prieſtcraft in Perfection*, are expoſed.’ Lond. 1713, *8vo* [*L*]. Before the publication of this book, he found it neceſſary to leave Colcheſter,

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there have been Deacons in the Church: That, from the beginning of Chriſtianity down to our own times, the Clergy have been authoriſed to exerciſe their functions by Almighty God, either immediately or mediately: That Church-authority is not derived from the people. Then, after examining the pretended inſtances of Lay-Ordination, he ſhews, That the power of ordaining is appropriate to the Clergy by Divine Right: That the Laity have no Divine Right to elect the Clergy—nor to chuſe their own particular Paſtors. Next, he examines the Scripture, and other pretences, for Lay-Baptiſm, and Lay-Preaching; and inquires into the validity of Lay-Baptiſm.

[*K*] *Directions for ſtudying*, I. *A General Syſtem of Divinity*, &c.] In the Preface, dated from Colcheſter, Jan. 16, 1713-14, he informs us, That this ‘ Letter, wherein he hath given directions for ſtudying a general Syſtem or Body of Divinity, was written in the year 1705, at the requeſt of a young ‘ Gentleman, to whom, as the beginning ſhews, he ‘ had made a promiſe of it. Whilſt it lay by him, he ‘ beſtowed ſome leiſure hours in correcting it; and at ‘ length determined to make it public, becauſe he ‘ conceived that ſomething of this was much wanted.’ —He adds. ‘ That he hath ſubjoined ſuch Directions for ſtudying the XXXIX Articles of Religion, ‘ as will, if he miſtakes not, ſet them in a different ‘ light, and give a more diſtinct and particular view ‘ of them, than may be found elſewhere.’ And indeed he hath laboured to give a rational explication of them, and to render them as conſiſtent with Scripture and truth as poſſible. He was ‘ forced to add ‘ St Jerome's Epiſtle to Nepotianus, becauſe it is not ‘ to be met with otherwiſe than amongſt his works, ‘ or in ſome collection of his epiſtles, which all perſons cannot command the uſe of.’

[*L*] *An Eſſay on the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion*, &c.] This was written by way of Anſwer to a Pamphlet, publiſhed at London in 1709, 8vo., and intitled, ‘ Prieſtcraft in perfection; or, A Detection of ‘ the Fraud of inſerting and continuing this clauſe ‘ *(The Church hath a Power to Decree Rites and Ceremo‘ nies, and Authority in Controverſies of Faith)* in the ‘ Twentieth Article of the Articles of the Church of ‘ England.’ Suppoſed to be written by Anthony Collins, Eſq; who made it his chief buſineſs and delight to invent what he thought would vex or diſtreſs the Clergy. That pamphlet began in the following manner. ‘ The Articles of the Church of England were ‘ agreed to and ſubſcribed by the Archbiſhops and ‘ Biſhops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, ‘ in a Convocation held at London, in the year of ‘ our Lord 1562, and the fifth of Queen Elizabeth. ‘ They were afterwards reviewed by another Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, held at London ‘ in the year 1571, and in the beginning of that year ‘ (which was the 13th of the Queen) they were ratified ‘ in Parliament under the Title of *Articles of Religion ‘ which only concern the Confeſſion of the true Chriſtian ‘ Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, comprized ‘ in a book imprinted, intituled*, “ Articles whereupon “ it was agreed, &c.” ‘ From which act alone ariſes ‘ their Legal Authority. Theſe being the Authorities ‘ upon which the Articles of our Church ſtand, we ‘ have no other way of knowing what and how many ‘ theſe Articles are, but from the *Records of the Pro‘ ceedings of the before-mentioned Convocations*, and ‘ from the *imprinted Book*, referred to in the Act of ‘ Parliament. And if we are to be governed by theſe, ‘ it will be evident that the firſt clauſe of the 20th Ar‘ ticle, viz. *(The Church hath a power to decree Rites ‘ and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controverſies of ‘ Faith)* printed in all our modern editions of the ‘ Articles ſince the year 1617, is a perfect Forgery, ‘ and never paſſed either the Convocation of 1562, or ‘ the Convocation of 1571; nor was it contained in ‘ the *imprinted Book* that was ratified by Parliament. ‘ For, 1ſt, We have the *Original Manuſcript* of the ‘ Articles which paſſed the Convocation of 1562, of ‘ which my Lord of Sarum (31) gives the following ‘ account: That this manuſcript is without doubt an ‘ Original; that the hands of the Subſcribers are well ‘ known; that it belonged to Archbiſhop Parker (who ‘ was Preſident of that aſſembly, and that it was left ‘ by him to Corpus-Chriſti-college in Cambridge, and ‘ is ſigned with a particular care; for at the end of it ‘ there is not only a ſum of the number of pages, but ‘ of the lines in every page. And though this was ‘ the work of the Province of Canterbury, yet the ‘ Archbiſhop of York, with the Biſhops of Durham ‘ and Cheſter, ſubſcribed it likewiſe; and it is alſo ‘ ſubſcribed by the whole Lower Houſe. And 2dly, ‘ We have an original manuſcript of the Articles that ‘ were reviewed in the Convocation of 1571, left to ‘ the ſame college by Archbiſhop Parker (who was ‘ Preſident likewiſe of that Convocation) but that is ‘ only ſubſcribed by the Archbiſhop, and ten Biſhops ‘ of his Province; whereas thoſe of 1562 are ſub‘ ſcribed by both Houſes of the Province of Canter‘ bury, and ſome Biſhops of the Province of York. ‘ Now that the clauſe of the Church's power is not in ‘ the beginning of the 20th Article of either of theſe ‘ manuſcripts, appears from ſeveral collations that have ‘ lately been made of our modern printed editions ‘ with them. 3dly, as to the *imprinted book of Ar‘ ticles* that was ratified by Parliament, either it was ‘ never tacked to the original record of the Act, or ‘ elſe it has been ſince purloined from it; for upon ‘ examination in the office where the Records are ‘ kept, the imprinted book referred to in the Act of ‘ Parliament is not to be found.’ This is the ſubſtance of the pamphlet before us: Let us now ſee what Dr. Bennet's Anſwer thereto contains.——After a very ſmart Prefatory Epiſtle to Anthony Collins, Eſq; dated *Chelſea, April* 20, 1715, the Doctor exhibits a collation of *all the antient Copies* of the Articles, both printed and manuſcript, both in Latin and Engliſh; and ſets down under the text of the Articles, in Engliſh on one ſide, and Latin on the other, the minuteſt variations in thoſe ancient Copies, being eighteen in number. The *printed Latin Copy* he puts the higheſt value upon, is that of Reginald Wolf in 8vo., 1563, which

(g) It was never finiſhed, though about four chapters of it were actually printed off.

(31) The late Biſhop Burnet, Expoſit. of the XXXIX Articles, p. 16.

Colcheſter. For, the other livings being filled up with perſons of good reputation and learning, his large congregation and ſubſcriptions fell off, ſo that his income did not amount to threeſcore pounds a year [*M*]. Wherefore, by the advice of his friends, he accepted of the place of Deputy-Chaplain to Chelſea-Hoſpital, under Dr. Cannon. Soon after, preaching the funeral ſermon of his friend Mr. Frington Lecturer of St. Olave's in Southwark, it was ſo highly approved of by that pariſh, that he was unanimouſly choſen Lecturer in the next veſtry, without the leaſt canvaſſing (*h*). Upon that, he entirely left Colcheſter, in January 1715-16, and fixed himſelf in London (*i*): Where he was likewiſe appointed Morning Preacher at St. Lawrence-Jewry, under Dr. Mapletoft. In 1716, he publiſhed a pamphlet intitled, 'The Nonjurors Separation from the public Aſſemblies of the Church of England examined, and proved to be ſchiſmatical upon their own Principles.' Lond. 8*vo* [*N*]: And, 'The Caſe of the Reformed Epiſcopal Churches, in Great Poland, and Poliſh Pruſſia, conſidered, in a Sermon preach'd on Sunday November 18, 1716, at St. Lawrence-Jewry, London, in the morning, and St. Olave's Southwark, in the afternoon.' Lond. 8*vo* [*O*]. Soon after, he was preſented by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, to the vicarage of St. Giles's Cripplegate, London, which

(*h*) General Dictionary, as above.

(*i*) See Preface to his *Diſcourſe of the ever bleſſed Trinity in Unity*, &c. p. 2.

which hath the controverted clauſe in the 20th Article (*) — In Chap. II. he gives a tranſcript from the Records produced by Archbiſhop Laud in the Star-chamber in 1637; and of the Regiſter of the Upper Houſe of Convocation in 1562, publiſhed by Biſhop Gibſon in his *Synodus Anglicana*, &c. wherein that clauſe was recorded. [The original Records of the Convocation were deſtroyed in the great fire at London, 1666.] In Chap. VII. he proves, That when the Articles were paſſed by the Clergy in Convocation, they were recorded in the Regiſtry of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. But this Record of the Articles in the Regiſtry of the See of Canterbury was not ſubſcribed, nor had the Broad Seal affixed to it (32). The author ſuppoſes, therefore, that a Copy of the Articles was engroſſed in a Text-hand, and after the Broad Seal was affixed thereto, that inſtrument of them was depoſited in ſome of the Royal offices (33). He ſhews in Chap. XI. that the Articles were paſſed, recorded, and ratified in 1562, *in Latin* only. After having given, in Chap. IV. an exact and very particular account of the Latin MS. in Bennet-college library, which was ſigned by the Biſhops on Jan. 29, 1562, (and on which A. Collins lays ſo much ſtreſs). He proves, in Chap. VIII. that That MS. is no Record. And of this he alledges the following proofs. 1. 'Becauſe Archbiſhop Parker had no more right or power to diſpoſe of the Records of Convocation by will, than the Lord Chancellor has to diſpoſe of the Records of Parliament after the ſame manner. 2. He appeals to any man of common ſenſe, whether a MS. ſo frequently and ſo oddly corrected, ſometimes with red lead, at other times with black ink; in which ſo many portions, great and ſmall are ſtruck out, and ſo many particulars inſerted, nay in which Engliſh and Latin are mixed together, &c. could ever be intended for a Record in a matter of ſo high concern.' ——Next, as to the other Bennet-college MS. of 1571, our author ſays, 'tis no wonder it has not *the Clauſe*, conſidering it was grounded on the old unauthoriſed Engliſh tranſlation, in which the Clauſe was firſt omitted. And, beſides, after the 11th of May, when this MS. was ſigned, many alterations were made in the tranſlation, which are not in the MS. And conſequently this controverted Clauſe might at the ſame time be reſtored to the place it had in the Record of 1562. He ſhews likewiſe, That thoſe Engliſh Copies of the Articles printed in 1571, which have *the Clauſe* above-mentioned, are genuine, and thoſe which want it are ſpurious (34).——In anſwer to what A. Collins had ſaid, concerning the *imprinted Book being tacked to the Record*, the Doctor obſerves, that the very form of the Rolls is ſuch, that any man who has ſeen them would as ſoon expect to find, that an imprinted book had been tacked to our author's noſe, as to any of the Rolls of Parliament (35).

[*M*] *So that his income did not amount to threeſcore pounds a year.*] The one being but about forty, and the other fifteen pounds *per annum*. And yet he declared to his friend the Rev. Mr. Sherlock, that he would have even been contented with them if he could have made threeſcore pounds a year of them two together. Biſhop Compton had indeed given him the ſmall vicarage of Mark's Tay near Colcheſter, but it was no more than enough to pay for a Curate (36); and accordingly he let his Curate enjoy it.

(*) See alſo p. 232.

(32) Chap. IX.

(33) Chap. X.

(34) Page 336, &c.

(35) Prefatory Epiſtle, p. vi.

[*N*] *In 1716 he publiſhed a pamphlet, intitled,* The Nonjurors Separation, &c.] It was occaſioned by 'A Collection of Papers written by the late Rev. George Hickes, D. D.' and publiſhed in 1716, wherein the Church of England was charged with Hereſy, Schiſm, Perjury, and Treaſon. Dr. Bennet, in the 1ſt chapter of his book, defines *Schiſm* to be 'a breach of that union which ought to be maintained in the Chriſtian Church or Society.' In the 2d chapter he ſhews, That Dr. Compton continued rightful Biſhop of London to the day of his death; ſince he did not ceaſe to be Biſhop of London by reſignation, or deprivation, or forfeiture; nor forfeit his dioceſe, by maintaining communion with thoſe Biſhops, who were placed in the Sees of the deprived ones; and therefore that all ſeparation from him was a Schiſm. In the 8th chapter he endeavours to prove, that the Nonjurors ſeparation from the communion of Biſhop Robinſon [ſucceſſor to Biſhop Compton] is ſchiſmatical, becauſe they have no dioceſan Biſhops; and therefore thoſe Biſhops who are now poſſeſſed of the dioceſes of England, are the only true and rightful Biſhops, there being no other claim againſt them. ——But this Tract proving unſatisfactory to many perſons, ſeveral Anſwers were given to it; namely, 1. 'The Layman's Vindication of the Church of England, as well againſt Mr. Howell's Charge of Schiſm, as againſt Dr. Bennet's pretended Anſwer to it.' Lond. 1716, 8vo. 2. Another intitled, 'Dr. Bennet's Conceſſions to the Nonjurors proved to be deſtructive to the Cauſe, which he endeavours to defend, as they make the Nonjurors to be the Catholics, and his own Communion to be Schiſmatical; in a Letter to a Friend.' Dated October 22, 1716. Lond. 1717, 8vo. 3. Mr. James Pierce, an eminent Diſſenting Miniſter, wrote likewiſe 'A Letter to Dr. Bennet, occaſioned by his late Treatiſe concerning the Nonjurors Separation, &c.' Dated at Exeter November 13, 1716, and printed at London, 1717, 8vo.

[O] *The caſe of the Reformed Epiſcopal Churches in Great Poland*, &c.]. This ſermon was occaſioned by a Brief for the relief of thoſe Churches. Our author obſerves in his ſermon (37), 'That theſe Proteſtants are deſcended from thoſe perſons, who forſook the corruptions of the Church of Rome, by the influence principally of thoſe eminent ſaints and martyrs, John Huſs and Jerome of Prague, who received their doctrine in a good meaſure from our truly famous countryman John Wicleff, to whom we are obliged for the firſt dawnings of the Reformation.' ——After that, he anſwers ſeveral objections that had been made againſt relieving them, particularly, that they have no true Epiſcopacy amongſt them. In oppoſition to which he ſhews, that they regularly derive their ſucceſſion from three perſons who were conſecrated Biſhops by certain Biſhops of the Vaudois (38); and that each of their Biſhops is truly and properly a Dioceſan, having a determinate number of Paſtors with the reſpective congregations, over whom he exerciſes eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; and they have not only Biſhops, but alſo Prieſts and Deacons, which are three diſtinct orders with them as they are with us (39).

(36) From the Gen. Dictionary, and private information.

(37) Page 8, ſecond edition, 1716.

(38) Vide *Regenvolſcii* Hiſtoria Eccleſ. Slavon Provin. edit. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1652, p. 314, &c.

(39) Sermon, as above, p. 14, &c.

afforded

afforded him a plentiful income of nearly five hundred pounds a year [*P*]. But he had little, or at leaſt no quiet, enjoyment of it. For, endeavouring to recover ſome dues that unqueſtionably belonged to that church, he came thereby to be engaged in tedious law-ſuits; which, beſides the immenſe charges they were attended withal, gave him a great deal of vexation and uneaſineſs, and very much imbittered his ſpirits: However, he recovered a hundred and fifty pounds a year to that living. After he was ſettled in it, (namely in the year 1717) he married Mrs. Elizabeth Hunt of Saliſbury, a gentlewoman of great merit; and by her he had three daughters. The ſame year he publiſhed, 'A Spital Sermon preached before the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, &c. of London, in St Bridget's Church, on April 24, 1717.' Lond. 8*vo*: And in 1718, 'A Diſcourſe of the ever bleſſed Trinity in Unity, with an Examination of Dr. Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity.' Lond. 8*vo* [*Q*]. But, from this time, the care of his large pariſh, and

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[*P*] *Which afforded him a plentiful income of near five hundred pounds a year.*] It cannot well be imagined what the author of his life (40) means, when he makes this *wiſe* remark upon that occaſion—— 'Which was the utmoſt of his preferment, though the whole of it, when the ſalary of Curates and other charges were paid, was not full four hundred pounds a year clear.' But ſurely nearly four hundred pounds a year clear is very noble preferment; and ſo Dr. Bennet thought it, as appears from the Dedication to his *Diſcourſe of the ever Bleſſed Trinity in Unity*; in which he 'returns his humbleſt thanks to his moſt honoured Patrons for ſo remarkable an inſtance of their favour, as he wanted words to expreſs; namely, Their conferring upon him, in the moſt generous and obliging manner, one of the moſt principal parochial benefices in the kingdom; in which (ſays he) "as I have opportunity of doing a large ſhare of our Great Maſter's work, and thereby earning everlaſting wages (which is the moſt valuable conſideration), ſo I reap the advantage of a *plentiful income*, which affords me even a temporal reward for the labours of my preſent ſtation."——It ſeems Dr. Hoadley, the late Biſhop of Wincheſter, was very helpful to him, though privately, in obtaining that preferment.

[*Q*] *A Diſcourſe of the ever Bleſſed Trinity in Unity*, &c.] This he dedicated 'To his moſt honoured patrons (41), the Rev. Dr. Henry Godolphin, Dean of St. Paul's, London, and Provoſt of Eton-college; the Rev. Dr. William Stanley, Dean of St. Aſaph; the Rev. Dr. John Younger, Dean of Sarum; and the Rev. Dr. Francis Hare, Dean of Worceſter; the Reſidentaries of St. Paul's, London.' It is the only book of his that has a Dedication. 'Tis dated, as well as the Preface, from Cripplegate, London, October 23, 1717. The occaſion of this work he gives us in the following words (42). 'Every body knows, that many writers, of different ſpirits and abilities, attacked the Doctor [Dr. Sam. Clarke, author of *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*] in different manners, as their inclinations or judgments led them. But notwithſtanding this variety of oppoſition, I heartily wiſh I could not ſay, that what to me ſeemed in ſuch a caſe the moſt deſirable, or rather abſolutely neceſſary, was totally neglected. For though much commendable zeal was ſpent againſt the book *in general, and divers parcels* of it were particularly queſtioned and taken to pieces; yet none of the Doctor's adverſaries attempted a confutation of *his whole ſcheme*, and a thorough examination of every branch of his doctrine.' This, he ſays, a little lower, determined him to write *a full Reply* to that celebrated Treatiſe of his learned friend. ——He ſpends the greater part of his Diſcourſe, in proving *the Divinity of the Son*, or Second Perſon; as being the principal point in the whole controverſy concerning the Trinity, and that which has been the moſt largely and warmly debated (43). After having given the occaſion and deſign of his work, he treats, in chap. II. of the Paternity of God; and ſhews, That the very God is the Father of all mankind by a *general* Paternity, of all Chriſtians by a *particular* or *fœderal* Paternity, and of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt by a *ſpecial* Paternity. And in chap. IV. that God was *ſpecially the Father* of the man Jeſus Chriſt in theſe two reſpects, becauſe he was to him inſtead of an human Father, and becauſe he raiſed him from the dead. See *Rom.* i. 4. Chap. III. is concerning the Union of the Divine and Human Natures in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; in which he delivers it as his opinion, That Jeſus Chriſt conſiſts of the λόγος, or *Word* of God; of an human body, and a human ſoul; and concludes, That our Lord Jeſus Chriſt was, and is, very Man, conſiſting of an human Body, and an human Soul; and that to this Man the *Word* was, and is ſtill united (44). In chap. V. he lays down the ſtate of the Controverſy between Dr. Clarke and himſelf, in the following words: ''Tis confeſſed on both ſides, 1. That the bleſſed Jeſus has a Divine Nature, viz. the Word. 2. That the Word, or Divine Nature of the bleſſed Jeſus is called God.' But the queſtion is, *Whether the Word, or Divine Nature of the bleſſed Jeſus, be the very God*, i. e. *the One ſelf-exiſtent Being*. 'I affirm *that he is*; and you deny it, making him a Being diſtinct from, and inferior to, the one ſelf-exiſtent, or very God.' Before he comes to produce texts of Scripture to eſtabliſh his opinion, he examines, in chapters VI. and VII. thoſe ſeveral texts which ſpeak of Chriſt's Humiliation, or Exaltation (particularly *Philipp.* ii. 5—11.); in a word, all thoſe that ſeem to intimate that Jeſus Chriſt is inferior to the Father. And, in chap. VIII. endeavours to prove, *That during the time of our Saviour's miniſtry, the Diſciples did not believe that he was any thing more than a mere Man, conducted and aſſiſted by the Spirit of God*: As alſo, in chap IX. *That during the time of our Saviour's miniſtry, the word was quieſcent in the Man Chriſt Jeſus.* Next, he examines ſeveral other texts (45), particularly *Mark* xiii. 32. *John* xiv. 28, &c. and then concludes, that there is not one text which ſpeaks of our Bleſſed Saviour, in ſuch a manner as implies his being inferior to the very God, but what either neceſſarily muſt, or moſt fairly may, be underſtood of the Man Chriſt Jeſus, or our Saviours Human nature only. ——Having thus cleared the way, he endeavours to ſhew, in chap. XII. 'That the Holy Scriptures do teach, that the Word, or Divine Nature of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is the very God.' And in chap. XIII. 'That the Holy Ghoſt is the very God.' Chap. XIV. is concerning the Trinity in Unity.' Wherein, among other other things, he affirms (46), that 'the word *Perſon*, when applied to the Son and Holy Ghoſt, does not ſignify a diſtinct intelligent being ſeparate from the Father. For though we can't exactly define what a Divine Perſon is, yet we can ſay what 'tis not.' He ſums up the whole in theſe words (47), 'Briefly therefore, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, are one and the ſame Being with each other: That is, though they are diſtinct in, yet they are co-eſſential to, and neceſſarily conſtitutive of, one and the ſame Being. Even as the Soul and Body are diſtinct in, though co-eſſential to, and neceſſarily conſtitutive of, the ſame being, Man.'——He hath one particular notion, beſides what hath been already mentioned, and that is, He ſuppoſes that the *Human Soul* of Chriſt *pre-exiſted* before his Incarnation (48), and was the Shecinah or habitation of the Glory of God the Father. But, at the Incarnation, this pre-exiſting Human Soul of Chriſt emptied himſelf of the Glory he had with God before the world was; and in that ſtate of humiliation Chriſt did ſuffer and die for the ſins of the whole world (49). At the end of the book there is a ſhort 'Examination of Dr. Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity.'—Several Anſwers were returned to this Diſcourſe: The 1ſt by Mr. Thomas Emlyn, intitled, '*Dr. Bennet*'s New Theory of the Trinity examined, or ſome Conſiderations on his *Diſcourſe of the ever Bleſſed Trinity in Unity*, and his *Examination of Dr. Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*.'

(40) In the General Dictionary.

(41) Patrons of St. Giles Cripplegate, and by whom it was given him.

(42) Preface, p. 1.

(43) *Ibid.* p. 3.

(44) Page 15.

(45) Chap. x, xi.

(46) Page 218.

(47) *Ibid.*

(48) Page 70.

(49) Page 260.

and other affairs, ſo engroſſed his thoughts, that he had no time to undertake any new work; except an Hebrew Grammar [*R*], which was publiſhed at London in 1726, 8*vo*, and is reckoned one of the beſt of the kind. He mentions, indeed, in one of his books (*k*), written about the year 1716, that he had then 'ſeveral taſks' in his hands, 'which 'would find him full employment for many years;' but whatever they might be, none of them were ever finiſhed, or made public. He died of an apoplexy at London, October the 9th, 1728, aged fifty-five years, five months, and two days; and was buried in his own church. As to his perſon, Dr. Bennet was tall, and of a ſtrong and robuſt conſtitution. He was a man of ſtrong paſſions, and not without haughtineſs, but of very great integrity. With regard to his learning, he was a perfect maſter of the Eaſtern, and other learned, languages; well ſkilled in controverſy, and a valiant champion for the Church of England. We are, moreover, informed (*l*), that we have had few ſcholars, who have equalled him as an exact reaſoner, and an accurate textuary; and that though he had an uncommon ſhare of knowledge in various kinds of learning, he wiſely gave himſelf up to the improvement of thoſe talents, in which his chief excellence lay. One of his antagoniſts does not ſcruple to own (*m*), that he could truly eſteem and reſpect him for his valuable abilities, for his induſtrious application of mind to an examination and enquiry into the important matters of our Chriſtian religion, and for divers other worthy qualities; particularly for his candour and civility; and for his reſolute contempt of thoſe falſe topics of perſuaſion, by which ignorant and degenerate minds are led captive into error, or loſe the praiſe of it, if it ſhould be into truth, *viz.* all human deciſions, by Councils, or Churches authority, when their judgment is not agreeable to the Holy Scriptures: in which caſe, he ſpeaks as if he had the courage and honeſty to oppoſe the moſt triumphant errors of the age. Finally, he declares he eſteemed him, for his zealous profeſſion of integrity, and exciting others to act honeſtly and openly according to their judgments, and not to uſe arts of diſguiſe and hypocriſy in ſacred matters.

(*k*) Diſcourſe of the ever bleſſed Trinity, &*c.* p. 3.

(*l*) See Weekly Miſcellany, No. 113.

(*m*) T. Emlyn, in the Preface to his book, mentioned below, note [Q].

'*Trinity*.' Lond. 1718, 8vo. The 2d was by Mr. John Jackſon, Rector of Roſſington in Yorkſhire, under this title' 'A modeſt Plea for the Baptiſmal 'and Scripture notion of the Trinity. Wherein the 'ſchemes of the Rev. Dr. Bennet and Dr. Clarke 'are compared.' Lond. 1719, 8vo. The 3d was by William Stephens, M. A. one of the Vicars of Bampton, thus intitled, 'The Catholic Doctrine 'concerning the Union of the two Natures in the 'One Perſon of Chriſt ſtated and vindicated; a Ser'mon preached at the Triennial Viſitation of the 'Right Reverend Father in God, John, Lord Biſhop 'of Oxford; held at Whitney on Tueſday, July 21, '1719. In which alſo Dr. Bennet's late notion of 'the total Quieſcence of the Divine Nature in our 'Saviour during his Miniſtry, is conſidered and ex'amined.' Oxford, 1719, 8vo.

[*R*] *Except an Hebrew Grammar*, &c.] It was intitled, Thomæ Bennet, S. T. P. *Grammatica* Hebræa *cum uberrimâ Praxi in uſum tironum, qui Linguam Hebræam abſque Præceptoris vivâ voce (idque in breviſſimo temporis compendio) ediſcere cupiunt. Accedit Conſilium de ſtudio præcipuarum Linguarum Orientalium, Hebrææ, ſcil. Chaldææ, Syræ, Samaritanæ, & Arabicæ, inſtituendo, & perficiendo.* This Grammar was deſigned by the author for the uſe of ſuch as want to learn Hebrew without the aſſiſtance of a maſter. M.

⁂ [Dr. Bennet was undoubtedly a Divine of eminent piety and diſtinguiſhed learning. The zeal and diligence with which he engaged in the ſtudies and duties of his profeſſion were highly commendable, and ſhew that he had no conception that the life of a Clergyman was to be an idle or trifling life. Several of his works, however, being upon ſubjects of temporary controverſy, are, we apprehend, not much read at preſent. This will ever be the caſe, when diſputes turn upon matters which are not of laſting importance, or upon ſome trivial circumſtances in queſtions otherwiſe momentous; and it will eſpecially be the caſe, when a man of abilities has to contend with inſufficient adverſaries. The writer of this note remembers being told, in his youth, by Dr. Philip Doddridge, that the diſſenting Miniſters, in and near Colcheſter, who endeavoured to anſwer Dr. Bennet, and particularly Mr. Shepherd, were perſons of very mean talents. The Doctor, in ſome of his ſubſequent writings, met with far abler antagoniſts.

The queſtion concerning Schiſm was deemed of great importance during the laſt century, and in the beginning of the preſent. The Papiſts charged this crime upon the Proteſtants, and the members of the Church of England upon the Diſſenters; and the parties attacked recriminated in their turn. In theſe more liberal times, it will be confeſſed by all, excepting ſome recluſe bigots, that a man who ſincerely worſhips God, according to the real dictates of his conſcience, in any Chriſtian Aſſembly, is an object of Salvation. How candid the ſentiments are, of the moſt eminent and worthy Prelates of our Church, with reſpect to Nonconformiſts of merit and learning, will appear in the next article. A conciſe and rational account of the general controverſy with regard to Schiſm, and of the variations and inconſiſtencies to which it hath given riſe, would be no incurious ſubject in the Hiſtory of Theological Literature.

It ſeems to us that Dr. Bennet was rather of too diſputatious a turn of mind, and that he was too ready to engage in the debates of his time, upon queſtions of Divinity. This led him ſometimes into difficulties, obliged him to have recourſe to diſtinctions and refinements which would not always bear examination, and laid him open to the attacks of his adverſaries.

Of all the Doctor's controverſial pieces, thoſe on the Doctrine of the Trinity, and on Subſcription to the Articles of the Church of England, have been the moſt brought into view in the preſent age. This is owing to theſe ſubjects being ſtill eagerly debated: and, indeed, on account of their acknowledged importance, they will probably long continue to be debated.

Dr. Bennet's Explication of the Trinity is ſingular; and it would require much logical nicety to defend it from that heterodoxy which the learned author not only wiſhed to avoid, but, no doubt, ſincerely abhorred. This was an unfortunate circumſtance in a man who, in another work, had employed himſelf in vindicating the Athanaſian Creed (50). However, he was but in the ſame caſe with many other eminent and worthy Divines; who, while they have imagined that they were defending Athanaſianiſm, have, in fact, run into Sabellianiſm or Socinianiſm.

What Dr. Bennet hath written concerning the Thirty-nine Articles has lately met with ſome ſevere ſtrictures from a very ingenious and learned writer of the Church of England. We mean the author of the Confeſſional, who hath ſo undeniably expoſed ſeveral of Dr. Bennet's miſtakes and inconſiſtencies, that the poor Doctor would have been exceedingly mortified, if, when living, he had fallen into the hands of an equally acute and able antagoniſt (51).

It is much to the honour both of Dr. Bennet and Biſhop Hoadly, that the latter contributed to the preferment of the former. Few perſons could be more different in their theological and other ſenti-

(50) General Dict. Vol. iii. p. 206, 207. note *G*.

(51) Confeſſional, p. 177—192. 3d edit.

ments.

ments. Dr. Bennet's character, therefore, muſt have been very excellent to excite ſuch an inſtance of regard in Dr. Hoadly; and the Biſhop's candour and liberality of mind muſt have been equally laudable, in overlooking the moſt ſtriking diſparity of opinions.

The writer of Dr. Bennet's life, in the General Dictionary, hath extended the article concerning him, by large extracts from his works. But the more conciſe detail given above, may, perhaps, be ſufficient for general information.] K.

⁂ [BENSON (GEORGE), a learned and eminent Nonconformiſt Divine, and author of ſeveral valuable theological works, was deſcended from a good family [*A*], and born at Great Salkeld in Cumberland, on the firſt of September 1699 (*a*). He was very early diſtinguiſhed for a remarkable ſeriouſneſs of temper, and a great attachment to his books, to which he applied himſelf ſo cloſely, that at eleven years of age he is ſaid to have been able to read in the Greek Teſtament (*b*). His parents, therefore, determined to educate him for the miniſtry: and after having paſſed through a courſe of grammar-learning, he was ſent to an academy kept by Dr. Dixon at Whitehaven, where he continued about a year. From thence he was removed to the univerſity of Glaſgow, where he completed his academical ſtudies. He was brought up in Calviniſtical principles; and, in his earlier years, believed the doctrine of Predeſtination: but farther examination and inquiry led him to change his ſentiments upon this ſubject, the diſcuſſion of which he ſeemed to think particularly neceſſary before he engaged in the miniſtry [*B*].

(*a*) Amory's Memoirs of the Life, Character, and Writings of Dr. Benſon, prefixed to his Hiſtory of the Life of Chriſt, p. 3.

(*b*) Amory, *ubi ſupra*, p. 4. and Funeral Sermon on the occaſion of the death of George Benſon, D. D. by Edward Pickard, p. 26.

About the cloſe of the year 1721, Mr. Benſon came to London, and having been examined and approved by ſeveral of the moſt eminent Preſbyterian miniſters, he began to preach, firſt at Chertſey, and afterwards in London. The learned Dr. Calamy took him into his family, and treated him with great kindneſs and friendſhip (*c*). By the recommendation of that gentleman, he afterwards went to Abingdon in Berkſhire, and was unanimouſly choſen paſtor of the congregation of Proteſtant Diſſenters in that town. He was ordained on the 27th of March 1723, Dr. Calamy and five other miniſters officiating on the occaſion. He continued at Abingdon ſeven years [*C*], and diligently employed that time in the ſtudy of the ſacred writings, and in labouring to inſtruct and edify the people under his care. His firſt publication was a Defence of the reaſonableneſs of Prayer [*D*], with a tranſlation of a Diſcourſe of Maximus Tyrius on the ſubject, and Remarks

(*c*) Amory, *ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] Dr. Amory ſays, that our author was ‘ deſcended from very pious parents, who had a numerous family, and were bleſſed in ſeeing ſeveral of them grow up, and becoming remarkably good Chriſtians. The family of the Benſons was originally from London. John Benſon, the Doctor's great-grandfather, left London towards the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and ſettled at Great Salkeld, where the family made a conſiderable figure. He had thirteen ſons, from the eldeſt of whom the late Lord Bingley deſcended: the Doctor's grandfather was the youngeſt of theſe ſons. In the civil-wars, occaſioned by the mal-adminiſtration of King Charles I., George Benſon, the Doctor's grandfather, engaged on the ſide of liberty and the Parliament, and ſuffered conſiderably in his fortune; particularly from the Scots, when they entered England, in order to raiſe Charles II. to the throne, and were defeated at the battle of Worceſter. And the love of liberty, civil and religious, which the Doctor derived from anceſtors of this ſpirit, who after the Reſtoration were Proteſtant Diſſenters, animated his whole conduct, and was retained by him to the laſt (1).’

(1) Memoirs of the Life, Character, and Writings, of Dr. Benſon, prefixed to his Hiſtory of the Life of Chriſt, p. 3, 4.

[*B*] *The diſcuſſion of the doctrine of Predeſtination, he ſeemed to think particularly neceſſary before he engaged in the miniſtry.*] He ſays, ‘ I wanted to be ſatisfied, upon a twofold account, “ whether the actions of men, and their final ſtate, were unalterably fixed, and abſolutely and unconditionally decreed; or only conditionally? Or, whether the texts in Holy Scripture, that ſpeak of this ſubject, are to be underſtood literally, or figuratively?”

‘ *Firſt*, That I might endeavour to regulate my own actions, if free, and might prepare for a future ſtate of happineſs, if decreed only conditionally: or, if otherwiſe, that I might acquieſce, as much as poſſible, in what was not to be reſiſted, or avoided. And,

‘ *Secondly*, As I was in proſpect of undertaking the cure of ſouls, I wanted to know, “ Whether it would be to any purpoſe?” As concluding, that it could anſwer no end, to perſuade ſuch as have no power, nor could do any thing but what they did, as chained down to one courſe of action, by an irreverſible decree; in which caſe, arguments and motives, promiſes and threatenings, reproofs and exhortations, could avail nothing. But if it appeared, that men have ſome power given them in creation; that they may reaſonably expect all proper Divine aſſiſtance; and that their final and everlaſting ſtate is decreed only conditionally; I might ſet myſelf to the ſacred work of the Miniſtry, in hopes of ſucceeding in ſome meaſure, and doing at leaſt ſome good (2).’

(2) Two Letters to a Friend, ſecond edit. p. 69.

[*C*] *He continued at Abingdon*, &c.] Dr. Amory ſays, that, during his ſtay at Abingdon, Mr. Benſon ‘ preached and publiſhed three ſerious practical diſcourſes, addreſſed to young perſons; which were well received. But of theſe he afterwards forbad the re-printing, as not teaching what, after further inquiry, he thought the *exact* truth, in relation to ſome doctrines of Chriſtianity. This will be allowed an inſtance of ſtrict integrity (3).’

(3) Memoirs of Dr. Benſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 5.

It appears from a letter of Sir Conrad Sprengell's to Mr. Benſon, which is now before us, dated Sept. 19, 1728, that while Mr. Benſon was at Abingdon, he had ſome thoughts of ſtudying phyſic; but this deſign he ſeems afterwards to have laid aſide.

[*D*] *A Defence of the reaſonableneſs of Prayer.*] A ſecond edition of this, and of a piece on Predeſtination, was publiſhed in 1737, under the following title: ‘ Two Letters to a Friend. The *Firſt* concerning the End and Deſign of Prayer, or the reaſonableneſs of praying to an unchangeably wiſe, powerful, and good God. In anſwer to the Objections of the late Earl of Rocheſter, Mr. Blount, and other modern Deiſts. To which is added, a Diſſertation of Maximus Tyrius's, tranſlated from the Greek, concerning this Queſtion, *Whether we ought to pray to God or not?* With Remarks upon it. The *Second*, The Doctrine of Predeſtination reviewed: or, the Nature of the Counſels and Decrees of God, and the Riſe and Occaſion of the Scripture Language concerning them.’ Dr. Amory obſerves, that in the firſt of theſe pieces, Dr. Benſon ‘ hath ſhown that prayer, as a natural expreſſion of our ſenſe of the perfections and providence of God, of our dependance upon him, and obligations to him, and of our concern for moral improvement, and as a powerful mean of improving theſe, is a rational and advantageous exerciſe of the mind, and may, with reaſon, be expected to procure favours from God: not by working a *change* in the Deity, who will always do what is *beſt*; but by producing ſuch a change for the better in men, as will

Remarks on it. In 1725, he married Mrs. Elizabeth Hills, wi very happily, for fourteen years (*d*). In 1729, he received an cepted, to become miniſter to a congregation in King John's Co he performed the duties of the paſtoral office with great diligence years, and was greatly beloved by his congregation.

(*d*) Amory, *ubi ſupra.*

The light which the celebrated Mr. Locke had thrown upon ſom and difficult parts of St. Paul's Epiſtles, by his cloſe attention to the which they were written, and by carefully purſuing the thread of the induced and encouraged Mr. Benſon, as it had before done Mr. Pier illuſtration of the other Epiſtles of St. Paul, in a ſimilar method (*e*). 1731 he publiſhed, in 4*to*, 'A Paraphraſe and Notes on St. Paul's Ep 'attempted in imitation of Mr. Locke's Manner. With an Appen 'ſhewn, That St. Paul could neither be an Enthuſiaſt, nor an Impo 'quently, the Chriſtian Religion muſt be (as he has repreſented it) He 'vine.' It is well known, that the argument in this Appendix hath ſince and illuſtrated, with great force and elegance, by the late Lord Lyttelton.

Mr. Benſon's firſt publication on the Epiſtles meeting with a very favoura he proceeded, with great diligence, and encreaſing reputation, to publiſh and notes on the two Epiſtles to the Theſſalonians, the firſt and ſecond E mothy, and the Epiſtle to Titus; adding diſſertations on ſeveral important ſu ticularly on Inſpiration [*E*]. In 1735, he publiſhed, in three thin volu 'The Hiſtory of the firſt planting of the Chriſtian Religion [*F*], taken from th

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'will render it beſt and fitteſt for the Deity to diſtinguiſh the pious and humble ſupplicant, with inſtances of his particular favour (4).'

(4) Memoirs, *ubi ſupra*, p. 7.

It ſeems to have been about the ſame time, that our author 'manifeſted his love to moderation and 'Chriſtian liberty, and his averſion to perſecution, 'by whomſoever practiſed, by extracting from the '*Memoirs of Literature*, and re-printing Monſ. de la 'Roche's account of the perſecution and burning of 'Servetus, by Calvin, with ſuch reflections as were 'proper to expoſe the inconſiſtence and injuſtice of 'this conduct in that great reformer; and to prevent 'its being employed to countenance a like temper 'and conduct hereafter. A conduct which can only 'admit an alleviation of its guilt in Calvin, on account of the time; when juſt emerging out of the 'darkneſs and corruptions of Popery, they could not 'at firſt diſcern and reject all its prejudices and corruptions of original Chriſtianity; of which this 'intolerant temper, and theſe perſecuting principles, 'were ſome of the worſt. To this he afterwards added, *A Defence of the Account of Servetus*; and as a 'farther illuſtration of the malignity of a perſecuting 'ſpirit, a *brief Account of Archbiſhop Laud's cruel* '*Treatment of Dr. Leighton.*'—'To guard Chriſtians againſt the corruptions of Popery, and to 'prevent theſe being urged by the Deiſts as plauſible 'objections againſt Chriſtianity, he publiſhed a Diſſertation on 2 Theſſ. ii. 1–12. In this illuſtrating 'the learned and ſagacious obſervations of the ſagacious Dr. Mede, he hath ſhewn theſe groſs corruptions of the beſt religion to have been expreſsly 'predicted, and Chriſtians ſtrongly cautioned againſt 'them: And that in this view they were amongſt 'the evidences of the divine authority of the Scriptures; as they proved the ſacred writers to have 'been inſpired by a divine ſpirit, which could alone 'foretel ſo clearly events ſo diſtant, unlikely, and 'contingent (5).'

(5) Amory, p. 8.

In Dr. Benſon's Diſſertation on 2 Theſſ. ii. 1–12. he applies the Apoſtle's Deſcription of the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition, to the Church and Pope of Rome; and every perſon who reads the Diſſertation with attention and candour, will be ſtruck with the aptneſs and propriety of the application. In the early days of Proteſtantiſm, it was common to regard this prophecy, and the paſſages of the New Teſtament concerning Antichriſt, as predictions of Popery. In ſucceeding times a different mode of interpretation prevailed; the cauſes of which we remember to have been explained, with ſingular ingenuity, by Biſhop Warburton, in one of his Sermons. In later times, the enormous corruptions and pretenſions of the Church of Rome have, with the greateſt appearance of reaſon, been found to have been foretold in the Apoſtolical Writings. Dr. Benſon has been followed by the eminent Prelate juſt mentioned, by the learned Biſhops Newton and Hurd, by Dr. Duchall and Dr. Hallifax. The lecture lately inſtituted, coln's-Inn, by Dr. Warburton, will hereafter farther light on this important ſubject.

[*E*] *Particularly on inſpiration.*] Dr. Amory ſerves, that in our author's diſſertation upon this ject, he has 'with great clearneſs of judgment 'plained and proved the nature and extent of th 'Apoſtles inſpiration; ſo as fully to ſecure the autho'rity of their writings, as a rule of faith and manners; 'without bringing Chriſtians under a neceſſity of 'vindicating as divine every incidental ſentiment; 'and without raiſing in the minds of thoughtful per'ſons prejudices againſt the Scriptures, by raiſing 'too high their notions of the perfection of theſe 'ſacred writings; and in conſequence of this, occa'ſioning their being diſappointed in expectations, 'which would have been juſt, if every word and ſen'tence in them had been dictated by a Divine Spi'rit (6).'

(6) Mem p. 9.

It appears that Mr. Benſon availed himſelf conſiderably of the obſervations thrown out by Lord Barrington in his *Miſcellanea Sacra*, and particularly of the diſtinct account given by him of *the gifts of the Spirit*, by which the Apoſtles and firſt preachers of Chriſtianity were enabled to ſpread and confirm the Goſpel. His Lordſhip and Mr. Benſon frequently correſponded on the ſubject of Scripture criticiſm; and how favourable an opinion that noble writer formed of our author's paraphraſe and notes appears from a letter of his to Mr. Benſon, written in November 1734. 'I received the favour of your ſecond 'epiſtle to Timothy, and have looked it carefully 'over; and can now return you my thanks for the 'kind preſent you have made, and for the inſtruction 'I have received from it, at the ſame time. The '*Hiſtory* of the ſtate of things, &c. is very full and 'clear. The *Synopſis* ſhort and comprehenſive. The 'full meaning of the Apoſtle ſeems every where to 'be purſued in the paraphraſe and notes. Many of 'them are what I have not met with in other critics 'and commentators, and are at the ſame time ex'tremely well ſupported. The ſecond chap. ver. '17–22., is a very high inſtance, and chap. i. 12., 'and chap. iv. 7., are very conſiderable inſtances to 'this purpoſe. The two eſſays are very accurate, 'and of great importance towards letting us into the 'true ſtate of things in thoſe times, relating to the 'planting and ſettling the churches, and the exerciſe 'of the ſpiritual gifts.—There is but little in which 'I can differ from you (7).'

(7) Memo p. 10.

[*F*] *The Hiſtory of the firſt planting of the Chriſtian Religion*, &c.] Dr. Amory obſerves, that 'in this 'work, beſides illuſtrating throughout the Hiſtory of 'the *Acts*, and moſt of the *Epiſtles*, by a view of the 'Hiſtory of the Times, the occaſion of the ſeveral 'epiſtles, and the ſtate of the churches to whom they 'were addreſſed, he hath eſtabliſhed the truth of the 'Chriſtian Religion on a number of

Croſs
he continued
and learned Dr. Lardner
[*H*]: nor
Lardner,
Benſon married
lady of a very
In 1743, Mr.
' Chriſtian Relig

' public, important,
' of which we have from
' able integrity: and
' extenſive alterations
' of the world, as cannot
' without admitting the
' truth of theſe relations (8).'
work our author obſerved,
' and ſtudy of ſome years,
' other affairs, would perm
that ' in the grand diviſions,
' things, he had been much
' ton's *Miſcellanea Sacra.*'
' man Hiſtory, he has had the
' Joſephus, among the ancients;
' moderns, from the credibility
' part I., written by his much-eſteemed
' Lardner. In the diſſertation, at the
' the ſecond, the ſecond part of the
' laſt-mentioned judicious and laborious
' gether with Mr. Jones's, on the canon
' Teſtament, have afforded him
' ance.' The diſſertation juſt mentioned
ed to ſhow, ' That St. Luke was the
' Acts of the Apoſtles: that he publiſhed
' while many of the Apoſtles, and Primitive
' ſtians, who knew the facts, were alive,
' ſame. And (ſuppoſing that is an authentic
' Chriſtianity muſt certainly, and of courſe,
' Divine Revelation, and worthy of the higheſt re-
' gard (9).'

In 1756, Dr. Benſon publiſhed a ſecond edition of this work in three volumes, 4to., but the whole is often bound up in one large volume. In the preface to this edition our author ſays, ' In a bad ſtate of ' health, and in the midſt of various complaints and ' diſtreſſes, I have, at length, finiſhed a ſecond edi- ' tion of this long work.'—' If I had believed ' Chriſtianity to be falſe, no worldly conſiderations ' whatever could have induced me to have wrote ſo ' much, to make the world believe that it is true. ' And, if it be true, it is not an indifferent matter, ' whether men receive, or reject it.

' As for my own part, I have ſtudied the books of ' Scripture, and more eſpecially the New Teſtament, ' for above thirty years. From thence I have taken ' my notions of Chriſtianity, and of the evidence of ' it. I have read the objections of the Infidels, ' and have found, that their acquaintance with the ' Scriptures is but very ſuperficial: that they have no ' ſteady principles of their own: and that their deſign ' is to pull down Chriſtianity, without giving the ' world any other ſcheme of religion, or morals, in- ' ſtead of it.

' I am, indeed, convinced, that the Anti-revela-

(8) Memoirs, *ubi ſupra*, p. 11.

(9) Preface, p. 4.

was an inconvenience to him, in the
was grave and venerable, and there
which had a very good effect upon
romoting, ' by his preaching and
voured farther to ſerve it, by di-
of the Scriptures; and for many
ed to this ſtudy under his eye.
have done honour to their tutor;
Macknight, author of the *Har-*
ch of valuable knowledge (*l*).'
or diſſenting Miniſters and ſtu-
ns.

ry of the Life of Jeſus Chriſt,
ctions proper to illuſtrate the
n and religion.' To which

ature, which are very rarely at-
his age (31). The juſtneſs of
ndantly evident from the work
h contains indubitable marks
ity and learning. The preli-
particular, in which the au-
of there being no ſtate of
eath and the reſurrection,
ſt productions on that ſub-
of the queſtion has been
moſt eminent Divines of

religion and the ſcrip-
nder's profeſſion, was
found leiſure for culti-
He had, likewiſe,
on life, and poſſeſſed
and humour. He
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f the caſt of that
rity of his diſpo-
ſeveral proofs, in
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(*l*) Memoirs, p. 16, 17.

(31) Advertiſement to the Paraphraſe, &c.

of his great learning and abilities, the univerſity of Aberdeen, conferred on him the degree of Doctor in Divinity [*K*].

Dr. Benſon having finiſhed thoſe Epiſtles of St. Paul, on which he intended to write Paraphraſes and Notes (*g*), proceeded to explain, after the ſame manner, the ſeven Epiſtles, commonly called Catholic Epiſtles [*L*]; namely, the Epiſtle of St. James, the two Epiſtles of St. Peter, the Epiſtle of St. Jude, and the three Epiſtles of St. John. His labours in ſacred liturature met with a very favourable reception in foreign countries [*M*], as well as in Great Britain and Ireland, from the truly inquiſitive and learned; and at home procured

(*g*) Thoſe on which Dr. Benſon wrote had not been commented on either by Mr. Locke, or Mr. Pierce of Exeter, who had purſued the ſame plan.

ſecond edition was publiſhed in 1746, to which was added an appendix, containing a vindication of ſome things which had been objected againſt in the work. A third edition, reviſed and corrected, with alterations and additions, was publiſhed in 1759, in two volumes, 8vo.

[*K*] *The univerſity of Aberdeen conferred on him the degree of Doctor in Divinity.*] It appears from a letter written to Dr. Benſon by Mr. David Fordyce, and which is now before us, dated from Eggie, near Aberdeen, 20th of Auguſt 1746, that there was a deſign to ſend him a diploma from the univerſity of Glaſgow; but an oppoſition was made to this, becauſe ſome perſons there conſidered Mr. Benſon as *unſound*; and one of the members of the univerſity, when the ſcheme was mentioned, ‘ ſpoke of him with ‘ abhorrence as an avowed Socinian.’

In the ſame letter of Mr. Fordyce's to Dr. Benſon is the following paſſage: ‘ I ſhould be glad to hear ‘ your opinion concerning the meaning of the word ‘ *Spirit*, Πνευμα, Παρακλητος, in the New Teſtament. ‘ I have long doubted about the meaning, and ‘ thought we did not enter enough into the Jewiſh ‘ phraſeology; but did not know what to make of its ‘ being often *perſonified*, if I may ſay ſo, and particularly ſpoken of as a diſtinct perſon in the form of ‘ baptiſm, which muſt naturally and almoſt unavoidably lead ordinary readers, the bulk of Chriſtians, ‘ into miſtakes, if we ſuppoſe no ſeparate diſtinct ‘ ſubſiſtence meant. Pray clear up this point to ‘ me, and give me a key to this obſcure and little ‘ underſtood ſubject (14).’

(14) Communicated by Richard Cooke, Eſq;

[*L*] *The ſeven epiſtles, commonly called Catholic Epiſtles.*] A ſecond edition of Dr. Benſon's Paraphraſe and Notes on theſe Epiſtles was publiſhed in 1756, in one volume, 4to. Several critical diſſertations were annexed to this paraphraſe.

Dr. Benſon having ſent a copy of the firſt edition of this paraphraſe to his name-ſake, Dr. Benſon, Biſhop of Glouceſter, that prelate wrote to our author the following letter, which we ſhall here inſert, becauſe it breathes, as Dr. Amory juſtly obſerves, a Chriſtian and Catholic ſpirit.

‘ SIR, Berry-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, Jan. 10, 1748-9.

‘ I Received at my coming to town upon Saturday ‘ laſt, what you are pleaſed to ſtile a ſmall, but ‘ muſt allow me to eſteem a very valuable preſent; ‘ your Paraphraſe and Notes on the ſeven Catholic ‘ Epiſtles. I have not yet had time to peruſe them, ‘ but I could not, till I had, delay to return my ‘ thanks for the great favour which you have done ‘ me. And to which I wiſh I could think myſelf intitled, upon any of the other accounts you mention, beſides that only of wearing a name, to which ‘ you, by your learning, have done honour.

‘ I can only ſay for myſelf, that I have a ſincere ‘ deſire to do all the good, which my abilities will ‘ capacitate me for, in the ſtation in which it has ‘ pleaſed Providence to place me; and a ſincere delight to ſee virtue and religion defended in an age ‘ which ſo much wants it, by able hands. And no ‘ one can be more ready than myſelf to acknowledge, ‘ how much upon this account we are indebted to the ‘ learned labours, and admirable writings, of ſeveral ‘ of thoſe, whom we have the unhappineſs to have ‘ differing from us in ſome leſs important particulars.

‘ I beg of God to bleſs your and their labours for ‘ his ſervice, and to unite us all in love and charity ‘ here, and glory hereafter. And yourſelf I beg ‘ with much regard to believe me to be,

‘ SIR,
‘ Your faithful, and much obliged
‘ Humble Servant,
M. GLOCESTER (15).

(15) Memoirs of Dr. Benſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 15, 16.

[*M*] *His learned labours met with a very favourable reception in foreign countries.*] ‘ In Germany, the reputation of the *Paraphraſes and Notes on the Epiſtles*, ‘ *after the Manner of Mr. Locke*, was ſo great, that ‘ John David Michaelis, one of the Profeſſors of ‘ Hebrew and Philoſophy, in the univerſity of Gottingen, in the electorate of Hanover, a Gentleman ‘ of diſtinguiſhed learning, and ſtill ſuperior judgment, undertook the laborious taſk of tranſlating ‘ them into Latin, beginning with Mr. Peirce's Paraphraſe on the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, and Dr. ‘ Benſon on the Epiſtle of St. James, both which ‘ were publiſhed in 1746, with additional notes of ‘ the tranſlator. There was alſo prefixed a recommendatory preface of another eminent German ‘ profeſſor, Sigiſmond James Baumgarten. The ‘ profeſſor Michaelis, beſides evidencing his eſteem of ‘ the Doctor's work, by tranſlating it, ſays in his ‘ preface: that Peirce and Benſon, following Locke's ‘ example, in the ſame method, but with a larger ‘ furniture of critical learning, have explained the ‘ Epiſtles. And the profeſſor Baumgarten, after giving a brief hiſtory of the Paraphraſts of the Holy ‘ Scriptures, and preferring the Engliſh, mentions ‘ Locke with deſerved praiſes; and then places in ‘ the firſt rank of writers, who have explained the ‘ Scriptures in this method, Benſon, Peirce, and S. ‘ Chandler.——*In ipſis paraphraſtis horum triumvirum Benſoni, Peircii, et Chandleri labores aliis artis* ‘ *methodique palmam præripuiſſe*; *atque in primis gratiam laudemque mereri*, p. 16. And of our author ‘ in particular he ſays, *Succeſſit in hunc laborem Peircio neque aliis meritis libriſque eximiis, neque arte operaque feliciter collocata inferior, Georgius Benſon.* ‘ *Ibid.* p. 10. And of his *Hiſtory* of the firſt planting of the Chriſtian Religion, he ſays, p. 12. ‘ *Neque prætereundus hic eſt alius ejuſdem ſcriptoris liber*; ‘ *ſi quis unquam ad interpretationem Novi Teſtamenti* ‘ *commendabilis.*

‘ The diſſertation annexed to the paraphraſe of the ‘ firſt epiſtle of St. John, on the authenticity of verſes ‘ 7 and 8 of the fifth chapter, was alſo tranſlated into ‘ Latin by Andrew G. Maſh *, a learned Divine of ‘ the dutchy of Mechlenburgh, who added large ‘ notes; in which he endeavoured to defend the genuineneſs of the text againſt the Doctor's objections: ‘ but with great modeſty and regard to the Doctor, ‘ of whom he ſays, *Auctor ejus diſſertationis, magnus* ‘ *eſt ille Anglorum theologus, verbique divini apud Londinenſes miniſter, meritiſſimus Georgius Benſonius* (16).’

(16) Amory, p. 12, 13.

In a letter now before us, written to Dr. Benſon by Monſ. Bamberger, a Proteſtant Divine at Berlin, are the following paſſages: ‘ I was extremely glad, when ‘ I heard of Mr. Douglas, who with Mr. Kellſtab is ‘ happily arrived, that you have been ſo kind as to ‘ remember ſometimes the two Pruſſian candidates, ‘ who had before them the good luck to ſee your ‘ happy iſland. And it makes me bold to renew this ‘ your kind remembrance by a letter, and to recommend myſelf to your farther friendſhip. Though I ‘ am living now in a far diſtant country, yet I cannot ‘ forbear to find myſelf very often in your uſeful company, and to enjoy your excellent writings. I have ‘ tranſlated two of them into our language, viz. the ‘ *Treatiſe upon the Reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt*, and the ‘ *Eſſay concerning the Belief of Things, which are above* ‘ *Reaſon* †, and both have been well received by all ‘ lovers of truth. I publiſhed likewiſe a tranſlation ‘ of Biſhop Hoadly's *Plain Account of the Lord's Sup-*

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* Dr. Benſon, in the notes to his preface to the ſecond volume of his Paraphraſe on the Epiſtles, ſecond edition, ſtiles this gentleman ‘ the learned and candid Andrew Goetlib Marſch, a Lu‘ theran Miniſter in the dukedom of Pomerania.’

† This piece, the Letters on Prayer and Predeſtination, and ſeveral other ſmall pieces of Dr. Benſon, were printed together in one volume, 8vo, under the title of *A Collection of Tracts*, to which is prefixed a general preface.

cured him the friendſhip and eſteem of many perſons of eminence and diſtinction, in the eſtabliſhed Church, as well as among the Diſſenters. Among his friends and correſpondents were, Sir Peter King, Lord Chancellor of England, Lord Barrington, Dr. Benjamin Hoadly, Biſhop of Wincheſter [*N*], Dr. Butler, Biſhop of Durham, Dr. Coneybeare, Biſhop of Briſtol [*O*], Dr. Duchal and Dr. Leland of Ireland, Dr. Jonathan Mayhew of New England, Profeſſor Michaelis of Gottingen, Dr. Wiſhart of Edinburgh [*P*], Mr. Samuel Bourn of Birmingham, Dr. John Taylor of Norwich, and many other learned and ingenious perſons. Dr. Edmund Law, the preſent worthy and learned Biſhop of Carliſle, was alſo his particular friend; and, as a proof of his friendſhip, at Dr. Benſon's requeſt, permitted his diſſertation on Mark ix. 49, 50. to be inſerted in the *Appendix to the Life of Chriſt*, though not prepared by him for the preſs (*b*). Dr. Benſon appears likewiſe to have been upon very friendly terms with Dr. Watts, though their difference of ſentiment in ſome points was conſiderable. They occaſionally correſponded together; and ſome of Dr. Benſon's earlier pieces were ſubmitted to Dr. Watts's peruſal (*i*).

In 1747, Dr. Benſon publiſhed a volume of ſermons on ſeveral ſubjects, a copy of which he ſent to Dr. Thomas Herring, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, with congratulations on his elevation to that See, who thereupon wrote him a letter, which will be found in the notes [*Q*]. His indefatigable application to his ſtudies, and his conſtant preaching

(*b*) Amory, *ubi ſuprà*, p. 16.

(*i*) This appears from ſome of the letters with the inſpection of which we have been favoured by Richard Cooke, Eſq;

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per. I am now about to undertake a work of great importance. It is long ago that Mr. Michaelis of Gottingen promiſed to tranſlate all your commentaries upon the New Teſtament. He began, you know, with the commentary upon the epiſtle of St. James, but he did not continue: he made the teeth of my countrymen to water, and he did not ſatisfy them. I had, ſoon after my arrival, a mind to do it, but I was hindered. Now I am more at leiſure, and I am greatly encouraged by my preſent father-in-law, the Rev. Mr. Sack, firſt Chaplain in ordinary to our King, who is a great admirer of your writings, and who bad me to give his ſervice, though unknown to you, and to aſſure you of his particular eſteem. But, Reverend Sir, before I publiſh your work, I find myſelf obliged to beg of you the favour of your life. Thus it is the cuſtom in Germany: they like to have a notice of the life and writings of the author, whoſe book is tranſlated; and I ſhould be very glad, if you would be ſo kind, as to make me able to do this ſervice to my countrymen, and to acquaint them with one of the beſt defenders of our Holy Religion, and with the moſt impartial lover of truth and virtue (17).'

(17) Communicated by Richard Cooke, Eſq;

[*N*] *Dr. Hoadly, Biſhop of Wincheſter.*] The following original letter of that prelate to our author, is now before us.

'Good Sir,

'IT would be a great ſatisfaction to me, if I could think the book you mention in your letter worthy of the character you have beſtowed upon it; or of the honour (as I really think it) you have done it, in taking ſo much pains to make it more known, and uſeful, than it would otherwiſe have been (18). I cannot think Mr. Knapton will give any diſturbance in the caſe. I am ſure he will not without firſt conſulting me; and, you may depend upon it, I ſhall put a ſtop to it, if any ſuch thoughts ſhould appear. I have many very good, and moſt uſeful books, to thank you for, not as preſents to me, but to the world, for its inſtruction and advantage. I heartily wiſh good ſucceſs to all your labours, the moſt agreeable reward to a good man; and am, with great regard,

SIR,

Sept. 6, 1746. Your very humble ſervant,

B. WINCHESTER (19).'

(18) This refers to a ſcheme of Dr. Benſon's, of cauſing a cheap edition to be printed, in order to render it more generally uſeful, of the Biſhop's *Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.*

(19) Communicated by Richard Cooke, Eſq;

[*O*] *Dr. Coneybeare, Biſhop of Briſtol.*] The following extracts, taken from a letter of that Prelate to Dr. Benſon, have been publiſhed by Dr. Amory in his Memoirs of our author; and we ſhall here lay them before the reader, on account of the liberal and candid ſentiments which they contain.

'I have by me many materials for an anſwer to the *Moral Philoſopher*; ſo far as his general ſcheme may be thought to deſerve an anſwer.—I have the leſs occaſion to hurry myſelf, after ſo many things have been well obſerved by my old ſchool-fellow, Mr. Hallet, and by Mr. Leland; whoſe book I have read with much pleaſure. I hope future animadverters on the *Moral Philoſopher*, will not be provoked to imitate his *ſcurrilities*. As a good cauſe does not want to be ſupported in that way; ſo neither can it receive the leaſt advantage from it. And I cannot but perſuade myſelf, there is ſo much virtue ſtill left in the world, as will induce the Deiſts at length to give up a cauſe, which cannot be maintained, but by a violation of every thing decent and humane.

'You will permit me, while I am ſpeaking of decency and humane conduct, to ſay what a pleaſure I take in obſerving; that many of the moſt eminent perſons among the Diſſenters, inſtead of endeavouring to widen the breach, which ſtill ſubſiſts between them and the eſtabliſhed church, join with us, either in the common defence of our faith, or in uſing their endeavours to explain, in a learned way, the ſacred records. The whole Chriſtian Church is indebted to you, Sir, in particular, on this account; and I doubt not but our great Maſter, whoſe intereſt you are ſerving in ſo important a way, will at length diſtinguiſh you.—God be thanked, I have not ſo little a mind, as to abate in my reſpects to a worthy perſon, from whom I may think myſelf, in ſome points, obliged to differ (20).'

(20) Memoirs, p. 11, 12.

[*P*] *Dr. Wiſhart of Edinburgh.*] Among ſome letters between our author and his friends, which have been obligingly communicated to us by Richard Cooke, Eſq; of Crouched Friars, is one from Dr. William Wiſhart, dated College of Edinburgh, May 29, 1742, in which is the following paſſage: 'I thank you for your kind concern about my ſettlement here: I find it tolerably eaſy; only am greatly thronged with promiſcuous company; while I much regret the want of ſuch honeſt, free, inquiſitive friends, as I had with you. I am at preſent in greateſt favour with thoſe called our *Strict Folks*; having lately joined with them (or headed them), in oppoſing ſome forward meaſures of our court divines, in impoſing miniſters on reluctant congregations, upon preſentations; and this I did upon the principles of liberty and rights of mankind.'

[*Q*] *Dr. Thomas Herring, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, thereupon wrote him a letter,* &c.] It was as follows:

'Reverend Sir,

'I Cannot ſatisfy myſelf with having ſent a cold and common anſwer of thanks, for your volume of moſt excellent and uſeful ſermons. I do it in this manner with great eſteem and cordiality. I thank you, at the ſame time, as becomes me to do, for your very obliging good wiſhes. The ſubject on which my friends congratulate me, is, in truth, matter of conſtant anxiety to me. I hope I have an honeſt intention, and for the reſt I muſt rely on the good grace of God, and the counſel and aſſiſtance of my friends.

'I think it happy, that I am called up to this high ſtation at a time, when ſpite and rancour, and narrowneſs of ſpirit, are out of countenance; when we breathe the benign and comfortable air of li-ing [*R*], at length impaired his conſtitution; and he found it neceſſary to quit the public exerciſe of the miniſtry. In a letter written to him by Dr. Lardner, dated Jan. 2, 1762, is the following paſſage: ‘ I am very much concerned to find, that you intend to reſign ‘ your charge at Crouched-friars. If you ſhould leave off preaching, I wiſh your retire- ‘ ment may be of uſe for prolonging your life; and that it may contribute to your uſe- ‘ fulneſs other ways (*k*).’ It was, indeed, the general hope of Dr. Benſon's friends, that he might have been enabled to continue the proſecution of his ſtudies for ſome years [*S*], though he was not capable of the fatigues of the paſtoral charge. But the expectations of his friends were diſappointed. He died, in a very compoſed and reſigned manner, on the 6th of April, 1762, in the ſixty-third year of his age.

(*k*) Communicated by Richard Cooke, Eſq;

Dr. Benſon was a man of great piety and learning, intenſely ſtudious, and unwearied in his reſearches after theological truth. This was the great buſineſs of his life; and on all occaſions he was a zealous advocate for free inquiry, and the right of private judgment [*T*]. His integrity was unqueſtioned [*U*]: but the freedom with which he expreſſed his ſentiments on ſome points, controverted amongſt Chriſtians, expoſed him to cenſures and indecent reflexions, from men of little candour, and of contracted views [*W*]. His temper was naturally ſerious [*X*], but he was chearful in the company of his friends, and loved the converſation of men of letters [*Y*], eſpecially thoſe whoſe ſtudies were ſimilar

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‘ berty and toleration; and the teachers of our com- ‘ mon religion make it their buſineſs to extend its ‘ eſſential influence, and join in ſupporting its true ‘ intereſt and honour. No times ever called more ‘ loudly upon Proteſtants for zeal, and unity, and ‘ charity.

‘ I am,
Kennington, ‘ Reverend Sir,
Feb. 2, 1747-8. ‘ Your aſſured friend,
‘ T. CANTUAR (21).’

(21) Memoirs, *ubi ſupra*, p. 15.

[*R*] *His conſtant preaching.*] Dr. Amory obſerves, that Dr. Benſon's critical ſtudy of the Scriptures, and learned labours, which employed a great part of his life, ‘ inſtead of taking him off from another conſi- ‘ derable part of the paſtoral office, *conſtant preaching*, ‘ made the diſcharging it eaſy to him. For the ‘ Doctor's uſual method of preaching, was, firſt, ‘ critically to explain the Scriptures, and then to il- ‘ luſtrate the points of doctrine, and enforce the rules ‘ of duty, which that part of the ſacred writings on ‘ which he diſcourſed, contained. This he did with ‘ great ſerioùſneſs, and with a plain and honeſt free- ‘ dom. The volume of *ſermons* which he publiſhed, ‘ are a ſpecimen of his uſual manner. His natural ‘ temper prevented his excelling in a warm and pa- ‘ thetic addreſs to the paſſions of his hearers. But ‘ this he endeavoured to compenſate, by the evidence ‘ and ſerioùſneſs, with which he recommended from ‘ the Scriptures univerſal piety, righteouſneſs, and ‘ holineſs of heart and life, and the neceſſity of ac- ‘ quiring and practiſing theſe; ſhewing the danger ‘ of truſting to any other expedients for obtaining ‘ the favour of God, and the bleſſedneſs of heaven, ‘ without perſonal holineſs and obedience. A me- ‘ thod of preaching not improper for convincing, ‘ converting, and edifying the hearers, eſpecially ‘ when enforced by a ſuitable practice (22).’

(22) Memoirs, p. 13, 14.

[*S*] *It was the general hope*, &c. *that he might have been enabled to continue the proſecution of his ſtudies for ſome years.*] The Rev. Mr. Radcliff, who was our author's ſucceſſor, in the funeral oration pronounced by him at his interment, ſays, ‘ he intended to de- ‘ vote the remainder of his days to a peaceful retire- ‘ ment; in which his greateſt felicity would have ‘ been the enjoyment of his friends, and the calm ‘ contemplation of that eternity upon which he was ‘ preparing to embark: but the rapid manner in ‘ which he declined, denied us his converſation in ‘ the evening of life (23).’

(23) *Vid.* Funeral Sermon, and Oration, p. 40.

[*T*] *He was a zealous advocate for free inquiry, and the right of private judgment.*] ‘ He was, ſays Mr. ‘ Pickard, a Proteſtant Diſſenter upon the firmeſt ‘ principles, to wit, the ſole authority of Chriſt as ‘ head of the church; the ſufficiency of Scripture; ‘ and the right of private judgment. Theſe he ever ‘ aſſerted: theſe he held ſacred and inviolable. And ‘ what he claimed for himſelf, he willingly allowed ‘ to others (24).’

(24) Funeral Sermon, p. 30.

Mr. Radcliff ſays, ‘ on account of his zeal for ‘ the rights of conſcience, and the ſacrifice he made ‘ of his health and life to the ſtudy of truth, he ‘ might almoſt be ſaid to die a martyr to it. ——— As ‘ a miniſter of the Goſpel of Chriſt, he ſtudied the ‘ Scriptures with indefatigable attention, and ex- ‘ plained them with freedom and impartiality. As a ‘ friend, he always exerciſed to others what he ex- ‘ pected from them, a generous plainneſs and free- ‘ dom, void of all diſſimulation and hypocriſy. He ‘ underſtood many languages: he converſed only in ‘ one, and that was the language of his heart. While ‘ he was candid to the opinions of others, he was ‘ ſteadfaſt in his own; for he entertained no ſenti- ‘ ments which did not coſt him a long and conſcien- ‘ tious examination. As a preacher, he preferred ‘ thoſe points in which all Chriſtians agree, before ‘ thoſe in which they all differ; and inſtead of urg- ‘ ing matters of doubtful diſputation, he enforced ‘ the grand duties of practical religion, as being of ‘ abſolute and eternal importance (25).’

(25) Funeral Oration, p. 38, 39.

[*U*] *His integrity was unqueſtioned.*] Mr. Pickard ſays, ‘ his honeſty and integrity, in what he thought ‘ right, were tried and unqueſtionable. I believe no ‘ earthly conſideration could have tempted him to ‘ ſpeak or act contrary to the dictates of his judg- ‘ ment and conſcience; or to what he apprehended ‘ to be the will of God (26).’

(26) Funeral Sermon, p. 30.

[*W*] *The freedom with which he expreſſed his ſentiments – expoſed him to cenſures*, &c.] Mr. Pickard ſays, that ‘ on account of ſome ſentiments in points diſ- ‘ puted amongſt Chriſtians, he has been by ſome ‘ hardly cenſured; partly perhaps from miſappre- ‘ henſion (27).’ And Mr. Radcliff obſerves, that ‘ his lot had been happy beyond the fate of mortals, ‘ if he had not had his ſhare with the wiſe and good ‘ of all ages, in the cenſure and perſecution of the ‘ world. He was once judged by perſons who have ‘ prejudices and paſſions: he is now judged by that ‘ being who has none; who ſees the inward inten- ‘ tion, and regards only the heart (28).’

(27) *Ibid.* p. 32.

(28) Funeral Oration, annexed to the Sermon juſt quoted, p. 39.

[*X*] *His temper was naturally ſerious.*] Mr. Pickard, after obſerving that his temper was grave and ſolid, ſays, ‘ his converſation generally turned to ‘ one or other part of ſacred Scripture. He would ‘ oft-times enliven it with an agreeable chearfulneſs. ‘ But the bias of his mind, and his cloſe thought ‘ and ſtudy, rendered him for the moſt part indif- ‘ ferent to thoſe amuſements, which others are too ‘ fond of, and devote too much of their time ‘ to (29).’

(29) Funeral Sermon, p. 21.

[*Y*] *Loved the converſation of men of letters.*] He took much pleaſure in a ſociety to which he belonged, conſiſting of divines and other men of letters, who met once a week, during the winter ſeaſon, and debated freely upon ſome of the moſt important and curious ſubjects of critical and theological learning. Among the members of this ſociety were Dr. Jeremiah Hunt, Dr. Lardner, Profeſſor Ward, Dr. Avery, Philips Glover, Eſq; author of *An Inquiry concerning Virtue and Happineſs*, and other gentlemen of good ſenſe, liberal ſentiments, and ſolid learning (30). T.

(30) Amory, p. 17.

⁂ [It is mentioned above, that Dr. Benſon had ſometimes young ſtudents under his care, who, after having finiſhed their univerſity or academical educa- tion, ſimilar to his own. He was ſhort-ſighted; which was an inconvenience to him, in the public delivery of his diſcourſes; but his appearance was grave and venerable, and there was an air of ſeriouſneſs and ſincerity in his manner, which had a very good effect upon his auditors. Dr. Amory informs us, that beſides promoting, ‘ by his preaching and ‘ writings, the cauſe of Chriſtianity, Dr. Benſon endeavoured farther to ſerve it, by di‘ recting and aſſiſting young divines in the critical ſtudy of the Scriptures; and for many ‘ years he had one or more living with him, who applied to this ſtudy under his eye. ‘ Several of theſe, by the figure they have ſince made, have done honour to their tutor; ‘ one of whom it is proper particularly to mention, Dr. Macknight, author of the *Har‘ mony of the Goſpels*, becauſe of his eminence in this branch of valuable knowledge *(l)*.’ He left by his will 100 l. to the fund for the relief of poor diſſenting Miniſters and ſtudents; and the ſame ſum to that for their widows and orphans.

(l) Memoirs, p. 16, 17.

Dr. Benſon left behind him, in manuſcript, ‘ The Hiſtory of the Life of Jeſus Chriſt, ‘ taken from the New Teſtament, with obſervations and reflections proper to illuſtrate the ‘ excellence of his character, and the divinity of his miſſion and religion.’ To which

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tion, reſided with him for the purpoſe of obtaining a more critical acquaintance with the ſacred writings. Of theſe we ſhall take particular notice of one, who, if his life had been continued, would probably have made a conſiderable figure in the learned world; and if, in introducing the following account of him, it ſhould be thought that we have been biaſſed by private friendſhip, the public may be aſſured that our friendſhip ſhall not carry us beyond the ſimplicity of truth. The perſon we mean was the Rev. Mr. John Alexander, whoſe father was formerly a Diſſenting Clergyman at Stratford-upon-Avon, in Warwickſhire, where he kept an academy for bringing up young gentlemen for the Miniſtry, and was diſtinguiſhed for his ſkill in oriental literature. From Stratford he removed into Ireland, in which country, we believe, his ſon John, the ſubject of the preſent note, was born, in the beginning of the year 1736. Mr. Alexander ſen. dying not long after, his widow, with her family, returned to England, and ſettled at Birmingham. Mr. John Alexander, when he had gone through a proper grammatical education, was ſent to the academy at Daventry, in Northamptonſhire; of which the late Rev. Dr. Caleb Aſhworth had, not long before, been appointed tutor, upon the death of that eminent divine, Dr. Philip Doddridge. The academy, on this occaſion, had been transferred from Northampton to Daventry. Here Mr. Alexander proſecuted his ſtudies with a moſt commendable diligence. Having finiſhed his academical courſe with Dr. Aſhworth, he was put under the tuition of Dr. Benſon, with whom he continued ſome years. The Doctor was ſo well pleaſed with his literary endowments and improvements, and with the prudence and modeſty of his perſonal behaviour, that he gave him his board, expreſſed the higheſt regard for him on every occaſion, and introduced him, with paternal affection, to all his particular acquaintance. Mr. Alexander, during his ſtay in London, omitted no opportunity of adding to his ſtock of knowledge. Upon his quitting the metropolis, he went and reſided with his mother in Birmingham. He preached, for a time, occaſionally, at that place and in its neighbourhood; and afterwards, more ſtatedly, in a ſmall village called Longdon, at about twelve miles diſtance. On Saturday the 28th of December, 1765, he retired to reſt in perfect health, between eleven and twelve o'clock, intending to officiate at Longdon the next day; but, at ſix in the morning, he was found dead in his bed; an event which was ſincerely deplored by his friends, as both a private and a public loſs.

However, the world was not entirely deprived of the effects of his ſtudies; for ſome of them were publiſhed, after his death, by the Rev. Mr. John Palmer of London, under the following title: ‘ A Pa‘ raphraſe upon the fifteenth Chapter of the firſt ‘ Epiſtle to the Corinthians; with critical Notes and ‘ Obſervations, and a preliminary Diſſertation. A ‘ Commentary, with critical Remarks, upon the ‘ ſixth, ſeventh, and part of the eighth Chapters to ‘ the Romans. To which is added, A Sermon on ‘ Eccleſiaſtes ix. 10. Compoſed by the Author the ‘ day preceding his death. By John Alexander.’ Printed at London, in quarto, for Buckland and others, in 1766. It is obſerved by Mr. Palmer, that Mr. Alexander was no leſs an object of admiration to his acquaintance for the intenſeneſs of his application, than for the native ſtrength of his mind; by the united force of which, he made thoſe advances in knowledge and literature, which are very rarely attained by perſons at his age (31). The juſtneſs of this encomium is abundantly evident from the work now mentioned, which contains indubitable marks of great critical ſagacity and learning. The preliminary Diſſertation in particular, in which the author favours the opinion of there being no ſtate of conſciouſneſs between death and the reſurrection, may be ranked with the firſt productions on that ſubject; though the ſame ſide of the queſtion has been maintained by ſome of the moſt eminent Divines of the preſent century.

(31) Advertiſement to the Paraphraſe, &c.

But though the ſtudy of religion and the ſcriptures, as became Mr. Alexander's profeſſion, was his favourite employment, he found leiſure for cultivating other parts of literature. He had, likewiſe, a turn for obſervation on common life, and poſſeſſed no inconſiderable portion of wit and humour. He had formed his ſtile on the chaſte and correct model of Dr. Swift, and had ſomething of the caſt of that celebrated author, without the ſeverity of his diſpoſition and ſatire. Of this he gave ſeveral proofs, in a monthly work, entitled ‘ The Library,’ conſiſting entirely of original pieces, which was carried on by ſome of his friends in London, in the years 1761 and 1762. In this publication, he wrote an ironical Defence of Perſecution, and Eſſays on Dullneſs, common Senſe, Miſanthropy, the Study of Man, Controverſy, the Miſconduct of Parents, modern Authorſhip, the preſent State of Wit in Great Britain, the Index of the Mind, and the Fate of periodical Productions. On the whole, Mr. Alexander's intimate acquaintance had no doubt but that, if Providence had ſeen fit to prolong his life, he would have become one of the beſt ſcholars and ableſt writers among the Proteſtant Diſſenters, eſpecially in critical and biblical learning. With all theſe abilities and talents, being uſually cloſe and correct in his compoſitions for the pulpit, and, though clear and diſtinct, unaſſuming in his delivery, he would never have been remarkably popular as a preacher. In this reſpect, he would have been well eſteemed among the judicious Diſſenters, but neglected by the generality of them. He would probably never have riſen among them to a preferment of more than fifty or ſixty pounds a year, unleſs his acknowledged literature had, in a courſe of time, called him to be a tutor in one of their ſeminaries of education, for which he would have been admirably qualified.

He had a brother, Dr. Benjamin Alexander, a phyſician in London, who died young, and was the tranſlator of Morgagni's medical Writings.

Since this account was drawn up, we have received a letter from Samuel Salte, Eſq; of the Poultry, London, who was Mr. Alexander's intimate friend. Mr. Salte, ſpeaking of our intended ſketch of his life, adds, ‘ Indeed his life was only a ſketch, but a ‘ maſter-piece of its kind. For the virtue, learning, ‘ and knowledge, which he crouded in it, would ‘ have done honour to the longeſt period. I think I ‘ knew him well: yet I am perſuaded half his merit ‘ was unknown, even to his moſt intimate friends. It ‘ was *his talent to conceal his worth.*’

The ſame gentleman ſent us an elegy to Mr. Alexander's memory, worthy of appearing in any collection. It came, however, too late to be here inſerted, even if we might not have been afraid of having it alledged, that we had indulged too much to private friendſhip.] K.

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were added, ſeveral critical diſſertations. The whole was publiſhed together, in 1764, in one volume, 4to. to which was prefixed a mezzotinto print of the author. Dr. Amory, who was the editor of this work, hath alſo added to it, Memoirs of the life, character, and writings of Dr. Benſon, to which we have frequently referred in the courſe of this article. Dr. Newcome, the preſent Biſhop of Oſſory, hath inſerted Dr. Benſon's manner of harmonizing the accounts of Chriſt's reſurrection, from his life of Chriſt, in the Appendix to his Lordſhip's Harmony of the Goſpels, printed at Dublin in 1778. In the Appendix to the firſt volume of the Theological Repoſitory, ſecond edition, are inſerted two curious letters from Dr. Shaw to Dr. Benſon, relative to the paſſage of the Iſraelites through the Red Sea.

Dr. Benſon was a remarkable inſtance of the happy effects of a learned induſtry. It is well known that he was not a man of great original genius; that he had ſmall powers of invention and fancy; and that he had not applied to the cultivation of elegance and taſte in compoſition. When at the univerſity, we are aſſured that he was thought to be but a dull lad by his fellow-ſtudents, and that they expected nothing conſiderable from him. But, by the force of application, he outſtripped his more lively companions, and produced works of real and laſting utility and merit.] T.

BENTHAM (Thomas), a learned and pious Engliſh Divine, who was Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry in the XVIth century, was born about the year 1513 (if about forty-ſix years of age when made a Biſhop (*a*) in 1559) at Shirebourne in Yorkſhire (*b*), and educated at Magdalen-college in Oxford (*c*). He took his Bachelor's degree in Arts, Feb. 20, 1543 (*d*), and was admitted Perpetual Fellow of that college, November 16, 1546, and took his Maſter's degree in Arts the year following (*e*), about which time he applied himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of Divinity and the Hebrew language, in which he was extremely well ſkilled, as well as in the Latin and Greek tongues (*f*). A certain author tells us, that he was converted from Popery in the firſt Year of Queen Mary (*g*); but we find him very zealous againſt the Popiſh religion during the reign of King Edward VI., upon which account, and his aſſiſting one Henry Bull of the ſame college, in wreſting the cenſer out of the hands of the Choriſters, as they were about to offer their ſuperſtitious incenſe, he was ejected from his fellowſhip by the Viſitors appointed by Queen Mary to regulate the univerſity (*h*) [*A*]; ſoon after which he retired to Zurich, and afterwards to Baſil in Switzerland, and became Preacher to the Engliſh Exiles there, and expounded to them the entire book of the Acts of the Apoſtles (*i*); a proper ſubject and portion of Scripture this, as Fuller obſerves (*k*), to recommend patience to his baniſhed countrymen; as the Apoſtle's ſufferings ſo far exceeded theirs. This expoſition was left by him at the time of his death, very fairly written, and fit for the preſs, but Mr. Wood knew not whether it was ever printed. In exile, as at home and in college, he led a praiſe-worthy, honeſt, and laborious life, with little or no preferment. Afterwards, being recalled by ſome of his brethren, he returned to London under the ſame Queen's reign, where he lived privately and in diſguiſe, and was made Superintendant of a Proteſtant congregation in that city (*l*) [*B*]; whom Bentham, by his pious diſcipline, diligent care and tuition, and bold and reſolute behaviour in the Proteſtant cauſe [*C*], greatly confirmed in their faith and religion; ſo that they aſſembled with the greateſt conſtancy to divine worſhip, at which there often appeared an hundred, ſometimes two hundred perſons; no inconſiderable congregation this to meet by ſtealth, notwithſtanding the danger of the times, daily, together at London, under the noſe of the vigilant and

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 192, p. 704.

(*b*) B le de Script. ſui Temporis, p. 113. Whitlocus.

(*c*) Brown Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, p. 293.

(*d*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. p. 67.

(*e*) Wood's Faſti, p. 71.

(*f*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. *ut ſupra.* Whitlocus. See note [*D*].

(*g*) Anglorum Spec. in Yorkſhire, p. 889.

(*h*) Laur. Humfred. in Vita & Morte J. Juelli, edit. 1573, p. 72, 73.

(*i*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. *ut ſupra.*

(*k*) Fuller's Worthies in Yorkſhire, p. 198.

(*l*) Being, ſays Wood and Heylyn, the only church that the Proteſtants had in thoſe times.

[*A*] *He was ejected from his fellowſhip by the viſitors, appointed by Queen Mary to regulate the univerſity.*] Mr. Wood informs us, that he was particularly obnoxious on account of his behaviour; for in Henry the Eighth's time he was only a complier with, no promoter of, Popery; but in the firſt year of Queen Mary, repenting his former compliance, he refuſed not only to ſay maſs, but to correct the ſcholars of the univerſity for their abſence from divine ſervice. Wood's words are theſe (1): *Cum Thomæ autem Benthamo Decano præciperet antedictus Readus ut Juniores propter abſentiam a ſacris caſtigaret, reſpondet ille ſe quidem ſimulati ſub Henrico VIII., cum Pontificiis conſenſus pænitentiam egiſſe, neque ad repudiatum denuo cultum redire ſtatuiſſe; iniquum vero ducens in illos animadvertere, quorum facta ſciens ac volens imitaretur. Sodalitio itaque ejectus*, &c. That is; when the aforeſaid Sir Richard Read, one of the Viſitors, commanded Thomas Bentham, *as Dean of the college*, to correct the junior ſcholars for their abſence from divine ſervice, he made anſwer, He had indeed but too much already repented his ever having given a feigned compliance to the Popiſh religion in the reign of Henry the VIIIth, and was reſolved never to return to that forſaken worſhip; and that he eſteemed it unjuſt to puniſh that in others, which he himſelf would willingly and knowingly do. This *(with his other behaviour)* was the cauſe of his being deprived of his fellowſhip, &c. To this purpoſe alſo ſee Laurence Humfrey in the Life of Biſhop Jewell (2).

[*B*] *Made Superintendant of a Proteſtant congregation in that city.*] Dr. Heylyn informs us of this in his Hiſtory of the Reformation (3), where he tells us alſo that this *Mr. Bentham continued Miniſter of the Proteſtant congregation in London till Queen Mary died; and that by the encouragement and conſtant preaching of this pious man, the Proteſtant party did not only ſtand to their former principle, but were reſolved to ſuffer whatever could be laid on them, rather than forfeit a good conſcience.*

[*C*] *By his bold and reſolute behaviour in the Proteſtant cauſe.*] For when it was ſtrictly charged and commanded, *that no man ſhould either pray for or ſpeak to, or once ſay God bleſs them* (that is, perſons condemned, or about to ſuffer for their religion), notwithſtanding this rigid proclamation, Bentham ſeeing the fire ſet to ſome of them, turning his eyes to the people, ſaid, *We know they are people of God, and therefore we cannot chuſe but wiſh them well, and ſay God ſtrengthen them*; and ſo he boldly cried out, *Almighty God, for Chriſt's ſake, ſtrengthen them*; upon which all the people with one accord cried *Amen, Amen*, the noiſe whereof was ſo great, and the cryers ſo many, that the officers knew not whom they were to ſeize on, or with whom they were to begin their accuſation (4).

(1) Hiſtoria & Antiquitates Univerſitatis Oxonienſis, lib. i. p. 275.

(2) Lau. Humfred. in Vita, &c. J. Juelli, *ut ſupra.*

(3) Dr. Heylyn's Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. 80. Hiſtory of Queen Mary.

(4) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Reformation. Hiſtory of Queen Mary, p. 79, 80.

6 cruel

cruel Bonner (*m*). At length, when Queen Elizabeth came to the throne, he was ſoon provided for, and was, in the ſecond year of her reign, nominated for the See of Litchfield and Coventry (*n*), upon the deprivation of Dr. Ralph Bayne, a violent perſecuting Papiſt, and had the temporalities of that See reſtored to him, Feb. 20, 1559 (*o*), being then about forty-ſix years of age. On the thirtieth of October 1556, he was created, with ſome others, Profeſſor of Divinity at London, by Laurence Humphrey, S. T. P. and John Kenal, L. L. D. who were deputed by the univerſity of Oxford for that purpoſe (*); and in the latter end of October 1568, he was actually created Doctor of Divinity (*p*), being then highly eſteemed on account of his diſtinguiſhed learning. He publiſhed a Sermon on *Matth.* iv. 1—11. printed at London, 8*vo*. Biſhop Burnet, in his Hiſtory of the Reformation, tells us, that our author tranſlated into Engliſh the Book of Pſalms, at the command of Queen Elizabeth, when an Engliſh verſion of the Bible was to be made, and that he likewiſe tranſlated Ezekiel and Daniel (*q*). He died at Eccleſhal in Staffordſhire (*r*), the ſeat belonging to the See, Feb. 19, 1578, aged ſixty-five years, and was buried under the ſouth wall of the chancel of that church, being ſucceeded in his biſhopric of Litchfield and Coventry by Dr. William Overton (*s*). He left a widow named Matilda; but we do not expreſsly find that he left any children Brown Willis, however, mentions one Thomas Bentham, that was promoted to be Prebendary of Litchfield and Coventry, about two months after the deceaſe of the Biſhop (*t*), who might probably be his own ſon, as we find that he had ſeveral children. See the deſcription of his tomb in note [*D*].

(*m*) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Reformation. Hiſtory of Queen Mary, p. 79, 80.

(*) Regiſtr. K. K. f. 36, 6 MS. Wood.

(*p*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. p 704.

(*r*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. p. 704.

(*s*) Brown Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, p. 392.

(*n*) Brown Willis ſays, his Conge D'Elire was dated Dec. 26, 1559; his election, Jan. 15; and conſecration, March 24; in Biſhops of Litchfield and Coventry, Vol. i. p. 392.

(*o*) Pat. 2 Eliz. Godwin. de Præſul. p. 325. edit. 1743.

(*q*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. ii. p. 376, 377, anno 1559.

(*t*) Brown Willis, *ubi ſupra*, in the Prebendaries of Litchfield and Coventry, p. 454, April 24, 1578.

[*D*] *And was buried in the chancel of the church there.*] Having over his grave a ſtone of alabaſter, with the effigies of himſelf, his wife and four children, inſcribed with the two following verſes.

Hâc jacet in Tumbâ Benthamus Epiſcopus ille
Doctus, Divinus, Largus, paſcens, pius, Almus,
Obiit 19 Feb. 1578 (5).

Bentham the Prelate good theſe ſtones enſhrine,
A pious Paſtor, and a learn'd Divine.

But the three laſt words and the date of his death is torn off. Some authors make the date of his death the 21ſt of February 1578, and give us nevertheleſs this his epitaph, with the date annexed, as above.

To theſe verſes on his tomb we may likewiſe add the following diſtich, which Laurence Humfrey, in his Life of Biſhop Jewell, tells us was made by a nobleman, a ſcholar of his, upon Bentham's being conſtituted Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry (6).

Clarus Doctrinâ, Clarus pietate, fideque
Benthamus Chriſti præſul et exul erat.

Religion, learning, faith, are Bentham's fame;
Prelate and exile, Chriſtian ſtill the ſame.

To theſe verſes we ſhall add another ſmall character of him, which, though repeated already in the text, may not be improperly inſerted here from the original. *De Thomâ noſtro ſic ſcribit* Whitlocus, *vir fuit in omni generi doctrinæ feliciter educatus infra academiam Oxonienſem, ibique theologiam profeſſus, inque Tranſmarinis academiis per certos annos feliciter in ſtudiis verſatus, Linguæ ſanctæ callentiſſimus, Græci non minus quam Latini Sermone peritus*, &c. (7) Of our Thomas thus writes Whitlock. — 'He was a man 'happily educated in all kind of learning at the univerſity of Oxford, where he profeſſedly ſtudied 'Theology; and in foreign academies for ſeveral 'years being no leſs ſtudious and diligent, made a 'great progreſs in all parts of Literature. He was 'excellently well ſkilled in the Hebrew language, as 'well as the Greek and Latin tongues, &c.' H.

(5) Brown Willis has it Doctor in Litchfield and Coventry, p. 392.

(6) Laurence Humfred, in Vita & Morte.

(7) Godwin, de Præſulibus, p. 325, edit. 1743.

BENTINCK or BENTHINCK (WILLIAM), Earl of Portland, *&c.*

one of the greateſt Stateſmen of his time, and the firſt that advanced his family to the dignity of the Engliſh peerage. M. Bentinck was a native of Holland, being deſcended of an ancient and noble family of that name in the province of Guelderland (*a*) [*A*]. After a liberal education, he was, by the intereſt of his friends, promoted to be Page of Honour to William, then Prince of Orange (afterwards King William III. of England), in which ſtation, his good behaviour and addreſs ſo recommended him to the favour of his maſter, that he preferred him to the more honourable poſt of Gentleman of his Bed-chamber. In this capacity he accompanied the Prince into England, in the year 1670, where, going to viſit the univerſity of Oxford, he was, together with the Prince, created Doctor of Civil Law (*b*). In 1672, the Prince of Orange being made Captain-General of the Dutch forces, and ſoon after Stadtholder, M. Bentinck was promoted, and had a ſhare in his good fortune, being made Colonel and Captain of the Dutch regiment of guards, afterwards eſteemed one of the fineſt in King William's ſervice, and which behaved with the greateſt gallantry in the wars both in Flanders and Ireland. In 1675, the Prince falling ill of the ſmall-pox, M. Bentinck had an opportunity of ſignalizing his love and affection for his maſter in an extraordinary manner, and thereby of obtaining his eſteem and friendſhip, by one of the moſt generous actions imaginable: for the ſmall-pox not riſing kindly upon the Prince, his Phyſicians judged it neceſſary that ſome young perſon ſhould lie in the ſame bed with him, imagining that the natural heat of another would drive out the diſeaſe, and expel it from the nobler parts (*c*). No body of quality could be found in all the Court to make this experiment: at laſt, M. Bentinck, though he had never had the ſmall-pox, reſolved to run the riſque, and accordingly attended the Prince during the whole courſe of his illneſs, both day and night. Nothing was given him, nor was he

(*a*) Hiſtory of Europe, anno 1709.

(*b*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. p. 857.

(*c*) Political Remarks on the Life and Reign of King William III.

[*A*] *Deſcended of an ancient and noble family of that name, &c.*] He was the ſon of Henry Bentinck, *Heer van Diepin*, whoſe father *Bentinck* had alſo iſſue *Joſeph Bentinck*, a General Officer in the ſervice of the States of Holland; and four daughters, *Eleanor*, married to the Baron of *Nienuren Huiſhen* in *Overyſſel*; *Anne*, married to the Baron *Van Zandenburgh* in *Utrecht*; *Sophia*, wife to the Baron *Van Engelenburgh*; and *Joanna-Maria van Bentinck*, who died unmarried, anno 1705 (1).

(1) Peerage of England, Vol. i. p. 309.

ever removed in his bed by any other hand; and his Highneſs ſaid afterwards, that he believed M. Bentinck never ſlept; for in ſixteen days and nights, he never called once that he was not anſwered by him as if he had been awake *(d)*. It is from this time we may date that intimacy, and particular affection, which his Highneſs ever after ſhewed to M. Bentinck, who, upon the Prince's recovery, was immediately ſeized with the ſame diſtemper, and it was attended with a great deal of danger; but however he recovered juſt ſoon enough to attend his Highneſs into the field, where he was always next his perſon; and his courage and abilities equally anſwered the great opinion his Highneſs had of him, who ever found him an excellent counſellor and faithful ſervant, and from henceforward employed him in his moſt ſecret and important affairs (*). In the year 1677, M. Bentinck was ſent by the Prince of Orange into England, to ſolicit a match with the Princeſs Mary, eldeſt daughter of James, at that time Duke of York (afterwards King James II.), which was ſoon after concluded [*B*]. And in 1685, upon the Duke of Monmouth's invaſion of this kingdom, he was ſent over to King James to offer him his maſter's aſſiſtance, both of his troops and perſon, to head them againſt the rebels (†), but, through a miſconſtruction put on his meſſage, his Highneſs's offer was rejected by the King [*C*]. In the year 1688, when the Prince of Orange intended an expedition into England, he ſent M. Bentinck, on the Elector of Brandenburgh's death, with his compliments to the new Elector, and alſo to lay before him the ſtate of affairs, to communicate to him his deſign upon England, and to ſolicit his aſſiſtance to put it in execution, &c. In this negociation M. Bentinck was ſo ſucceſsful, that he carried to his maſter a more favourable and ſatisfactory anſwer than the Prince had expected; the Elector having generouſly granted even more than was aſked of him (*e*). M. Bentinck had alſo a great ſhare in the glorious Revolution on which our preſent happy eſtabliſhment is founded; in which difficult and important affair, he ſhewed all the prudence and ſagacity of the moſt conſummate and able Stateſman. It was he that was applied to, as the perſon in the greateſt confidence with the Prince, to manage the negociations that were ſet on foot, betwixt his Highneſs and the Engliſh nobility and gentry, who had recourſe

(*d*) Life of King William, p. 55, 56, 12mo.

(*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. i. p. 309.

(†) Rapin's Hiſt. of England. Echard, Kennet, &c.

(*e*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. i. p. 757.

[*B*] *To ſolicit a match with the Princeſs Mary, which was ſoon after concluded.*] The Prince of Orange had unboſomed himſelf on this delicate affair of his marriage to Sir William Temple, when his Highneſs was upon the point of opening the campaign the preceding year (2). Lord Danby, however aſſures us (3), that it was not till May 1677, that this project was ripe enough to be communicated to King Charles, nor till at leaſt two months after that his Majeſty gave any hopes of his allowing any treaty about it; and though the Prince ſent M. Bentinck over into England about the beginning of June, to deſire leave to make a journey thither as ſoon as the campaign was over, his Majeſty civilly diſcouraged it, by expreſſing his wiſhes that he would firſt think of making a peace, and rather defer his journey till that was concluded. M. Bentinck was nevertheleſs moſt graciouſly received by the King (4), and moſt cordially by the Lord Treaſurer, and returned home with a promiſe that his Majeſty would enter into a confidence with the Prince, and would ſend over to him a perſon he could rely upon to carry on the correſpondence between them (5). Accordingly the Prince came over to England in October following, and in leſs than a month after, his marriage with the Princeſs Mary was ſolemnized.

(2) Temple's Memoirs, p. 11.

(3) Danby's Memoirs, Vol. ii. p. 286.

(4) Danby's Memoirs.

(5) Sir William Temple's Letters, &c. p. 456.

[*C*] *But, through a miſconſtruction put on his meſſage, his Highneſs's offer was rejected by the King.*] The affair was this: The Prince of Orange, we are told by Biſhop Kennet (6), ſent over his favourite, M. Bentinck, to acquaint King James, that though he looked upon the Duke of Monmouth to be a man of no great parts, yet that he had a warlike genius, and was better ſkilled in the military art than any the King had to employ againſt him, and therefore if his Majeſty pleaſed, he would not only lend him his troops, but come in perſon to head his army. The ſame offer had been before communicated to Skelton, the King's Miniſter at the Hague, who was either ſo jealous of the Prince, or ſo malicious to him, that he gave the King notice of it with a wrong turn of ſuſpicion and fear; ſo that the King put off M. Bentinck with deſiring him to acquaint his maſter, that their common intereſt required the Prince's ſtaying in Holland; and farther opened his mind to him in ſuch terms, as ſufficiently diſcovered that he did not take his Highneſs's zeal for his ſervice to be at that time ſeaſonable. Mr. Echard (7) follows the Biſhop ſtep by ſtep in this account, but with ſome additional bitterneſs; for, according to him, Skelton looked on the Prince as one of thoſe Politicians whoſe ſteps are always ſuſpicious. Both copy after Father Orleans (8), who imputes his Highneſs's zeal on this occaſion to his rage againſt the Duke of Monmouth for aſſuming the title of King, as he had juſt done, and which he would have us believe was contrary to the agreement between them. However this be, M. Bentinck unfortunately had his audience at Whitehall on the very day that Monmouth was proclaimed at Taunton, which to be ſure gave a diſreliſh to his embaſſy, though he had alſo orders from the States of Holland, as well as from the Prince of Orange, to make a tender of whatever forces his Majeſty ſhould have occaſion for; and it is but reaſonable to think that both were ſincere: for it was the real intereſt of the States to ſecure the friendſhip of the King; and whatever diſtant views the Prince had entertained, it was notoriouſly his immediate concern to cruſh as ſoon as poſſible ſo dangerous a rival as the Duke of Monmouth. Orleans, as Dr. Burnet tells the ſtory (9), would have us believe that King James had formed a deſign to get the Duke ſeized at the Hague, which the Prince having notice of, ſent M. Bentinck to make his Grace acquainted with it, as alſo to furniſh him with money, and that Skelton actually ſeized certain papers at the Duke's houſe, after he was withdrawn, which contained poſitive proofs of the correſpondence which had been kept up between his Grace and M. Bentinck. He farther inſinuates, that there was a ſort of contract between the Prince and the Duke, by which the latter ſtood engaged to make a transfer of whatever conqueſts he ſhould make to his Highneſs; and that how little ſoever there was of the Politician in his Grace, he made ſuch counter-profeſſions to the Prince and his republican followers, with no other view than to deceive both. Others are of opinion (10), that the Prince was not the man impoſed on, but that under his ſhew of kindneſs to Monmouth there was nothing real; that he looked upon him as one who ſtood in his way to the Crown he had ſo long aimed at, and was willing to be rid of him; and accordingly took his meaſures for the ruin of the man he pretended to aid. But this, as well as the pretended correſpondence between the Duke and M. Bentinck, is all to be looked upon as the blaſt of a malevolent faction. The whole courſe of the Duke of Monmouth's expedition contains a ſeries of proofs that he was a mere adventurer (and a very unfortunate one), without any alliance of any kind to ſupport him.

(6) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. iii. p. 431.

(7) Echard's Hiſtory of England.

(8) Orleans's Hiſt. of the Revolution.

(9) Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. ii.

(10) Caveat againſt the Whigs, P. ii. p. 14.

to him to reſcue them from the danger they were in [*D*]. And he was two months conſtantly at the Hague, giving the neceſſary orders for the Prince's expedition, which was managed by him with ſuch ſecrecy, that nothing was ſuſpected all the time; and never was ſo great a deſign executed in ſo ſhort a time, a tranſport fleet of 500 veſſels having been hired in three days (*f*). M. Bentinck accompanied the Prince in his expedition to England; and after King James's abdication, during the interregnum, he held the firſt place among thoſe who compoſed the Prince's cabinet at that critical time, and that, in ſuch a degree of ſuper-eminence, as ſcarcely left room for a ſecond; and we may be ſure that he was not wanting, as far as his ſervices could avail, in endeavouring to procure the Crown for the Prince his maſter [*E*]; who, when he had obtained it, was as forward on his part, in rewarding the faithful and ſignal ſervices of M. Bentinck, as the ſequel of his life will demonſtrate. Immediately upon the Prince's acceſſion to the Britiſh crown, M. Bentinck was made Groom of the Stole, Privy Purſe, firſt Gentleman of the Royal Bed-chamber, and was the firſt Commoner upon the liſt of Privy-Counſellors; and, to fit him for greater honours, was ſoon after naturalized by act of Parliament (*g*); and, by letters patent bearing date the ninth day of April 1689, two days before the King and Queen's coronation, he was created Baron of Cirenceſter, Viſcount Woodſtock, and Earl of Portland [*F*]. In the year 1690, the Earl of Portland, with many others of the Engliſh nobility, attended King William to Holland, where the Earl acted as Envoy for his Majeſty, at the Grand Congreſs held at the Hague the ſame year (*h*); an aſſembly the moſt honourable to the Engliſh nation, that is any where to be read of [*G*]. In the year 1695, King William made this nobleman a grant of the lordſhips of Denbigh, Bromfield, Yale, and other lands, containing many thouſand acres, in the Principality of Wales, which being part of the Demeſne thereof, the grant was oppoſed, and the Houſe of Commons addreſſed the King to put a ſtop to the paſſing it, which his Majeſty accordingly complied with, and recalled the grant, promiſing, however, to find ſome

(*f*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times.

(*g*) Hiſt. of Europe, anno 1709. Peerage of England. Continuation of the Hiſtory of England, Vol. ii. p. 58. 71. Complete Hiſt. Vol. iii. p. 612.

(*h*) Prior's Hiſt. of his own Time, p. 10.

[*D*] *Who had recourſe to him to reſcue them from the danger they were in.*] In the State Tracts of thoſe times, there is a piece intitled, 'A Memorial of the Engliſh Proteſtants to their Royal Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of Orange, concerning their grievances, and the birth of the pretended Prince of Wales.' This was ſent by expreſs to M. Bentinck, and addreſſed to him to be communicated to the Prince and Princeſs. It is without name or date, and thoſe who ſent it conclude their billet to M. Bentinck, with a compliment upon his fidelity to the Prince, and a hint, *that he might hereafter know who they were*. It is calculated to prove, that the people of England had a right to call upon their Highneſſes for aſſiſtance, and that their Highneſſes had an equal right to grant it.

[*E*] *He was not wanting, as far as his endeavours could avail, in endeavouring to procure the Crown for the Prince his maſter.*] After the throne was declared vacant, upon King James's abdication, and the queſtion aroſe who ſhould fill it, ſeveral conſultations were held thereupon by many who formed themſelves into parties, and, among the reſt, we find M. Bentinck labouring to procure the Crown for the Prince of Orange alone, as we learn from Biſhop Burnet, who, ſpeaking of Lord Halifax's project to compliment the Prince with the throne at the expence of the two Princeſſes, who were not to enjoy it till after the Prince's death, ſays thus (11): 'How far the Prince himſelf entertained this, I cannot tell; but I ſaw it made a great impreſſion upon Bentinck. He ſpoke of it to me, as aſking my opinion about it, but ſo that I plainly ſaw what was his own; for he gave me all the arguments that were offered for it, as that it was moſt natural that the ſovereign power ſhould be only in one perſon; that a man's wife ought only to be his wife; that it was a ſuitable return to the Prince for what he had done for the nation; that a divided ſovereignty was liable to great inconveniencies; and though there was leſs to be apprehended from the Princeſs of any thing of that kind, than from any woman alive, yet all mortals are frail, and might at ſome time or other of their lives be wrought on.' The Biſhop ſays, he oppoſed this very warmly, and uſed many arguments againſt it; and adds, 'We talked over the whole thing for many hours, till it was pretty far in the morning. I ſaw he was well inſtructed in the argument, and he himſelf was poſſeſſed with it: So next morning I came to him, and deſired my *Congé*. I would oppoſe nothing in which the Prince ſeemed to be concerned, as long as I was his ſervant; and therefore I deſired to be diſengaged, that I might be free to oppoſe this propoſition with all the ſtrength and credit I had (12).' To this Mr. Bentinck replied, 'That it was time enough for me to do that when any ſtep was taken, but till then, he wiſhed I would ſtay where I was.'

(11) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. i.

(12) Burnet, *ibid.*

As M. Bentinck was at this time, as it were, the Prince's ſecond ſelf, we may conclude that his Highneſs was the prompter in this diſcourſe; and indeed by what follows, it appears pretty plainly that he was ſo: for we are told (13), that among other conſultations held in ſeveral places about theſe matters, there was one appointed at Mr. William Herbert's lodgings at St. James's, who was then ill of the Gout, and ſo concerned at the great *Favourite*'s urging it was beſt to make the Princeſs no Sovereign, and only a Queen-Conſort, that, riſing out of bed with earneſtneſs, he proteſted againſt ever drawing a ſword on the Prince's ſide, if he could have imagined him capable of ſuch uſage to his wife. This ſo alarmed and convinced M. Bentinck of the impoſſibility of obtaining a point, which even ſo intereſted a Courtier as Herbert refuſed to comply in, that in half an hour's time he brought them aſſurance from the Prince of his not inſiſting on it, and of his being content with a conjunctive Sovereignty, on condition he might have the ſole adminiſtration; which laſt they conſented to, becauſe the Princeſs deſired it.

(13) Burnet, Vol. ii.

[*F*] *Was created Earl of Portland.*] The iſle of Portland was firſt dignified with the title of an Earldom in the perſon of Richard Weſton, created Earl of Portland by King Charles I., 1632 (14); in which family the title became extinct at the death of his ſon Thomas, and was not revived again till now in the perſon of M. Bentinck.

(14) Collier's great Hiſtorical Dictionary, Vol. ii.

[*G*] *An aſſembly the moſt honourable to the Engliſh nation that is any where to be read of.*] King William's favourite project, during his whole government both in Holland and England, was to humble the French King, who had rendered himſelf formidable not only to Proteſtants, but even to all the Catholic Princes in Chriſtendom. On this principle was formed the Grand Alliance, at the head of which was King William, who had the pleaſure to ſee half Europe unite under his conduct, and a Senate of Princes meet to aſſiſt his councils and ſecond his wiſhes. We need but mention the number of illuſtrious perſons who met at the Hague upon this occaſion, to form an idea of the ſplendour of this aſſembly. Beſides two Electors of the Empire, there were near ſixty foreign Princes, Landgraves, Dukes, Counts, Generals, &c. near twenty of the Engliſh nobility, and Envoys from moſt of the Kings and foreign Princes of Europe; the whole forming a more glorious conſtellation than any age can parallel (15).

(15) Prior's Negociations, p. 6, & *ſeq.*

other way of ſhewing his favour to Lord Portland, who, he ſaid, had deſerved it by long and faithful ſervices; and this promiſe the King ſoon after made good. There was ſcarcely any thing that came under the conſideration of Parliament during the reign of King William, that made ſo great a ſtir and noiſe as this affair of the grant to the Earl of Portland, and we have therefore given a more particular account of it in the notes [*H*].

It

[H] *We have therefore given a more particular account of it in the notes.*] In order to be acquainted with the nature of this Grant, and the reaſons that occaſioned its oppoſition, we muſt attend to the arguments made uſe of by the Gentlemen who oppoſed it. Theſe were collected together, and printed in a pamphlet, under the title in the margin (16). According to our Hiſtorians (17), the Earl of Portland had begged of his Majeſty the grant of theſe Lordſhips, which he readily obtained, to him and his heirs for ever. The warrant for this Grant coming to the Lords of the Treaſury, the Gentlemen of the county had notice of it, that they might be heard if they had any thing to object againſt it. Accordingly ſeveral of them attended, and were heard before the Lord Godolphin, Sir William Trumbull, Sir Stephen Fox, and John Smith, Eſq; Chancellor of the Exchequer; when Sir William Williams, ſon of a Divine of that country, alleged, ‘ That theſe Lordſhips were the ancient Demeſnes of the Prince of Wales; that the Welſh were never ſubject to any but God and the King; that in the Statute for granting fee-farm rents, there was an exception of the rents belonging to the Principality of Wales, which imported that the Parliament took thoſe revenues to be unalienable; that upon creation of a Prince of Wales, there were many acknowledgments payable out of thoſe Lordſhips; and though there was at preſent no Prince of Wales, yet he hoped to ſee one of the King's own body, &c.’ Sir Roger Puleſton argued, ‘ That the revenues of thoſe Lordſhips ſupported the government of Wales, by paying the Judges and other officers, their ſtated ſalaries; and, if given away, there would be a failure of juſtice.’ Mr. Price, a Lawyer of Herefordſhire, afterwards made a Baron of the Exchequer, made a long and very warm ſpeech againſt the Grant. ‘ He ſaid it was of a large extent, being five parts in ſix of a whole county, which was too great a power for any foreign ſubject to have; that the people of the country were too great to be ſubject to any Foreigner; that there are fifty mean Lordſhips held under thoſe manors, and above fifteen hundred Freeholders; that Courts were kept in all thoſe Lordſhips in the King's name; that all or moſt of the Gentry of that country were tenants to the King, and ſuitors to his Court, and thereby obliged to the King by a double allegiance, their general allegiance as ſubjects, and their particular allegiance as tenants; and if the King gave away one, it was to be feared it would leſſen the bounds of the other, ſince it is obſervable that intereſt and property have an aſcendant over duty; that this revenue belongs to the Prince of Wales, in failure of whom it veſteth in the Crown, rather as an uſufracture than a property, till a Prince be created; that the King having only an eſtate for life in poſſeſſion, in the Crown, by the Act of Settlement, how can he grant away the inheritance and abſolute fee of the Principality of Wales? that it was not for the King's honour or intereſt that he daily gave away the revenues of the Crown, and what is more, the perpetuity of them to his foreign ſubjects, &c.’ When he had done ſpeaking, the Lord Godolphin aſked, If the Earl of Leiceſter had not thoſe Lordſhips in grant to him in Queen Elizabeth's time? To which Sir Robert Cotton anſwered, ‘ That the Earl of Leiceſter had but one of thoſe Grants, which was Denbigh; that he was ſo oppreſſive to the Gentry of the country, that he occaſioned them to take up arms and oppoſe him, for which three or four of his (Sir Robert Cotton's) relations were hanged; but it ended not there, for the quarrel was ſtill kept on foot, and the Earl, glad to be in peace, granted it back to the Queen, ſince which it had always been in the Crown.’ Lord Godolphin then ſaid, they had offered many weighty reaſons, which ſhould be repreſented to his Majeſty.—— From the Treaſury the Gentlemen of Wales attended the Grant to the Privy-Seal, where their reaſons and complaints were heard and received with great candour and impartiality, and the Grant was ſuperſeded. But this did not content them: they muſt have it recalled, and ſo brought the affair into the Houſe of Commons by a petition ſigned by Sir Thomas Groſvenor, Sir Richard Middleton, Sir John Conway, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Roger Puleſton, Edward Vaughan, Eſq; Edward Brereton, Eſq; and Robert Price, Eſq; the Gentleman before mentioned, who ſpoke to it in Parliament, where he was a Member, in the ſame ſtyle as he had before in the Treaſury. It cannot be amiſs to give the reader the ſubſtance of this memorable ſpeech, which was much taken notice of for ſome very ſevere reflections upon the Grant and Grantee. We ſhall do this in as few words as poſſible. Among many other things, ſays he, ‘ If I could conceive how the glory or grandeur of England was, or could be, upheld by a poor landleſs crown, and a miſerable, neceſſitous people, I could then be eaſily perſuaded to believe that his Majeſty was well adviſed to grant away all the revenues of the Crown, and that his Government would be thereby well ſecured, and his people beſt protected when they had little or nothing left. But I am ſure they were not Engliſh, but foreign Politicians, who might revere the King, and yet hate his people: That the Kings of England always reigned beſt when they had the affections of their ſubjects, of which they were ſecure, when the people were ſenſible the King was entirely in their intereſt, and loved the Engliſh ſoil as well as the people's money, &c.

‘ The great Lordſhips of Denbigh, Bromfield, and Yale, in the county of Denbigh, for ſome centuries have been the revenues of the Kings of England and Princes of Wales, and contain thirty miles in extent; the preſent rents to the Crown are but 1000 l. *per annum*, beſides reliefs, mizes, waſtes, eſtreats, perquiſites of Courts, and other contingent profits; there are alſo great profitable waſtes of ſeveral thouſand acres of rich and valuable mines, beſides other great advantages a mighty favourite and great Courtier might make: That they had found, that not only the three Lordſhips, but near 3000 l. *per annum* of their ancient inheritance was expreſsly granted; ſo that if all had been preſented that was comprized in the Grant, it had been a very noble Royal gift, worth at leaſt 100,000 l. nor was that Grant for any ſhort time to this noble Lord, but to him and his heirs for ever; and yet not much to the advantage of the Crown, having only a reſervation of ſix ſhillings and eight-pence a year, to the King and his ſucceſſors.

‘ Theſe Royal dominions in moſt reigns have been attacked by great and powerful favourites: for in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, ſome of them were granted to ſome of her creatures, but attended with ſo many law-ſuits and general diſtractions, that the Queen interpoſed, and the Freeholders gave large compoſitions for their peace, the Queen confirming their eſtates by a Charter. In the fourth year of King James the Firſt, theſe Lordſhips were ſettled on his heirs, Kings of England; but his ſervants got ſome Grants of moſt part of that revenue, which proved ſo vexatious and troubleſome to the country, that the Freeholders came to another compoſition, and gave 10,000 l. for their peace, and had another Charter of confirmation of their rights, and for ſettling of their eſtates, tenures, &c. which was confirmed in Parliament in the fifth of King Charles the Firſt. In the late reign *(however calumniated)* there were many and great applications made for Grants of ſome Lands of theſe Lordſhips, which were always rejected as too powerful for a ſubject. If part were ſo, what would the whole be?

‘ Hiſtory and Records tell us, that the Grants of theſe Lordſhips have ever been fatal either to the Prince or Potentate; the one either loſing his Crown, or the other his head: 'Tis therefore dangerous meddling with ſuch ominous bounties.

‘ There

(16) Speech of an ancient Briton in Parliament, againſt an exorbitant Grant, *&c.* London, 1708.

(17) Kennet and Oldmixon.

It was to this nobleman, that the horrid plot for aſſaſſinating King William, in the year 1695, was firſt diſcovered; and his Lordſhip, by his wiſe counſel and indefatigable zeal, was

'There is a great duty lies upon the Freeholders of theſe Lordſhips on the creation of the Prince of Wales; they pay a fine of 800l. for mizes, which is ſuch a duty, ſervice or tenure, that is not to be ſever'd from the Prince of Wales; and it will be very difficult to find how this tenure can be made reconcileable to this noble Lord's Grant. If we are to pay theſe mizes to this noble Lord, then he is *quaſi* a Prince of Wales, for this duty was never paid to any other; but if it is to be paid to the Prince of Wales, and to this noble Lord too, then are we doubly charged; but if it be to the Prince of Wales when he has no Royalty left in that dominion, and not to this noble Lord (who by this Grant is to have the whole Lordſhips), it relates a repugnancy in the tenure of our eſtates.

'Far be it from me to ſpeak any thing in derogation of his Majeſty's honour, or care for us. It cannot be expected he ſhould know our laws, who is a ſtranger to us, and we to him, any more than we do his counſels (which I wiſh we did), I mean thoſe of his now immediate adviſers and Miniſters, through whoſe hands this Grant did paſs, by adviſing the King to grant what by law he could not. Theſe Counſellors and Miniſters are guilty of the higheſt violation of the laws and liberties of England, and ſtrike at the very foundation of ſucceſſion, and tear up the Bill of rights and privileges by the root. It was their province and duty to have acquainted the King of his power and intereſt, that the ancient revenues of the Crown are ſacred, and unalienable in the time of war and people's neceſſities.

'The Commons of England always entertained an honourable jealouſy of their Prince, when they perceived their expences at home or abroad, or their gifts or boons to favourites, to be too large and exorbitant. When our Princes entertained Foreigners of their council and chief adviſers, the people of England were reſtleſs and uneaſy till they were removed out of the King's preſence, nay out of the nation; and in Hiſtory and Parliament are many inſtances of this, where great men (favourites) procured to themſelves too large a proportion of the Royal revenues. How can we hope for happy days in England, when this great Lord and the other Foreigners, though naturalized, are in the Engliſh, and alſo in the Dutch councils. If theſe ſtrangers, though now confederates, ſhould be of different intereſts, to which is it to be ſuppoſed theſe great foreign counſellors and favourites would adhere? I ſhall make no ſevere remark upon this great man, for his greatneſs makes us little, and will make the Crown both poor and precarious. I deſire redreſs rather than puniſhment: therefore I ſhall neither move for an impeachment againſt this noble Lord, nor for the baniſhment of him; but ſhall only beg that he may have no power over us, nor we any dependance upon him. I therefore move, that an addreſs be made to his Majeſty to ſtop the Grant that is paſſing to the Earl of Portland, of the Lordſhips of Denbigh, Bromfield, and Yale, and other lands in the Principality of Wales, and that the ſame be not granted but by conſent of Parliament.'

This bold ſpeech made ſo great an impreſſion, that Mr. Price's motion was carried by unanimous conſent, and on January the 22d the following addreſs (which ſhews the juſt ſenſe the Commons had of the vaſt importance of theſe Grants to the Crown, and the ill conſequences of ſeparating them therefrom) was preſented to the King by the Speaker, attended by the whole Houſe.

'May it pleaſe your Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

'WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes in Parliament aſſembled, humbly lay before your Majeſty, that whereas there is a Grant paſſing to William Earl of Portland and his heirs, of the manors of Denbigh, Bromfield and Yale, and divers other lands in the Principality of Wales, together with ſeveral eſtates of inheritance, enjoyed by many of your Majeſty ſubjects by virtue of ancient Grants from the Crown.

'That the ſaid manors, with the large and extenſive regalities, powers, and juriſdictions to the ſame belonging, are of great concern to your Majeſty and the Crown of this realm; and that the ſame have been uſually annexed to the Principality of Wales, and ſettled on the Princes of Wales for their ſupport; and that a great number of your Majeſty's ſubjects in thoſe parts hold their eſtates by Royal tenure, under great and valuable compoſitions, rents, Royal payments, and ſervices to the Crown and Princes of Wales; and have by ſuch tenure great dependance on your Majeſty and the Crown of England; and have enjoyed great privileges and advantages with their eſtates under ſuch tenure.

'We therefore moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to put a ſtop to the paſſing this Grant to the Earl of Portland, of the ſaid manors and lands; and that the ſame may not be diſpoſed from the Crown, but by conſent of Parliament; for that ſuch Grant is in diminution of the honour and intereſt of the Crown, by placing in a ſubject ſuch large and extenſive royalties, powers, and juriſdictions, which ought only to be in the Crown, and will ſever that dependance which ſo great a number of your Majeſty's ſubjects in thoſe parts have on your Majeſty and the Crown, by reaſon of their tenure, and may be to their great oppreſſion in thoſe rights which they have purchaſed, and hitherto enjoyed with their eſtates; and alſo an occaſion of great vexation to many of your Majeſty's ſubjects, who have long had the abſolute inheritance of ſeveral lands (comprehended in the ſaid Grant to the Earl of Portland) by ancient Grants from the Crown.'

To which his Majeſty was pleaſed to return this anſwer.

GENTLEMEN,

'I Have a kindneſs for my Lord Portland, which he has deſerved of me by long and faithful ſervices: but I ſhould not have given him theſe lands if I had imagined the Houſe of Commons could have been concerned; I will therefore recall the Grant, and find ſome other way of ſhewing my favour to him.'

It muſt be owned that the Grant of theſe parcels of the Principality of Wales was unadviſedly, or ill adviſedly, done; and the Lord Portland was blamed by the King's friends for procuring it of his Majeſty. The diſaffected called him in deriſion our new Prince of Wales; and hence the oppoſition made thereto was extremely juſt and noble, in thoſe whoſe only views were the ſaving thoſe lands from alienation: yet, if it had been carried on with more temper and moderation (we might ſay decency), it had gained a more general applauſe. But Mr. Price's great zeal for his country tranſported him beyond the bounds of decency, and his angry ſpeech ſavours much of party-pique and diſcontent, and ſhews him to have been no hearty friend to the Revolution.

It was not long after King William recalled theſe Grants, before his Majeſty found means to make Lord Portland others, in recompence for the revenues of the Principality of Wales, viz. a Grant of certain buildings in Whitehall for forty-five years, at the rent of ſix ſhillings and eight-pence; a Grant of the manor of Grantham in the county of Lincoln, Honour of Penrith in the county of Cumberland, manor of Dracklow and Rudneth in Cheſhire, manor of Torrington in Norfolk, manors of Partington, Briſtol-Garth, Homſey, Thwing, Burniſley, and Leven in the county of York, all parcel of the ancient revenue of the Crown of England; the manor of Pevenſey in the county of Suſſex, parcel of the duchy of Lancaſter, and all the lands and tenements, &c. thereunto belonging, to hold to his Lordſhip and his heirs; and alſo his Majeſty's manor of Eaſt-Greenwich in the county of Kent, under the rent of 4l. 13s. 4d. a year. There was alſo granted to his was very inſtrumental in bringing to light the whole of that execrable ſcheme [*I*]. The ſame year another affair happened, in which this noble Lord gave ſuch a ſhining proof of the ſtricteſt honour and integrity, as has done immortal honour to his memory. The Parliament having taken into conſideration the affairs of the Eaſt-India company, who, through miſmanagement and corrupt dealings, were in danger of loſing their charter, ſtrong intereſt was made with the members of both Houſes, and large ſums properly diſtributed, to procure a new eſtabliſhment of their company by Act of Parliament (*i*). Among thoſe noblemen whoſe intereſt was neceſſary to bring about this affair, Lord Portland's was particularly courted, and an extraordinary value put upon it, much beyond that of any other Peer; for he was offered no leſs than the ſum of 50,000 pounds for his vote, and to uſe his endeavours with the King to favour the deſign. But his Lordſhip, poſſeſſed of a greatneſs of ſoul that placed him above corruption, treated this injurious offer with all the contempt and indignation it deſerved, telling the perſon employed in it, that if he ever ſo much as mentioned ſuch a thing to him again, he would for ever be the company's enemy, and give them all the oppoſition in his power. This is an inſtance of public ſpirit not often met with, and did not paſs unregarded; for we find it recorded in an eloquent ſpeech of a worthy member of Parliament, who took occaſion to relate this noble action to the Houſe of Commons, much to the honour of Lord Portland (*k*). It was owing to this nobleman, that the Banquetting-Houſe at Whitehall was ſaved, when the reſt of the Palace was deſtroyed by fire (*). Going on thus in a courſe of honour and proſperity, his Lordſhip, in February 1696, was created a Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, at a chapter held at Kenſington, the Sovereign and ten Knights being preſent, and was inſtalled at Windſor on the twenty-fifth of March 1697, at which time he was alſo Lieutenant-General of his Majeſty's forces (*l*): for his Lordſhip's ſervices were not confined to the cabinet; he likewiſe diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the field on ſeveral occaſions, particularly at the battle of the Boyne, battle of Landen, where he was wounded (*m*), ſiege of Limerick, Namur, &c. As his Lordſhip thus attended his royal maſter in his wars both in Ireland and Flanders, and bore a principal command there, ſo he was honoured by his Majeſty with the chief management of the fa-

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Lordſhip all the little remainder of the fee-farm rents, worth, to be ſold, above 24,000 l. which laſt Grant was afterwards vacated by the ſaid Earl (18).

Though Lord Portland was ſuffered to poſſeſs theſe Grants quietly during King William's reign, yet there was an attempt in the next reign to have them, and other Grants of King William, recalled, in a pamphlet publiſhed in 1703, intitled, ‘ The Exorbitant Grants of William the Third examined and ‘ queſtioned: ſhewing the nature of Grants in ſucceſſive and elective Monarchies; and proving by ‘ Law and Hiſtory that Crown-lands are inalienable, ‘ that reſumptions were common all the world over, ‘ and that where a Prince hath no hereditary title, he ‘ can make no hereditary right; and that Kings ſet ‘ up by Parliament can diſpoſe of no lands but with ‘ conſent of Parliament, which renders William the ‘ Third's Grants totally void.’ This pamphlet is addreſſed to Queen Anne, and is declared in the Dedication to her Majeſty, that it is intended to bring back thoſe valuable branches of the revenue, which her predeceſſor had lopt from the Crown. It is a very bold piece, and makes very free with King William, falling foul on his miſcarriages, even in the dedication. How it was received we know not, but the attempt proved vain and fruitleſs.

[*I*] *And his Lordſhip by his wiſe counſel and indefatigable zeal, was very inſtrumental in bringing to light the whole of that execrable ſcheme.*] The perſon who firſt diſcovered the conſpiracy to Lord Portland, was one Captain Fiſher (19), one of the conſpirators. His firſt opening of the plot to his Lordſhip was only five days before it was to have been executed. He gave the Earl an account not only of the deſign itſelf, but alſo of the manner in which it was to have been executed, but peremptorily refuſed to tell the names of the actors, which made the King, when Lord Portland told him of it, conclude that it was only a ſtory invented to affright him with a falſe alarm; and ſo his Majeſty, notwithſtanding Fiſher's ſtory, gave orders for hunting on the very day appointed by the conſpirators for the execution of their bloody deſign, and he could not have avoided the blow had it not been for a ſpecial act of providence: for the very next day before it was to have been committed, February the 14th, Lord Portland, as he was returning, from viſiting his daughter the Counteſs of Eſſex, to Kenſington, where the Court then was, very luckily recollected that he had appointed a perſon to come to him upon buſineſs that evening in town; ſo he turned back again to his lodgings at Whitehall, where, beſides the perſon he expected, he found a ſtranger waiting for him, who told him he had an affair of very great importance to communicate to his Lordſhip, and going cloſe up to him, without further ceremony thus bluntly accoſted him: ‘ Pray, my ‘ Lord, perſuade the King to ſtay at home to-mor- ‘ row, for if he goes to hunt he will be murdered.’ He then confirmed Fiſher's account of the plot, but inſiſted, as a condition of his farther diſcovery, that he ſhould not be made uſe of as an evidence. He added, that his name was Pendergraſs, and that as his buſineſs required all poſſible diſpatch, he thought he could not make his addreſs to a perſon that would be more careful than his Lordſhip, who left no means unattempted to perſuade Pendergraſs to name the conſpirators, which he reſiſted with an invincible conſtancy. When the Earl came to Kenſington, which, notwithſtanding all the haſte he could make, was very late, he found the King was retired, and had given the neceſſary orders for hunting the next day, and even the freſh confirmation he received of the conſpiracy to murder him, could ſcarcely alter his reſolution; and it was with great difficulty that his Majeſty was at laſt overcome by Lord Portland's repeated importunities. At length the number of diſcoverers increaſing, and their accounts all agreeing, his Majeſty began to take ſome care of his ſafety; and he deſired Lord Portland and Sir William Trumbull, Secretary of State, who likewiſe had ſome diſcoveries made to him, to enquire ſtrictly into the progreſs and circumſtances of the deſign. But this did not ſucceed; the two principal diſcoverers, Pendergraſs and La Rue, ſtill peremptorily refuſing to name the conſpirators, which might have been of fatal conſequence if Lord Portland had not found out the happy expedient to prevent it, by perſuading his Majeſty to give himſelf the trouble of examining them ſeparately in his cloſet, but before witneſſes, that if they ſhould be brought to enter into particulars, it might ſerve to convict the criminals when they ſhould be brought to trial (20). This good advice the King followed, and having examined Pendergraſs * before the Earl of Portland and Lord Cutts, and La Rue before the ſame Earl and Brigadier Leviſon, ſucceeded ſo well, that the informers being no longer able to reſiſt the awful, but perſuaſive eloquence of injured Majeſty, gave a very particular and circumſtantial account of the whole affair, and diſcovered the names of all the conſpirators, which entirely fruſtrated their helliſh intrigues and deſigns.

(*i*) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. iii. p. 680. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of England, Vol. ii.

(*k*) Speeches and Debates in Parliament, anno 1695.

(*) Boyer's Account of famous Men, at the end of his Life of Queen Anne.

(*l*) Peerage of England, by Collins, edit. 1735, Vol. i. p. 310.

(*m*) Journey through the Auſtrian Netherlands, 8*vo.* p. 47.

(18) Debates in Parliament, by Chandler, anno 1696.

(19) Blackmore's Hiſt. of the Aſſaſſination Plot, 8*vo.*

(20) Complete Hiſtory, Vol. iii. p. 704.

* This Pendergraſs was afterwards Colonel of a regiment, at the head of which he was killed at the battle of Malplaquet, in 1709, as we learn from a Correſpondent.

mous peace of Ryſwick; having, in ſome conferences with the Marſhal Boufflers, ſettled the moſt difficult and tender point, and which might greatly have retarded the concluſion of the peace [*K*]. This was concerning the diſpoſal of King James; the King of France having ſolemnly promiſed, in an open declaration to all Europe, that he would never lay down his arms till he had reſtored the abdicated King to his throne, and conſequently could not own King William, without abandoning him. Not long after the concluſion of the peace, King William nominated the Earl of Portland to be his Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the Court of France; which honour, though it raiſed the envy of thoſe who were jealous of the extraordinary favour and affection ſhewed to this nobleman, yet was juſtly due to him, for the ſhare he had in bringing about the glorious treaty of Ryſwick; and the King could not have fixed upon a perſon better qualified to ſupport the high character he had given him, with the greateſt dignity and magnificence. Beſides, the French in general had a great opinion of his Lordſhip's capacity and merit; and no Ambaſſador was ever ſo reſpected and careſſed in France as his Lordſhip was, who, on his part, filled his employment with equal honour to the King, the Britiſh nation, and himſelf, the magnificence of his public entry into Paris, outſhining what had ever been beheld at that gaudy Court ſince the Duke of Buckingham's entry, when he went to demand the Princeſs Maria Henrietta in marriage for King Charles I. (*n*) A more particular account and deſcription of this moſt ſplendid and famous embaſſy of Lord Portland's, may perhaps be worthy the reader's notice, and we have therefore given it in the note [*L*]. According to the Hiſtorian cited in the margin (*o*), the Earl of Portland went on

(*n*) Complete Hiſtory, Vol. iii. p. 753.

(*o*) Prior's Negociations, p. 39.

[*K*] *Having, in ſome conferences with M. Boufflers, ſettled the moſt tender point*, &c.] King William wiſely conſidering that the uſual formalities of ſolemn negociations were no ſmall hindrance to their progreſs, and finding that more time was likely to be loſt in this treaty than was conſiſtent with the urgency of the affair, his Majeſty reſolved to ſhorten as much of it as related to himſelf, by a quicker way of negociating, and to commit his perſonal intereſts, and thoſe of his dominions, to the arbitration and management of the Earl of Portland on his Majeſty's part, and M. Boufflers on the part of the French King. Accordingly, the confederate army being encamped at Cocklebergh, near Bruſſels, and the French not far from thence, the Earl of Portland having received the King's commands and inſtructions, demanded as from himſelf, according to Biſhop Kennet (21), a private interview with M. Boufflers, which being readily granted, though other accounts make M. Boufflers the firſt mover in this interview (22), the two Generals met, June 10, 1697, N. S. at an equal diſtance from their reſpective camps, attended each by the ſame number of guards, and accompanied by ſeveral officers of note. This preliminary conference was ſoon after followed by three others, at the laſt of which, July 26, the two Negociators, after they had been ſome time together in the open field, retired into a houſe in the ſuburb of Halle, and in an hour adjuſted ſeveral points that the Plenipotentiaries at Ryſwick would not perhaps have agreed upon in a year. The Earl of Portland told Dr. Burnet himſelf (23), that the ſubject of theſe conferences was concerning King James; that King William deſired to know how the King of France intended to diſpoſe of him, and how he could own King William, and yet ſupport the other; and it was ſaid, that the Earl of Portland inſiſted that King James and his family ſhould be ſent out of France, which M. Boufflers would not yield to, nor would the King of France renounce the protecting him by any article of the treaty: ſo it was at laſt agreed between them, that the King of France ſhould give him no aſſiſtance, nor give King William any diſturbance on his account, and that he ſhould retire from the Court of France, either to Avignon or Italy; that his Queen ſhould have 50,000 l. a year, which was her jointure ſettled after King James's death, and that it ſhould now be paid her, he being reckoned as dead to the nation; and in this the King very readily acquieſced. Theſe differences being adjuſted, the treaty went on with much greater diſpatch. On the 2d of Auguſt Lord Portland and M. Boufflers ſigned the paper they had drawn up ſome few days before, whereupon his Majeſty left the army, and diſpatched the Earl of Portland to the Hague, to acquaint the congreſs, 'that 'as for what concerned his Majeſty and his kingdoms, all things were ſo adjuſted with France, as 'would occaſion no delay in the general peace; and 'therefore he earneſtly preſſed the other allies, and 'particularly the Emperor, to contribute all that in 'them lay, towards concluding ſo great a work.'

(21) Complete Hiſtory, p. 737.

(22) Hiſt. Europe, 1709. Burnet, Vol. ii. p. 200.

(23) Burnet, *ibid.*

The French were ſo little pleaſed with this treaty. that they made very ſevere reflections on their Plenipotentiaries, and lampooned them publicly all over the kingdom, whilſt the reſolution and wiſdom of King William were univerſally celebrated and admired. One of the beſt writers at that time in France ſaid, 'The towns delivered up at the treaty of Ryſ'wick, the enemy would not have taken in twenty 'years time *(les enemis n'euſſent pas repriſes en vingt 'ans de tems)*.' The ſame author, ſpeaking of King William's chuſing the Earl of Portland to confer with M. Boufflers, ſays, 'King William, who knew 'how to take advantage of every thing, knew well 'that the Earl of Portland had at leaſt as good a 'head as M. Boufflers:' and indeed the French themſelves had a much higher opinion of his Lordſhip than of their own Miniſter: for the account publiſhed in France of the negociations between thoſe two Miniſters, ſays, that Lord Portland having ſent a trumpeter to M. Boufflers to deſire a private interview, without any mention of buſineſs, it was conſented to; and that the Earl having propoſed to him to remove ſome differences there, which would require too long a time at Ryſwick, the Marſhal ſent to know the King of France's pleaſure, whoſe great deſire for peace made him approve of the Earl's propoſal, 'without conſidering what advantage that Lord might 'have over the Marſhal in a ſuperior genius.' The account then ſhews the inconveniency of putting the Earl of Portland upon a level with a Marſhal of France: that it was true indeed that the King had raiſed Boufflers from a Cadet of Picardy to the dignity of a Duke, Peer, Marſhal of France, and Knight of his Order; and ſo King William had raiſed Lord Portland from a Gentleman of Guelderland to an Earl and Peer of England, and Knight of the Order of the Garter. But then there was this difference ſtill, that the one commanded an army, which the other never did; beſides there was alſo that to be ſaid, that the French King had never owned King William. Be this as it will, the Marſhal de Boufflers valued himſelf not a little upon his negociations with Lord Portland; and the writer of his Life pays a great compliment to that Lord, when he ſays (24), 'two things had helped to ſpoil Boufflers, namely, the Marſhal's ſtaff, and his conferences with the Lord Portland; for ſince his nego'ciations with that great Miniſter, he thought him'ſelf capable even of the moſt important employ'ments, and believed that the peace had been more 'advantageous for France, if it had been left ſolely 'to his management.'

(24) Vie de Boufflers.

[*L*] *And we have therefore given it in the note.*] The Earl of Portland ſet out on his embaſſy the 10th of January, and in eleven days reached Paris, having in his way thither been received with moſt extraordinary marks of reſpect (25). The guns were every where

(25) Life of King William, Vol. iii. p. 336.

on this embaſſy with reluctance, having been for ſome time alarmed with the growing favour of a rival in King William's affection, namely, Keppel, afterwards created Earl of Albemarle,

where fired, companies of ſoldiers drawn up in ſeveral places through which he paſſed, and others were appointed for his guard; the officers waited upon his Lordſhip, and the Magiſtrates made him their compliments, and brought him preſents. Three days after his Lordſhip's arrival at Paris, he was magnificently entertained at ſupper by the Duke de Grammont, with the Marſhals de Villeroy and Boufflers, the Dukes of Valentinois, Clerembault, and Roquelaure, Count Tallard (whom the French King had named to the embaſſy in England), and ſeveral other perſons of the firſt rank and quality in France; and the next day he was admitted to a private audience of the King, Dauphin, Dukes of Burgundy, Anjou, and Berry, and the reſt of the Royal Family, by all of whom he was received with ſingular marks of kindneſs and diſtinction, and afterwards entertained at dinner by the Marquis de Torcy, Secretary of State for foreign affairs. The 9th of March, N. S. being the day appointed for his Lordſhip's public entry (26), he went privately in one of his own coaches to Rambouillet, the place from whence Embaſſadors uſually make their entry, as did all the Engliſh gentlemen in theirs. Upon his arrival there, the Princes of the Blood ſent their coaches, and a Gentleman in each, to compliment his Excellency; as did likewiſe the foreign Miniſters and Envoys then in France, and at three in the afternoon came the Marſhal de Boufflers, who was appointed by the King to receive and accompany the Lord Embaſſador in his public entry, to the grandeur of which the Marſhal contributed all he could, being himſelf extremely fond of pomp and pageantry, and conſequently omitted nothing upon this occaſion that might heighten his own grandeur, and do honour to the King his maſter, of which his Majeſty was very ſenſible, and well knew he could not have choſe any one ſo properly qualified for that purpoſe. It may not be amiſs to relate a very ſingular inſtance of the Marſhal's vaſt profuſeneſs and prodigality, and which perhaps is not eaſily paralleled (27). The King, this preſent year 1698, having ordered a camp to be formed at Compeigne, as was pretended, in honour of his grandſon the Duke of Burgundy, he appointed the Marſhal de Boufflers to command it under that young Prince; and his Majeſty, who knew he was a perſon that would even ruin himſelf to maintain the dignity conferred on him, made him a preſent of 50,000 crowns before he marched, though the camp was to continue only three weeks, which ſum the King thought pretty reaſonable for ſo ſhort a time. But the Marſhal, who affected to appear like the great Turenne, in regarding nothing but his glory, and deſpiſing wealth, lived after ſuch a prodigious rate in the camp, that twice that large ſum ſcarcely excuſed him. He kept five tables, noon and night, all equally ſerved, and abounding with the greateſt rarities and niceties in the kingdom. He had above an hundred principal cooks, beſides great numbers of others who ſerved under them; thoſe who worked in the morning taking their reſt in the afternoon. He had an infinite number of carriages in the field to bring his proviſions, and two for ice only, which was brought from Paris every day. He had purveyors not only in that city, but in all the great towns within twenty-five leagues of the camp.

But to return to our embaſſy. His Excellency the Earl of Portland, accompanied by the Earl of Weſtmoreland, the Lords Cavendiſh, Haſtings, Paſton, Woodſtock (his Excellency's ſon), Lord Raby, Mr. Prior, Secretary of the embaſſy, Mr. Fielding, Mr. Boyle, and ſeveral other gentlemen, proceeded to make his public entry in the following order: The Marſhal Boufflers' coach, with his Pages on horſeback, and his Gentleman of the Horſe before it, his ſervants in rich liveries went about thirty paces before the reſt; then came one of the King's meſſengers, his Excellency's ſecond Gentleman of the Horſe, twelve ſumpter horſes very richly capariſoned, and led by twelve Grooms on horſeback; his Excellency's firſt Gentleman of the Horſe, followed by twelve Pages on horſeback, and fifty-ſix Footmen, all clothed in exceeding rich liveries; the King's coach, in which were the Lord Embaſſador, the Marſhal de Boufflers, Monſieur Bonneville, Introductor of Embaſſadors, and the Earl of Weſtmoreland; the Dutcheſs of Burgundy's, Duke of Orleans's, and Madame's coaches, and thoſe of the reſt of the Princes and Princeſſes of the Blood in their order, in which were their own Gentlemen of the Horſe, and the Engliſh Noblemen and Gentlemen, their Footmen all in his Excellency's rich liveries, walking by the coaches; then came his Excellency's magnificent body coach empty, drawn by eight horſes, before it two Swiſſers on horſeback, and at the portals two ſervants on foot in his Lordſhip's livery, and two Gentlemen on horſeback; the ſecond and third coach with eight horſes, his Excellency's chariot with ſix, another coach with eight, another chariot with ſix; in theſe coaches were Gentlemen who immediately belonged to his Excellency's family. The whole proceſſion was cloſed by the coaches of M. de Torcy, Secretary of State, and M. Bonneville. Thus did this ſplendid cavalcade proceed to the *Hôtel*, a houſe reſerved for the entertainment of foreign Embaſſadors, through multitudes of ſpectators, who were aſtoniſhed at the grandeur and opulence of the Engliſh nation. Being arrived at the Hôtel, the Marſhal de Boufflers, after a ſhort ſtay with his Excellency, took his leave, and ſoon after the Duke D'Aumont came from the King with a compliment to his Excellency, and the uſual compliments were made from the Princes and Princeſſes of the Blood.

Two days afterwards his Excellency was admitted to his firſt public audience at Verſailles, whither he was conducted in the ſame manner as at his entry, and was received with the utmoſt grandeur. In the firſt court of the palace the Foot-guards were drawn up, the French on one ſide, the Swiſſers on the other, the drums beating, colours flying, and the officers ſaluting with their hats. In the ſecond court, the guard called Hoquelous were ranged, all the coaches went in, and his Excellency alighted at the chamber of Embaſſadors, and all his retinue. After a ſhort ſtay here, M. Bonneville informing his Excellency that the King was ready to receive him, he proceeded to his audience. The Marquis Blainville, Great Maſter of the Ceremonies, received his Excellency at the foot of the great ſtairs, which were lined with the Swiſs guards, and conducted him to the guard-chamber, at the entry of which he was received by the Captain of the guard in waiting, and thence conducted to the King's bed-chamber, which was filled with perſons of the higheſt quality. According to Biſhop Kennet (28), it was a diſtinguiſhing mark of honour that his Excellency was admitted to his audience in the King's bed-chamber, and even within the rails round the bed, where the King ſtood, with the three young Princes his grandſons, and the Count de Thoulouſe, Duke d'Aumont, and Marſhal de Noailles (29). His Excellency having made his ſpeech, covered, and delivered his credentials, the King anſwered him in very obliging terms, both in relation to his Royal Maſter and himſelf. His Excellency then preſented the Engliſh Noblemen and Gentlemen to the King, and retired; after which he had audience of the Dauphin, and all the reſt of the Royal Family, and was, together with his retinue, entertained at dinner at ſeveral tables, and in the afternoon was conducted back to Paris with the ſame ceremonies as at his coming; the whole performed with the greateſt order and regularity, as well as magnificence. The whole French Court, not only in imitation, but by expreſs direction of the King, ſhewed his Lordſhip moſt ſingular marks of honour and reſpect. He was entertained by the Princes of the Blood and Grandees of the Court, and in his turn entertained them; and 'tis obſervable (30), that his Lordſhip was attended in all the viſits he made by the ſame numerous and ſplendid train as at his public entry (31); and the magnificence of his table was anſwerable to the grandeur of his attendance and equipage, his Lordſhip ſeldom dining without the company of thoſe of the firſt rank in the kingdom, who admired the plenty, elegance, and order of his entertainments. There is a circumſtance mentioned by one of our Hiſtorians (32), in itſelf immaterial, and of no other concern than as it ſerves to ſhew that

(26) Hiſt. of Europe, 1709.

(27) Life of Boufflers.

(28) Compl. Hiſt.

(29) Hiſt. of Europe, 1709.

(30) Compl. Hiſt.

(31) *Ibid.*

(32) Oldmixon.

bemarle, a Dutchman, who had alſo been Page to his Majeſty. And, ſays our author (*), ‘ his jealouſy was not ill-grounded; for Albemarle ſo prevailed in Lord Portland's ab‑‘ ſence, that he obliged him, by ſeveral little affronts, to lay down all his employments, ‘ after which he was never more in favour, though the King always ſhewed an eſteem for ‘ him.’ Biſhop Burnet (*p*) gives this account of the affair: That the Earl of Portland obſerved the progreſs of the King's favour to the Lord Albemarle with great uneaſineſs: they grew to be not only incompatible, as all rivals for favour muſt be, but to hate and oppoſe one another in every thing; the one (Lord Portland) had more of the confidence, the other more of the favour. Lord Portland, upon his return from his embaſſy to France, could not bear the viſible ſuperiority in favour that the other was growing up to; ſo he took occaſion, from a ſmall preference given Lord Albemarle in prejudice of his own poſt, as Groom of the Stole, to withdraw from Court, and lay down all his employments. The King uſed all poſſible means to divert him from this reſolution, but could not prevail on him to alter it: He, indeed, conſented to ſerve his Majeſty ſtill in his ſtate affairs, but would not return to any poſt in the houſehold. This change, ſays Biſhop Kennet (*q*), did at firſt pleaſe the Engliſh and Dutch, the Earl of Albemarle having cunningly made ſeveral powerful friends in both nations, who, out of envy to Lord Portland, were glad to ſee another in his place; and it is ſaid (*r*), that Lord Albemarle was ſupported by the Earl of Sutherland and Mrs. Villiers to pull down Lord Portland: however, though the firſt became now the reigning favourite, yet the latter, ſays Biſhop Kennet, did ever preſerve the eſteem and affection of King William: though the ſame author had before ſaid, that Lord Albemarle was become entire maſter of the King's confidence. But King William was a Prince of another ſort of genius, than are thoſe Princes who are governed by favourites. He was his own Miniſter in all the greater parts of government, as thoſe of war and peace, forming alliances and treaties, which, in the main, were the effects of his own knowledge and experience, and he knew well the merit of thoſe he employed in his ſervice. We have before ſeen, that even by the acknowledgment of the French, enemies to Lord Portland and his friends, his Lordſhip was ſuperior in capacity to M. de Boufflers, then a leading man at the Court of France; and there was no Miniſter of State then in Europe, whoſe character was more than equal to Lord Portland's, in policy and negociation. King William was ſenſible of this, and,

(*) Prior's Negociations, p. 39.

(*p*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. ii. p. 224.

(*q*) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. iii. p. 754.

(*r*) Mackey's Memoirs, p. 67.

this noble Lord, though not an Engliſhman born, yet had the honour and credit of England as much at heart as if he had been a native of it, and indeed ſupported its dignity better than any Engliſh Embaſſador at the Court of France, either before or after him. ‘ His Excellency, ſays our author, had fre‑‘ quently ſurloins of Engliſh beef ſent him from ‘ Dover, which being landed at Calais, were diſ‑‘ patched thence by meſſengers on purpoſe, to come ‘ freſh to Paris. This he did for the honour of ‘ England. He had alſo large quantities of the fineſt ‘ Herefordſhire cyder and Burton ale, which were ſo ‘ fine, that the Cuſtom-houſe officers on the Seine ‘ ſaid it was *Vin d'Eſpagne*, Canary, and would have ‘ ſeized it if it had not belonged to his Excellency.’

'Tis eaſy to imagine what a mortification it muſt have been to the abdicated King and his Court at St. Germain's, to hear what extraordinary honours were paid to the Miniſter and favourite of the Prince who filled the throne he vainly called his. During the Earl of Portland's ſtay in France there was a review of the troops of the houſehold, at which the King, Dauphin, young Princes of France, King James, and his ſon, the titular Prince of Wales, and divers perſons of quality, were preſent; and likewiſe the Earl of Portland, not knowing that King James and his ſon would be there. This latter, by his father's directions, endeavoured to join converſation with the Lord Woodſtock; but the Earl of Portland his father, ſeeing his deſign, ordered his ſon to avoid him, as he himſelf did all thoſe that belonged to the Court of St. Germains, and King James himſelf did all he could to engage Lord Cavendiſh and the other Engliſh Noblemen to accoſt him, but they all imitated the Earl of Portland (33).

(33) Compl. Hiſt.

In the beginning of May, King William having appointed the Earl of Jerſey to ſucceed Lord Portland as Embaſſador Extraordinary to France, his Excellency had firſt his public, and then private audience of leave of the King and all the Royal Family (34). The King ſent his Lordſhip the uſual preſent of his picture ſet with diamonds, but with this difference, that the ſtones were worth three times as much as is common in the like gifts. Beſides which, his Majeſty preſented the Earl with all the ſtamps and prints engraved at the Louvre, contained in twelve large volumes in folio; in return for which his Excellency made the King a preſent of nine very fine Engliſh horſes (35). On the 28th of June his Excellency left Paris, and went to Chantilli, a houſe belonging to the Prince of Conde, where he was entertained in a grand manner till the 11th, when he took leave of his Highneſs, and proceeding on his journey, arrived at Kenſington on the 19th. Thus ended this famous embaſſy, the expence of which, according to the French account (36), was only 100,000 crowns; but, according to our own Hiſtorians (37), almoſt three times that ſum, 80,000 l. and one of them writes (38), that he has been informed Lord Portland was 25,000 l. out of pocket more than his allowance for the charge of the embaſſy, and that his Lordſhip was never reimburſed it, but rightly adds, that he will not anſwer for the truth of this. Salmon ſays it coſt King William near 150,000 l. (39) However this be, it is certain the money that was ſpent upon this occaſion was to very little purpoſe; and Mr. Prior might well ſay, as he does (40), that this embaſſy was rather a matter of ceremony than buſineſs, the Earl of Portland, with all his endeavours, having been able to obtain nothing for the advantage of his Royal Maſter. His Lordſhip had it in his inſtructions, to inſiſt upon the removal of the late King James to a farther diſtance from the Court of France. This demand King James concluded would be complied with, and was preparing to retire to Avignon; but Lewis XIV. would not liſten to the propoſal, though Lord Portland offered in King William's name, to give King James and his Queen an honourable penſion, and eaſe the French King of 50,000 Louis d'ors a year, which he allowed King James, beſides ſmaller penſions and appointments to his followers, amounting in the whole to a very great ſum (41).——From hence it appears how ill the French King obſerved his engagements with King William, it having been expreſsly agreed in the conferences between Lord Portland and Marſhal de Boufflers (42), ‘ that the King ‘ of France ſhould give King James no aſſiſtance, and ‘ that he ſhould retire from the French Court, either ‘ to Avignon or Italy;’ which the French King now abſolutely refuſed Lord Portland to comply with; and King William now ſaw he could not obtain any thing by remonſtrances, which he had neglected to ſtipulate in the treaty of Ryſwick: but this is not to be wondered at, when we reflect how ſhort a time that treaty itſelf was found binding in its moſt material articles.

(34) *Ibid.*

(35) Compl. Hiſt.

(36) Annales de la Cour.

(37) Compl. Hiſt.

(38) Hiſt. of Europe, 1709.

(39) Salmon's Modern Hiſtory.

(40) Hiſt. of his own Time, p. 38.

(41) Oldmixon, Kennet, *&c.*

(42) See the note [*K*].

as ſuch a Miniſter, Lord Portland never loſt ground in the good opinion and eſteem of his maſter, though poſſibly he might in his affection or perſonal love: for the affections and paſſions of Kings are variable as other men's, and conſequently the ſituation of favourites is very precarious; and there have been very few inſtances of thoſe, who could boaſt a reign ſo quiet and undiſturbed, as never to ſuffer any interruption or diminution of their Prince's favour. Kings ſee with other men's eyes, and hear with other men's ears, and there are never wanting thoſe about a Court, who endeavour to traduce that virtue in others, which they cannot, or will not, imitate themſelves. The Earl of Albemarle had been in his Majeſty's ſervice from a youth, was deſcended of a noble family in Guelderland, attended King William into England as his Page of Honour, and being a young Lord of fine addreſs and ſweet temper, with a due mixture of heroiſm, it is no wonder his Majeſty took pleaſure in his converſation in the intervals of ſtate buſineſs, and in making his fortune, who had ſo long followed his own; which, however, was not making him maſter of his confidence, as the Hiſtorian ſays. Biſhop Burnet (*s*) ſays, it is a difficult matter to account for the reaſons of the favour ſhewn by the King, in the higheſt degree, to theſe two Lords, they being in all reſpects, not only of different, but of quite oppoſite characters; ſecrecy and fidelity being the only qualities in which they did in any ſort agree. Lord Albemarle was very cheerful and gay, had all the arts of a Court, was civil to all, and procured favours for many; but was ſo addicted to his pleaſures that he could ſcarcely ſubmit to attend on buſineſs, and had never yet diſtinguiſhed himſelf in any thing. On the other hand, Lord Portland was of a grave and ſedate diſpoſition, and indeed, adds the Biſhop, was thought rather too cold and dry, and had not the art of creating friends; but was indefatigable in buſineſs, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many occaſions (*t*). With another author, a pretty cenſorious one (*u*), his Lordſhip has the character of carrying himſelf with a very lofty mien, yet was not proud, nor much beloved nor hated by the people. But it is no wonder if the Earl of Portland was not acceptable to the Engliſh nation. His Lordſhip had been for ten years entirely truſted by the King, was his chief favourite and boſom-friend, and the favourites of Kings are ſeldom favourites of the people. On the contrary, they are generally objects of national jealouſy, and oftentimes of public hatred: and as it muſt be owned that King William was immoderately laviſh to thoſe he perſonally loved, of whom Lord Portland was the moſt diſtinguiſhed inſtance, no doubt but his Majeſty's extraordinary bounties and honours heaped upon this nobleman, raiſed much envy, and created him many enemies: for the amaſſing of wealth, and aggrandizing a family, are in themſelves ſufficient to render a Miniſter and Favourite unpopular. But as long as Hiſtory has not charged his memory with failings that might deſervedly render him obnoxious to the public, there can be no partiality in attributing this nobleman's unpopularity partly to the above reaſons, and partly to his being a foreigner, for which he ſuffered not a little from the envy and malice of his enemies, in their Speeches, Libels, &c. of which there were ſome, levelled, as well againſt his royal patron King William, as againſt his Lordſhip, that were filled with reproaches and reflections, not only ſevere, but ſcandalous in the higheſt degree, and the titles as well as contents of which are therefore beſt concealed. We ſhall only obſerve farther, that the ſame averſion to foreign favourites ſoon after ſhewed itſelf againſt Lord Albemarle, who, as he grew into power and favour, like Lord Portland, began to be looked upon with the ſame jealouſy; and when the King gave him the order of the Garter, in the year 1700, we are told (*w*) it was generally diſliked, and his Majeſty, to make it paſs the better, did at the ſame time confer the like honour on Lord Pembroke (an Engliſh nobleman of illuſtrious birth). Yet it was obſerved, that few of the nobility graced the ceremony of their inſtallation with their preſence, and that many ſevere reflections were then made on his Majeſty, for laviſhing away a Garter on his favourite (*x*): and another writer ſays (*y*), the King loſt many friends by his attachment to Lord Albemarle; and that the creating him Knight of the Garter, gave a general diſguſt to the nobility. The King had for a long time given the Earl of Portland the entire and abſolute government of Scotland (*z*); and his Lordſhip was alſo employed, in the year 1698, in the new negociation ſet on foot for the ſucceſſion of the Crown of Spain, called by the name of the *Partition Treaty*, the intention of which being fruſtrated by the treachery of the French King, the treaty itſelf fell under ſevere cenſure, and was looked upon as a fatal ſlip in the politics of that reign; and Lord Portland was impeached by the Houſe of Commons, in the year 1700, for adviſing and tranſacting it, as were alſo the other Lords concerned with him in it. As his Lordſhip had ſo conſiderable a ſhare in this memorable tranſaction, it cannot be amiſs to give a more particular account of it, as to its deſign and occaſion, as well as the extraordinary and unuſual method of proceeding of the Houſe of Commons, againſt Lord Portland, and the other impeached Lords, for their ſhare therein. For this, ſee the note [*M*]. This ſame year, Lord Portland was a ſecond time attacked, together with

the

(*s*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. ii. p. 225.

(*t*) Ibid.

(*u*) Mackey, in his Characters of the Engliſh and Scotch Nobility, p. 62.

(*w*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 783.

(*x*) Ibid.

(*y*) Prior's Negociations, p. 176, 177.

(*z*) Mackey's Memoirs, p. 63.

[*M*] *For this ſee the Note.*] The Treaty of Partition is ſaid to have been firſt projected by the famous Count Tallard, and to have laid the foundation of his future fortunes (43): But the firſt propoſal of it was made by the French King himſelf to Lord Portland, while he was in France; and it was probably in order to make King William come the more readily into it, that Lewis endeavoured to dazzle his Majeſty's eyes by the extraordinary reception he gave to his Embaſſador, and the marks of eſteem and affection which he ſhewed him in ſeveral letters; for, after the peace of Ryſwick, that Monarch's thoughts were wholly turned

upon

(43) Life of King William, p. 334.

the other favourite, Lord Albemarle, by the Houſe of Commons, when the affair of the diſpoſal of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland was under their conſideration. It appearing, upon

upon ſecuring in his own family the ſucceſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy, the King of Spain having no iſſue, and his death being daily expected; and, on the other hand, King William was no leſs bent upon preventing any ſuch ſucceſſion from taking place (44). The French King, to accompliſh his ends, kept up a very conſiderable army, and made all the neceſſary preparations for ſending out great numbers of men of war and gallies, in order to ſeize upon Spain as ſoon as the preſent Monarch was dead; and it happened that King William's whole forces at this time amounted but to ſeven thouſand men. Thus was the French King left in a condition to execute almoſt any thing. It was in his power to take poſſeſſion of the whole Spaniſh monarchy in the various parts of the world, before any Prince but the Emperor, whom he had little reaſon to fear, could oppoſe him. It was, therefore, no wonder that King William was prevailed upon to liſten to a propoſal for dividing thoſe dominions, and thereby preventing the Spaniſh monarchy, with all its dependencies, from falling into the hands of France. His Majeſty, it is ſaid, entered into this project by the advice of Lord Portland, and, being then in Holland, ſent over to England to Lord Somers for his advice in this important affair, deſiring him to ſend over the full powers under the Great Seal, to treat with Count Tallard, who had made ſome propoſitions to his Majeſty in perſon; but withal, enjoined inviolable ſecrecy to Lord Somers, who ſoon after ſent the King a commiſſion under the Great Seal, and likewiſe ſome advice about the affair, which his Majeſty however did not ſtay to receive; for before its arrival, Auguſt 29, N. S. (45) a treaty was concluded, and ſigned by the Earl of Portland and Sir Joſeph Williamſon on the part of England, Count Tallard on the part of France, and by eight Plenipotentiaries of the States General, to this purport: That in caſe the King of Spain ſhould die without iſſue, the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with the places then depending upon the Spaniſh monarchy, ſituate on the coaſt of Tuſcany, or the iſlands adjacent, the marquiſate of Final, the Province of Guipuſcoa, ſeveral towns, and all places on the French ſide of the Pyrenees, and other mountains, with all the ſhips and gallies, *&c.* ſhould be given to the Dauphin in conſideration of his right (46): That the Crown of Spain, and the other kingdoms and places, both within and without Europe, ſhould deſcend to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria; and that the dutchy of Milan ſhould be allotted to the Archduke Charles, the Emperor's ſecond ſon (47). This treaty was not long in force; for the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, appointed ſucceſſor to the King of Spain, died in February following, upon which Lord Portland ſoon after began to treat about a new partition in favour of the Archduke Charles. The Earl of Jerſey was ſent into France on this occaſion, and he and Lord Portland were joined in a commiſſion by his Majeſty, as his Plenipotentiaries, for concluding a new Partition Treaty (48), which was done in Mrach following; the conditions of which were, I. That Spain, Flanders, and the Weſt-Indies, which by the former treaty had been allotted to the Prince of Bavaria, ſhould devolve to the Archduke Charles, the Emperor's ſecond Son. II. That Naples and Sicily, with the reſt of the Spaniſh provinces on the coaſt of Italy, *&c.* ſhould be aſſigned the Dauphin. III. That Lorrain ſhould be annexed to France, the dutchy of Milan conferred on the Duke of Lorrain, and the county of Bitſche on the Prince of Vaudemont. King William and the States had certainly no other view in this treaty but to eſtabliſh the peace and tranquility of Europe, and to form a barrier in the Netherlands for the ſecurity of the United Provinces; to which end this treaty might ſeem to be made at a very critical juncture, though by the treachery of the French it had another effect, they having very different deſigns, which they clandeſtinely carried on; and while they were amuſing King William with the Partition Treaty, were labouring by all manner of means to pave the way to the Spaniſh throne for a Prince of the Houſe of Bourbon; for which purpoſe they procured a Will from the dying King, ſigned the 2d of October, N. S. whereby he conſtituted the Duke of Anjou, ſecond ſon to the Dauphin, his univerſal heir, in default of iſſue, and made other proviſions for continuing the ſucceſſion. This memorable Will was the contrivance of the Marquis d'Harcourt, and Cardinal Portecarrero, and the King ſurvived it but barely a month, dying on the 1ſt of November. The French King ſeemed at firſt doubtful whether to accept this Will, or obſerve the Treaty of Partition; but this was only a feint, for he did not long waver in his reſolution. On the 16th of November the Duke of Anjou was declared King of Spain at the French Court, and proclaimed at Madrid on the 24th of the ſame month, notwithſtanding the Pope and the Emperor proteſted againſt this ſtep; and the Engliſh and Dutch Miniſters likewiſe repreſented, that it was not agreeable to the Treaty of Partition ſo lately ſigned. Thus was the deſign of the Partition Treaty entirely defeated, and that which was intended to preſerve the public tranquility, was now cenſured as the ſole occaſion of breaking it. The Parliament began to ſhew their diſapprobation of it, and the ſecrecy with which it was tranſacted. The Houſe of Peers, March 20, 1700, in an addreſs, repreſented to his Majeſty the ill conſequence of it to the peace and ſafety of Europe; for that, beſides the occaſion it might have given the late King of Spain to have made his Will in favour of the Duke of Anjou, if the treaty had taken effect, the prejudice to his Majeſty and his ſubjects, and indeed to all Europe, by the addition of Sicily, Naples, ſeveral ports of the Mediterranean, dutchy of Lorrain, *&c.* had been not only very great, but contrary to the pretence of the treaty itſelf, which was to prevent any umbrage that might have been taken, by uniting ſo many ſtates and dominions under one head: That this treaty was never conſidered in any of his Majeſty's councils, and therefore they beſeeched his Majeſty, that he would for the future be pleaſed to admit, in all matters of importance, the advice of his natural-born ſubjects, whoſe known probity and fortunes might make him and his people a juſt aſſurance of their fidelity to his ſervice; and that in order thereto, he would be pleaſed to conſtitute a council of ſuch perſons, to whom his Majeſty might be pleaſed to impart all affairs, both at home and abroad, which might any ways concern him and his dominions: for intereſt and natural affection for their country would incline them to wiſh the welfare and proſperity of it, much more than others who had no ſuch ties upon them, and their experience and knowledge of their country, would alſo render them more capable, than ſtrangers, of adviſing his Majeſty in the true intereſt of it, *&c.* It is pretty plain againſt whom this addreſs was deſigned. The Commons, likewiſe, addreſſed his Majeſty againſt the Treaty, and cenſured the negociating it without the advice of the Parliament or Privy-Council. As things now ſeemed advancing to a criſis, and the Lord Portland ſaw himſelf ſo viſibly ſtruck at in the Lords addreſs, and feared the impending ſtorm might fall too heavy on him, he got the King's leave to communicate the whole matter to the Houſe (49): where, being ſoon after charged with negociating the ſaid treaty, his Lordſhip ſaid in his excuſe, that he had not concluded the treaty alone; for, beſides Lord Jerſey, who was joined with him in the negociation, he had likewiſe, by the King's order, acquainted ſix of his chief Miniſters with it, who were the Earls of Pembroke and Marlborough; the Lords Somers, Lonſdale, Halifax, and Orford; and Secretary Vernon; to which thoſe Peers replied, that they did acknowledge they had ſeen the rough draught of the treaty, but that the Earl of Portland had drawn it up himſelf in French, and they had never given nor refuſed their conſent to it, becauſe the treaty was never communicated to the Privy-Council. Many warm ſpeeches were made upon this occaſion, reflecting upon the Court; and the Houſe of Commons were ſo angry, and their debates ran ſo high, that more than one of their Members broke in upon common decency and good manners. Mr. How particularly ſaid, the Partition Treaty was a felonious treaty, and compared it to the diſtribution of other mens goods among highwaymen. At length, April the 1ſt, they came to a reſolution, 'That William Earl of Portland, by negociating and concluding the Treaty of Partition, which was deſtructive to the trade of this kingdom, and dangerous to the peace of

(44) Cole's Memoirs, p. 29, *& ſeq.*

(45) Prior's Negociations, p. 51.

(46) *Ibid.*

(47) Hiſtory of Europe, anno 1698. Compleat Hiſtory, *&c.*

(48) Prior's Negociations, p. 57.

(49) Burnet, Vol. ii. p. 267.

upon enquiry, that the King had, among many other grants, made one to Lord Woodſtock (the Earl of Portland's ſon) of 135,820 acres of land; and to Lord Albemarle two

'of Europe, was guilty, and ſhould be impeached of high crimes and miſdemeanors;' and they ordered Sir John Leviſon Gower to go up to the Lords, and at their bar to impeach the ſaid Earl, and to acquaint their Lordſhips that they would in due time exhibit articles againſt him. They then deſired a conference with their Lordſhips, at which they deſired their Lordſhips to communicate to them what information they had received of any tranſaction relating to the Partition Treaty, particularly of ſome tranſactions between Lord Portland and Mr. Secretary Vernon: Whereupon their Lordſhips delivered to them the two Latin commiſſions of powers, granted to the Earls of Portland and Jerſey, for negociating the ſaid treaties; and alſo a private paper of the Lord Portland's, which he had given in himſelf to the Houſe, and which ſhews that it was with ſome reluctance his Lordſhip engaged in this troubleſome affair. It runs thus: 'At the beginning of the Summer of the year 1699, when I was in Holland at my country-houſe, and when the King would have me be concerned in the negociation of this treaty, being very unwilling to meddle with buſineſs again, from which I had retired; before I would engage myſelf, I adviſed with my friends in Holland, and writ into England to Mr. Secretary Vernon, as my particular friend, whether it was adviſable for me to engage in buſineſs again? To which Mr. Vernon anſwered in ſubſtance, that this would engage me but for a little while; that I being upon the place, and generally acquainted with the foreign Miniſters, it would be eaſier for the King, and properer for me to be employed in it than any body elſe, who muſt otherwiſe be ſent for on purpoſe.' The Commons then proceeded to impeach the Lords Orford, Somers, and Halifax; and, not content with this ſtep, on the 23d of April they addreſſed his Majeſty to remove the Earl of Portland, and the other impeached Lords, from his councils and preſence for ever. His Majeſty could not but be very uneaſy at this ſevere dealing with his Counſellors and Miniſters; when he knew the error, if any, was only an error of judgment, and that rather of his own, than of thoſe employed by him. But by the courteſy of England our Kings are underſtood to do nothing but by advice, and conſequently their Miniſters are ſuppoſed to be anſwerable for their miſdeeds. The King kept his temper, and only anſwered, that he would employ none in his ſervice, but ſuch as ſhould be thought moſt likely to improve a mutual truſt and confidence between him and his Parliament. But as the names of thoſe Lords ſtill remained in the council, it might be judged the King did not intend to grant their requeſt. Such an addreſs had never gone along with an impeachment before. The Commons, indeed, had begun ſuch a practice in King Charles the Second's time (50), where they diſliked a Miniſter, but had not matter to ground an impeachment on, and ſo took this method of making an addreſs againſt him; but to come with an addreſs after an impeachment, was a new attempt: this was puniſhing before trial, contrary to an indiſpenſible rule of juſtice, of not judging before the party is heard. The Peers of England behaved with great prudence and good affection at this critical juncture. They were alarmed at the addreſs of the Commons, and looked upon it to be an ill precedent for perſons to be cenſured before they were tried. Beſides, it made their judicature ridiculous, when, in the firſt inſtance of an accuſation, application was made for a cenſure, and a very ſevere one; for few miſdemeanours could deſerve a harder ſentence (51). For this reaſon the Lords thought proper to interpoſe with this counter-addreſs to the King; that the Commons having impeached the Lords Portland, *&c.* and deſigned to exhibit particular articles againſt them, and make good the ſame, they deſired his Majeſty would be pleaſed not to paſs any cenſure upon thoſe Lords, till they were tried upon the ſaid impeachments, and judgment was given according to the uſage of Parliament, and the laws of the land. Thus matters reſted till the 5th of May, when the Commons not having given in articles of impeachment againſt the Lords, the Houſe of Peers began to think that their Members had been impeached by the Commons, without a ſerious intention of proſecuting the charge againſt them: they therefore ſent a meſſage to the Commons, to remind them that there were yet no articles preferred againſt the impeached Lords. This extorted from them articles againſt Lord Orford, and ſoon after againſt Lord Somers; and on the 24th of the ſame month, the Lords ſent another quickening meſſage to the Commons, and after that another; repreſenting to them, that after impeachments had ſo long depended, it was a hardſhip to the perſons concerned, and not agreeable to the uſual methods of Parliament in ſuch caſes; and preſſed them to make good their impeachments againſt Lord Portland and Halifax. This occaſioned a breach between the two Houſes, the Commons inſiſting upon it, that they, as proſecutors, were proper judges when articles of impeachment ought to be brought up, and would not proceed faſter than they thought fit. But the truth is, the Commons being defective in their proofs (52), were not forward to proſecute this accuſation, and the majority of them began to wiſh they had never entered upon this untoward affair. In ſhort, they found their impeachments muſt come to nothing: for that they had not the majority in the Houſe of Lords to judge in them as they ſhould direct; and therefore they had before reſolved on a ſhorter way to fix a ſevere cenſure on the impeached Lords, by addreſſing to have them removed from the King's councils for ever; and their impeachments were only for form ſake, and to give a colour to that addreſs; for they really intended to let the matter ſleep, thinking that what they had already done had ſo marked thoſe Lords, that the King could not employ them any more, which was the chief end of their proceedings. At a conference between the two Houſes, the Lord Haverſham having caſt ſome reflections upon the Commons impeachments, they now made this a plea for their delay refuſing to proceed till they had received ſatisfaction for the affront offered by that Lord, which was no more than his having ſaid, that it was a plain demonſtration that the Commons thought theſe Lords innocent, ſince there were ſeveral Lords equally guilty, whom the Commons left at the head of affairs near the King's perſon, to do what miſchief they were inclined to. The Commons having ſent up a charge againſt Lord Haverſham for this ſpeech, that Lord, in his anſwer thereto, juſtified what he had ſaid, and further inſiſted, that the impeachment againſt Lord Portland could not have reference to any other treaty than that of 1699, the treaty of 1698 not being before the Houſe of Commons till after the impeachment, and that the Commons had ſhewn themſelves partial, and even unjuſt, in proceeding againſt the impeached Lords, while they ſuffered the Earl of Jerſey, who actually ſigned the ſaid treaty of 1699, as a Plenipotentiary with the Lord Portland to ſtand unimpeached, and to continue at the head of affairs, as likewiſe Mr. Secretary Vernon, Sir Joſeph Williamſon, *&c.* who were engaged in the ſame tranſactions. The Commons having exhibited articles againſt Lord Halifax (but none againſt Lord Portland), the Peers ſent another meſſage, to put them in mind of their impeachment againſt Lord Portland; and finding they would not proceed to try the other impeached Lords, the Peers themſelves reſolved to try them, which they did, and acquitted them; and alſo diſmiſſed the charge againſt Lord Haverſham, and the impeachment againſt Lord Portland, there having been no articles exhibited againſt him. Biſhop Burnet ſays (53), that the forbearance of the Commons to frame articles againſt Lord Portland was repreſented to the King as an expreſſion of their reſpect to him, which, if true, ſhews that Lord Portland was yet in great favour with his Majeſty. The arbitrary, and, indeed, unjuſt proceedings of the Commons, put the nation into a high ferment, the generality of people diſliking their behaviour, a bold teſtimony of which was given in the Kentiſh petition delivered to the Houſe of Commons; and after that, a ſtill more daring affront was offered them by the famous Memorial, called by the name of the Legions Letter, ſaid to be written in the names of 200,000 people. This conſiſted of complaints of a great number of unlawful and unwarrantable practices of the Commons, and among the reſt were theſe following, which may ſerve to ſhew the ſenſe of the people in general upon the late meaſures.

(50) Burnet, Vol. i. p. 259.

(51) *Ibid.*

(52) Burnet, Vol. ii. p. 267.

(53) *Ibid.* p. 274.

two grants, of 108,633 acres in poſſeſſion and reverſion; the Parliament came to a reſolution to reſume theſe grants; and alſo reſolved, that the adviſing and paſſing them was highly

I. ‘ Addreſſing the King to diſplace his friends upon ‘ bare ſurmiſes, before the legal trial, or article ‘ proved, is illegal, and inverting the Law, and making execution go before judgment, contrary to the ‘ true ſenſe of the Law, which eſteems every man a ‘ good man, till ſomething appears to the contrary.

II. ‘ Delaying proceedings upon capital impeach‘ments, to blaſt the reputation of the perſons without ‘ proving the fact, is illegal and oppreſſive, deſtructive ‘ to the liberty of Engliſhmen, a delay of juſtice, and ‘ a reproach to Parliaments.

III. ‘ Suffering ſaucy and indecent reproaches upon ‘ his Majeſty's perſon to be publicly made in the ‘ Houſe, particularly by that impudent ſcandal of ‘ Parliaments, John How, who ſaid openly, *That his ‘ Majeſty had made a felonious treaty to rob his neigh‘bours*; inſinuating, *that the Partition Treaty* (which ‘ was every way as juſt as blowing up one man's ‘ houſe to ſave another's) *was a combination of the ‘ King to rob the Crown of Spain of its due.* This is ‘ making a Billingſgate of the Houſe, and ſetting up ‘ to bully your Sovereign, contrary to the intent and ‘ meaning of the freedom of ſpeech which you claim ‘ as a right, is ſcandalous to Parliaments, undutiful ‘ and unmannerly, and a reproach to the whole ‘ nation.’

There appeared about this time a pamphlet (53), written by Dean Swift, upon the ſubject of thoſe impeachments; in which there are theſe reflections: ‘ For a few popular orators, ſays he, upon ‘ the ſcore of perſonal pique, or to employ their pride ‘ in ſeeing themſelves at the head of a party, or as a ‘ method of advancement; for ſuch men, I ſay, when ‘ the State would of itſelf be quiet, and has beſides ‘ affairs of the greateſt importance upon the anvil, to ‘ impeach Miltiades (Lord Orford) after a great naval ‘ victory, (La Hogue) for not purſuing the Perſian ‘ fleet; to impeach Ariſtides (Lord Somers) the Perſon ‘ moſt verſed among them in the knowledge and prac‘tice of their laws, for a blind ſuſpicion of his acting ‘ in an arbitrary manner; to impeach Pericles after ‘ all his ſervices (Lord Halifax) for a few paltry ac‘counts; or to impeach Phocion (Lord Portland) for ‘ no other crime but negotiating a treaty for the peace ‘ and ſecurity of his country; what could the conti‘nuance of ſuch proceedings end in, but the utter ‘ diſcouragement of all virtuous actions and perſons, ‘ and conſequently the ruin of a State?’ It was certainly an impolitic thing in the Parliament to put ſuch an affront upon King William's councils, at a time when they ought in a more ſpecial manner to have ſupported the credit and authority of them, ſince he muſt neceſſarily be at the head of the next confederacy that appeared, as he was at the laſt; and when the retroſpecting the affair of the Partition Treaty could be of no ſervice to the common cauſe, but was ſure to obſtruct and weaken it. But it ſeems pretty plain, that this affair was ſet on foot purely by a ſpirit of party and perſonal pique againſt thoſe Lords (*), ſince the others equally concerned with them were not queſtioned. There are few proſecutions of this kind, but there is a great deal of private pique, intereſt, and reſentment, mixed with views of public good. The impeached Lords were the chiefs of the Whigs, and had long reigned at Court without controul; and the Tories who ſucceeded them had a view perhaps of preventing them from returning to their poſts, as well as of bringing them to juſtice for negotiating the Partition Treaty. Biſhop Burnet ſays (54), it was the effect of the influence and intrigues of France, which had ſet all its engines at work to involve us in ſuch difficulties and contentions at home, as ſhould wholly take off our attention from affairs abroad; or, however, if it was not the effect of French direction, it was at leaſt the animoſity of a party, to ruin thoſe who had ſerved the King faithfully (55), and to diſcourage others from engaging ſo far in his intereſts as thoſe Lords had done.

⁂ [We do not find, in the collections of State Papers, lately publiſhed by Sir John Dalrymple and Mr. Macpherſon, ſuch a number of materials, relative to the Earl of Portland as might, perhaps, have been expected. In Dalrymple's Memoirs, there is a letter from the Prince of Orange to Monſ. Bentinck, repreſenting the reaſons why he could not comply with James the Second's requeſt, of giving the command of the ſix Engliſh regiments in the Dutch ſervice to the Earl of Carlingford (a Papiſt); and deſiring Monſ. Bentinck to make this repreſentation directly to the King (56). The ſame Hiſtorian informs us, that he had ſeen an original letter from the Earl of Portland to William the Third, after the peace of Ryſwick, in which his Lordſhip acquaints that Monarch, that, according to his orders, he had offered a penſion of 50,000 pounds a year to King James (57).

The few letters which, in Mr. Macpherſon's publication, occur concerning the Earl of Portland, are not very intereſting. The firſt we meet with was written, Sept. 5, 1702, by the Earl to Mr. Robethon, an Agent for the Hanover family, in which his Lordſhip ſtrongly expreſſes his ſentiments of reſpect and adherence to that family. ‘ I am too old, ſays he, ‘ to change, and too deeply impreſſed with the prin‘ciples of the late King, my Maſter, ever to devi‘ate from them: Beſides, I love my religion, and hate ‘ ſlavery (58).’ In the year 1705 (59), the Elector writes to the Earl, to thank him for his congratulations on his Son's (the Electoral Prince's) marriage, and for his attachment to his intereſts (60). In the next year his Lordſhip, addreſſing to Mr. Robethon (61), ſpeaks ſomething concerning the conduct of the Tories, in their motion for inviting the electoral Prince into England; and ſends the news of the Prince's having been choſen a Knight of the Garter (62). Two months after, the Earl of Portland, in a letter from the Hague (63), aſſures the Elector of his zeal for his ſervice. To this the Elector returned, in a few days, the following anſwer.

‘ My LORD, Hanover, June 26, 1706.

‘ I AM much obliged to you for the letter you was ‘ at the trouble of writing to me, and for the aſ‘ſurances which it contains of your zeal for the in‘tereſts of my family. My Miniſter at London gave ‘ me an exact account of all the meaſures which you ‘ took, on different occaſions, for eſtabliſhing and ‘ confirming the Proteſtant Succeſſion. I intreat you ‘ to believe, that I lay a great ſtreſs upon your af‘fection; that I am very ſenſible of the proofs of ‘ it which you have given me; and that I ſhall be ‘ always very happy to find opportunities of ſhewing ‘ how much I am, &c. (64).’

But though the letters juſt referred to contain nothing which is of much importance, there is, in Mr. Macpherſon's Original Papers, and in his Hiſtory of Great Britain, a moſt remarkable fact mentioned, which cannot paſs unnoticed in this place; becauſe it relates to the treaty of Ryſwick, in which the Earl of Portland was ſo eminently concerned; and becauſe, if the fact be true, the Earl muſt have been the ſole negociator of the affair. In the Extracts from the Life of King James, ſaid to be written by himſelf, there is, under the year 1697, the following paſſage: ‘ Though no one could blame the King's conduct, ‘ in this total diſclaiming all treaties and accommo‘dations, when he found the confederate Princes no ‘ ways diſpoſed to do him juſtice; yet there was one ‘ article particularly ſtipulated, which, had not the ‘ King too haſtily rejected, might have rendered his ‘ poſterity eaſy, and his people happy. His moſt ‘ Chriſtian Majeſty had underhand prevailed with the ‘ Prince of Orange to conſent that the Prince of ‘ Wales ſhould ſucceed to the throne of England after ‘ his death. That mercenary Prince, it ſeems, had ‘ no great regard to the pretended ends of his coming, ‘ nor to the acts of parliament which excluded the ‘ Prince of Wales, and all of that perſuaſion, from ‘ the ſucceſſion. He had, under the notion of pre‘ſerving the church of England, uſurped the king‘dom; and, now, (that the work was done) thoſe ‘ pangs of conſcience were vaniſhed, and he was very ‘ eaſy on that head, and ready to leave the church to ‘ Providence for the future, not caring under whoſe ‘ government it fell afterwards, ſo he was ſecure of ‘ the throne for his life. For this reaſon, he ſhewed ‘ no great averſeneſs to the Prince of Wales's having highly reflecting on the King's honour ; and that the officers and inſtruments concerned in the procuring and paſſing thoſe grants, had highly failed in the performance of their truſt

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(53) Diſcourſe of the Conteſts in Athens and Rome.

(*) Hiſt. of the Revolutions of Spain, 8*vo*. Vol. v. p. 270.

(54) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. ii. p. 274.

(55) Hiſt. of the Revolutions of Spain, 8*vo*. Vol. v. p. 269, 270.

(56) Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. ii. Appendix, part ii. p. 139.

(57) *Ibid.* Appendix, part iii. p. 245, 246.

(58) Macpherſon's Original Papers, Vol. i. p. 620, 621.

(59) October the 12th.

(60) Macpherſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 710.

(61) In a letter, dated Whitehall, April 5, 1706.

(62) Vol. ii. p. 30.

(63) June 3.

(64) Original Papers, Vol. ii. p. 53.

the preference to thoſe who were named by the pretended act of ſettlement. How he would have brought about in parliament this matter, does not appear; becauſe it never came to a trial. But when this ſeeming advantage to the family was propoſed to the King, he could not ſupport the thoughts, he ſaid, of making his own child an accomplice to his unjuſt dethronement; ſo immediately he told his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty (who had firſt made the overture to him), that though he could ſuffer with Chriſtian patience the Prince of Orange's uſurpation upon *him*, he could never conſent that his own ſon ſhould do it too. This was a point too nice to be preſſed, in caſe of the leaſt reluctancy; ſo nothing more was ſaid upon it. But had the King taken leiſure to weigh more maturely the matter, he might have found means, perhaps, of reconciling that apparent incongruity, and, for the ſake of his ſon and poſterity, have overlooked the injuſtice done to himſelf. But the King was better at ſuffering injuries, than at conniving at them; and the leaſt ſhadow of an injuſtice was enough to damp, in his acceptation, the beſt laid project in the world (65).'

Upon the ſole authority of the foregoing paper, Mr. Macpherſon, in his Hiſtory, has drawn up the ſubſequent account of the ſame tranſaction. 'The Earl of Portland, on the part of the King of England, and de Boufflers, in the name of Lewis, met between the armies, and held a conference, on the 10th of July. They met again, on the 15th and 20th of the ſame month, in the ſame manner. But, on the 26th of July and the 2d of Auguſt, they retired to a houſe in the ſuburbs of Halle, and reduced to writing the terms to which they had agreed in the field.

'The world have hitherto been no leſs ignorant of the object of theſe interviews, than Europe was then aſtoniſhed at ſuch an uncommon mode of negociation. As William truſted not his three plenipotentiaries at the Hague with his agreement with France, mankind juſtly concluded, that a ſecret of the laſt importance had been for ſome time depending between the two Kings. Time has, at length, unravelled the myſtery. Lewis, unwilling to deſert James, propoſed that the Prince of Wales ſhould ſucceed to the crown of England, after the death of William. The King, with little heſitation, agreed to this requeſt. He even ſolemnly engaged to procure the repeal of the act of ſettlement; and to declare, by another, the Prince of Wales his ſucceſſor in the throne. This great preliminary being ſettled, other matters of leſs importance followed of courſe. The fifty thouſand pounds a year, ſettled as a jointure upon King James's Queen, was agreed to be paid; though the money was afterwards retained upon various pretences. On the 3d of Auguſt, the King left the army, and retired to Dieren. He ſent from thence the Earl of Portland, to acquaint the miniſters aſſembled at the congreſs, that he had ſettled his own affairs, and thoſe of his kingdoms, with France; and that he earneſtly preſſed the Allies, and particularly the Emperor, to haſten the concluſion of the great work of peace.

'Thoſe who aſcribe all the actions of William to public ſpirit, will find ſome difficulty in reconciling this tranſaction to their elevated opinion of his character. In one conceſſion to France, he yielded all his profeſſions to England; and, by an act of indiſcretion, or through indifference, deſerted the principles to which he owed the throne. The deliverance of the nation was not, however, the ſole object of this Prince. Like other men, he was ſubject to human paſſions; and, like them, when he could gratify himſelf, he ſerved the world. Various motives ſeem to have concurred, to induce him to adopt a meaſure, unaccountable on other grounds. The projected peace was to ſecure the crown in his poſſeſſion for his life. He had no children, and but few relations; and thoſe he never loved. The ſucceſſors provided by the Act of Settlement, he either deſpiſed or abhorred; and he ſeems hitherto not to have extended his views beyond the limits of that act. Though James had diſpleaſed the nation, he had not injured William. The Son had offended neither. He might excite compaſſion, but he could be no object of averſion. The ſuppoſed ſpuriouſneſs of his birth, had been only held forth to amuſe the vulgar; and even theſe would be convinced, by the public acknowledgment intended to be made by the very perſon whoſe intereſt was moſt concerned in the ſupport of that idle tale.

'But the ſame imprudence which loſt to the late King the crown, excluded, for ever, his poſterity from the throne. He told his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, who had made the firſt overture to him, on this important ſubject, that though he could ſuffer with patience the uſurpation of his nephew upon his right, he could never permit his own ſon to be guilty of the ſame injuſtice. He urged, that ſhould the ſon reign in his father's lifetime, that circumſtance would amount to a formal renunciation: That the Prince of Wales, by ſucceeding to the Prince of Orange, would yield his ſole right, which was that of his father; and being obliged to the people for his elevation, the hands which had raiſed him, might, at any time, juſtly pull him down from his throne: That ſhould he himſelf be capable of conſenting to ſuch a diſgraceful propoſal, in favour of his ſon, he might be juſtly reproached with departing from his avowed principles, and with ruining monarchy, by rendering elective an hereditary crown. Beſides, that though he ſhould conſent to ſacrifice all that he reckoned dear, to a mortal enemy, the Prince of Orange could only promiſe a thing, which he was not, perhaps, able to perform: That the ſame Parliament that had conferred the royal authority on himſelf, had ſettled the reverſion of the crown on the Princeſs of Denmark; and that, therefore, by reverſing the Act of Settlement, he disjointed the whole claim which bound the people to his government. But that ſhould even the Prince of Orange induce the Parliament of England to repeal the Act of Settlement, it would be always on condition of having the Prince of Wales placed in their hands, without their being able to give any ſecurity either for his perſon or his conſcience.

'The laſt conſideration was not, perhaps, the leaſt motive of this deluded Prince, for rejecting the only certain proſpect that had ever offered itſelf for reſtoring his family to the throne. The French King, perceiving his obſtinacy, urged not further a point, of which James himſelf could be the only judge (66).'

We ſee that Mr. Macpherſon gives full credit to the fact related in the Memoirs; and he has grounded upon it, as uſual, ſome reflections, to the diſadvantage of King William's character. But there doth not appear to us ſufficient reaſon for yielding our aſſent to this narration. The account, though printed as part of James's Memoirs, was, in fact, not written by that Prince. This the Editor takes notice of; but obſerves, that as it was done under James's own inſpection, and corrected by himſelf, it poſſeſſes as much authority, as if written by him in his own hand. The proofs, however, of his having inſpected the paper ought to have been exhibited to the Public, and the particular corrections made by him ſhould have been ſpecified. The paper itſelf has the air of having been compoſed ſome time after the event. It is very ſtrange that ſo extraordinary an affair ſhould not have been recorded by James himſelf. It is remarkable, likewiſe, that no traces of this ſingular tranſaction ſhould be met with in the Original Papers, correſponding to the year 1697. It cannot but be thought ſurpriſing that it ſhould be concealed from James's confidential friends, and that it ſhould have no place in Nairne's Collections. How came it, alſo, to paſs, that the numerous enemies to King William, who have had acceſs to the Stuart Papers, ſhould not have diſcovered and publiſhed a fact ſo injurious to his memory; and how could it eſcape the reſearches of the vigilant and induſtrious Carte?

But, were we to grant all the authenticity and authority to the relation, which Mr. Macpherſon himſelf could deſire, it would not ſupport the ſtructure he hath built upon it. All that can reaſonably be gathered

(65) Original Papers, *ubi ſupra*, p. 260, 261.

(66) Macpherſon's Hiſtory of Great Britain, Vol. ii. p. 131—134.

truſt and duty; and alſo, that the procuring or paſſing exorbitant grants, by any member now of the Privy-Council, or by any other that had been a Privy Counſellor, in this, or any former reign, to his uſe or benefit, was a high crime and miſdemeanour: and to carry their reſentment ſtill farther, the Commons fell immediately upon impeaching, as we learn from a letter written by Mr. Prior to the Earl of Mancheſter (*a*), and that the perſons they named were the Earls of Portland and Albemarle, and the articles upon which they were going, were for procuring for themſelves exorbitant grants (*b*). This impeachment, however, did not take place; but the Commons voted an addreſs to his Majeſty, that no perſon who was not a native of his dominions, excepting his Royal Highneſs Prince George of Denmark, ſhould be admitted to his Majeſty's Councils in England or Ireland. This blow, it is eaſy to ſee, was aimed chiefly at the two favourites, Lord Portland and Albemarle: but the King, not thinking it proper to receive ſuch an addreſs, had no other way to hinder its being preſented, but by going ſuddenly to the Houſe of Lords, paſſing the bills that were ready, and putting an end to the ſeſſion, which his Majeſty did the very next day. The Partition Treaty was the laſt public tranſaction we find Lord Portland engaged in; the next year after his impeachment, 1701, having put a period to the life of his royal and munificent maſter, King William III.; but not without having ſhewn, even in his laſt moments, that his eſteem and affection for Lord Portland ended but with his life: for when his Majeſty was juſt expiring, he aſked, though with a faint voice, for the Earl of Portland, but before his Lordſhip could come, the King's voice quite failed him. The Earl, however, placing his ear as near his Majeſty's mouth as could be, his lips were obſerved to move, but without ſtrength to expreſs his mind to his Lordſhip; but, as the laſt teſtimony of the cordial affection he bore him, he took him by the hand, and carried it to his heart with great tenderneſs (*c*), and expired ſoon after. His Lordſhip had before been a witneſs to, and ſigned his Majeſty's laſt Will and Teſtament, made at the Hague in 1695; and it is ſaid (*d*), that King William, the winter before he died, told Lord Portland, as they were walking together in the garden at Hampton Court, that he found his health declining very faſt, and that he could not live another ſummer, but charged his Lordſhip not to mention this till after his Majeſty's death. We are told (*e*), that at the time of the King's death, Lord Portland was Keeper of Windſor Great Park, and was diſplaced upon Queen Anne's acceſſion to the throne: we are not, however, made acquainted with the time, when his Lordſhip became firſt poſſeſſed of that poſt. After King William's death, the Earl did not, at leaſt openly, concern himſelf with public affairs (*f*), but betook himſelf to a retired life, in a moſt exemplary way, at his ſeat at Bulſtrode in the county of Bucks, where he erected, and plentifully endowed a free-ſchool; and did many other charities. His Lordſhip had an admirable taſte for gardening, and took great delight in improving and beautifying his own gardens, which he made very elegant and curious. At length, being taken ill of a pleuriſy and malignant fever, after about a week's illneſs he died (*g*), November 23, 1709, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age, leaving behind him a very plentiful fortune, being at that time reputed one of the richeſt ſubjects in Europe (*h*). His corpſe being conveyed to London, was, on the third of December, carried with great funeral pomp, from his houſe in St. James's Square to Weſtminſter-Abbey, and there interred in the vault under the eaſt window of Henry the Seventh's chapel. His Lordſhip married (*i*) to his firſt wife, Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, Knight-Marſhal, and ſiſter to Edward Earl of Jerſey, at that time Maid of Honour to Mary, Princeſs of Orange, the Royal Conſort of King William III., by whom he had iſſue three ſons and five daughters, *viz.* William, who died in his infancy; Henry, ſecond ſon, afterwards Earl and Duke of Portland; and another William, who died young in Holland (*k*). Lady Mary, the eldeſt daughter, married to Algernon, Earl of Eſſex, and ſince his deceaſe, to the Honourable Conyers D'Arcy, only brother to Robert, Earl of Holderneſs. Lady Anna Margaretta, the ſecond daughter, married to M. Duyvenvorde, one of the principal Nobles of Holland (*l*). Lady Frances Williamyna, third daughter, married to William, Lord Byron, and died March 31, 1712. Lady Eleonora, fourth daughter, died unmarried. Lady Iſabella, youngeſt daughter, married to Evelyn Pierpoint, Duke of Kingſton, and died February 23, 1727-8 (*m*). His Lordſhip, on the ſixteenth of May, 1700, took to his ſecond wife, Jane (*n*), ſixth daughter of Sir John Temple of Eaſt Sheen in the

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thered from it, is, that the ſcheme was propoſed by Lewis to James, who gave ſuch an anſwer as is repreſented; and that it was mentioned to William or his ambaſſadors, who expreſſed no particular diſapprobation of it; a conduct which is natural enough to political men, in the management of political negociations, even when they have no intention of complying with the meaſure ſuggeſted by the oppoſite party. For though it is aſſerted, in the paper, that there was an article 'privately ſtipulated;' and that 'his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had underhand prevailed with the Prince of Orange to conſent that the Prince of Wales ſhould ſucceed to the throne of England after his death,' yet, in the courſe of the narration, this account dwindles down to what follows: 'He (William) *ſhewed no great averſeneſs* to the Prince of Wales's having the preference to thoſe who were named by the pretended Act of Settlement.' Nevertheleſs, Mr. Macpherſon is pleaſed to ſay, that King William, 'with little heſitation, agreed to this requeſt;' and that '*He even ſolemnly engaged, to procure the repeal of the Act of Settlement; and to declare, by another, the Prince of Wales his ſucceſſor in the throne.*'

Many reaſons might be drawn from the character, views, and ſituation of William, and from the impracticable nature of the project, to ſhew that he could not ſeriouſly accede to ſuch a propoſal. But obſervations of this kind will eaſily ſuggeſt themſelves to our intelligent Readers (67).] K.

(*a*) Extant in Mr. Prior's Negociations, p. 171.

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*c*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. ii. p. 303.

(*d*) Life of King William, Vol. iii. Compleat Hiſt. Vol. iii. p. 839. Hiſt. of Europe, Anno 1709.

(*e*) Mackey's Characters of the Engliſh and Scotch Nobility, p. 62.

(*f*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. i. p. 311.

(*g*) *Ibid.*

(*h*) Mackey's Memoirs, p. 62.

(*i*) Peerage of England, *ubi ſupra.*

(*k*) *Ibid.*

(*l*) *Ibid.*

(*m*) *Ibid.*

(*n*) *Ibid.*

(67) Theſe remarks have already been laid before the public in another work.

county of Surry, Bart. ſiſter to Henry, Lord Viſcount Palmerſton, and widow of John Lord Berkeley of Stratton; and by her (who, in 1726, was Governeſs to the three young Princeſſes, eldeſt daughters of his late Majeſty) had two ſons (*o*), William, one of the Nobles of Holland, who, in 1733, married Charlotta-Sophia-Hedwige Eleonora, Counteſs of Aldenburgh, only daughter to Anthony, Count Aldenburgh, Seigneur de Varel, Kniphauſen, &c. in Germany; and Charles John, an officer in the ſervice of the States-General; as alſo four daughters (*p*). Lady Sophia, married March 24, 1728-9, to his Grace Henry de Grey, Duke of Kent. Lady Elizabeth, married to Dr. Henry Egerton, Biſhop of Hereford, brother to his Grace Scroop Duke of Bridgwater (*q*). Lady Harriot, married to James Hamilton, Viſcount Limerick of the kingdom of Ireland (*r*). Lady Barbara, married to Francis Godolphin, Eſq;. B—— M.

(*o*) *Ibid.*

(*p*) *Ibid.*

(*q*) *Ibid.*

(*r*) *Ibid.*

BENTINCK (Henry), ſecond ſon of (*) William Earl of Portland, whilſt he was a Commoner, was elected, in two Parliaments (*a*), in the reign of Queen Anne, one of the Knights of the Shire for the county of Southampton; and on the twenty-firſt of July, 1710, was made Captain of the firſt troop of horſe-guards, in the room of the Earl of Albemarle. He was created by King George the Firſt, Marquis of Tichfield in Hampſhire, and Duke of Portland, by letters patent, bearing date the ſixteenth of July, 1716. In the patent of which creation are theſe remarkable expreſſions, which ſhew the juſt ſenſe his Majeſty had, of the traiterous deſigns of the Miniſters, in the laſt year of the Queen, againſt the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the liberties of our country; where, ſpeaking of Lord Portland, then created a Duke, it is ſaid, 'he promoted the great 'work of the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line, at the utmoſt hazard of his fortune and 'honours, at a time when our ſucceſſion was in the moſt imminent danger: he ſtood 'firm againſt all the promiſes and repeated offers of a Court, and frequently declared, 'how ready he was to reſign his high poſt in the late Queen's guards; which he at length 'was deprived of in an extraordinary manner, as apprehending, leſt, by the ſpecious 'ſuggeſtions of gratitude, he ſhould be prompted to enter into meaſures, which might 'have a tendency to betray the liberties of his country (*b*).' When the King went to Cambridge in 1717, and the ceremony of admitting and creating ſeveral degrees, was, according to cuſtom, performed in his royal preſence, his Grace the Duke of Portland was created Doctor of Laws. His Grace was alſo one of the Gentlemen of King George the Firſt's Bedchamber; and on the ninth of September, 1721, was appointed Captain-General, and Governor of the iſland of Jamaica, where his Grace departed this life, of a fever, on the fourth of July, 1726, in the forty-fifth year of his age, greatly lamented, being of a moſt noble, generous, and courteous diſpoſition, and generally eſteemed one of the moſt accompliſhed Noblemen at Court (*c*). There was this remarkable in his Grace's education, that he had for his tutors two conſiderable Hiſtorians of the age, Dr. La Vaſſor, a Father of the Oratory in France, who embraced the Proteſtant religion, and left that kingdom upon it; and after him M. Rapin de Thoyras, author of the Hiſtory of England [*A*]. The ſucceſs of their cares, appeared in his Grace's excellent conduct in the government of Jamaica. His Grace married the Lady Elizabeth Noel (*e*), eldeſt daughter and co-heir of Wriotheſly Baptiſt Noel, Earl of Gainſborough, by whom he had ſeveral children, and left iſſue two ſons and three daughters; William, late Duke of Portland, and Lord George, to whom his Majeſty was godfather. He was born December 24, 1715, and died a Major-General, March 1, 1759. The daughters were Lady Anne, Lady Iſabella, and Lady Amelia. His Grace was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon William, late Duke of Portland, who after three years travel in France and Italy, returned to England in the year 1733 (*f*). B—— M.

(*) See the above article.

(*a*) Peerage of England, Vol. i. p. 312.

(*b*) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of England, Vol. ii. p. 620.

(*c*) Oldmixon, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) Preface to Rapin's Hiſtory of England.

(*e*) Peerage of England, Vol. i. p. 312, 313.

(*f*) *Ibid.*

*** [The ſecond Duke of Portland died on the 1ſt of May, 1762, and was ſucceeded by William-Henry-Cavendiſh Bentinck, the preſent Duke (*g*).

It is ſaid, that the loſſes which the firſt Duke of Portland met with in the South-Sea project induced him to accept of the government of Jamaica. He was a man of a moſt amiable turn of mind, but not, it ſeems, of diſtinguiſhed abilities (*h*).] K.

(*g*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. ii. p. 139. Edition of 1768.

(*h*) From private Communication.

[*A*] *And after him Monſieur Rapin de Thoyras, author of the* Hiſtory of England.] In the Life of Monſieur Rapin, inſerted in the preface to his Hiſtory of England, it is ſaid, that in 1693 the Earl of Portland, who had heard of M. Rapin's character, reſolved to make him Governor to his ſon. Accordingly, when M. de Rapin thought nothing of the matter, he received in Ireland, where he then was, an order from the King to repair forthwith into England, and to enter upon his employ of Governor; and his Majeſty gave him a penſion of 100 *l.* a year, till ſuch time as he ſhould provide for him better, which, however, never happened. He enjoyed his penſion only during the King's life, after which it was taken from him, and in lieu of it he had a place given him of a moderate income (1).

(1) Preface to Rapin's Hiſt. of England.

BENTLEY (Richard), Regius Profeſſor of Divinity, and late Maſter of Trinity-College, Cambridge; as great and extraordinary a critic as any the laſt age has produced [*A*], was, by birth, a Yorkſhire man (*a*), and ſon, it is ſaid, of ——— Bentley, a tradeſman,

(*a*) Wood's Faſti, Oxon. Vol. ii. p. 903.

[*A*] *As great and extraordinary a critic as any the laſt age has produced.*] In vindication of this aſſertion, it may not be improper here to refer to a few of thoſe diſtinguiſhing appellations which the learned, in their books, have been pleaſed to beſtow upon him, and few or none but himſelf. See *Spanheim's* Calliman, at Wakefield, in the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire. He was born on the 27th of January, 1661-2, and received his grammatical learning at Wakefield, from whence he was ſent to St. John's College, Cambridge (*). Having, at a very early age, made a ſurpriſing progreſs, and uncommon proficiency in the learned languages; his inclination towards, and great capacity for, critical learning, ſoon began to diſplay themſelves: for before the age of twenty-four, he had written with his own hand a ſort of Hexapla a thick volume in quarto, in the firſt column of which was every word of the Hebrew Bible, alphabetically diſpoſed, and in five other columns, all the various interpretations of thoſe words, in the Chaldee, Syriac, Vulgate Latin, Septuagint, and Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodoſian, that occur in the whole Bible. This he made for his own private uſe, to know the Hebrew, not from the late Rabbins, but the ancient verſions, when, excepting Arabic, Perſic, and Ethiopic, he muſt then have read over the whole Polyglott. He had alſo at that time, made for his own private uſe, another volume in quarto, of the various lections and emendations of the Hebrew text, drawn out of thoſe ancient verſions, which, though done at ſuch an early age, would have made a ſecond part to the famous Capellus's *Critica Sacra* (*b*). On the 4th of July, 1689, being already Maſter of Arts in the Univerſity of Cambridge, he was incorporated as ſuch in the Univerſity of Oxford, in Wadham-College, and is mentioned by Anthony Wood (though then but a young man, a good deal under thirty) as a genius that was promiſing, and to whom the world was likely to be obliged, for his future ſtudies and productions (*c*). Some time after that, he was made domeſtic Chaplain to the Right Reverend Edward Lord Biſhop of Worceſter (*d*). [Before this, and probably upon his firſt quitting the Univerſity, he was a Schoolmaſter at Spalding in Lincolnſhire ‡; but his eminent abilities and learning would not permit him to continue long in ſo obſcure a ſituation.] In the year 1691 [*B*], he publiſhed a Latin Epiſtle to John Mill, D. D. containing ſome critical obſervations relating to Johannes Malala, Greek Hiſtoriographer, publiſhed at the

(*) Supplement to Swift's Works, p. 591.

(*b*) Dr. Bentley's Propoſals for printing a new edition of the Greek Teſtament, and St. Hierom's Latin Verſion, with a full Anſwer to all the Remarks of a late Pamphleteer; by a Member of Trinity-college, Cambr. ſubſcribed J. E. 1721, p. 19.

(*c*) Wood's Faſti, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) Wood's Faſti, *ut ſupra.*

(‡) From a Paper of the late Dr. Salter's, communicated by Mr. Reed of Staple's Inn.

Callimachus, and *Julian*; *Græviuſ*'s *Callimachus*, his *Alberti Rubenii Diſſertatio*, dedicated to Dr. *Bentley* (*); *Albertus Fabricius*, his *Marinus*'s *Vita Procli*, dedicated to Dr. *Bentley*; *Bibliotheca Græca*; Mr. *Wolfius*'s *Diſſertatio de Manichæiſmo hujus ævi*; his *Origen*'s *Philoſophumena*, *Olearius Philoſtratus*, *Gr. Lat. Hemſterhuſius*'s *Pollux*, *Gr. Lat.* &c. and among our own countrymen, Dr. *Potter* in his *Lycophron*; Mr. *Needham* in his *Hierocles*, Mr. *Davis* in his *Tuſculanæ Quæſtiones*, &c. However, we may venture to ſpeak the ſenſe of all theſe from a learned author, whoſe name is particularly revered, and who is ſufficiently known to all that are not entire ſtrangers to the Republic of Letters; who, beſides the general epithets of *Eruditiſſimus*, *Præſtantiſſimus*, *Illuſtris perſpicaciſſimus*, *Clariſſimus*, Πολυμαθέστατος, &c. &c. (1), has theſe peculiar expreſſions concerning him, *Vir ſupra captum ſæculi ſui Doctus: Vir egregius et maximum literarum decus: magnum hodie literarum decus et incrementum: incomparabile auctoris ſui judicium et acumen, &c.* And in the ſame work the moſt learned and incomparable Spanhemius, the King of Pruſſia's Embaſſador to Queen Anne, thus ſtiles Dr. Bentley, *Vir inſigni et reconditâ doctrinâ: Vir conſummatiſſimâ eruditione*; *magnum hodie literarum ac eruditæ Britanniæ decus: Vir ut exquiſita doctrina et reconditis literis, ita ſagacitate incredibili*, &c.—The *deciſive words of that tranſcendant critical genius of our age*, Dr. Bentley, is alſo applied to him by a perſon of no ſmall note (2). The great Dr. Clarke, who was himſelf ſo excellent a critic, and conſequently an unexceptionable judge, in the following words gives this opinion of the learned Dr. Bentley: *Criticos unus omnes longè, longéque — antecellens* (3); which compliment is ſtill greatly heightened by the learned and ingenious Dr. Hoadly, Biſhop of Wincheſter, who, after repeating them, ſays, *and whom every one will know by that title, without my naming him* (4). But we ſhall ſtop here, and proceed no farther in this affair: for, were we to gather together all the encomiums beſtowed upon this great man and his works by the learned world, both at home and abroad, we ſhould greatly tranſgreſs the bounds of our undertaking, and the patience of our readers. We have, we imagine, (if there are any who can be ſo ignorant as to be unacquainted with, or ſo envious as to doubt of, or deny, *the great abilities and profound erudition of this ornament and honour to the Engliſh nation)* produced ſufficient certificates and teſtimonies for the point we labour to prove.

[*B*] *In* 1691, *He publiſhed his Epiſtle to Dr. Mill.*] '*Malala's Chronicon*,' ſays the Writer of the works of the learned, 'is now finiſhed, and will be publiſhed in 'a few days. We owe the edition of this manuſcript, 'taken out of the Bodleian library, to Mr. Hody of 'Wadham-college, and Mr. Bentley, Chaplain to the 'Lord Biſhop of Worceſter (5).' Though this book bears the date of 1691, it was not publiſhed, as we find by the preceding and following quotations, till February 1692. The title of the whole runs thus: *Johannis Antiocheni Cognomento Malalæ Hiſtoria Chronica e Mſs. Cod. Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ, nunc primum edita cum interp. et notis* Edm. Chilmeadi *et triplice indice rerum, autorum et vocum barbarum. Præmittitur diſſertatio de autore, per* Humfredum Hodium, S. T. B. *Coll.* Wadhami *Socium. Accedit Epiſtola* Richardi Bentleii *ad Cl. V.* Jo. Millium, S. T. P. *cum indice ſcriptorum, qui ibi emendantur 8vo. Oxonii E theatro Sheldoniano* 1691. Mr. Bentley's remarks, in the letter to the Rev. Dr. Mill, are worthy to be taken notice of, as they correct a great number of paſſages of the ancient Poets, and other Greek authors, which by *Malala* are quoted very negligently. Several paſſages are alſo occaſionally corrected from authors not quoted by *Malala*; in both which corrections the ingenious author is, for the moſt part, peculiarly happy (*).

It will not be improper to inſert, in this place, the opinion of the learned Grævius on this Epiſtle, in anſwer to ſome faults found with it by Mr. Boyle, or at leaſt his party, as that *it was a confuſed rhapſody*, &c. (6). But as we ſhall have farther uſe for the whole paſſage, we ſhall here tranſcribe it all, and refer to it as occaſion ſerves (7). 'Nec manes tantum '*Rubenii* ſed omnes humanitatis cultores tibi pro hoc 'in ſe merito devinxiſti. Hi nunc tuas curas in *Ma*'*nilium*, *Heſychium*, alioſque ſcriptores deſiderant, 'et expectant cupidè. Nam eruditiſſima illa Epiſtola, 'quam ſubtexuiſti Malalæ Chronicis, tam multa re'condita nos docuit, ut incredibilem expectationem 'tui ingenii commoverit. Nihil nobis longius eſt, 'nihil deſideratius, quam ut illa videamus, quorum 'ſpem feciſti cùm publice omnibus, tùm mihi de tuis 'in *Callimacho* animadverſionibus, quarum pulcher'rimum ſpecimen mihi miſiſti,' &c. *i. e.* 'Not only 'the manes of Rubenius, but all lovers of polite 'learning, are deſervedly beholden to you for re'trieving the MS. and they are in great expectations 'of, and long to have your labours in MANILIUS, 'HESYCHIUS, and other authors: for that moſt 'learned Epiſtle, joined to the Chronology of Ma'lala, has ſhewn us ſuch a ſtock of profound learn'ing and diſcoveries, as has given us incredible ex'pectations from your genius. Nothing is more de'ſired or wiſhed for by us, than to ſee your remarks 'and animadverſions upon Callimachus, of which 'you ſent me a delightful ſpecimen, which we have 'reaſon to hope will be made public to all as well as 'me.'——This Epiſtle to Dr. Mill, was written and publiſhed, by the expreſs deſire of Dr. William Lloyd, at that time Biſhop of St. Aſaph (†).

(*) Spanheme in Julian, p. 19. InCallimachum, p. 455. *Ibid.* p. 605. Grævii Pref. ad Callim. & Rubenii Diſſertatio. See Note [*B*] (7).

(1) Dr. Kuſter's edition of Ariſtophanes.

(2) Emlyn's Tracts, p. 78.

(3) Dr. Clarke's Preface to his edition of Cæſar's Commentaries, 1712.

(4) The Preface to Dr. Clarke's Works, with an Account of the Life and Writings of the author, by Benjamin, Lord Biſhop of Saliſbury, 1730.

(5) The Works of the Learned, for January, 1691-2.

(*) See an abſtract of this whole Work, and ſeveral inſtances of the uſefulneſs of Mr. Bentley's corrections, in The Works of the Learned, Feb. 1691-2.

(6) A ſhort Account of Dr. Bentley's Humanity, p. 78.

(7) See Grævius's Dedication to Dr. Bentley, in the Life of Theodorus Manilius.

(†) Bentley againſt Boyle, Pref. p. lxxxviii.

end of that author, at Oxon; in 1691, in a large 8*vo*. This was the firſt piece that our author publiſhed.—Nor was religion leſs indebted to him than learning; for much about this time, he had the honour to be ſelected out, and pitched upon, as the firſt perſon to preach at Boyle's Lectures (*e*) [*C*] (founded by that honourable gentleman, to aſſert and vindicate the great fundamentals of Natural and revealed Religion), upon which occaſion he ſucceſsfully applied Sir Iſaac Newton's *Principia Mathematica*, to demonſtrate the Being of God, and altogether ſilenced the Atheiſts, who, in this country, have ſince that time, for the moſt part, ſheltered themſelves under Deiſm. The ſubject of his diſcourſes was the folly of Atheiſm, even with reſpect to the preſent life, and that matter and motion cannot think; or a confutation of Atheiſm from the faculties of the ſoul, from the ſtructure and origin of human bodies, and the origin and frame of the world itſelf; and though he was but young, and even only in Deacon's orders, he laid the baſis and foundation upon which all the ſucceſſors to that worthy office have ſince built. And we may, without flattery, apply to the Doctor, what is ſaid of one of his ſucceſſors in that office, *viz.* 'This was a province, for which, if ever any man was peculiarly fitted by 'natural parts and learning, he was the man; executing his truſt in ſuch a manner, 'that he at once ſurpriſed and inſtructed his moſt underſtanding hearers, exceeding the 'expectation of thoſe, who knew him enough to expect great things from him, and 'laid the foundations of true religion too deep and ſtrong to be ſhaken, either by the 'ſuperſtition of ſome, or infidelity of others (*f*).' Though this was a taſk of great extent, and no ſmall difficulty, yet Mr. Bentley ſo well anſwered the religious and generous deſign of the excellent founder, and acquitted himſelf with ſo much reputation, that the truſtees not only *publickly thanked* him for them, but did moreover, by eſpecial command and deſire, prevail upon him to make the ſaid diſcourſes public (*g*); upon which he gave the world a volume, containing eight Sermons, which have not only undergone a number of editions, but have been tranſlated abroad into ſeveral languages. On the 2d of October, 1692, he was inſtalled a Prebend of Worceſter by Biſhop Stillingfleet. Upon the death of Mr. Juſtel, Mr. Bentley was immediately thought upon to ſucceed him, as Keeper of the Royal Library at St. James's; and accordingly, a few months after his deceaſe, he had a warrant made out for that place, from the Secretary's office, Dec. 23, 1693, and had his patent for the ſame in April following. Soon after he was nominated to that office, before his patent was ſigned, by his care and diligence, he procured no leſs than a thouſand volumes of one ſort or other, which had been neglected to be brought to the library, according to the Act of Parliament then ſubſiſting, which preſcribed that one copy of every book printed in England, ſhould be brought and lodged in this library, and one in each univerſity library.—It was about this time, and upon this occaſion of his being made Library-Keeper, that the famous diſpute between him and the honourable Mr. Boyle, whether the Epiſtles of Phalaris were genuine or not, in ſome meaſure, at firſt took riſe, which gave occaſion to ſo many books and pamphlets, and has made ſo much noiſe in the world. We ſhall endeavour to give the reader, as intelligible and full account of the motives and riſe of this diſpute, as our preſent ſcope will allow, in note [*D*]. This controverſy upon a point of learning, in itſelf

(*e*) Bentley's Sermons at Boyle's Lectures, fol. Vol. i. Lond. 1739.

(*f*) Hoadly's Preface to Dr. Clarke's Works, and account of his Life and Writings.

(*g*) His Preface to the above.

[*C*] *He was ſelected out, and pitched upon, as the firſt perſon to preach at Boyle's Lectures.*] He was choſen into this honourable office, in 1691-2, at the recommendation of Biſhop Stillingfleet and Biſhop Lloyd, by the Truſtees of the Hon. Robert Boyle, by Will appointed for that purpoſe, *viz.* the Right Rev. Father in God, Thomas, Lord Biſhop of Lincoln, Sir Henry Aſhurſt, Bart. Sir John Rotheram, Serjeant at Law, and John Evelyn, Eſq; (*). His I. ſermon, the Folly of Atheiſm, &c. was preached in the Church of St. Martin's in the Fields, March 7, 1691-2, on *Pſalm* xiv. 1. The II. lecture or ſermon was, That Matter and Motion cannot think, &c. preached at St. Mary le Bow, April 4, 1692, on *Acts* xvii. 27. The III. A Confutation of Atheiſm, from the ſtructure and origin of Human Bodies, was preached at St. Mary le Bow, May 2, 1692, on the ſame text. IV. Was preached on the ſame text, June 6, 1692. V. On the ſame text was preached, Sept. 5, 1692. VI. Was a Confutation of Atheiſm, from the origin and frame of the world, preached October 3, 1692, on *Acts* xiv. 15, &c. VII. On the ſame text, November 7, 1692. And the VIII. and laſt on the ſame ſubject and text, December 5, 1692. Theſe eight ſermons were publiſhed by particular deſire, in quarto, in 1693-4, Lond. and are deſervedly eſteemed and ranked among the beſt of the Boylean Lectures. Mr. Molyneux and Mr. Locke, in their Letters concerning the reception of his Eſſay on the Human Underſtanding, mention Mr. Bentley's name and theſe ſermons with no ſmall reſpect and deference (8). 'But that your doctrine ſhould be ſo ſoon heard out of our pulpits, is 'what is much more remarkable: he that even ten 'years ago ſhould have preached that *Idea Dei non eſt* '*innata,* that the idea of God is not innate, had certainly drawn on him the character of an Atheiſt; 'yet now we find Mr. Bentley very large upon it in 'his ſermons at Mr. Boyle's Lecture, ſermon I. p. 4, 'and ſermon III. p. 5.'—*To which paragraph Mr.* Locke writes *in return* (9), 'However you are pleaſed 'to rejoice, that my notions have had the good luck 'to be vented from the pulpit, and *particularly by* '*Mr. Bentley*; yet matters go not ſo clear as you 'imagine, for a man of no ſmall name, as you know 'Dr. S——— is, has been pleaſed to declare againſt 'my doctrine of no innate Ideas, from the pulpit of 'the Temple, and charged it with little leſs than '*Atheiſm*.' *To which Mr.* Molyneux *anſwers* (10), 'Both Mr. *Whiſton* and *Bentley* are poſitive againſt 'the Idea of God's being innate; and I had rather 'rely on them (if I would rely on *any* man) than on 'Dr. S———. 'Tis true the latter has a great 'name, but that I am ſure weighs not with you nor 'me.'

(*) See his Pref. and his Sermons, firſt edit. 1693-4.

(8) Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke, Dublin, Sept. 26, 1696.

(9) Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux, 22 Feb. 1696-7.

(10) Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke, March 16, 1696-7.

[*D*] *We ſhall endeavour to give the reader as intelligible and full an account of the motives and riſe of this diſpute, as our preſent ſcope will allow.*] Dr. Aldrich, Dean of Chriſt Church, deſiring Mr. Boyle to put out a new edition of Phalaris (*), he readily ſet about it; but wanting to conſult a MS. Phalaris, in the King's library, ſent to Mr. Bennet, Bookſeller in London, to get him the MS. by applying himſelf to Dr. Bentley in his name. After earneſt ſolicitations, and great delays (11), for many months, Mr. Bennet at laſt got poſſeſſion of the MS.; who, imagining there

(*) Boyle againſt Bentley, p. 2.

(11) But in the Epiſtles of Phalaris examined, the Doctor proves that he had it in a month after he was Library-Keeper, and offered voluntarily, p. xviii. alſo 66; and ſays, he informed him how ſoon he ſhould want it, p. xxi. and 66.

itſelf not very entertaining, was managed and interſperſed on both ſides, with an infinity of wit and humour, and was univerſally read and admired, as it juſtly deſerved. The
world

there was no great hurry to return it, did not immediately ſet the Collator to work upon it: but Dr. Bentley being to go a journey into Worceſterſhire at that time for ſix months; about ſix days after the MS. had been delivered, called for it again, and would by no means be prevailed upon to let him have the uſe of it any longer, though he told him the collation was not perfected (12), and denied his requeſt in a very rude manner (13), throwing out many ſlighting and diſparaging expreſſions, both of Mr. Boyle and the work. This is the caſe as told by Mr. Bennet. Mr. Boyle thinking himſelf ill uſed, towards the end of his preface, where he is giving ſome account of the edition of Phalaris, and the MSS. conſulted in it, added the following words: *Collatus etiam (vid. Epiſtolas) curavi uſque ad Epiſt.* 40. *Cum manuſcripto in Bibliothecâ Regiâ, cujus mihi copiam ulteriorem Bibliothecarius pro ſingulari ſuâ humanitate negavit.*' 'I 'likewiſe gave orders (ſays he) to have the Epiſtles 'collated with the MS. in the King's library; but 'my collator was prevented from going beyond the 'fortieth Epiſtle, *by the ſingular humanity of the Library-keeper*, who refuſed to let me have any further uſe of the MS. (14).' The Epiſtles being publiſhed, Dr. Bentley ſends a letter (as he ſays) the very day that he ſaw Mr. Boyle's new Phalaris in the hands of a perſon of honour, to whom it had been preſented, while the reſt of the impreſſion was not yet publiſhed, to Mr. Boyle at Oxford, to give him a true information of the whole matter, wherein, as Mr. Boyle acknowledges (15), having expreſſed himſelf with great civility, he repreſented the matter of fact quite otherwiſe than he had heard it, expecting, that upon the receipt of the letter, he would put a ſtop to the publication of the book, till he had altered that paſſage, and printed the page anew, which might have been done in one day at the expence of five ſhillings. He ſays he did not expreſsly deſire Mr. Boyle to take out that paſſage and reprint the whole leaf, thinking that was too low a ſubmiſſion. To this letter Mr. Boyle ſays he immediately returned a civil anſwer to this effect;—that Mr. Bennet, whom he had employed to wait upon the Doctor in his name, gave him ſuch an account of his reception, that he had reaſon to apprehend himſelf affronted; and ſince he could make no other excuſe to the reader for not collating the King's manuſcript, but becauſe it was denied him, he thought he could do no leſs than expreſs ſome reſentment for that denial; that he ſhould be very much concerned if Mr. Bennet had dealt ſo with him as to miſlead him in his account; and, if that appeared, ſhould be ready to take ſome opportunity of begging his pardon. Mr. Boyle, as Dr. Bentley ſays, expreſſed himſelf in ſuch a manner, that the Doctor might underſtand he meant to give him ſatisfaction as publicly as he had injured him.—Here the matter reſted for two years and a half after the edition of Phalaris, when Dr. Bentley, in an Appendix to Mr. Wotton's Reflections on ancient and modern Learning, inſerted his diſſertation on the Epiſtles of Themiſtocles, Socrates, Euripides, Phalaris, and the Fables of Æſop; aſſerting, that the Epiſtles which had been aſcribed to Phalaris for ſo many years paſt, were ſpurious, and the production of ſome Sophiſt; and partly in anger, for the ſting in Mr. Boyle's preface to them, he falls foul, with ſome warmth, on Mr. Boyle's new edition and verſion, ſaying he had fooliſhly buſied himſelf about a contemptible and ſpurious author, and had made a bad book worſe by a very ill edition of it, &c. &c. (16). And in a part of the book he juſtifies himſelf as to the affair of the MS. in the following words: *A Bookſeller came to me, in the name of the* EDITORS, *to beg the uſe of the manuſcript*; *it was not then in my cuſtody, but as ſoon as I had the power of it, I went voluntarily and offered it him, bidding him tell the Collator not to loſe any time, for I was ſhortly to go out of town for two months: 'twas delivered, uſed, and returned*; *not a word ſaid by the bearer, nor the leaſt ſuſpicion in me, that they had not finiſhed the collation* (17). Thus Dr. Bentley put the affair in a quite different light by his aſſertions, which were replied to, and that reply again anſwered, and ſo on, till the whole became ſo perplexed and confounded, that it was not eaſy to judge of, or come at, the truth and reality of the affair (18). We may, however, adjuſt theſe accounts, and bring their differences ſomewhat nearer to a balance, by conſidering the diſtance of time, *viz.* full three years from the beginning of this tranſaction to the end of the controverſy, and the partiality with which each muſt naturally recal to his remembrance his own words, actions, and behaviour. As to the real affair, *viz.* the genuineneſs of the Epiſtles of Phalaris, it is of too great length for us to interfere at all in it, or to rehearſe any part of the controverſy, we ſhall only add here, as is intimated in the text, that the Doctor is not now (whatever he might then be, out of partiality to a young ſhining Nobleman) imagined to have the worſt of the argument, or to have handled it without merit and applauſe as to wit and humour; though Mr. Boyle, as the caprice of the age then ran, alone received congratulations on this occaſion. Thus Dr. Garth, in the Diſpenſary (19),

So Diamonds take a luſtre from their foil,
And to a BENTLEY *'tis we owe a* BOYLE.

Dr. Bentley had alſo ſome wags who were his enemies *even* at Cambridge, who drew his picture in the hands of Phalaris's guards, who were putting him into their maſter's bull, and out of the Doctor's mouth came a label with theſe words, *I had rather be* ROASTED *than* BOYLED (20). And Dean *Swift*, in his Tale of a Tub, has ſome ſtrokes at Dr. Bentley upon this occaſion, but more eſpecially in his Battle of the Books (21), where, on account of Dr. Bentley's diſſertation of Phalaris, *&c.* being annexed to Mr. Wotton's reflections on learning, and their being great friends, he makes Mr. Wotton and Dr. Bentley, ſtanding ſide by ſide, in each other's defence, to be both transfixed to the ground by one ſtroke of the javelin of Mr. Boyle, and this he heightens by the ſimile of a Cook's ſpitting a brace of woodcocks.

But to give a regular account of the proceedings of this debate, that is, of the books as printed—— About 1694 Mr. Boyle publiſhed his very fine edition of Phalaris, with the Greek text, tranſlated in a nervous and claſſical Latin Stile.

About two years and a half after this, in 1697, Dr. Bentley publiſhed his diſſertation upon the Epiſtles of Themiſtocles, Socrates, Euripides, Phalaris, and the Fables of Æſop, at the end of the ſecond edition of Mr. Wotton's Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning: but in the third edition, in 1705, the Diſſertation on Phalaris, being of conſiderable bulk, is omitted, becauſe afterwards printed by Dr. Bentley entire, and added with great additions to his farther defence of it, in anſwer to Mr. Boyle. But what concerned the Epiſtles of Themiſtocles, Socrates, Euripides, and the Fables of Æſop, being printed no where elſe, is reprinted in that and the other editions of Mr. Wotton's book.

In 1698 came out Dr. Bentley's Diſſertation on the Epiſtles of Phalaris and the Fables of Æſop examined, by the Honourable Charles Boyle, Eſq; a book more commonly known by the title of *Boyle againſt Bentley.* The publication of this book was hindered by Mr. Boyle's buſineſs, which ſent him into, and detained him in, Ireland, elſe he had anſwered Dr. Bentley's Diſſertation (22) ſooner. The ſecond edition of this book was publiſhed in 1742.

Then in 1699 followed Dr. Bentley's Anſwer to the above, commonly known by the name of *Bentley againſt Boyle*, a curious piece, interſperſed with a great deal of true wit and humour. [This was for ſome time a ſcarce book; but it was reprinted in 1777, by Mr. Bowyer and Nichols, with the advantage of ſeveral valuable Notes and Obſervations, either collected from, or communicated by, Biſhops Warburton and Lowth, Mr. Upton, Mr. W. Clarke, Mr. Markland, Dr. Salter, Dr. Owen, and Mr. Toup.] Theſe were the ſeveral pieces which appeared in this great diſpute, excepting ſome few that were publiſhed againſt the Doctor, hardly any of which have had the honour to come down to us, even in this ſmall period of time (*). There is one indeed of them which we have quoted, and ſhall quote again; and therefore we ſhall give the title of it here.—— *A ſhort account of Dr. Bentley's Humanity and Juſtice to thoſe authors*
who

(12) The Doctor denies ever hearing the collation was not perfected, p. 66, affirming, that the whole MS. would not take up above four hours collating, p. xxvi.

(13) Boyle againſt Bentley, p. 3.

(14) In the Pref. to Mr. Boyle's edition of Phalaris.

(15) Bentley's Diſſertation examined, p. 4.

(16) Dr. Bentley's Diſſertations on the Epiſtles of Phalaris, *ſparſim.*

(17) *Ut ſupra*, p. 68.

(18) The Matter being confounded with many flat contradictions, may properly be reduced to this ſhort queſtion, *Utri Creditis Quirites*, Dr. *Bentley*, or Mr. *Bennet*, the Bookſeller?

(19) Dr. Garth's Diſpenſary.

(20) Budgell's Lives of the Boyles, p. 193.

(21) The Epiſode in the Battle of the Books, p. 256 *&c.* in the Tale of a Tub, *ſparſim*, particularly p. 22. 84. 93. 208.

(22) As he tells us in the Preface.

(*) Among the reſt, in 1701, a ſhort Review of the Controverſy between Mr. Boyle and Dr. Bentley, 144 pages, 8vo.

world was at that time a little biaſſed in favour of the production of the young nobleman, at leaſt as to the genteel raillery of his pieces; for as to the real affair in hand (*), *viz.* the genuineneſs of the Epiſtles of Phalaris, the beſt judges almoſt univerſally now (the prejudice of opinion being worn off), give the preference in that reſpect to Dr. Bentley; nor does he much, if at all, fall ſhort of Mr. Boyle, in throwing a deal of life and ſpirit into the controverſy, particularly in his anſwer to Mr. Boyle, which is interſperſed, as well as Mr. Boyle's piece, with abundance of wit and humour; and is, upon the whole, reckoned much the beſt book. Having thus, in the text and note, given the reader ſome account of one of the moſt important paſſages of Dr. Bentley's life, or at leaſt of a part of his works that made a great noiſe in the learned world; we ſhall next regularly deſcend to give a catalogue of his works, as nearly as we are able, according to the date they firſt bore, or the years in which they were publiſhed; and ſuch remarks as we ſhall be able to collect upon each of them, we ſhall add by way of note. This is, we imagine, all that can be expected in the life of this eminent Critic, excepting what relates to his education, his preferments, and a few family affairs will afford. As to the unhappy diſagreement between his college and him, to render that, and the diſtinct account of him as a Critic the clearer, we ſhall ſeparate them, and firſt conſider him with regard to his works and preferments, *&c.* and ſhall afterwards treat ſeparately of his diſpute with the college, with as much perſpicuity, as ſo intricate an affair will permit. But to return; at the expreſs deſire of his friend Mr. Græviuſ, he ſet about, compiled, and publiſhed, his Animadverſions and Remarks on the Poet Callimachus (*b*) [*E*], making at the ſame time a collection of ſome ſcattered pieces or fragments of that author. Theſe he finiſhed and ſent over to Mr. Græviuſ, towards the latter end of his diſpute with Mr. Boyle, and Mr. Græviuſ publiſhed them abroad in 1697 (*i*). [In 1696, at the public commencement at Cambridge, he was created Doctor in Divinity (*)] In the year 1700, upon the death of Dr. Montague, he was by the Crown preſented to the Maſterſhip of Trinity-college, Cambridge, which is reckoned worth near 1000 *l. per Annum*, upon obtaining which preferment he reſigned his prebend of Worceſter (*k*). But June 12, 1701, on Dr. Saywell's death, he was collated Archdeacon of Ely (*l*). What next employed his critical genius, were the two firſt comedies of Ariſtophanes. Upon theſe he made ſome curious annotations, which were publiſhed at Amſterdam in 1710, as was much about the ſame time, at Rheims, his emendations, *&c.* on the fragments of Menander and Philemon, in the feigned name of *Phileleutherus Lipſienſis*. Under this character he appeared again, in 1713, in remarks upon Collins's diſcourſe of Free-thinking, a book which had made no ſmall noiſe in the world at that time. This he handles and confutes in ſo critical, learned, and yet familiar a manner, that the world may think itſelf not a little obliged to him for thoſe judicious and learned remarks, which may be reckoned among his capital pieces. But, as his appearing under that feigned and foreign title, may ſeem a little inconſiſtent with publiſhing his remarks in Engliſh upon that Engliſh pamphlet, we ſhall juſt tranſcribe enough of the preface to his work, to explain the matter in note [*F*]. Before his Remarks on Free-thinking, in 1711, came forth

(*) *Had* Phalaris *been the author of thoſe ingenious Epiſtles which the Doctor has fully proved he has no title to, &c.* An humble Addreſs, and ſerious repreſentation of the Preſent State of Trinity-college, Cambridge, in a Letter to a noble Lord, p. 21. a well written piece, but with much warmth againſt Dr. Bentley.

(*b*) Bentley againſt Boyle, in the Preface.

(*i*) Bibliotheca Bodleiana.

(*) Dr. Salter's paper.

(*k*) Willis on Cathedrals, in the Prebends of Worceſter, p. 672.

(*l*) Willis on Cathedrals, Vol. ii. p. 376, in the Archdeacons of Ely.

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who have written before him, with an honeſt vindication of Thomas Stanley, Eſq; and his notes on Callimachus. To which are added ſome other obſervations on that Poet, in a Letter to the Honourable Charles Boyle, Eſq; with a Poſtſcript, in relation to Dr. Bentley's late book againſt him. To which is added an Appendix, by the Bookſeller, wherein the Doctor's miſrepreſentations of all the matters of fact, wherein he is concerned, in his late book about Phalaris's Epiſtles, are modeſtly conſidered, with a Letter from the Honourable Charles Boyle on that Subject, 8vo. 1699. Lond.

[*E*] *His Animadverſions and Remarks on the Poet Callimachus.*] The title of which, as given in the *Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, runs thus: *Annotationes, in Callimachum ultra*, 1697. *Collectio fragmentorum Callimachi & Annotationes ad eadem ibid.* (*). This was an accurate edition of that Poet, publiſhed by the learned Græviuſ, to whom Dr. Bentley ſent over his animadverſions and remarks, great part of which he is charged with having ſtolen from manuſcript remarks of the learned Mr. Stanley, which were lent him by Sir Edward Sherburn †. With regard to this matter, we ſhall only obſerve, that even his inveterate enemies were obliged to make the following conceſſion, *viz. It ought to be acknowledged that Dr. Bentley has made* SOME *additions to Mr. Stanley's Collections; it ought to be confeſſed that Dr. Bentley has made ſome additions of his own to what was collected to his hands ſo readily*, beſides a number of obſervations which are granted him as his own. But now let us ſee, what, upon the whole, are the foreign opinions of this edition, and the Doctor's performance therein. See Græviuſ's preface to Dr. Bentley before in note [*B*]; Mr. Spanheim in *Callimachum*; *Græv i pref. ad Callim.* We have ſince been obliged by the Doctor's Nephew, T. Bentley, with an edition for ſchools, *&c.* of this author, in octavo, in the year 1741, in which are the hymns and a parcel of the ſelect epigrams of Callimachus, joined with ſome other things. To the reaſons given for this edition in the preface, is added a little eſſay of about twelve pages, of the pronunciation of the Greek tongue.

(*) Catalogus impreſſorum Librorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana, p. 136.

(†) A ſhort account of Dr. Bentley's Humanity, *&c. ut ſupra*, p. 29.

[*F*] *To explain the matter in the note.*] In 1713 came out a piece, intitled, *A Diſcourſe of Free-thinking, occaſioned by the riſe and growth of a Sect, called* FREE-THINKERS. This was written by Mr. Collins. Soon after the Doctor comes out with his *remarks upon it, in a Letter to F. H. D. D. by Phileleutherus Lipſienſis.* Before this is prefixed the following letter, of which we ſhall take the liberty to tranſcribe a part.

To my very learned and honoured friend, *F. H.* D. D.
at London, Great Britain.

SIR,

'YOUR many and great civilities to me ſince your 'firſt acquaintance in the Low-Countries, and 'the kind office you did me in conveying my anno'tations on *Menander* to the preſs, but, above all, 'your taciturnity and ſecrecy, that have kept the true 'author of that book undiſcovered hitherto, if not 'unguеſſed, have encouraged me to ſend you theſe 'preſent remarks to be communicated to the pub'lic, &c.'

He then tells us how he came by the diſcourſe, *viz.* that an Engliſhman juſt come from London, where this book was juſt publiſhed, and had made much diſcourſe, made him a preſent of it, knowing him forth his ſo long expected and celebrated edition of Horace [*G*]. What he intended, was not properly to explain his author, but only to correct what he judged remained ſtill corrupted in the text, as he himſelf tells us in his preface (*); and this by the help and aſſiſtance, either of ancient manuſcripts, old editions, or by a happy ſagacity in divination and conjecture. This, it muſt be confeſſed, was a nice and dangerous undertaking, if the author had not been perfectly maſter of the ſubject and argument, the language, ſtyle, and genius of his author; and even received originally from nature, that particular ſagacity of taſte, and peculiarly happy talent, which is proper and requiſite to ſucceed in ſuch a hazardous attempt; as we may ſee more fully at large in the Doctor's own preface (†). Dr. Bentley, however, ſucceeded very well; correcting a much greater number of paſſages than any, or all his former interpreters, ever had done; furniſhing us, in this his new edition of our elegant Roman poet, with a great number of very plauſible, and highly probable, not to mention ſome which are indeed certain and genuine, emendations. But as the republic of Critics is full of curious and litigious minds and ſpirits, as well as raſh and preſumptuous ones, not to mention, that even the moſt able and impartial are not in all things infallible, nor of the ſame opinion; there will not want ſome, therefore, who cannot every where approve Dr. Bentley's gueſſes and conjectures [*H*]. The

(*) See note [*G*].

(†) *Ut ſupra.*

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him to be an admirer of Engliſh books, and one that (during his ſtay at Oxford) had made himſelf a competent maſter of the Engliſh language. Then he goes on: ‘ I, who (as you well know) have been ‘ trained up and exerciſed in free thought from my ‘ youth, and whoſe borrowed name, *Phileleutherus*, ‘ ſufficiently denotes me a lover of freedom, was ‘ pleaſed not a little with ſo promiſing a title. But ‘ when once the curtain was drawn, and, by a per‘ uſal of the book, the private Cabala and myſterious ‘ ſcheme within became viſible and open; under the ‘ ſpecious ſhew of free-thinking, a ſet and ſyſtem of ‘ opinions are all along inculcated, and dogmatically ‘ taught; opinions the moſt ſlaviſh, the moſt abject ‘ and baſe, that human underſtanding is capable of. ‘ This irkſome diſappointment, that my fine preſent ‘ ſhould dwindle ſo far as to be below the value of ‘ waſte paper, raiſed a haſty reſolution in me to write ‘ ſome remarks on it. And I find I ſhall have much ‘ the ſame employment as I had before on Menander; ‘ for I am here too to deal in fragments, the main of ‘ the book being a rhapſody of paſſages out of old ‘ and new writers, raked and ſcraped together by the ‘ joint labour of many hands, to abuſe all religion. ‘ *O infelices laborum!* Had I been at their conſulta‘ tion, I could have furniſhed them with many more. ‘ And I will now inform them, that if they will read ‘ all Galen, and the Greek Commentators on Ari‘ ſtotle, they may find two or three paſſages much ‘ fitter for their purpoſe than any they have brought, ‘ *&c.* (†).’

(†) The Letter before the Remarks on Free-thinking.

[*G*] *In* 1711 *came forth his ſo long expected and celebrated edition of Horace.*] This, which is alſo a very correct, elegant, and neat edition, was printed in quarto, and dedicated to the Earl of Oxford from Trinity-college, Cambridge, upon the very birth-day of Horace, *viz* the 6th of the Ides of December. In the preface the Doctor tells us, that having much care and buſineſs upon his hands, he was obliged to forſake more difficult ſtudies; but that he might not entirely forget his old love for the Muſes, he reſolved to undertake ſome eaſy and pleaſant work, which did not ſo much require a free and undiſturbed mind, but might rather conduce to make it ſo. Horace, he ſays, was the author he pitched upon, not ſo much that he imagined there were more faults to correct in that than in any other of the Ancients, but becauſe moſt pleaſing to the generality of his readers, and himſelf; keeping himſelf within theſe bounds, *viz.* only to meddle with ſuch things as ſhould belong to the genuine and right reading, altogether neglecting what the generality of Commentators have laboured in, *viz.* what regards the hiſtory, cuſtoms, and manners of the Ancients. This, indeed, he acknowledges to be a very material work; but as it had been already done, there was no occaſion for farther remarks in that way. He owns he adds more from his own imaginations and conjectures, than from manuſcripts or books. He then proceeds to give us an account of the ſeveral manuſcripts and editions of Horace that he had conſulted. The title runs thus: *Q. Horatius Flaccus ex recenſione, et cum notis et emendationibus, Richardi Bentleii.* It has gone through many editions, and been printed according to his emendations and corrections in various ſizes. We ſhall only farther add, with reference to the Amſterdam edition, compared with the Cambridge one (23), that it ſeems much more convenient and better diſpoſed, the notes being every where here placed under the text, whereas they were all before at the end of the volume; and the additions alſo are put and inſerted in their proper places, which before were only at the end of the ſecond tome. The copies, likewiſe, which are printed upon large paper ſeem far to ſurpaſs in beauty and goodneſs thoſe of England, although the larger, as well as leſſer ones, are both ſold much cheaper than the Engliſh ever were. But what is ſtill more conſiderable, the Dutch bookſellers have printed in the ſame letter Daniel Aveman's Index of Horace's words and phraſes; to which Mr. Verburg has added all the various readings in Dr. Bentley's edition, and has beſides augmented it with 500 quotations, and has ſtruck out all there was in it relating to the conjunctions and other undeclinable particles, which no reader has ever any occaſion to inquire or ſearch for. This Index alone, therefore, if there was nothing elſe beſides, will recommend this edition, and make it preferable to the other.

(23) From the French of M. le Clerc's Judgment and Cenſure of Dr. Bentley's Horace.

[*H*] *There will not want ſome, therefore, who cannot every where approve Dr. Bentley's gueſſes and conjectures.*] As to Foreigners, M. Le Clerc's *Judgment and Cenſure of* Horace is the only one we have peruſed on that ſubject, though there are doubtleſs ſome others in the foreign Journals and Bibliotheques. As to M. Le Clerc's opinion (24), the reader has great part of it, except what relates to any particular criticiſms, in the text, as alſo in the foregoing note. In the year following the Doctor's edition, *viz.* 1712, came out, by various hands, the Odes and Epodes of Horace, in ſixpenny numbers, making in the whole two volumes in octavo; the titles of which are, *The Odes and Epodes of Horace in Latin and Engliſh, with a Tranſlation of Dr.* Bentley's *Notes. To which are added* Notes *upon* Notes, *done in the* Bentleian *ſtyle and manner.* The preface to this, as it is ſhort, and ſomething pertinent in this place, we ſhall here add. ‘ We humbly hope that the reader will encourage the ‘ following Eſſays, upon ſeveral accounts. Firſt, As ‘ they are deſigned to ſhew him the beſt author of ‘ Auguſtus's age in his native purity. Secondly, To ‘ give him a further proof how far all attempts to ‘ render him into Engliſh, even after the beſt verſion ‘ now extant has ſucceeded no better, muſt fall ſhort ‘ of the original. Thirdly, To convince him how ‘ ridiculous it is to preſume to correct HORACE with‘ out authority, upon the pretended ſtrength of ſupe‘ rior judgment in Poetry. And laſtly, How eaſily ‘ ſuch a preſumption may be turned upon the au‘ thors, and ſufficiently expoſe them in their own ‘ way (25).’ This laſt paragraph ſeems indeed to expreſs the greateſt part of the deſign of this work, which is executed with a great deal of ſpirit and humour. Theſe and other pieces are, we find, hinted at by the learned Johnſon (author of the Grammatical Commentaries) in the following words, in his *Ariſtarchi Anti-Bentleiani* (26): ‘ Sed elapſo anno ‘ uno, atque item altero, cum adverſariis, quos tres ‘ vel quatuor habuit, nihil viderem argumento dig‘ num prodiiſſe: neque de iis quidquam dictum in ‘ quibus Bentleius maxime peccaverat.’ But a year or

(24) Le Clerc's Cenſure and Judgment of Horace, tranſlated from the French.

(25) Preface to Bentley's Horace, notes upon notes.

(26) Ariſtarchi Anti-Bentleiani nonaginta Bentleii per notas univerſas Latinitate Lapſus fœdiſſimos oſtendens, Prefat. p. vi.

The commonwealth of learning is now ſo free, that every one pretends, and has a right to ſpeak his mind and ſentiments, how diſſonant or oppoſite ſoever they may prove, even to that of the greateſt and ableſt pens, or thoſe of the firſt rank and order therein. On the 5th of November, in the year 1715, the Doctor preached a ſermon before the Univerſity againſt Popery, on which ſomebody ſoon after publiſhed Remarks, which occaſioned Dr. Bentley's anſwer, intitled, ‘ Reflections on the ſcandalous Aſperſions caſt on the ‘ Clergy, by the Author of the Remarks on Dr. Bentley's Sermon on Popery, *&c.*’ This was printed in the year 1717, in *8vo.* In the year 1716, the Doctor had two printed Letters inſcribed to him, dated Jan. 1, to which alſo were added his Anſwer. Theſe were concerning his intended edition of the Greek Teſtament, giving ſome account of what was to be expected in that edition; and in them we are informed, that he intended to make no uſe of any manuſcript in this edition that was not a thouſand years old or above; of which ſort he had got at that time twenty together in his ſtudy, which made up, one with another, 20,000 years [*I*]. After having had this affair in agitation for about four years, he at laſt publiſhed propoſals for it (*), which, notwithſtanding the difficulty of the times, met with prodigious encouragement from all true lovers of learning, and people of the beſt rank and quality at London. But ſoon after came out Remarks, paragraph by paragraph, on theſe propoſals, by Dr. Conyers Middleton, as it afterwards appeared, who ſets out by aſſuring his reader, that it was neither perſonal ſpleen, nor envy to the author of the Propoſals, that drew the following remarks from him, but a ſerious conviction that Dr. Bentley had neither *talents* nor *materials* proper for the work, and that religion was much more likely to receive detriment than ſervice from it. ‘ The time, manner, and other circumſtances of theſe propoſals,’ ſays he, ‘ make it ‘ but too evident, that they were haſtened out to ſerve quite different ends than thoſe of ‘ common Chriſtianity; and I think it my duty to obviate, as far as I am able, the in‘fluence they might have on ſome, whom big words, and bold attempts, are apt to lead ‘ implicitly into an high opinion and admiration of the merit and abilities of the under‘taker.’ Dr. Middleton then proceeds to criticiſe, paragraph by paragraph, on Dr. Bentley's propoſals, of which, as it was a famous diſpute, and quite overthrew the Doctor's deſign (though he had at firſt met with all imaginable ſucceſs), we ſhall endeavour to give the reader ſome idea, by extracts from the pamphlets that paſſed on that occa-

(*) As below in note [*K*].

or two having paſſed without any of Dr. Bentley's antagoniſts, of which he had three or four, advancing any thing worthy of notice, having never touched upon the places where he was moſt faulty; Mr. Johnſon, as he informs us, was reſolved to have a ſtroke or two at the Doctor himſelf, but was delayed three or four years by an indiſpoſition, which alſo made him examine the Doctor no farther than the XXXVIIth ode, or firſt book of Horace, in his firſt part (27). This piece, as the reader may perceive by the title in the margin, is in Latin, and was printed in octavo at Nottingham, at leaſt ſix years after the Doctor's edition of Horace. Before it is prefixed a Latin preface of about eighteen pages, in which the author gives his reaſons for undertaking this work, and for uſing the Doctor ſo familiarly, or rather rudely, as he does. This he pretends is by way of retaliation for the great men (28) Dr. Bentley has made free with, where he accordingly ſums up what the Doctor ſays of himſelf, and what of others. However, the *De ſe dicta* of Mr. Johnſon *, even in this preface, are not inconſiderable. At the end of the firſt part of Mr. Johnſon's remarks, conſiſting of 108 pages, is a ſtanza of an old ballad, with annotations after the manner of Dr. Bentley; and after that follows a ſecond part, which goes through with an examination of the other books, Epodes, Satires, and Epiſtles of Horace; and though there is no doubt but that many of the obſervations of this Grammarian are very juſt and true, yet we can no ways agree with Mr. Edmund Miller, either in his opinion of Ariſtarchus, or Dr. Bentley's Horace. His words are theſe (29): ‘ But the Doctor has had the ill fortune to fall into ‘ the hands of Mr. *Johnſon*, who (by giving himſelf ‘ the trouble of examining only into the firſt book of ‘ this applauded performance) has in his Ariſtarchus ‘ above mentioned diſcovered ſo much want of judg‘ment, ſo many abſurdities, inconſiſtencies, ſilly af‘fected alterations, together with ſo much careleſſ‘neſs, even to the writing not only improper, but ‘ falſe Latin in many inſtances, beſides a knaviſh ar‘rogance of aſſuming other people's diſcoveries to ‘ himſelf, that he has made it plain (in much better ‘ Latin than his own) that the Doctor in this edi‘tion, as well as his other actions, had his chief view ‘ upon profit.’ But Mr. Miller's learning, taſte for criticiſm, or books, will never hurt Dr. Bentley. However, as we have now mentioned it, and ſhall have occaſion to take farther notice of it, we cannot help giving ſomething of a character of it from a late ingenious author (30). *Another trifling pamphlet, in relation to this Univerſity, has been lately thruſt into the world, with little deſign, I fear, of inſtruction, but rather to irritate a party ſufficiently enraged againſt our famous Univerſities, and to haſten a viſitation; take it, ſuch as it is, publiſhed under the title of,* &c. We ſhall wind up our obſervations on this noted performance of the Doctor's (which, as I remember ſomewhere to have read, coſt himſelf no leſs time than the taking of Troy did the Greeks) with a paſſage *even* of the preface of Mr. Johnſon's Ariſtarchus; which ſhews the true merit and value of that work, and the opinion the Learned entertained of it at that time, and which it juſtly deſerves. ‘ Cæteris ‘ eum in deliciis eſſe, ut unicum Horatii interpre‘tem, laudibus in cœlum ferri: librum adoleſcenti‘bus in manus ubique tradi, quo demum poetæ tanti ‘ veros ſenſus, atque elegantias quò in multis linguæ ‘ Latinæ rationem internoſcerent (31).’ “ Others “ were ſo delighted with him, that they uſed to extol “ him up to the ſkies, as the only Commentator (or “ interpreter) of Horace. His book was every where “ given into the hands of youth, as from which alone “ they could come at the true ſenſe and elegancies of “ that great Poet, and from whence alone, in many “ caſes, they could arrive at the true knowledge of “ the Latin tongue.”

(27) Prefat. p. vii.

(28) Pref. p. to p. xviii. Bentleii *de ſe et aliis Dicta*.

* Johnſon was a ſchoolmaſter at Nottingham.

(29) An Account of the Univerſity of Cambridge, *&c.* by Edmund Miller, p. 100.

(30) Rawlinſon's Engliſh Topographer, p. 13.

(31) Ariſtarchi Anti-Bentleiani Præfat. p. v.

[*I*] *Of which ſort he had got at that time twenty together in his ſtudy, which made up, one with another, 20,000 years.*] Mr. Martin of Utrecht, ſpeaking upon the ſubject of this very letter, ſays, that ‘ our ‘ Editor is not a little indebted to his good fortune ‘ for having found twenty manuſcripts well told, ‘ which are of 1000 years ago, or above, it being one ‘ of the moſt extraordinary diſcoveries in this kind of ‘ Literature that has been made in our days (32).’ And again, in another place (33), ‘ the point will ‘ be, ſays he, whether theſe MSS. lately diſcovered ‘ be really as old as Dr. Bentley takes them to be; ‘ for we are not ignorant how difficult it is, not to ſay ‘ impoſſible, to paſs always in theſe caſes a certain ‘ judgment ſecure from all doubts.’

(32) Martin's Defence of his Diſſertation, in Engliſh.

(33) *Ibid.* p. 16.

ſion [*K*]. As to matters of mere learning and criticiſm, or diſpute and malicious raillery, we ſhall purpoſely omit them, as it would abundantly tranſgreſs the limits we muſt neceſſarily

[*K*] *On that occaſion.*] Propoſals for printing a new edition of the Greek Teſtament, and St. Hierom's Latin verſion. Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ *Græce Novum Teſtamentum verſionis vulgatæ, P.* S^{um} *Hieronymum ad vetuſta exemplaria Græca caſtigatæ et exactæ* —— *utrumque ex antiquiſſimis Cod. MSS. cum Græcis tum Latinis edidit Richardus Bentleius.*

I. The author of this edition obſerving that the printed copies of the New Teſtament, both of the original Greek and ancient Vulgar Latin, were taken from manuſcripts of no great antiquity, ſuch as the firſt editors could then procure; and that now, by God's providence, there are manuſcripts in Europe (acceſſible though with great charge) above 1000 years old, in both languages, he believes he may do good ſervice to common Chriſtianity, if he publiſhes a new edition of the Greek and Latin, not according to the recent and interpolated copies, but as repreſented in the moſt ancient and venerable manuſcripts, in Greek and Roman capital letters.

II. The author revolving in his mind ſome paſſages of St. Hierom, where he declares, that (without making a new verſion) he adjuſted and reformed the whole *Latin Vulgate to the beſt Greek exemplary*, that is, to thoſe of the famous Origen; and another paſſage, where he ſays, that a verbal or literal interpretation out of Greek into Latin is not neceſſary, *except in the Holy Scriptures*, ubi ipſe verborum ordo myſterium eſt, *where the very order of the words is myſtery*, took thence the hint, that if the oldeſt copies of the original Greek, and Hierom's Latin, were examined and compared together, perhaps they would be ſtill found to agree both in words and order of words; and upon making the eſſay, he has ſucceeded in his conjecture beyond his expectation, or even his hopes.

III. The author believes, that he has retrieved (except in very few places) the true exemplar of Origen, which was the ſtandard to the moſt learned of the Fathers at the time of the council of Nice, and two centuries after; and he is ſure that the Greek and Latin manuſcripts, by their mutual aſſiſtance, do ſo ſettle the original text to the ſmalleſt nicety, as cannot be performed now in any claſſic author whatever; and that out of a labyrinth of thirty thouſand various readings, that crowd the pages of our preſent beſt editions, all put upon equal credit to the offence of many good perſons; this clue ſo leads and extricates us, that there will ſcarce be two hundred out of ſo many thouſands that can deſerve the leaſt conſideration.

IV. To confirm the lections which the author places in the text, he makes uſe of the old verſions, Syriac, Coptic, Gothic, and Æthiopic; and of all the Fathers, Greeks and Latins, within the firſt five centuries; and he gives in his notes all the various readings (now known) within the ſaid five centuries; ſo that the reader has under one view what the firſt ages of the Church knew of the text, and what has crept into any copies ſince is of no value or authority.

V. The author is very ſenſible, that in the ſacred writings there is no place for conjectures or emendations; diligence and fidelity, with ſome judgment and experience, are the characters here requiſite; he declares, therefore, that he does not alter one letter in the text without the authorities ſubjoined in the notes; and to leave the free choice to every reader, he places under each column the ſmalleſt variations of this edition, either in words or order, from the received Greek of Stephanus, and the Latin of the two Popes, Sixtus V. and Clement VIII.; ſo that this edition exhibits both itſelf and the common ones.

VI. If the author has any thing to ſuggeſt towards a change of the text, not ſupported by any copies now extant, he will offer it ſeparate in his *Prolegomena*; in which will be a large account of the ſeveral manuſcripts here uſed, and of the other matters which contribute to make this edition uſeful. In this work he is of no ſect or party: his deſign is to ſerve the whole Chriſtian name: he draws no conſequences in his notes, makes no oblique glances upon any diſputed points, old or new. He conſecrates this work as a Κειμήλιον, a Κτῆμα ἐσαει, a *Charter*, a *Magna Charta*, to the whole Chriſtian Church, to laſt when all the ancient manuſcripts here quoted may be loſt and extinguiſhed.

VII. To publiſh this work, according to its uſe and importance, a great expence is requiſite. It is deſigned to be printed, not on the paper or with the letter of this ſpecimen, but with the beſt letter, paper, and ink, that Europe affords; it muſt therefore be done by ſubſcription or contribution. As it will make two tomes in folio, the loweſt ſubſcription for ſmaller paper muſt be three guineas, one advanced in preſent; and for the great paper five guineas, two advanced.

VIII. The work will be put to the preſs as ſoon as money is contributed to ſupport the charge of the impreſſion, and no more copies will be printed than ſubſcribed for. The overſeer and corrector of the preſs will be the learned Mr. John Walker of Trinity-college in Cambridge, who with great accurateneſs has collated many manuſcripts at Paris for the preſent edition; and the iſſue of it, whether gain or loſs, is equally to fall on him and the author.

Then follows the ſpecimen, *viz.* the laſt chapter of the Apocalypſe, with a Latin verſion, and the various readings of the ſeveral manuſcripts in the notes. Soon after theſe propoſals, in 1721, came out Dr. Middleton's remarks upon them, paragraph by paragraph; as above in the text. In theſe he obſerves, that our author makes no ſcruple to deſtroy the authority of all our publiſhed ſcriptures, crying down all the current editions as corrupt and adulterate; and then, in vindication of the former editions, Dr. Middleton endeavours to prove the excellency of two or three of the principal ones, *viz.* the celebrated Complutenſian, printed in 1515, which had all the manuſcripts of the Vatican, beſides many other of the greateſt antiquity, procured by Cardinal Ximenes, with no ſmall trouble and expence, from Rome, Spain, and other foreign parts; inſomuch that ſeven only of theſe manuſcript copies, fetched from different countries, coſt him 4000 crowns (34). Next Eraſmus's edition, formed by collating and comparing many of the moſt correct and ancient manuſcripts, both Greek and Latin. Dr. Mill compares one of Eraſmus's Greek manuſcripts to the Alexandrian itſelf, which is ſuppoſed to be above 1200 years old; and then inſtances Robert Stephens, who collected the text of his edition from no fewer than ſixteen of the beſt manuſcripts, ſome of which are deſcribed by him to be *ipſâ vetuſtatis ſpecie pœnè adorandos.* I need not mention, ſays he, the many other editions we have of good note, but ſhall leave it to the reader to determine from theſe, how juſt and modeſt our author has been in this paragraph; and whether manuſcripts of no great antiquity, recent and interpolated, be the proper tranſlations of *Antiquiſſimæ*, *Emendatiſſimæque venerandæ vetuſtatis, ſpectatæque fidei*; for theſe are the epithets given to thoſe manuſcripts. Beſides the laſt edition of the learned Dr. Mill, who with incredible pains and induſtry for thirty years together has drawn together in his elaborate edition, not only what had been collected by all other authors and editors before him, but the collations likewiſe of all manuſcripts whatſoever which he had heard of, or were at all in fame in any part of Europe, there are many in his collections above 1000 years old, and in capitals too. But the author of the remarks carries his remarks on the beginning of this article by much too far, the matter being drawn up in as tender and modeſt terms as the nature of the thing would bear, without any the ſmalleſt reproach or reflection on the prior editors (35). Dr. Bentley reduces Dr. Middleton to the following dilemma: No man can poſſibly give a better edition than thoſe already extant; or the man that can do it, ought neceſſarily to ſay in his propoſals, that the extant editions are erroneous and imperfect (36). Did not *Eraſmus*, without public cenſure, refine, by repeated editions, not only upon the *Complutenſes*, but even upon himſelf? How came *Robert Stephens*, a mere Printer, with public acceptation and applauſe, to refine upon them both (37)? ——The *venerable manuſcripts* of the *Complutenſes* did not hinder *Eraſmus* from *varying* from them *in a thouſand places*; nor did *Eraſmus's correct and ancient manuſcripts*

(34) Gemeſius, De Rebus Geſtis Ximenii, lib. ii.

(35) Dr. Bentley's Propoſals for printing a new Edition of the Greek Teſtament, and St. Hierom's Latin verſion, with a full Anſwer to all the Remarks of a late Pamphleteer, by a Member of Trinity-college, Cambridge, 1721, p. 11.

(36) *Ibid.* p. 12.

(37) *Ibid.* p. 13.

ceſſarily ſet to ourſelves upon this occaſion, referring the curious reader to the tracts themſelves for a fuller account. Soon after theſe Remarks paragraph by paragraph, there came out the Propoſals, with a pamphlet, intitled, A full Anſwer to all the Remarks of a late Pamphleteer, by a Member of Trinity-college, Cambridge, 1721, ſigned J. E. This Dr. Middleton, and all, imagined could be none but the Doctor himſelf, as well from the ſtyle as the letters J. E. being the two firſt vowels of Richard Bentley: and, upon this ſuppoſition, Dr. Middleton and others, in their future remarks, make that one great handle of abuſing him. It is, however, ſomewhat uncertain, whether Dr. Middleton might not be as much miſtaken as to the author of thoſe Remarks, as the very author of thoſe Remarks was with reſpect to the author of the Remarks paragraph by paragraph, who took them to be made by Dr. Colbatch [*L*]. Soon after this came out a pamphlet, with

manuſcripts deter Robert Stephens from doing the like by his.—The world is now advanced, adds he, two whole centuries in age ſince the date of the *Complutenſian* and *Eraſmus*'s edition, and as much within thirty years ſince that of *Robert Stephens*. Within that time older manuſcripts have been brought to light than thoſe editors knew. Every thing is comparatively old or recent. In thoſe days, when no better was ſeen, they gave the titles of ancient and venerable to manuſcripts that are now ſcarcely reckoned in the 2d or 3d rate.—The Doctor ſays, that his edition would chiefly turn upon eight Greek manuſcripts, the moſt recent of which is one thouſand years old (38); and that without the concurrence of ſome of theſe, he will ſcarce put one word in his text. Now of all theſe eight, not one was uſed, either by the *Complutenſes* or *Eraſmus*, and only one of them by *Robert Stephens*, and that very negligently. As to Ximenes's ſeven manuſcripts, he obſerves that 4,000,000 crowns would not buy the manuſcripts that he had got collated for this edition; and though he had no Cardinal's purſe, he had ſpent neverthelefs a thouſand crowns only for the bare uſe of them (39), and that four of theſe eight manuſcripts (and the four principal, abating the Alexandrian) were never collated by or for Dr. Mill (40); beſides which, he had collated with his own hand a ſcore of old Latin Teſtaments, which he had procured at his own expence. This pamphlet, called a Defence of Dr. Bentley's Propoſals for printing a new edition of the Greek Teſtament, &c. is again anſwered by Dr. Middleton in his own proper name (41), by ſumming up, in ſomething a ſtronger manner, what he had before ſaid, and ſtill inſiſting upon the excellence and antiquity of the manuſcripts of the former editions; and he turns the Doctor's anſwer wholly into a proof of his pride and arrogance. He then proceeds to inquire into the *true ſtate of his materials* in this manner:—The firſt account I have met with of *his manuſcripts*, ſays he (42), is in a *printed letter of his*, upon the ſubject of his edition, as above in the text. Thus, ſays Dr. Middleton (43), his *twenty old manuſcripts ſhrink at once to eight*; and he is forced again to own, that even of *theſe eight, there are only four which had not been collated and made uſe of by Dr. Mill*. He ought however, methinks, to oblige *his ſubſcribers* with a *more particular and ſatisfactory* account of the *four manuſcripts* he pretends to; whether, though never uſed by Dr. Mill, they were not ſtill *collated by* Dr. Kuſter; whether *any one of them, or all together*, make out the whole New Teſtament; for it is a great rarity to find any *one of value* which contains *above a part of it*; and *our editor* tells us himſelf, that *there are very few good ones, nay, not ſo much as one of any antiquity*, beſides the Alexandrine, *which comprehends the whole*, ſo that whenever he thinks fit to anſwer theſe queries, his little ſtock will probably be reduced once more to half. Nay, he will be left, I am almoſt confident, with nothing more than *ſome piece only of the New Teſtament in manuſcript*: for I will not pretend to deny (44), that our author may poſſibly have met with, and collated ſome few manuſcripts, which Dr. Mill had not heard or made uſe of; but what reaſon or pretence can this give him for ſuch a triumph and inſult over all editors before him? I might alſo, ſays Dr. Middleton, properly enough obſerve the many blunders and *errata* of the preſs (as remarkable in this ſpecimen as in the very worſt of our printed editions), to ſhew that there is no kind of inaccuracy but what may be juſtly charged upon it. Dr. Bentley, in defence of the incorrectneſs of his ſpecimen, alleges, that the propoſals were drawn up in haſte in one evening by candle-light, and printed next day from the firſt and ſole draught; which haſte likewiſe hindered him from reviſing it, and ſo left ſeveral falſe accents and points in the ſpecimen; and afterwards adds, that he feared not that all men of common ſenſe and common candour would look on 340 hints in that chapter of *ſpecimen* (45), and not from two ſmall ſlips, imagine, that all thoſe agreements came by chance without the tranſlator's deſign or thought; and that they would look more on the 30 variations that appeared before his *ſpecimen* (46), between the two texts, and are now reconciled from the beſt copies, than on two trifling variations that ſtill remain.

[*L*] *Who took them to be made by Dr. Colbatch.*]

Cambridge, Jan. 20.

‘FINDING myſelf to be treated after a moſt barbarous manner in a virulent libel, which bears the title of *Dr. Bentley's Propoſals, with a full Anſwer*, &c. upon pretence of my being the author of the Remarks upon the Propoſals lately publiſhed by Richard Bentley, &c. I think it neceſſary, upon ſeveral accounts, to declare as follows:

‘That I am not the author of thoſe Remarks, nor any part of them; and that they were undertaken and written without my aſſiſtance or knowledge: That R. B. certainly knew, or eaſily might have known, that they were written by the Reverend and Learned Dr. Middleton, who had owned them to ſeveral of his friends, by whoſe means he verily believes that R. B. was informed that he alone was the author: For my own part, preſently after the Remarks were publiſhed, I took all occaſions to declare as above, being obliged in juſtice ſo to do, leſt my ſilence might in ſome meaſure contribute to deprive my worthy friend of the honour due for ſo excellent a performance; nor do I queſtion but R. B. before he began to write his libel, had been acquainted with what I ſaid on thoſe occaſions: That thoſe foul aſperſions, which are caſt upon me in almoſt every page, are as falſe in fact, as they are apparently malicious; which is notorious to all who know me, and to none more than R. B. himſelf: That I never wrote any libels againſt the Government, the College, or Maſter, as he falſely aſſerts. I never wrote any thing at all relating to the Government, or publiſhed any thing concerning the College, or Maſter, except a Commemoration Sermon, Dec. 1, 1717, which the Maſter pretended to approve of, giving it under his hand that he would ſubſcribe to every word of it. As to other matters relating to either, I have hitherto thought them fit only for the cognizance of a Viſitor.

‘*John Colbatch*, D. D. Senior Fellow of Trinity-college, and Caſuiſtical Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of Cambridge (47).’

Cambridge, Feb. 27, 1720-1.

At a meeting of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads.

‘WHEREAS the Rev. John Colbatch, D. D. and Caſuiſtical Profeſſor of this Univerſity, hath made complaint to us of a book lately publiſhed, annexed to Propoſals for printing a new edition of the Greek Teſtament, &c. and called a full Anſwer to all the Remarks of a late Pamphleteer, by a Member of Trinity-college, ſubſcribed J. E. wherein the ſaid John Colbatch conceives himſelf to be highly injured, as being repreſented under the moſt reproachful and infamous characters, with ſome farther Remarks, *&c.* containing a full anſwer to the editor's late defence of his Propoſals, as well as all his objections there made againſt my former Remarks, by Conyers Middleton, D. D. As alſo, an anonymous Letter to the Reverend Maſter of Trinity college, Cambridge, editor of a new Greek Teſtament. We alſo find, under the catalogue of the Doctor's works in the Bibliotheca Bodleiana, much about this time, another publication, ſomewhat analogous, and relating to this affair, *viz.* An Enquiry into the Authority of the Primitive Complutenſian edition of the New Teſtament, in a Letter to Archdeacon Bentley, in 1722, *8vo* (*n*). As to theſe Propoſals, Dr. Middleton takes upon him to ſay, that they were only publiſhed with a view ‘ that ſome noiſe ſhould ‘ be made in the world in his favour, to ſupport his declining character by ſomething ‘ great and popular, to recover eſteem and applauſe to himſelf, and throw an odium and ‘ contempt upon his proſecutors, *&c.* (*o*).’ But another author makes us ſtill more obliged to the diſpute between him and his college: ‘ And next (by the help of favour‘ ers of learning, falſely ſo called) to gain an impunity for what he is accuſed of; it may ‘ be truly ſaid, as to whatever he has publiſhed within theſe laſt ſeven years (if there has ‘ been any merit in it), it has been more owing to his proſecution than to himſelf (*p*).’ Were this the cauſe, as Dr. Middleton and the *learned* Mr. Millar ſeem to imagine, the world is not a little indebted to that college for their quarrels and diſputes with this great man, which it is likely were engaged in from this public-ſpirited view. It is indeed much to be regretted, that they could not find means of continuing their animoſity and proſecutions as long as the Doctor's life, that the world might have been ſtill farther obliged to them for ſome other performances of their learned Maſter: We ſay obliged to them; for, doubtleſs, as they had found out the Doctor's foible, it was only with this public-ſpirited deſign that they gave him and themſelves ſo much trouble. The Doctor, however, was permitted to live the remainder of his life, without proſecution, in eaſe and idleneſs, only giving us his Terence, Phædrus, and Milton, in all that time. In 1725, at a Public Commencement on the 6th of July, the Doctor made an elegant Latin ſpeech, on creating ſeven Doctors of Divinity, in which, at the ſeveral periods, by little notes below, is ſet forth the whole form of the creation of a Doctor of Divinity. This piece is uſually joined to his edition of Terence and Phædrus: at leaſt it is added to the Amſterdam edition of it [*M*], in 1727, which is a very neat edition, upon a good paper and print, adorned with a curious frontiſpiece, and dedicated by Dr. Bentley to the Prince of Wales. The Doctor has not only obliged us with his notes on Terence, but has alſo added thoſe of the learned Gabriel Faernius, and taken great pains in amending and correcting the author, not only from thoſe ancient manuſcripts which Gabriel Faernius had procured, but alſo from whatever manuſcripts the Royal Library, thoſe of Cambridge, or any of his friends, could afford; ſome of which, he aſſures us, were of great antiquity, and at leaſt next, and very little inferior to, thoſe of Faernius, the orthography of which, as the moſt ancient manuſcript, he altogether follows (*q*). He has, likewiſe, altered the text in abundance of places, though never without giving in the notes the manner and reaſon for ſuch alteration. Then follows the Schediaſma of the metre and accents of Terence, by which the Doctor proves that Terence is written all in verſe (*r*). This, however, has been a matter of ſome controverſy between the learned Biſhop Hare and our author; upon which, as diſputes ran pretty high, an ingenious author has made an obſervation which we ſhall mention below [*N*]. About the year 1732, the Doctor publiſhed

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(38) *Ibid.* p. 13.

(39) *Ibid.* p. 15.

(40) *Ibid.* p. 14.

(41) Some farther Remarks, paragraph by paragraph, upon Propoſals lately publiſhed for a new Edition of a Greek and Latin Teſtament, by Richard Bentley, containing a full Anſwer to the Editor's late Defence of his ſaid Propoſals, as well as to all his Objections there made againſt my former Remarks, by Conyers Middleton, D. D. price 2 s. p. 4, 5.

(42) Two Letters to Dr. Bentley, and the Doctor's Anſwer, dated Trin. Coll. Jan. 1, 1716-17.

(43) Some farther Remarks, &c. containing a full Anſwer to the Editor's late Defence of his Propoſals, &c. p. 8.

(44) *Ibid.* p. 24.

(45) *Ibid.* p. 25.

(46) *Ibid.* p. 32.

(47) At the end of the preface to Some farther Remarks, &c.

(*n*) As alſo Phileleutherus Londinenſis ad F. V. Prof. Amſteleod. Epiſtolæ duæ de Bentleii editione N. T. Lond. 1721. Bib. Bod. Vol. ii. p. 102.

(*o*) Some farther Remarks, *&c.* p. 22.

(*p*) Millar's Account of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 100, 101.

(*q*) See the Preface to Terence.

(*r*) *Ibid.*

‘ characters, and hath therefore applied to us for re‘ dreſs: We the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Col‘ leges, whoſe names are underwritten, having per‘ uſed the ſaid book, do find that the ſaid Dr. Col‘ batch had juſt ground of complaint, it appearing to ‘ us that he is therein deſcribed under very odious ‘ and ignominious characters, and do declare and ‘ pronounce the ſaid book to be a moſt virulent and ‘ ſcandalous libel, highly injurious to the ſaid Dr. ‘ Colbatch, contrary to good manners, and a noto‘ rious violation of the ſtatutes and diſcipline of this ‘ Univerſity; and, as ſoon as the author of the ſaid ‘ libel can be diſcovered, we reſolve to do juſtice to ‘ the ſaid Dr. Colbatch, by inflicting ſuch cenſures ‘ upon the offender as the ſtatutes of this Univerſity ‘ in that caſe do appoint.

Tho. Croſs, Vice-Chancellor, *Edw. Lany*,
John Covel, *R. Jenkin*,
C. Aſhton, *W. Grigg*,
Bardſey Fiſher, *D. Waterland*,
Wm. Savage.’

[*M*] *At leaſt it is added to the Amſterdam edition of it.*] This we take to be the beſt edition of it, as well as his Horace, being ſupplied with two copious indexes, and neatly printed upon an excellent paper, and ſent over there as corrected for a ſecond edition, with the Doctor's own hand. This we find from a little prefatory diſcourſe to the reader, in which, as he tells Mr. Boyle (49), *ejus humanitas ſingularis*, is ſaid of him ſeriouſly and candidly, as he always made it his endeavour to oblige even Foreigners by all courteſy and humanity, and much more to encourage and aſſiſt any uſeful deſign at home. But to return to his Terence: It was firſt publiſhed here in 1726, under the following title: *P. Terentii Afri Comœdias recenſuit notaſque ſuas et Gabrielis Faerni addidit Richardus Bentleius.* To which the Amſterdam edition adds, *Editio altera, denuo recenſa ac indice ampliſſimo rerum et verborum tam in textum quam notas aucta, Amſtelodami*, 1727. To this is adjoined a beautiful edition of Phædrus, under the following title: *Phædri Auguſti liberti fabularum Æſoparum, lib. V. Publii Syri et aliorum veterum ſententiæ. Recenſuit et notas addidit Richardus Bentleius.* To which is alſo added a copious index.

(49) Phalaris's Epiſtles examined, p. 68.

[*N*] *Upon which, as diſputes ran pretty high, an ingenious author has made an obſervation, which we ſhall mention below.*] ‘ However, as I heartily wiſh that ‘ the preſent difficulties and diſcouragements to the ‘ ſtudy of the Scriptures, ſo accurately repreſented by ‘ Dr. Hare, were taken away; ſo do I think no ſuch ‘ difficulties ought to diſcourage great and good men ‘ among the Clergy from bending their own ſtudies ‘ to their own profeſſion, eſpecially in its preſent cir‘ cumſtances; and I venture to add this, that if once ‘ ſuch as theſe would be themſelves in earneſt with ‘ Chriſtianity, and would in earneſt fall to this great publiſhed his Milton's *Paradiſe Loſt*, when he was, as he ſays in his preface, about ſeventy years old (*s*). This is a very elegant and beautiful edition of that poem, and alſo the trueſt and correcteſt that has yet appeared, as to the faults in orthography, diſtinction by points and capital letters, accents and eliſion of vowels; which are all here very carefully and judiciouſly corrected; for errors in thoſe reſpects ſwarm in the prior editions. However, not one word is altered in it [*O*]; but all the conjectures that attempt a reformation of the genuine Milton are thrown into the margin, and explained in the notes; ſo that every reader has his free choice, whether he will accept or reject what is offered him. This, with the goodneſs of the paper and type, makes this edition truly valuable, though the Doctor's remarks on this poem have not met with that approbation from the world [*P*] that a man of his extenſive genius, ſo deſervedly diſtinguiſhed for his ſuperior talent in critical knowledge, might have reaſonably expected. Yet his very antagoniſt, who publiſhed Obſervations upon his Milton (*t*), allows that he has given us ſome (he might have ſaid many) uſeful and judicious remarks, and only ſays, he has made many emendations which may juſtly be called in queſtion. But it may not be improper here to take notice of part of the Doctor's preface to Milton, which may in ſome meaſure excuſe, or rather account for, the indifferent reception this book met with from the public [*Q*]. Beſides, he tells us in his preface (*u*), that the notes were made extempore, and put to preſs as ſoon as made [*R*]; ſo that nothing very great could ſurely be expected, eſpecially by ſuch as took him up on this occaſion, and would hardly in any caſe allow him even common

(*s*) Vide Prefat. ad eundem.

(*t*) Dr. Pearce's Reviews of the Text of Milton. See remark [*P*].

(*u*) See note [*R*].

‘ work, the *Collins's*, the *Tindal's*, the *Toland's*, and ‘ the *Woolſton*'s, would ſoon become contemptible, ‘ and the religion of our Bleſſed Saviour, now at ſo ‘ low an ebb, would ſoon flouriſh and ſpread itſelf ‘ over the world. To obſerve laymen, as *Grotius*, ‘ *Newton*, and *Locke*, laying out their nobleſt talents ‘ in ſacred ſtudies, while ſuch Clergymen as Dr. *Bentley* and Biſhop *Hare*, to name no others at preſent, ‘ have been, in the words of Sir Iſaac Newton, fighting with one another about a Play-book *(Terence)*, ‘ this is a reproach upon them, their holy religion, ‘ and holy function, plainly intolerable (50).’

(50) Whiſton's Hiſtorical Memoirs of Dr. Clarke.

[*O*] *However, not one word is altered in it.*] Changes, indeed, are ſuggeſted, and accordingly put into the margin, but not in the text, nor obtruded on the reader. They are generally in this ſtyle: *It may be adjuſted thus*; *among ſeveral ways of change this may be one, or this may not be abſurd, or diſagreeing from the Miltonian character or ſtyle.* So that the following remarks made upon his Milton in a public paper (51) cannot be reckoned of any force againſt his work, being only intended to caſt reflections upon its author, *viz.* ‘ for a perſon, who, ‘ *though allowed to be a very learned Critic*, was never ‘ imagined to be a Poet, to publiſh his extemporary, ‘ crude, and indigeſted Criticiſms, upon the completeſt poem in the Engliſh language (52), to pretend to alter and correct it in every page, to ſtrike ‘ out a great many verſes, and to put in ſeveral of ‘ his own, is treating the heroic poem of Great Milton like the exerciſe of a ſchool-boy.’

(51) The Grubſtreet Journal.

(52) See note [*Q*].

[*P*] *Though Dr. Bentley's remarks on this poem have not met with that approbation from the world.*] Several papers and pamphlets publiſhed about this time, *viz.* in 1732, take notice and criticiſe upon the Doctor's performance on Milton. The Grubſtreet Journal (53), in particular, has ſeveral remarks, obſervations, and criticiſms, after the Bentleian ſtyle and manner, beſides ſome copies of verſes and epigrams on the ſame ſubject, both in Latin and Engliſh. But the beſt and only material thing that was publiſhed againſt it was Dr. Pearce's *Review of the text of Milton's Paradiſe Loſt*; *in which the chief of Dr. Bentley's emendations are conſidered, and ſeveral other emendations and obſervations are offered to the public.* This was publiſhed at three different times, in three different parts. In the preface to this he tells us (54), ‘ that having been ‘ converſant in Milton's poetical writings, and having carefully examined the emendations which Dr. ‘ Bentley offered to the world in his new edition of ‘ Paradiſe Loſt, he thought it not improper to communicate his obſervations to the public on this occaſion. Dr. Bentley is deſervedly diſtinguiſhed for ‘ his ſuperior talents in criticiſm; they are owned by ‘ the unanimous conſent of the learned world, and ‘ have gained him a reputation which is real and ſubſtantial; but this will be underſtood with exception ‘ to what he has done on Milton's poems.—In the ‘ emendations, which the author of theſe ſheets offers ‘ as from himſelf, he never ventures farther than to ‘ propoſe words of the like ſound, which a blind ‘ poet's ear may be preſumed to have been ſometimes ‘ miſtaken in, when the proof-ſheets were read to him, ‘ and but few of this ſort are mentioned: the greateſt ‘ part ariſes from the alteration of the points, in ‘ which it is not improbable that Milton truſted ‘ much to the care of the Printer and Reviſer.’

(53) Particularly No. 82, 87, 99, 100, 101, 108, 113, 116, 118, 125, 137, and ſeveral others.

(54) The Preface to Dr. Pearce's Review.

[*Q*] *Which may in ſome meaſure excuſe, or rather account for, the indifferent reception this book met with from the public.*] For above ſixty years, ſays he, this poem, with ſuch miſerable deformities by the preſs, and not ſeldom flat nonſenſe, paſſed upon the whole nation for a perfect and faultleſs compoſition; the beſt pens in the kingdom contending in its praiſes, as eclipſing all modern eſſays whatever, and rivalling, if not excelling, Homer and Virgil. The reaſon of this, in the Doctor's opinion, was, that its readers firſt acceded to it, poſſeſſed with awe and veneration from its univerſal eſteem, and were by that deterred from truſting to their judgments; and even in places diſpleaſing, they rather ſuſpected their own capacity, than that any thing in the book could poſſibly be amiſs. ‘ Who durſt oppoſe the univerſal vogue, and ‘ riſk his own character, while he laboured to exalt ‘ Milton's? I wonder rather that it is done even ‘ now. Had theſe notes been written forty years ago, ‘ it would have been prudence to have ſuppreſſed ‘ them, for fear of injuring one's riſing fortune; but ‘ now when ſeventy years *jamdudum memorem monuerunt*, and ſpoke loudly in my ears,

‘ Mitte leves ſpes & certamina divitiarum,

‘ I made the notes extempore, and put them to the ‘ preſs as ſoon as made, without apprehenſion of ‘ growing leaner by cenſures, or plumper by commendations (55).’

(55) The Preface to Dr. Bentley's Milton.

[*R*] *That the notes were made extempore, and put to preſs as ſoon as made.*] Upon this ſome of his oppoſers obſerve, that it was ſix years before the publication that Dr. Aſhenhurſt declared at Briſtol, that Dr. B. was then engaged in making notes on Milton; nor did Dr. Aſhenhurſt ſpeak of it as a work juſt then begun, for he had not then ſeen the Doctor for two or three years; ſo that this work may have coſt him as many years labour as even his Horace. The perſon who received this account from Dr. Aſhenhurſt was ready to atteſt the truth of it, when called upon ſo to do (56). This might poſſibly be the caſe, and yet the Doctor's aſſertion be true: for the Doctor might probably acquaint Dr. Aſhenhurſt with his ſcheme while yet in embryo, before, perhaps, it was at all carried into execution, when he had only in reading made a few curſory remarks; between which, indiſpoſition in a perſon of the Doctor's age, or a hundred other things, might intervene to delay his ſetting about it in earneſt, and going methodically through with it from beginning to end; ſo that Dr. Aſhenhurſt might perhaps be acquainted with the ſcheme, and the Doctor reported to be abſolutely employed about it, and yet the notes be in a manner made extempore, and even put to the preſs as ſoon as made.

(56) Grubſtreet Journal.

merit and learning. Dr. Bentley tells us, that he had prepared a new edition of the poet Manilius for the preſs [*S*], which he would have publiſhed, had not the dearneſs of paper, and the want of good types, and ſome other occaſions, hindered him (*w*). He had alſo ſome deſign of publiſhing an edition of Heſychius, as we find by Mr. Grævius's letter to him, in which he was ſo well read, as to aſſure Dr. Mill, he could, if he pleaſed, correct five thouſand faults in that author (*x*). His emendations on the Tuſculan Queſtions of Cicero are adjoined to Mr. Davis's edition of that author.

(*w*) Diſſertation upon the Epiſtles of Phalaris, with an Anſwer to the Objections of the Hon. Charles Boyle, Eſq; p. xliv. xlix. lxii. See note [*B*] (7).

(*x*) Epiſtle to Dr. Mill, p. 39.

This being all we have been able to gather concerning his critical works, we ſhall now proceed to inquire into the complaints of mal-adminiſtration urged againſt him by the College, which were the occaſion of a long ſuit, whether the Crown or the Biſhop of Ely was General Viſitor. A party in the college, diſpleaſed at ſome regulations endeavoured by the Maſter, began to talk of the fortieth ſtatute, *de Magiſtri (ſi res exigat) Amotione*, and to cabal about complaining to the Biſhop of Ely. The Maſter hearing this, went to Biſhop Patrick, then at Ely, to acquaint him with the deſign. The Biſhop told him, he had never heard before, that, as Biſhop of Ely, he had any thing to do in the Royal College of Trinity; called his Secretary to him, and bid him ſeek if there was any precedent of it in the Biſhop's archives; but not one was found, not ſo much as a copy of Trinity-college Statutes. Upon that, the Doctor lent him one; and for that Biſhop's time the matter was dropped. But in his ſucceſſor Dr. Moore's time, the party found great encouragement to apply to the Biſhop; which they accordingly did in 1709, and a vaſt number of articles about dilapidations, but not one of immorality, bribery, or fraud, were exhibited againſt the Maſter. Theſe, as below in note [*T*], contain a good deal of malice;

[*S*] *He tells us that he had prepared a new edition of the Poet Manilius for the preſs.*] This deſign being known abroad, firſt occaſioned his acquaintance with Sir Edward Sherburn, who had formerly tranſlated the firſt book of Manilius into Engliſh verſe, and explained it with a large commentary, and had beſides got together ſeveral old and ſcarce editions of that Poet. Beſides this, he had purchaſed at Antwerp, by means of a Bookſeller, a whole box full of papers of the famous Gaſper Gevartius, who undertook an edition of the ſame Poet, but was prevented by death. All theſe Sir Edward Sherburn ſent to Dr. Bentley, for the uſe of his intended edition of Manilius; among which papers, he tells us, he found none of any conſequence, excepting a treatiſe about Theodorus Mallius, written, as he had good reaſon to believe, by Albertus Rubenius, whoſe poſthumous works the learned Grævius was then publiſhing: this, therefore, with Sir Edward's leave, he ſent over to him, who promiſed to take care to let the *world know to whoſe kindneſs they were obliged for this piece.* But Grævius entirely forgot his promiſe; dedicated his work to Dr. Bentley, and never ſo much as mentioned Sir Edward's name. This gave occaſion to the Doctor's enemies to accuſe him of falſifying his word to Sir Edward Sherburn (57), by not letting Mr. Grævius know from whence he had the manuſcript, and not deſiring him to make an honourable mention of Sir Edward, as the perſon that had obliged the world with it. But Mr. Grævius clears him of this aſperſion, and confeſſes his own forgetfulneſs and neglect of what Dr. Bentley had expreſsly written to him on this ſubject (58).

(57) See the Account of Dr. Bentley's Humanity, &c. p. 27, 28; and Boyle againſt Bentley, p. 16.

(58) Grævii Epiſtola Richardo Bentleio.

[*T*] *Theſe, as below in the notes.*] I received this appeal from the Fellows of Trinity-college, by the hands of Mr. Edmund Miller, the 10th of February, 1709. JOHN, Ely.

The Petition of the Fellows of Trinity-college againſt Dr. Bentley.

To the Right Reverend Father in God, John, Lord Biſhop of Ely, Viſitor of Trinity-college in Cambridge, upon the fortieth chapter of the College Statutes, intitled, *De Magiſtri (ſi res exigat) amotione.*

The humble Petition and Complaint of the Vice-Maſter, Senior Fellows, and many of the Doctors in Divinity and Maſters of Arts, Fellows and Members of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of the Univerſity of Cambridge, of King Henry the Eighth's foundation, in behalf of themſelves and the reſt of the Members of the ſaid College, againſt Richard Bentley, Doctor in Divinity, now Maſter thereof,

Shew,

‘ THAT the Fellows, and all the Members of the
‘ ſaid College, having for many years lived with
‘ a great reſpect and love to their former Maſters, and
‘ in a perfect amity one with another; in the year
‘ of our Lord God 1700, when the ſaid Dr. Bentley
‘ firſt came to be their Maſter, the peace of the ſaid
‘ College was ſoon diſturbed, by his demanding and
‘ taking of the ſaid College ſeveral unuſual and great
‘ ſums of money, which he applied to his own uſe;
‘ and almoſt every year ſince, by his continual making
‘ new demands of profits and perquiſites for himſelf,
‘ and by his taking, and threatening to take away;
‘ ſometimes with the forced conſent of the governing
‘ part of the College, and ſometimes without any
‘ conſent at all, ſeveral known privileges and perqui-
‘ ſites from the reſt of the College in general, and
‘ even Fellowſhips and Scholarſhips from ſeveral in
‘ particular, and by threatening and aſſuming to in-
‘ flict ſeveral unſtatutable and (before his time) un-
‘ heard-of puniſhments upon ſeveral of the Fellows,
‘ for no other reaſon but becauſe he heard they talked
‘ againſt his proceedings; and by his uſing violence
‘ and unworthy methods, whereby he has prevailed
‘ with ſome few of the College to eſpouſe his ſepa-
‘ rate intereſt, the peace of this royal and ample
‘ foundation has not only for many years been wholly
‘ broken, but the ſtatutes have been violated, and
‘ the goods of the College waſted, and many of the
‘ Fellows reduced to great neceſſity, by his leſſening
‘ the value of their fellowſhips, which were before
‘ but very ſmall; nevertheleſs, the Fellows and
‘ Members of the ſaid College, out of a peaceable
‘ diſpoſition, and being perſuaded by the ſaid Dr.
‘ Bentley's fair promiſes, which he conſtantly made
‘ upon gaining any new advantage, that they ſhould
‘ enjoy peace and quietneſs for the future; and out
‘ of reſpect to thoſe that made him their Maſter,
‘ though they could not be wholly ſilent, they were
‘ unwilling publicly to complain to their ſuperiors,
‘ till now again this laſt year the ſaid Dr. Bentley,
‘ not only making another exorbitant demand of
‘ profits to himſelf, but, in order thereto, endeavour-
‘ ing to make an alteration almoſt throughout the
‘ whole College in their dividends and dues, where-
‘ by they are maintained, and which they and their
‘ predeceſſors have for many years enjoyed, and that
‘ in a partial manner, and by ſuch methods as are
‘ before mentioned; we are neceſſitated at this time
‘ to petition and complain to your Lordſhip, pro-
‘ miſing within a convenient time to lay before you,
‘ in ſuch method as you ſhall appoint, the ſeveral
‘ particulars, wherein the truth of what is here al-
‘ ledged will manifeſtly appear; humbly craving in
‘ due time ſuch ſentence as to your Lordſhip's wiſ-
‘ dom and juſtice ſhall ſeem meet.

‘ Feb. 6, 1709. Signed by 30 of the College.’

This the Biſhop ſent immediately to Dr. Bentley, *viz.* on the 11th of February, and the Doctor anſwered it on the 13th (59). But as there were ſeveral pieces publiſhed on both ſides on this occaſion, we ſhall endeavour to give the reader ſome account of them (60).

(59) This Letter is dated at her Majeſty's Library, Feb. 12, 1709-10.

(60) Mr. Rawlinſon, in his Engliſh Topographer.

‘ A

lice, and many vilifying aſperſions, and were the ſubject of many pamphlets on both ſides. His Lordſhip received the charge, intending to proceed upon it, which he conceived himſelf ſufficiently authoriſed to do, and required Dr. Bentley's anſwer, which he declined for ſome time to give (y), pleading want of form in the charge; becauſe other members of the college, beſides the Seniors, had joined in the accuſation, and the Seniors themſelves, as he alleged, had never yet admoniſhed him; from whence he inferred, that all proceedings on ſuch a charge, and whatſoever ſhould follow on the ſame foot, would be *ipſo facto* null and void (z). The Biſhop, however, did not, it ſeems, think this plea to be material; for he inſiſted upon Dr. Bentley's anſwer to the charge; who, upon that, began to queſtion what authority his Lordſhip had over him; and, by a petition preſented to the late Queen, prayed 'that her Majeſty would take him and the College into her protection, againſt the Biſhop's pretenſions, and maintain her ſole power and juriſdiction over her Royal foundation, and the Maſters thereof.' This petition was referred to the then Attorney and Solicitor General, and they were ordered fully to conſider the matter, and report their opinions thereupon. Notice was given at the ſame time to the Biſhop, that her Majeſty having taken this affair into her cognizance, his Lordſhip was to ſtay proceedings till the Queen's pleaſure was farther known. Mr. Attorney and Solicitor-

(y) *A Vindication of the Biſhop of Ely's viſitatorial Juriſdiction over the College in general, and over the Maſter thereof in particular,* p. 18. This, however, does not appear, ſince his Anſwer was given in within three Days after the petition had been given to the Biſhop. See note [Y].

(z) The Preſent State of Trinity-college in Cambridge, in a Letter from Dr. Bentley to the Biſhop of Ely, 1710, p. 10.

'A true Copy of Articles againſt Dr. *Bentley*, exhibited to the Right Rev. Father in God *John More*, Lord Biſhop of Ely, by many of the Fellows of Trinity-college in Cambridge; together with the College Statute, *de Amotione Magiſtri*, and ſeveral other clauſes of the College Statutes, with References to the Articles. Lond. 1710, 8vo.

'The Preſent State of Trinity-college in Cambridge, in a Letter from Dr. *Bentley*, Maſter of the ſaid College, to the Right Rev. *John*, Lord Biſhop of Ely. Publiſhed for general information by a Gentleman of the Temple. Lond. 1710, 8vo.

'Some Remarks upon a Letter, intitled, The Preſent State of Trinity-college in Cambridge. Written by *Richard Bentley*, D. D. now Maſter of the ſaid College, to the Right Rev. *John*, Lord Biſhop of Ely. With ſome Remarks alſo upon the Preface, pretended to be written and publiſhed together with the Letter by a Gentleman of the Temple, by Mr. *Miller*, Fellow of the College. Lond. 1710, 8vo.

'Some Conſiderations humbly offered to *John*, Lord Biſhop of Ely, on a Book, intitled, The Preſent State of Trinity-college in Cambridge, by Dr. *Bentley*, by a Maſter of Arts, and Fellow of the ſaid College. Lond. 8vo.

'The true State of Trinity-college, in a Letter to a reſiding Fellow of that Society; wherein the trifling impertinencies, malicious aſperſions, and bold falſehoods, of Dr. *Bentley*, are anſwered in ſuch a manner as they deſerve. Publiſhed for the information of the Students, Scholars, and Fellows of both Univerſities. Lond. 1710, 8vo.'

Beſides theſe, the firſt of which alone we were not able to procure, we alſo find the following ones publiſhed at this time, and upon this account, all which we have conſulted and made uſe of in this work.

'A full View of Dr. *Bentley*'s Letter to the Lord Biſhop of Ely, in a Diſcourſe to a Friend; wherein the whole ſtrain of that celebrated piece throughout is fairly, familiarly, and largely conſidered, by *Tho. Blomer*, M. A. Fellow of Trinity-college, Cambridge. 1710.

'A true and impartial Account of the preſent Differences between the Maſter and Fellows of Trinity-college, Cambridge, conſidered. In a Letter to a Gentleman, ſome time Member of that Society, 1711.

'An humble and ſerious Repreſentation of the Preſent State of Trinity-college in Cambridge. In a Letter to a Noble Lord.'

But to return to the ſubject of the petition at the beginning of the note: The Doctor, far from being guilty of what he is charged with in the petition, *ſeems* to have been rather a great benefactor to the College, having laid out ſeveral ſums of money out of his private purſe in repairing and beautifying it; and by his care it had been greatly ornamented and improved. The chief thing that he had diſguſted the Fellows by was, his prudent regulations of ſeveral enormous and expenſive abuſes, in open breach and violation of the Statutes: for this, rather than any real ſuffering on their part, or mal-adminiſtration on his, *ſeems* to have been the chief ground of their quarrel or uneaſineſſes; and their ſeveral letters, remarks, and conſiderations on this letter and ſubject, ſeem actuated by a ſpirit of private malice, envy, revenge, or perſonal pique (*). But we cannot here enter into the whole affair *pro* and *con*. After reading over the ſeveral pieces written againſt him, we muſt partly imagine, if we have not been too much biaſſed in his favour by his great learning, that the caſe was in a great meaſure as we have above ſtated it. The reader, to be convinced of this, need only read over the Doctor's Letter to the Biſhop of Ely, and almoſt any one of the pieces written againſt him above mentioned. But on this ſubject we cannot introduce any thing more to the purpoſe than the following quotation. 'When I remember the ſtate of that College before Dr. Bentley came to it, and compare it with the flouriſhing condition of it at preſent, I am amazed at the vile ingratitude of thoſe narrow-ſoul'd wretches, that, not content to defraud that great man of the honour and thanks due to him for recovering a Society to ſome ſplendour and figure, are not aſhamed to talk as if Trinity had been ruined by one that has been viſibly ſo great a benefactor to it. What a devotion to malice and ſtupidity muſt theſe people pay, that, after ſo many noble improvements that Dr. Bentley has made in this College, in every poſſible particular, can have the face to ſay ſuch things of him, as in the confeſſion of one of their tribe here, ſhameleſsly deſcribing his own talent this way, *hardly any man but himſelf would bear the ſcandal or odium of, for all his preferments and learning!* Has the utmoſt malice of a few railing incendiaries ever produced any thing that ſhould leſſen Dr. Bentley in any man's eſteem? No, nor ever will, but amongſt ſuch as a great and generous ſpirit paſſes with for a proud and haughty one; who, becauſe Trinity-college is one of the handſomeſt in Europe, cry out plunder and dilapidation; and are ready to ſwear that he has impoveriſhed the Society, becauſe it is twelve hundred pounds a year the richer, merely by his good management. The Gentlemen of that Society are ſenſible, I believe, that it would be a long panegyric to give Dr. Bentley all the praiſes due to him upon the account of his maſterſhip; and though there are ſome few, even amongſt thoſe who have been the moſt obliged to him, of different taſte and ſentiment, it is not to be wondered at. There is a *Genus Hominum*, that, whether from the natural make and conſtitution of the men, or from a certain acquired antipathy to merit, ſeem incapable of doing juſtice to it in others. When men will quit their gratitude to take up the moſt abſurd prejudices, there is no perſuading them that ten dividends are not more than twenty, or that two or three and twenty lads a year admitted in Dr. M—gue's time, are not more than forty in Dr. B's. It is a reflection to the honour of that College, that it afforded but four Fellows, and thoſe, without flattery, none of the wiſeſt, that could entertain ſuch a ſtupid notion of duty, privilege, and conſcience, as to give their votes for their Maſter's degradation. And a famous Lawyer, that was of the counſel againſt him at his trial, has ſince, as I have heard, declared, that he was ſure Dr. Bentley muſt be a very good and virtuous man, ſince, in the courſe of that trial, nothing inconſiſtent with that character could be proved againſt him (61).'

(*) See Oldmixon's Hiſtory and Reign of the Stuarts, p. 629.

(61) A Review of the Proceedings againſt Dr. Bentley, in the Univerſity of Cambridge, in Anſwer to a late pretended full and impartial Account, &c. p. 69. 73, 74.

General

General took ſome time to conſider; and were of opinion, the Biſhop had power over the Maſter. But this report not proving ſatisfactory to ſome perſons then in power, a letter was brought to the Biſhop from Mr. Secretary St. John, dated 18th June, 1711, acquainting him, 'that the matter of the petition of Dr. Richard Bentley, Maſter of Trinity-college in Cambridge, together with the report of Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor General, being then before the Queen, and ordered to be taken into conſideration by my Lord Keeper, aſſiſted by her Majeſty's Counſel learned in the Law, her Majeſty thought it to be a buſineſs of ſuch weight and conſequence, that ſhe had commanded him (the Secretary) to ſignify her pleaſure to his Lordſhip, that he ſhould ſtop all further proceedings, according to her Majeſty's direction.' But the Maſter ſeeing that all diſcipline and ſtudies would be loſt in the college, if that controverſy were not one way or other decided, requeſted of the Miniſtry that he might be permitted to take his trial under any Viſitor the Queen ſhould appoint; or if none would be ſo appointed, that he might have leave, *ſalvo jure regio*, to be voluntarily tried under the Biſhop. Upon this the inhibition was taken off by Mr. Secretary St. John, by order of the Queen, ſignifying, *that his Lordſhip was at liberty to proceed, ſo far as by the law he might.* But his Lordſhip did not think fit to proceed, till he was ſerved with a Rule of Court from the King's-Bench, in Eaſter-term 1714, to ſhew cauſe why a writ of Mandamus ſhould not iſſue out againſt him. The Biſhop being then at Ely, was applied to by joint meſſengers on both ſides, to make a ſtep to the college, and there he might have ended the matter in two days. But this was not thought ſo proper, and Ely-houſe at London was pitched on, where, inſtead of two days, the trial laſted at leaſt ſix weeks, and the college paid a thouſand pounds for it; three learned Lawyers, who could know but very little of the matter, being admitted on each ſide, to make eloquent harangues, anſwers, and replies, upon queſtions ariſing from above fifty articles, in which there was ſcarcely any thing material that might not eaſily be determined upon a bare inſpection of the College Statutes, Regiſters, and Books of Accounts. The trial being ended, and the cauſe ripe for ſentence, the Biſhop's death prevented his giving judgment [*U*]. Thus the matter dropped for the preſent; but was afterwards revived in the year 1728, when new articles of complaint againſt Dr. Bentley, charging him with having in many inſtances made great waſte of the college revenue, and violated the Statutes, all founded on the 40th of Elizabeth, were again exhibited to the Biſhop of Ely, as ſpecially authoriſed and appointed to receive the ſame, and to proceed thereupon; though the matter had been long before decided in favour of the Crown, as having the general viſitatorial power [*X*]. Upon this, a petition was ſubſcribed by the college, and preſented

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[*U*] *The Biſhop's death prevented his giving judgment.*] Some time after the Biſhop's death, came out the following piece: 'A true Account of the Preſent State of Trinity-college in Cambridge, under the oppreſſive government of their Maſter, *Richard Bentley*, late D. D. Lond. 1720, 8vo.' The Gentleman who wrote this piece, having thought fit to acknowledge it, and to do juſtice to one who was ſuſpected as the author of it, gave the following public notice to the world:

Cambridge, Feb. 19, 1719-20.

'WHEREAS the Maſter of Trinity-college is proſecuting the author and publiſher of a book, intitled, *A true Account of the Preſent State of Trinity-college in Cambridge, under the oppreſſive government of their Maſter* Richard Bentley, *late* D. D. for preventing all unneceſſary trouble and expence in ſuch proſecution, I hereby voluntarily acknowledge myſelf to be the ſole author of the ſaid book; and do declare, that the ſeveral facts therein mentioned are no other than what have either been proved upon the Maſter at a public trial before the late Biſhop of Ely (who died before ſentence was given), or will certainly, with many more of the ſame kind, be charged and proved upon him by the Fellows, whenever there ſhall be a Viſitor aſſigned for that purpoſe, for which they have long been petitioning; and I ſolemnly proteſt, that I had no other view in writing the ſaid book, but to promote and bring on ſuch a viſitation, by ſhewing the neceſſity of it, and to do juſtice to my worthy oppreſſed friends of that College (whereof I was not long ſince a Fellow), which they are not able to do for themſelves, but at the hazard of their own Fellowſhips (the Maſter having, ſince the publication of this Book, attempted to deprive a Reverend and Learned Member of the Seniority, for the bare ſuſpicion of his being the author of it); and I do affirm, that I have ſaid nothing material in the ſaid book, but under the utmoſt conviction of its truth, either from my own knowledge, or upon the beſt evidence and information, as will eaſily appear whenever there ſhall be occaſion; and if in the mean while the Maſter, or any of his friends, will undertake to anſwer me in print, I hereby promiſe, either to defend and prove every article alledged againſt him, or to make him the ſatisfaction of a public recantation.

'CONYERS MIDDLETON, D. D.'

[*X*] *Though the matter was long before decided in favour of the Crown, as having the general viſitatorial power.*] The Statute by which the Biſhop of Ely claimed a viſitatorial power, was, the 46th of Edward the VIth (62); but from the general viſitatorial power, if not from the particular one of the Maſter, he was thus excluded by the opinion of the moſt eminent in their profeſſion (63). 'We are of opinion, that theſe Statutes of King Edward VI. were not of perpetual obligation, or unalterable, but were alterable by the Statutes made by Queen Elizabeth, they being accepted and acted under by the College.—We are of opinion the Statutes of Queen Elizabeth are valid, and were intended as a complete body of Statutes for that College, and the original Statutes made by King Edward VI., expreſſed to have been under the Great Seal, being now without the ſame, from which they may be preſumed to have been cancelled on the making of thoſe of Queen Elizabeth; and the Biſhops of Ely, from the making of the Statutes of Queen Elizabeth, having never exerciſed or claimed the power of a Viſitor, we humbly apprehend the 46th chapter of the Statutes of King Edward VI., *de viſitatore*, was omitted in the body of Statutes of Queen Elizabeth;—and we are humbly of opinion, that her Majeſty, with the acceptation of the College, if the Statute *de viſitatore* be in force (64), may repeal the ſame; but her Majeſty's declaration without ſuch acceptance will not be effectual.'

Anno 1711-12.

Tho. Powys, *J. Conyers*,
Edw. Northey, *Tho. Lutwych*,
Rob. Raymond, *John Ward* (65).
Nich. Hooper,

(62) A Vindication of the Lord Biſhop of Ely's viſitatorial Juriſdiction over Trinity-college in general, and the Maſter in particular.

(63) As the Biſhop acknowledges in his Petition, Nov. 2, 1728.

(64) That is, Whether the Biſhop had a viſitatorial power over the Maſter in particular, though not over the College in general.

(65) The Caſe of Trinity-college in Cambridge, whether the Crown or the Biſhop of Ely be General Viſitor, p. 24.

ſented to his Majeſty under the Common-Seal, the 10th of Auguſt 1728, and the cauſe carried before the King in Council; for the college itſelf now engaged as party in the cauſe againſt the Biſhop, and above fifteen hundred pounds out of the revenues of the college, were ſpent in carrying it on. This being referred to a Committee of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council, Dr. Fleetwood, the Lord Biſhop of Ely, on the ſecond of November, 1728, alſo preſented a petition to his Majeſty, to be heard touching his right, which was likewiſe referred to the ſaid Committee. The Lords Committee, juſt before the day appointed for a hearing, *viz.* March 13, 1728, had a printed pamphlet put into their hands, intitled, *The Caſe of Trinity-college; Whether the Crown or the Biſhop of Ely be General viſitor* (*a*); at the end of which, as well as in their petition, the college applied to the King, to take the viſitatorial power (as by the opinion of council he might with their conſent) into his own hands, that they might be only viſited by the Crown, but not with a view or intent of avoiding a viſitation or enquiry into the ſtate of the ſociety, for which they were very preſſing, both in their petition, and at the end of this pamphlet. On the fifteenth, the cauſe came on before the Lords of the Committee of Privy-Council, but was from thence referred to the King's-Bench (*b*) [*Y*], where the May following it was tried by way of Prohibition, and after a long pleading, the Judges unanimouſly determined it in favour of the Biſhop, as to his viſitatorial power over the Doctor (*c*); and the June following, the Fellows exhibited their articles of complaint againſt him before the Biſhop of Ely, his Lordſhip having two aſſiſtants, *viz.* Sir Henry Penrice, and Dr. Betteſworth (*d*). But it being urged, that the Biſhop was going to exerciſe a general viſitatorial power, another petition was preferred to his Majeſty and Council, by the Maſter and Fellows, and a farther hearing appointed in the cauſe, in the Court of King's Bench, in November, 1729, *&c.* (*e*); and in November, 1731, we find the cauſe had gone againſt the Biſhop of Ely, by his taking out a Writ of Error, for carrying the cauſe by appeal into the Houſe of Lords (*f*). The Crown, however, at laſt, to put an end to the diſpute and diſturbance, (as fully impowered (*g*) to do) took both college and Maſter, according to their petition, into its own juriſdiction and viſitation, and here the matter ended.

(*a*) See note [*X*].

(*b*) Monthly Chronicle for March, 1729.

(*c*) *Ibid* for May, 1729.

(*d*) *Ibid.* for June, 1729.

(*e*) *Ibid.* for November 1729.

(*f*) *Ibid.* for November 1731.

(*g*) See note [*X*].

The proceedings of the Univerſity againſt Dr. Bentley in the year 1717 alſo, which were repreſented as violent and unjuſtifiable, as the effects of a power falſely uſurped, or ſcandalouſly abuſed, and as ariſing from the malice of a party diſaffected to the government (*h*), were the cauſe of great ferment and uneaſineſs in the Univerſity, and raiſed the curioſity, and drew the eyes of the whole nation upon them; for which reaſon we ſhall beg leave to be a little particular and full in our account, that we may give the reader a juſt idea of the affair. In October 1717, the day after his Majeſty's viſit to the Univerſity, when ſeveral Doctors in Divinity, named by mandate, were attending in the ſenate-houſe to

(*h*) See Oldmixon's Hiſt. and Reign of the Stuarts, p. 629.

Firſt, we ſhall obſerve how forceable the argument uſed by the Queen's counſel is, that Edward's Statutes by being without the Broad Seal now, which once was affixed to them, muſt from thence be preſumed to have been cancelled (66). Beſides, the Crown always nominates the Maſter of Trinity, but the Fellows and Scholars are choſen by the College. Is it not then abſurd to think that the Crown ſhould ſo carefully *reſume* to itſelf the power over the Fellows and Scholars whom it does not elect, and abandon the Maſter alone, its own Elect and Nominee, to an external viſitation? The reſult of all is, that ſince Queen Elizabeth's time, no Biſhop of Ely meddled in Trinity-college before Dr. Bentley's voluntary trial under Biſhop Moore. Fellows and Scholars have the King only for their Viſitor; the Maſter, if this 40th Statute be in force, is to have both King and Biſhop too. That being abſurd and impoſſible, it was put as a queſtion to the Queen's learned counſel, Whether the Crown could not take from the Biſhop that imagined power over the Maſter, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal? and the anſwer was, That by Letters under the Great Seal, the Queen might annul this 40th Statute, the cauſe of the diſturbance, and make the Crown ſole viſitor of the Maſter, as well as the College, if the College accepted it; 'and that the College now deſires and petitions for; but in reverſe, if the King ſhould be induced to give the right of the Crown by Letters Patent to the Biſhop, the College, to ſay the leaſt, would have the extremeſt reluctancy to accept ſuch Letters, they being thereby abjoined from the more immediate care of the Crown, which even from the date of Elizabeth's Statutes, had been always thought to have the viſitatorial power over them, and has accordingly exerciſed it. The College have before declared under their Common Seal in their petition to his Majeſty, and they now do, that they don't deſire to avoid any inquiry into the ſtate of their Society, or the conduct of any Members thereof, being earneſtly deſirous that the ſame may be made by any legal authority; which legal authority, or general viſitatorial power over them, for the reaſons above-mentioned, they apprehend to be veſted in the Kings of this realm, as ſucceſſors to the Royal Founder of their Society. If this point be determined, as the Society hope it will, by the King's moſt honourable Privy-Council, the Maſter and Fellows of the ſaid Society, in vindication of their own honour, and in juſtice to themſelves, humbly propoſe forthwith to beſeech his Majeſty, to condeſcend to nominate Commiſſioners, to viſit and inquire into the ſtate of the ſaid Society; or if it be not proper to be determined by the honourable Privy-Council, they hope, as the right of the Crown is in queſtion, *an iſſue at Law*, or ſuch other method, as in their wiſdom ſhall ſeem moſt proper, will be by them directed; ſo that the queſtion now depending, Whether the Crown or the Biſhop of Ely be General Viſitor, may receive a full and a proper determination (67).'

(66) The Caſe of Trinity-college in Cambridge, whether the Crown or the Biſhop of Ely be General Viſitor, p. 17.

(67) The Caſe of Trinity-college, Cambridge, whether the Crown or the Biſhop of Ely be General Viſitor, p. 17, 18.

[*Y*] *On the 15th the cauſe came on before the Lords of the Committee of Privy-Council, but was from thence referred to the King's-Bench.*] The Attorney and Solicitor-General were Counſel for the Maſter and the Fellows, and Dr. Henchman and Mr. Fazakerly for the Biſhop. There was a very full Committee of Council; and, after hearing the arguments of the Counſellors on both ſides, *An Act for regulating the Privy-Council* (68) was read; which, among other things, ſays, 'That neither his Majeſty, nor his Privy-Council, have, or ought to have, any juriſdiction, power or authority, by Engliſh bill, petition, article, libel, or any other way whatſoever to examine, or draw into queſtion, determine or diſpoſe of lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods or chattels, of any the ſubjects of the kingdom; but that the ſame ought to be tried and determined in the ordinary Courts of juſtice, &c.' Whereupon the Lords declined making any order or report.

(68) The Statute of 16 C r. I. cap. 10.

receive their degrees, Dr. Bentley, on creation, made a demand of four guineas from each of them, as a fee due to him as Profeſſor [*Z*], over and above a broad-piece, which had by cuſtom been allowed as a preſent on this occaſion; and abſolutely refuſed to create any Doctor till this fee was paid him. This occaſioned a long and warm diſpute, till at laſt many of the Doctors, and Dr. Middleton among the reſt, conſented to pay the fee in queſtion, upon this condition, that Dr. Bentley ſhould reſtore the money if it was not afterwards determined to be his right. In the next meeting, thoſe who had paid the fee were created, but he refuſed to create ſuch as would not pay it; upon which Dr. Grigg, then Vice-Chancellor, gave orders that ſome other Doctor ſhould perform the ceremony inſtead of him; and accordingly Dr. Fiſher, the Maſter of Sydenham-college, created ſeveral for the uſual gratuity of a broad-piece. Upon this, they ſent a State of the Caſe to the Chancellor, the Duke of Somerſet. Dr. Bentley ſtill inſiſted upon his claim; but at laſt, inſtead of money, was content with a note from the reſt, promiſing the payment of it, if it ſhould be determined for him by the King, or any authority delegated from him; and at laſt ſubmitted to create one of the King's Doctors, who came laſt, and ſome others who commenced afterwards, without either fee or note. Matters went on thus for near a twelvemonth, the Doctor being in quiet poſſeſſion of the money and notes: but nothing being determined about his right or title to it, Dr. Middleton thought he had reaſon to expect his money again; and accordingly (as it is ſaid) he made (*i*) a demand of it, firſt by letter, which was taken no notice of, and afterwards in perſon, and then applied to the Vice-Chancellor for a decree, which, from the tender regard the Vice-Chancellor had for Dr. Bentley, he was ſome time before he could obtain. At length, however, the decree was granted, and a known enemy of Dr. Bentley's employed to ſerve it (*k*), who went to Trinity-lodge on Tueſday the twenty-third of September; but whether through ignorance in his own buſineſs, or that he believed Dr. Bentley, who told him that it ſignified nothing, not having the conſent of nine heads to it, or that he had ſome other deſign than that of arreſting him, he leaves the arreſt, decree, &c. with the Doctor, and came away without executing the Vice-Chancellor's orders at all (*l*). Dr. Bentley was afterwards arreſted by another Beadle, on the firſt of October, with a ſecond decree, which doubtleſs argued the invalidity of the firſt. The Profeſſor ſuppoſing the authority of the arreſt not ſufficient, refuſed to ſubmit to it; but on farther conſideration obeyed the writ, and put in bail. Every one, but ſuch as were let into the ſecret, expected this four guineas affair would end here. Friday the third of October being appointed for the trial, the Doctor only appeared there by his Proctor, which was looked upon as a contempt of the Vice-Chancellor's juriſdiction [*AA*]. Dr. Middleton therefore, by the leave

of

(*i*) A full and impartial Account of all the late Proceedings in the Univerſity againſt Dr. Bentley, p. 9.

(*k*) A Review of the Proceedings, *&c.* p. 14.

(*l*) *Ut ſupra*, p. 15.

[*Z*] *Made a demand of four guineas from each of them, as a fee due to him as Profeſſor.*] In anſwer to ſuch as may plead the illegality and unſtatutableneſs of demanding this fee, it may not be improper to aſk, 'What Statute had Dr. Gooch for taking two guineas as Vice-Chancellor, of each of the King's Doctors that went out under him? What Statute had Dr. Grigg, when he was Vice-Chancellor, to demand of each of thoſe Doctors that went out under him, two guineas *quatenus* Secretary to the Duke of Somerſet, and two more *quatenus* Vice-Chancellor? Dr. Grigg could take four guineas, becauſe of his double capacity; and when he was ſucceeded by Dr. Gooch in the Vice-Chancellorſhip, he ſtill demanded his two guineas *quatenus* Secretary, and Dr. Gooch claimed the other two, as being Vice-Chancellor. The Proctors, the Regiſter, the Beadles, had ſome their two guineas, others, one guinea, from each Doctor; by what Statute? For 'tis known the Regiſter's fee is but ſix-pence by Statute, and the others proportionable. Dr. Bentley may be condemned for claiming theſe four guineas; but then Dr. Gooch muſt be condemned for exacting two guineas; and Dr. Grigg for exacting four guineas, and all the reſt for exacting their guineas equally. Theſe fees are all equally unſtatutable, and equally unjuſt.' Beſides the Vice-Chancellor gave orders (as the Impartial Account tells us) 'that any other Doctor of Divinity ſhould perform the ceremony, by which you are not to underſtand that the Vice-Chancellor transferred the Profeſſor's right to Dr. Fiſher; ſo that according to this notion, it is a province that does not more ſtatutably belong to the Profeſſor than to any other Doctor. Since then the office belongs to the Profeſſor as a Doctor of Divinity only, and may conſequently be performed by any other Doctor, then might he refuſe to do it, but on his own terms, and might ſet what price he pleaſed upon his own labour. From whence it appears, that the Univerſity could not oblige him to do it at any fixed rate, and even had no authority to command him to do it at all; and though the Profeſſor may be condemned for exacting ſuch a fee, he may be fully juſtified in it upon this ſuppoſition (69).'

[*AA*] *The Doctor only appeared there by his Proctor, which was looked upon as a contempt of the Vice-Chancellor's juriſdiction.*] The Doctor's non-appearance in perſon being alleged againſt him as a chief article in this affair, it may not be improper to ſearch a little into the matter. Our author tells us, 'No man can appear in our court by his Proctor, who does not firſt appear in perſon (unleſs it be in caſe of ſickneſs), and deſire the Judge to aſſign him a Proctor (70).' Another informs us, 'His non-appearance was ſuch an inſtance of contempt, as has ſeldom been known in the Univerſity; and that to tell us, as Dr. Bentley did afterwards, that he had ſent a Proctor to appear for him, is ſo far from excuſing, that it aggravates his offence; for by our expreſs Statutes, and the practice of the Court, no party can be in judgment, or allowed to appear by proxy, till he has perſonally aſked and obtained the Judge's leave to conſtitute a Proctor; and if the plaintiff be preſent, which was the caſe, and the defendant abſent, his Proctor cannot be admitted: And farther, if either party ſhall preſume to procure or retain one to act for him, contrary to the tenor of the Statute, he ſhall, if the plaintiff, for that very reaſon loſe his cauſe, if the defendant, be looked upon as convict, and cenſured accordingly (*). — Now it ſeems it is the conſtant practice to diſpenſe with a debtor's perſonal appearance; ſo that the Profeſſor could not be charged with any contempt on that account, unleſs the Vice-Chancellor had given him notice that he was reſolved to ſet aſide that practice, which is as ſacred to other Courts as a Law. But in truth the Statute ſuppoſes no contempt, but ſays expreſsly, that in that caſe the defendant ſhall be held convict, but not as the impartial account adds (without authority), and cenſured accordingly. For, as the plaintiff not appearing ſhall loſe his cauſe, the defendant ſhall forfeit his

' debt;

(69) The Caſe of Dr. Bentley, *&c.* p. 13, 14, 15. 32, and 33.

(70) The Proceedings of the Vice-Chancellor and univerſity of Cambridge againſt Dr. Bentley.

(*) The Impartial Account, p. 16.

of the Court, appointed Mr. Cook his Proctor, who accuſed Dr. Bentley of contempt for not appearing, and moved for ſome cenſure upon it, and called for the Beadle to make a return of the firſt decree (*m*). But he being confined in his chamber by a fit of the gout, there made an affidavit, by improving ſome circumſtantial talk he had with the Doctor and ſome other gentlemen (*n*), the ſubject of which was, a complaint of the ill uſage he had met with in his attending at Dr. Bentley's lodgings. Among other things, the Beadle depoſed, That Dr. Bentley ſaid to him, *I will not be concluded by what the Vice Chancellor and two or three of his friends ſhall determine over a bottle* (*o*) (thereby reflecting on the clandeſtine way in which they had proceeded againſt him, without the formal conſent of ſuch a number of Heads as he thought neceſſary to make a ſtatutable (*p*) arreſt). For this expreſſion, the Vice Chancellor *ſuſpended* the Doctor from all his degrees [*BB*], who had no citation, no hearing, not ſo much as any notice, from any hand, of what was then doing; and the Vice-Chancellor declared that he would vacate the Doctor's Profeſſorſhip in two or three days, if he did not make his humble ſubmiſſion (*q*). ‘Three Court days are allowed for this ſubmiſſion, viz. the 7th, 9th, and 15th of October. On the two former days his name was not mentioned, and on the laſt, the Vice-Chancellor would certainly have forgot to ſummon him, if he had not been reminded by his brother the Dean of Chicheſter. That ſame day the Vice-Chancellor requires the Profeſſor to ſubmit and own himſelf rightly ſuſpended; ſo that he firſt puts it out of the Profeſſor's power to vindicate himſelf, and then commands him to confeſs a fault that he had not been guilty of, and to acknowledge the juſtice of a ſentence that has no precedent here, nor any parallel in Hiſtory. The only remedy that was now left, the Profeſſor applied to, viz. an appeal to the Delegates of the Univerſity [*CC*]; which

(*m*) A full and impartial Account, p. 16.

(*n*) A Review of the Proceedings, &c. p. 15.

(*o*) Theſe words the Vice Chancellor was pleaſed to inſiſt upon as criminal, on account of which his ſuſpenſion, and conſequently degradation, followed.

(*p*) The Caſe of Dr. Bentley truly ſtated, p. 3.

(*q*) *Ut ſupra*, p. 4.

‘debt; or, as it is ordered in a later Grace (of greater ‘force, where it differs from it, than the old Statute ‘or Decree before us, which was never confirmed by ‘Royal authority), ſhall forfeit his bail-bond. Nor ‘can a Vice-Chancellor put even that Statute in execution, if the Proctor be ready to ſwear, that his ‘client is detained by ſickneſs, or any other lawful ‘reaſon, from making his appearance in Court. So ‘that, including all the circumſtances, if the Vice-‘Chancellor had reſolved at this time to break ‘through the practice of his Court, he could not, ‘without a direct breach of Statute (which he is ‘equally bound to obſerve with every other Member ‘of the Univerſity), have puniſhed him, in the manner he did, for non-appearance. Beſides, it cannot be pretended, that this drew on the ſuſpenſion, ‘becauſe the Vice-Chancellor declared, that he poſtponed that affair of the debt, and then ordered the ‘Beadle's depoſition to be read; on which an unlucky record was made, bearing witneſs, that the ‘Profeſſor was accuſed of contempt as contained ‘therein. How ridiculous then muſt theſe vindicators of the Vice-Chancellor appear, who ground ‘their arguments on the truth of a fact, which is ‘contradicted by his own declaration, by the very ‘acts of his Court (71).’ It is aſſerted by the two authors quoted in this note, who wrote againſt Dr. Bentley, that the Statutes juſtify the Profeſſor's puniſhment on account of contempt, which muſt either conſiſt in his non-appearance, or in the matters alleged againſt him in the Beadle's depoſition: for the former, *that* could only be puniſhed by the forfeiture of his bail-bond; for, beſides what we have juſt mentioned of Statutes, he was arreſted for a debt; in which circumſtances no man can be guilty of contumacy, for the perſon of the debtor is required either of his bail, or the arreſting officer. The debtor himſelf is not at all concerned. Dr. Middleton brought an action of debt againſt him; to this the Doctor gave bail; in which caſe the Statutes of the Univerſity are expreſs, that if the perſon arreſted does not appear, his bail is anſwerable; which is common likewiſe to all Courts in England. Now as the Doctor did not appear, and no favour was ſhewn, why did not the Vice-Chancellor ſecure to Dr. Middleton his debt in a ſtatutable way, by laying hold on the bail? Why ſhould Dr. Bentley be ſuſpended for not appearing, when the Statute expreſsly provides for the ſecurity of the creditor another way, and therefore did not require the appearance of the debtor? Can a Court be contemned by forfeiture of the bail-bond? An action for debt is here plainly confounded with a proceſs for crimes and miſdemeanours, by inſiſting on perſonally aſking and obtaining the Judge's leave to conſtitute a Proctor, and on the contempt of the Court in not appearing, &c. whereas they ought to prove it an incivility and diſreſpect to the Vice-Chancellor, or to any Judge, to forfeit a man's bail-bond. Were this cleared up, the proceedings might be a little juſtified perhaps, in condemning Dr. Bentley uncited and unheard, and in making it a term of his re-admiſſion, that he ſhould own the juſtice of the ſentence of ſuſpenſion.—As to the caſe of a contempt offered with reſpect to the Decree, Beadle, &c. it muſt be a contempt offered to the firſt writ, which was in reality acknowledged to be no writ; for if the firſt was good and lawful, why was a ſecond granted? Should a legal writ be contemned? But 'tis a ſure indication that they were conſcious of having taken a wrong ſtep, when they granted a ſecond writ upon the ſame action, without endeavouring to vindicate the contempt of the firſt. The contempt then was the contempt of a writ, which the Vice-Chancellor himſelf did at firſt contemn, for to the ſecond writ Dr. Bentley ſurrendered himſelf. Now if the firſt arreſt was not valid, the uſage of the Beadle can never be interpreted a contempt of any juriſdiction, becauſe in that caſe he had no right to act as an officer. But ſuppoſe the arreſt valid, a proceſs ought to have been iſſued out, if it had been a matter of a criminal nature; but he had no citation.

[*BB*] *The Vice-Chancellor ſuſpends Dr. Bentley from all his degrees.*] The latter part of the Journal for that day runs thus: *Exhibuit depoſitiones* Edw. Clarke, *Bedell. Arm. quibus depoſitionibus lectis*, Cook *accuſarit contemptum dicti rev. viri, prout in iiſdem continetur; & dominus ad ejus petitionem pronunciavit rev. virum ſuſpenſum ab omni gradu ſuſcepto* (72). From this account of the ſuſpenſion, it appears that the Vice-Chancellor pronounced Dr. Bentley ſuſpended from all his degrees, at the petition of Mr. Cook, Dr. Middleton's Proctor (in a cauſe of debt), who accuſed Dr. Bentley of contempt, contained in the depoſitions of Mr. Clarke the Beadle. As to the ſuſpending him at the deſire of Mr. Cook, *ad ejus petitionem*, how this came into the Act is a little ſurpriſing, ſince Mr. Cook ſaid to ſome of his brother Lawyers, if that may be credited, ſoon after it was over, that *he was as much ſurprized* at the ſuſpending of the Doctor *as they*, and never deſired any ſuch thing, nor ſo much as thought on it. Moreover, the Vice-Chancellor knew he was talking in relation to the debt-affair only, for he interrupted him, waving the hand, and told him, that he would poſtpone *his* cauſe, and conſider only Dr. *Bentley*'s great *contempt* of the *authority* and *juriſdiction* of the Univerſity, in calling a regular meeting of the Heads, to which he himſelf was invited (the Vice-Chancellor and his friends over a bottle, &c.) Then he appealed to the Heads there preſent, and they giving their conſent, *he was ſuſpended* (73).

[*CC*] *The only remedy now left, the Profeſſor applied to, viz. an appeal to the Delegates of the Univerſity.*] ‘The firſt ſtep which this contemner of the Univer-‘ſity

(71) The Caſe of Dr. Bentley, Regius-Profeſſor of Divinity, truly ſtated, &c. p. 26, 27.

(72) The Journal of the Court.

(73) A Review of the Proceedings againſt Dr. Bentley, p. 27.

‘ which was arbitrarily refuſed him. But thinking it prudent to have the ſanction of the univerſity to back him, the Vice-Chancellor calls a Congregation, tells his own tale, and has the pleaſure to behold the madneſs of the people (*r*). For this he had alſo another very ſtrong motive, viz. to prevent the Profeſſor's being ever reſtored by the ſingle power of any ſucceeding Vice-Chancellor, by engaging the Univerſity to proceed where he had left off; and after an illegal ſuſpenſion, to aſſume a power of degrading (*s*). The 15th of October, the third Court day after the ſuſpenſion, the Vice-Chancellor informed the Univerſity of the ſteps he had taken, and the meſſage he had ſent the Profeſſor, which was, *That he required him to come and acknowledge his crime, the legality of his ſuſpenſion, and humbly beg to be reſtored to his degrees*; to which the gentleman (he ſaid) had returned no anſwer; and then he commanded it to be regiſtered, that he would deliberate farther of what was to be done, towards the maintenance of the Univerſity privileges and his own authority. Eight Heads were preſent in the Conſiſtory, viz. two Viſitors of Bennet-college, Dr. Covel and Dr. Balderſton; three late Chaplains to his Majeſty, Dr. Laney, Dr. Adams, and Dr. Sherlock; the rival Profeſſor, Dr. Fiſher; the Maſters of Clare-Hall and St. John's-college, Dr. Grigg and Dr. Jenkin. Theſe gentlemen, at a conſultation the ſame afternoon, in the Maſter of Peterhouſe's lodge, appointed a Congregation the next morning to degrade the Profeſſor. But, when the time came, a friend of the Profeſſor's being that day one of the Caput, other buſineſs was propoſed, but not concluded. On Friday morning, no mention was made, as ought to have been, of the proceedings at the laſt Congregation; but the grand affair being found practicable, was propoſed to the Caput [*DD*].’ In the afternoon a vote of the body deprived the great Bentley of all the privileges, honours, and degrees, that he had received from it, and by this vote the univerſity loſt perhaps more honour than it took from the Profeſſor. But if the ſuſpenſion of Dr. Bentley was arbitrary, unſtatutable, and illegal (as we imagine we have almoſt convinced the reader), how much more ſo muſt the conſequence of it, the degradation of this great man, from all his degrees, rights, and titles, in the univerſity be. Upon this Dr. Bentley drew up a petition, which he preſented to his Majeſty, Oct. 30, 1718, complaining of the proceedings of the Vice-Chancellor and Univerſity, and begging his Majeſty's relief and protection, as ſupreme Viſitor of the univerſity. The King, in Council, taking the ſaid petition into conſideration, was pleaſed to order the ſame to be ſent to the Reverend Dr. Gooch, Vice-Chancellor; who was thereby directed to attend his Majeſty in Council, on Thurſday the ſixth of November 1718, to give an account of the proceedings which occaſioned this complaint. On this day the caſe was heard between the Univerſity and the Doctor, before the King and Council, and afterwards referred to a Committee of Council; but the Miniſtry being unwilling to interpoſe their authority with regard to the proceedings, the matter was farther referred, in a judicial way, to the Court

‘ ſity juriſdiction took, was, to appeal to the Univerſity itſelf, from the irregular ſentence of its officer, who out of great concern, no doubt, for their rights and privileges, abſolutely refuſed to let them be judges of what, in the plenitude of his own power, he had been pleaſed to order, and refuſed the Doctor the *appeal*; which refuſal was plainly as great an inſult upon the privilege of the Univerſity as could be, in direct oppoſition to all manner of Statutes, an appeal being allowed from the Vice-Chancellor to the Body in all caſes, without any one exception, nor has he ever any power at all to hinder it. It cannot be refuſed to any one that thinks himſelf injured, and will make it, and it belongs to the Delegates to determine whether the ground of it be juſt or not; if it be, to give him relief; if not, then, and not till then, to remit the appellant to the Vice-Chancellor: Therefore when Dr. Gooch hindered the Profeſſor's appeal, he both denied him a right that he had by Statute, and was guilty of the very crime, upon pretence of which he ſuſpended him, viz. contempt of the authority and juriſdiction of the Univerſity (74).’

[*DD*] *The grand affair found practicable was propoſed to the Caput.*] The *Caput*, mentioned above, is a committee of ſix perſons choſen from different parts of the Univerſity, to conſult and determine of what is proper to be propoſed to the Univerſity, the Vice-Chancellor always being one. Every Grace, before it can be offered in congregation, muſt paſs the ſcrutiny of the *Caput*, where each Member has a negative upon it: the Vice-Chancellor is the only perſon who can propoſe any to them. The Grace was no ſooner propoſed to the *Caput*, but it was without any difficulty, or the leaſt ſcruple, conſented to; and ſo hearty were they in the cauſe, that it was propoſed to expel Mr. Bentley the Univerſity. This was not, however, done; which is very ſtrange, ſince we are told they were all unanimous in the opinion, that he had ſtatutably deſerved it, and that there wanted neither precedent nor power, nor conſent, for doing it (75).’ However, the Grace for degradation, which is as follows, was thought the moſt proper way. This was accordingly read and approved by the *Caput*, and concluded the buſineſs of the morning.

A Copy of the GRACE.

‘ CUM Reverendus vir, Richardus Bentley, Collegii Trinitatis magiſter, ad ſummos in hac Univerſitate titulos et honores veſtro favore dudum promotas, adeo ſe immemorem et loci ſui et veſtræ authoritatis dederit, ut debite ſummonitus ad comparendum et reſpondendum in causâ coram procancellario obedientiam, recuſaverit, miniſtrum Univerſitatis ſummonentem indignis modis tractaverit, pro-cancellarium et capita Collegiorum, opprobriis impetiverit, juriſdictionem denique Univerſitatis, longo uſu, Regiis Chartis, et autoritate Parliamenti ſtabilitatem pro nihilo habendam eſſe declaraverit; cumque idem Richardus Bentley ſuper his cauſis ab omni gradu, ſuſpenſus fuerit, et poſtea per tres dies juridicos expectatus comparere tamen neglexerat; placeat vobis ut dictus Richardus Bentley ab omni gradu, titulo, et jure in hac Univerſitate dejiciatur & excludatur.’

In the ſecond meeting of the Congregation, in the afternoon, the Grace was again read, and voted in both Houſes.

It paſſed in the Regent-houſe	Placets ——	40
	Non Placets —	15
It paſſed likewiſe in the Non-Regent-houſe (76)	Placets ——	62
	Non Placets —	35

But though the majority which voted the degradation was conſiderable, viz. 102 voices againſt 50, he had the honour to have for his friends all that were remarkable for their ſteady affections to the government (77).

(*r*) *Ut ſupra*, p. 11.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 9.

(74) The Review of the Proceedings againſt Dr. Bentley, p. 60, 67.

(75) A full and impartial Account of the Proceedings, &c. p. 39.

(76) An Account of the Proceedings againſt Dr. Bentley, as delivered to his Majeſty in Council.

(77) The Caſe of Dr. Bentley, &c.

of King's Bench, where it was kept ſome time in agitation. At length, however, the proceedings of the Univerſity were reverſed by that Court, and on February the 7th, 1728, the Court of King's-Bench ſent down a Mandamus to the univerſity of Cambridge, to reſtore Mr. Bentley, Maſter of Trinity-college, to all his degrees, and whatever he had been deprived of, &c. This was agreeable to a prophetic paſſage at the end of one of the pamphlets, at that time printed in his defence: 'When our preſent heats are 'over, I queſtion not but our *Profeſſor's Caſe* will be looked upon with another eye, if it 'be not already ſeen, that the honour of the Univerſity was made a pretext only, to cover 'the reſentments of ſome particular perſons amongſt its members. As the determination 'of it lies at preſent before a judgment, where merit and not malice is likely to be re'garded, we ſhall in a little time, I make no doubt, with a more *ſcholar like* pleaſure 'than can be perceived in *this* uſage of the learned Bentley, congratulate ourſelves upon 'his reſtoration to his well merited honours.' What we ſhall farther add, to what we have before given, is, that when about thirty years of age, we find him Tutor in Extraordinary to the Biſhop of Worceſter's ſon, and Chaplain to that learned Prelate, in whoſe family he ſpent fourteen years, with no ſmall credit and applauſe. Mr. Boyle hints (*t*) at his having been Amanuenſis to the Biſhop, but Dr. Bentley tells us he never uſed one, and denies ever being in that capacity to any one. At the time of his being with the Biſhop, he held a correſpondence not only with the moſt learned men of his own nation, but alſo with many foreigners, who even at that early age, gave him ſuch teſtimonies of the great regard and eſteem they had for his learning and abilities, as few beſides himſelf could produce. Before he was made Library-Keeper to his Majeſty, he was, we find by Mr. Boyle, Library-Keeper to a learned Dean (*u*). He was Chaplain in Ordinary to King William III., as alſo to Queen Anne; and about the year 1716 or 1717, was elected Regius-Profeſſor of Divinity at Cambridge, for which chair, when he ſtood candidate, he held a very famous lecture [*EE*]. Soon after he was preferred to the Maſterſhip of Trinity, he married his Lady, by whom he had ſeveral children. She bore an excellent character, and died before him, in the year 1740. He died in the eighty-firſt year of his age, on the fourteenth of July 1742, and is buried in Trinity college chapel [*FF*].

(*t*) Boyleagainſt Bentley, p. 223.

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 129

[*EE*] *For which chair, when he ſtood candidate, he held a very famous lecture.*] In this he entirely gave up that famous text in the firſt epiſtle of St. *John*, chap. v. 7. concerning the *Three that bear record in heaven*, and publicly proved it to be ſpurious. Mr. Emlyn wrote an expreſs treatiſe on that ſubject at the deſire of Dr. Clarke and Mr. Whiſton, to which treatiſe Dr. Bentley alſo alluded in this famous lecture; on which occaſion Dr. Waterland being aſked, 'Whether Dr. Bentley's arguments did not convince 'him,' replied, 'No; for he was convinced be'fore (78).'

[*FF*] *And is buried in Trinity-college chapel.*] The inſcription on the ſtone that covers him is only this:

H: S: E.
Richardus Bentley
S: T: P: R.
Obiit xiv. Jul. 1742.
Ætatis 80.

Theſe are all the monumentary honours of this great man, who indeed needed not the inſcription of a tomb-ſtone to tranſmit his memory to poſterity.

H—— N.

*** [The above article having been very awkwardly, and even ungrammatically written, we have, at leaſt with regard to the grammatical part of it, corrected it through the whole; and have interſperſed in it ſome particulars concerning Dr. Bentley which were not before recorded. Having ſince been informed of a number of circumſtances concerning him by the favour of Mr. Cumberland, we ſhall inſert them in this place; together with ſuch other facts as have been communicated to us by our valuable friends and correſpondents. To theſe we ſhall add various teſtimonies and obſervations, which may ſerve to do ſtill farther juſtice to the memory of ſo great and eminent a man. Dr. Bentley was not born at Wakefield, but at Oulton, in the pariſh of Rothwell, near Wakefield. He was not of a mean family, as was aſſerted in the firſt edition of the Biographia Britannica. His anceſtors, who were of ſome conſideration, poſſeſſed an eſtate, and had a ſeat at Hepenſtall, in the pariſh of Halifax. His grandfather, James Bentley, was a Captain in King Charles the Firſt's army, at the time of the civil wars; and being involved in the fate of his party, had his houſe plundered, his eſtate confiſcated, and was himſelf carried priſoner to Pomfret Caſtle, where he died. Thomas Bentley, the ſon of James, and father of Dr. Bentley, married the daughter of Richard Willis of Oulton, who had been a Major in the Royal army. This lady, who was a woman of exceeding good underſtanding, taught her ſon Richard his Accidence. To his grandfather Willis, who was left his guardian, he was, in part, indebted for his education; and having gone through the grammar ſchool at Wakefield with ſingular reputation, both for his proficiency and his exact and regular behaviour, he was admitted of St. John's college, Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. Johnſon, on the 24th of May 1676; being then only four months above fourteen years of age. On the 22d of March, 1681-2, he ſtood candidate for a Fellowſhip, and would have been unanimouſly elected, had he not been excluded by the ſtatutes, on account of his being too young for Prieſt's orders. He was then a junior Batchelor, and but little more than nineteen years old. It was ſoon after this that he became a ſchoolmaſter at Spalding. But that he did not continue long in this ſituation, is certain from a letter of his grandfather Willis's, ſtill preſerved in the family, from which it appears that he was with Dr. Stillingfleet, at the Deanry of St. Paul's, on the 25th of April, 1683. He had been recommended by his College to the Dean, as Preceptor to his ſon; and Dr. Stillingfleet gave Mr. Bentley his choice, whether he would carry his pupil to Cambridge or Oxford. He fixed upon the latter univerſity, on account of the Bodleian library, to the conſulting of the manuſcripts of which he applied with the cloſeſt attention *. Being now of age, he made over a ſmall eſtate, which he derived from his family, to his elder brother, and immediately laid out the money he obtained for it in the purchaſe of books. In July, 1683, he took his degree of Maſter of Arts, at St. John's college in Cambridge. When, in 1696, he was admitted to his degree of Doctor in Divinity, he preached, on the day of the public commencement, from 1 Peter iii. 15. *Be ready always to give an anſwer to every man that aſketh you a reaſon of the hope that is in you.* About this time, the Univerſity entered upon a deſign of publiſhing ſome editions, in quarto, of ſome claſſic authors, for the uſe of the Duke of Glouceſter. Dr. Bentley, who was conſulted upon the occaſion, adviſed Laughton, to whoſe care the edition of Virgil was committed, to follow Heinſius very cloſe. The Doctor's advice was not

(78) Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Life of Dr. Samuel Clarke, by Mr. Whiſton, p. 101. See alſo, an Epigram of Dr. Bentley's, &c. *ut ſupra*, p. 21.

* Dr. Stillingfleet's ſon had been admitted a penſioner of St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1677, and took his degree of Batchelor of Arts in 1681. He became afterwards a Fellow of the College, ſo that his reſidence at Oxford was only a temporary reſidence. He took no degree in that Univerſity. Ward's Greſham Profeſſors, p. 234.

not complied with. Terence was publiſhed by Leng, Horace by Talbot, and Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, by Mr. Anneſley, afterwards Earl of Angleſey. Dr. Bentley procured from Holland, the types with which theſe books were printed (79). Some time after he had taken his Doctor of Divinity's degree at Cambridge, he was admitted, as we have been informed, *ad eundem*, in the univerſity of Oxford; though this fact hath eſcaped us, in looking over the liſt of the Oxford Graduates. His appointment to the chair of Regius Profeſſor was in 1716, upon the death of Dr. James; and the living which he held in the biſhopric of Ely was not a diſtinct promotion, but a benefice annexed to the Profeſſorſhip (80). When Dr. Bentley was in waiting as Royal Librarian, the Princeſs of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline, who cultivated the company of learned men, uſed frequently to pit Dr. Samuel Clarke and him together, on ſubjects of literature. This the Doctor ſubmitted to for a time; but being at length weary of entering into diſcuſſions merely for the entertainment of the Princeſs, which produced no information to Dr. Clarke and himſelf, he made the excuſe of health for declining them in future. To his lateſt hour, he could read the ſmalleſt Greek Teſtament without ſpectacles; and he died of a young man's diſorder, a pleuritic fever. He was of a large and robuſt frame of body, and of ſtrong features. Theſe gave a dignity, perhaps a ſeverity to his aſpect, which probably heightened the opinion many had conceived of the haughtineſs and roughneſs of his temper. But, in fact, he was of ſo tender a diſpoſition, that he never read a touching ſtory without tears. It was not, indeed, till after he had been afflicted with a ſlight paralytic ſtroke, that this particular effect of the ſoftneſs of his nature was in every caſe apparent; ſo that it may poſſibly be imputed, in ſome degree, to his diſorder. It is, however, certain that, previous to that event, he was endued with great tenderneſs and ſenſibility. In the conteſt about the viſitatorial power, when he met Biſhop Moore, he was ſo ſtruck with ſeeing his old friend appear in a hoſtile manner againſt him, that he fainted away in the Court (81).

Notice is properly taken, in the text, of the honour conferred upon Dr. Bentley, in being the firſt perſon appointed to preach the Boylean Lecture; and that he ſhould be fixed upon for this employment, when he was but juſt turned of thirty years of age, is an illuſtrious circumſtance in the hiſtory of his reputation. Nor did the manner in which he executed the taſk aſſigned him detract from his fame. It is no wonder that he ſhould afterwards be ſomewhat proud of ſo eminent a mark of diſtinction. It is ſaid that he was willing to have it believed that he was under thirty when he preached the firſt lecture (82). Be that as it may, it is probable that he was under that age when he was thought upon, by the Biſhops Stillingfleet and Lloyd, as the fitteſt man for the undertaking. Several of his ſermons on that occaſion, which were never printed, are yet remaining. While he carried on the lecture, he maintained a philoſophical correſpondence with Sir Iſaac Newton, with whom he had the deareſt friendſhip; and he wrote nothing without that great man's approbation. Of this correſpondence only four letters are ſtill preſerved, the originals of which are now in Mr. Cumberland's hands. Copies of them, though imperfect, were publiſhed in 1756. Mr. Whiſton, indeed, ſays, that he had brought Doctor Bentley acquainted with Sir Iſaac Newton, about the year 1696 (83). But that worthy writer muſt have been miſtaken in this particular. Independently of direct evidence to the contrary, it was not likely that Dr. Bentley ſhould not have an acquaintance with Sir Iſaac before that time; or that he ſhould need the introduction of a man who was of younger ſtanding, as well as of much leſs celebrity than himſelf. It is a tradition well eſtabliſhed in the Doctor's family, and the fact was known to Dr. Mead and others, that it was owing to the repeated ſolicitations of Dr. Bentley, that Sir Iſaac was prevailed upon to publiſh his Principia at the time in which he did do it (84). Such were Sir Iſaac's modeſty and diffidence! We will not compare his conduct with that of other philoſophers.

It is needleſs to enter much farther into Dr. Bentley's grand controverſy concerning the Epiſtles of Phalaris. It now ſeems to be the ſettled opinion of the literary world, that the Doctor has not only the evident advantage in reſpect of learning and argument, but that he is little, if at all inferior to his antagoniſt in point of wit and ſmartneſs. It may not, however, be amiſs to recite a few teſtimonies on the ſubject. Mr. Walpole, ſpeaking of Mr. Boyle's tranſlation of the Epiſtles of Phalaris, ſays, ‘ This work occaſioned the famous controverſy with Dr. Bentley;—who alone, and unworſted, ſuſtained the attacks of the brighteſt genius's in the learned world, and whoſe fame has not ſuffered by the wit to which it gave occaſion (85).’ Mr. Towers, in his Britiſh Biography, expreſſes himſelf in the following terms: ‘ In the controverſy between him and Mr. Boyle, the popular clamour, indeed, was in favour of the latter; but Bentley's is unqueſtionably a much more valuable performance than that of Boyle. The latter, conſidered as a mere Engliſh compoſition, has the advantage in point of ſtyle; and pleaſed the generality, by the perſonal ſatire which it contained againſt Dr. Bentley, who had many enemies. But Bentley had greatly the ſuperiority with reſpect to juſt reaſoning, critical ſagacity, and extent of learning; and his vindication of himſelf alſo contained many ſhrewd and ſarcaſtical ſtrokes againſt Mr. Boyle and his performance. Much has been ſaid in favour of Mr. Boyle, as a genteel and polite writer; and it muſt be confeſſed that Dr. Bentley's manner was often too aſſuming, and that he was deficient in point of civility. But notwithſtanding this, there was, perhaps, a much greater want of real candour and politeneſs, whatever affectation of them there might be, in the very contemptuous and unfair manner in which Dr. Bentley was treated throughout Mr. Boyle's book, than in any thing which Bentley had ſaid againſt Boyle. Bentley, with all his foibles, was too reſpectable a character to be a proper ſubject of ſuch treatment; though Swift, Garth, and Pope, have joined in countenancing the popular prejudices againſt him (86).’ Mr. Dodwell, who reſided at Oxford during the controverſy, who made himſelf in ſome ſort a party in it, and who had a very particular court paid to him by the *Chriſt-Church* men, declared to them that he never learned ſo much from any book of the ſize in his life, as he had done from Dr. Bentley's Anſwer to Boyle. At the ſame time, he reproved the Doctor, in a private letter, as guilty of unpardonable affectation, in pretending a contempt for his adverſaries. Mr. Dodwell was miſtaken in this particular. Dr. Bentley's contempt for his antagoniſts was not pretended or affected, but very real and ſincere (87).

So zealous was the combination of the Chriſt-Church men in this diſpute, that it ſeems they made it a point, whenever they publiſhed any thing themſelves, to have always a fling at Bentley. At the ſame time, they deſired their friends of other colleges to ſecond their ſtrokes. Hence, it was ſaid, ſprang that ſarcaſtical reflection made on part of Dr. Bentley's Lectures, by (an otherwiſe good-natured man) Dr. Keil of Baliol College. ‘ I am not ſurprized to find an error of this nature aſſerted by one, who, as it appears, is not very well ſkilled in aſtronomy. —But it were to be wiſhed that great critics would confine their labours to their Lexicons, and not venture to *gueſs* in thoſe parts of learning which are capable of demonſtration; for this is our preſent caſe.’ Examination of Dr. Burnet's Theory of the Earth, p. 58. 2d edition (88). So ſtrong is the influence of literary prejudice and faſhion, that many even of Dr. Bentley's friends conſidered Boyle's Examination as unanſwerable. Nor could they be convinced of the contrary, till the Doctor, firſt aſking them where it was ſo impregnable, and confuting one article after another upon the ſpot, as faſt as they inſtanced, aſſured them it was all of the ſame kind. This he effectually ſhewed in his anſwer. Notwithſtanding his contempt of his adverſaries, he had no malignity againſt them; and, as Maſter of Trinity College, became much connected afterwards with Atterbury, as Dean of Chriſt-church and Weſtminſter. Mr. Boyle alſo made him a viſit at Cambridge. The two Dr. Freinds, Anthony Alſop, W. King, &c. and even Aldrich and Smalbridge, were not eſteemed by him conſiderable enough to deſerve his notice: though John Freind wrote the Examination of his Diſſertation upon Æſop; Smalridge wrote the Burleſque Parody, proving that Dr. Bentley could not write the Diſſertation, by the ſame arguments which

(79) All the above is either from Mr. Cumberland's information, or from papers by him communicated to us.

(80) Carter's Hiſtory of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 447. A paper of Dr. Salter's, communicated to us by Mr. Reed of Staple Inn.

(81) From the information of Mr. Cumberland.

(82) Dr. Salter's paper.

(83) Whiſton's Memoirs, p. 94.

(84) From Mr. Cumberland.

(85) Royal and noble Authors, Vol. ii. p. 129.

(86) Britiſh Biography, Vol. vii. p. 433, 434.

(87) Bentley's Diſſert. on the Epiſtles of Phalaris, edit. 1777, p. 449. Note, by Dr. Salter.

(88) Bentley's Diſc. *ubi ſupra*, p. 305, 306. Note, by the learned Dr. Henry Owen.

which the Doctor had made uſe of to prove that Phalaris could not write the Epiſtles. Alſop ſpoke of him with rudeneſs and contempt in the preface to his edition of the Æſopean Fables; and King ridiculed him in Dialogues of the Dead, &c. (89). While ſuch a number of ingenious and able men united againſt Dr. Bentley, he himſelf, by choice, ſtood alone in the controverſy. He refuſed the overtures of ſeveral learned men at Cambridge, and other places, who tendered their aſſiſtance; and it is particularly recorded of Biſhop Cumberland, that he always predicted the deciſion which would be made in the Doctor's favour, by poſterity (90).

Our great critic's publication upon the fragments of Menander and Philemon, was entitled, *Emendationes in Menandri et Philemonis reliquias ex nupera editione Johannis Clerici, ubi multa Grotii et aliorum, plurima Clerici errata caſtigantur. Autore Phileleuthero Lipſienſi.* The occaſion of writing this book was as follows: Lord Halifax and ſeveral other great men, had an inclination to invite Le Clerc over to England, by the offer of ſome conſiderable church preferment. This was not reliſhed by the Biſhops, who, though ſenſible of Le Clerc's merit as a ſcholar, yet, at the ſame time, knew him to be a man of very free notions and principles; and they were diſpleaſed with his having ſpread, through Europe, by means of his Bibliotheque, the poiſon of the free thinking books publiſhed in England. The intention of Lord Halifax, and the other perſons of rank, being mentioned at Archbiſhop's Teniſon's table, when Dr. Bentley was preſent, he was prevailed upon to attack a publication of Le Clerc's, which had juſt then appeared, being a collection of the fragments of Menander and Philemon, in order to let the world ſee that he was not maſter of ſuch very great erudition as was generally believed. However, as Le Clerc and Bentley had hitherto been on good terms, and had correſponded together, the Doctor choſe to conceal himſelf under the borrowed name of Phileleutherus Lipſienſis. Accordingly, he ſent the manuſcript to Dr. Hare, then chaplain to the army abroad, with only this direction: *Hæc edantur a cl. Petro Burmanno, qui præfationem, et ſi velit dedicationem, præmittat. Scriptæ hæ emendationes opera extemporali, et finitæ idibus Decembribus, anno* 1709. Dr. Bentley could not have ſent a more acceptable preſent than this to Burman, who was a bitter enemy of Le Clerc's. Burman, therefore, prefixed a very ſevere and ſarcaſtical preface to theſe emendations *, in which, ſpeaking of the unknown author, he ſays, *Mihi perſuaſum eſt, vix hodie tres quatuorve, in omni republica literaria, ſupereſſe viros, quibus tam eruditæ notæ et certiſſimæ emendationes jure aſcribi poſſent.* Accordingly, in the *Acta Eruditorum*, they were given to Bentley. A reply to the *Emendationes* was publiſhed under this title: *Philargyrii Cantabragienſis emendationes in Menandri et Philemonis reliquias, ex nupera editione Joannis Clerici, ubi quædam grotii et aliorum, plurima vero Phileleutheri Lipſienſis errata caſtigantur, cum præfatione Joannis Clerici. Amſtel.* 1711, 8*vo*. This book was written by Paaw, in defence of Le Clerc, and abuſe of Bentley. However, Paaw is forced to confeſs, that *Multa a Phileleuthero emendata eſſe rectè, bene, optimè, veriſimile, non invenuſte* (91).

To what hath been ſaid, in the notes [*G*] and [*H*], concerning Dr. Bentley's edition of Horace, we ſhall add the teſtimony of Dr. Hare, who calls it the completeſt work, produced by criticiſm ſince the reſtoration of learning, and proceeds in giving it the following eulogium: ‘When I conſider how ſmall a book Horace is, how much he has been the delight and admiration of the learned at all times, what pains the ableſt critics have taken with him, and that if others have done nothing, it ſeems to be for no other reaſon but that they thought there was nothing left for them: when I make theſe reflections, and conſider, on the other hand, what one man has been able to do, after ſo many great names, who had the uſe of no manuſcripts, but what ſeemed already to have been exhauſted, and wanted many of the beſt; 'tis hard to ſay whether the pleaſure or the admiration were the greater with which I read this incomparable work. A man muſt have very little acquaintance with the ancients, or have no taſte for their writings, who can forbear greatly admiring, or being greatly pleaſed with a performance, wherein exactneſs and perſpicuity, life, ſpirit, beauty, and order are reſtored to ſo many places which were before corrupted, or miſplaced, or obſcured, for want of being rightly read, or truly underſtood; for want of an emendation of the text, or of knowing the hiſtory or cuſtom pointed at, or the paſſages of the Greek poets which Horace directly imitated, or the more ſecret alluſions which he was above all the Latins happy in.’ See the Clergyman's Thanks to Phileleutherus, 8*vo*, 1713 (92). When this encomium, which is carried to a ſufficient height, was given to the edition of Horace, Dr. Hare was almoſt an adorer of Dr. Bentley. Afterwards, upon a quarrel which happened between theſe two learned men, for a reaſon, ſays Dr. Salter, without explaining it, which does neither of them any honour, Hare attacked Dr. Bentley's Phædrus, and threatened to attack his Terence. But the threatened attack was never put into execution, and, in the opinion of Dr. Salter, was never intended; Hare, notwithſtanding his perſonal animoſity, having, in fact, too juſt a ſenſe of Dr. Bentley's eminent erudition, and critical abilities, to venture upon the undertaking. He contented himſelf with nibbling at the Doctor's Terence, in his *Epiſtola Critica* concerning Phædrus. Dr. Bentley had inſcribed the firſt edition of the Remarks on Collins, to Dr. Hare, giving only the initial letters of his name. But in the ſecond edition of the book, the F. H. D. D. was left out: and Hare is not once mentioned in Bentley's Terence. One ſheet only of the third part of Remarks on Collins was printed: and then the author ſtopped, upon ſome diſappointment and diſguſt; nor would he ever afterwards reſume his pen. He uſed to ſay, that he found thoſe he wrote *for*, as bad as thoſe he wrote *againſt* (93). With regard to Dr. Bentley's Horace, we are told, that he intended to have dedicated it to the Earl of Halifax, who had been of his college. But the book not coming out till 1711, and the miniſtry being then changed, he thought proper to prefix a dedication of it to the Lord Treaſurer Oxford. When this was objected to him, after the acceſſion of King George the Firſt, he ſaid that he ſhould not be worſe off than Sherlock, Hare, and Gooch. It happened, however, that all theſe came to be Biſhops (94).

Of the various important deſigns formed by Dr. Bentley, it is the moſt to be regretted, that he did not publiſh his intended edition of the Greek Teſtament. What were the reaſons why he did not give it to the world, we are not able particularly to ſay. If Dr. Middleton's attack contributed to this event, he certainly did no little diſſervice to the cauſe of ſacred literature. The completion of Dr. Bentley's noble undertaking was the principal employment of the latter part of his life. He had collected and collated all the manuſcripts of Europe to which acceſs could be obtained. For this purpoſe, his nephew Thomas Bentley, LL. D., well known in the republic of letters, travelled through Europe at his uncle's expence. The work was of ſuch magnitude, that he found it neceſſary, for the firſt time, to publiſh propoſals for printing it by ſubſcription. The whole was completed for publication, and he had received two thouſand pounds in part of the ſubſcription, all of which he returned to the ſubſcribers, when he took the reſolution of not letting it appear in the world during his own life. The work is now in the poſſeſſion of his executor, Dr. Richard Bentley, one of the ſenior fellows of Trinity College, and rector of Nailſton near Aſhby, in Leiceſterſhire; and it is hoped that, at ſome future period, it may yet ſee the light. (95).

Other valuable remains of Dr. Bentley are ſtill in exiſtence; ſome of which are in the hands of his executor, and ſome in thoſe of Mr. Cumberland. The latter gentleman is poſſeſſed of the Doctor's Claſſic books, with his marginal notes. From theſe notes Mr. Cumberland hath publiſhed an edition of Lucan, which, though not perfect throughout, is full and complete with regard to the four firſt books. The ſame gentleman has a Homer of our great Critic's, with many marginal notes and corrections, preparatory to an edition of it, which he intended to have given. Dr. Bentley's critical correſpondence with his numerous literary acquaintance, which muſt be very inſtructive, and entertaining, is not only preſerved, but deſigned to be laid before the public (96).

The Doctor's publication of Milton was owing to Queen Caroline. Her Majeſty repreſented to him

(89) *Ibid.* p. 309, note by Dr. Salter.

(90) From Mr. Cumberland.

* Dr. Bentley left out this Preface, when he reprinted the book at Cambridge. Vid. Salter's additional Notes to the Diſſert. *ubi ſupra*, p. 448.

(91) From a paper of memorandums concerning Dr. Bentley, by the Rev. Mr. Profeſſor Lort, and communicated by Mr. Cumberland. From the ſame paper was taken what was before ſaid relative to the Cambridge editions of the Claſſics.

(92) From Mr. Lort's memorandums.

(93) From Dr. Salter's Notes, *ubi ſupra.*

(94) From Dr. Salter, in private converſation, April 1, 1778.

(95) From Mr. Cumberland.

(96) From Mr. Cumberland.

that he had printed no edition of an Engliſh Claſſic, and urged him to undertake Milton (97). His notes upon this great poet have been the worſt received of any of his critical performances. The learned Biſhop Newton ſpeaks of them with conſiderable ſeverity, intermixed, however, with ſome applauſe (98). As we have never paid any particular attention to them, we ſhall refer the conſideration of the ſubject to the article Milton, under which it will come with equal propriety. We ſhall only add in this place, that an eminently learned correſpondent has obſerved to us, in a private letter, that the Biſhops Pearce and Newton are juſtly reprehenſible for ſeveral cavils againſt Bentley's corrections of Milton.

Mr. Whiſton has related various particulars concerning Dr. Bentley, which are worthy of notice. It is a proof of the Doctor's philoſophical reputation, that Mr. Whiſton ſubjected to him, together with Sir Chriſtopher Wren and Sir Iſaac Newton, the manuſcript of his famous Treatiſe concerning the Theory of the Earth (99). Dr. Bentley, it ſeems, was not ſatisfied with the explications which had been given by Biſhop Lloyd and others, with regard to the prophecies of Daniel, and the Revelations. Nay, according to Mr. Whiſton, he expreſſed ſome doubts concerning the divine authority of thoſe books themſelves; and when he was courting his lady, who was a moſt excellent Chriſtian woman, he had like to have loſt her, by ſtarting to her an objection againſt the Book of Daniel. From certain free ſuggeſtions of this kind, Mr. Whiſton charges Dr. Bentley with having been ſceptical with reſpect to Revelation. But there doth not appear to us to be ſufficient ground for the charge. A man might heſitate concerning many points of faith firmly credited by Mr. Whiſton, without an impeachment of his own belief of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Scriptures. Neither could ſuch an impeachment juſtly ariſe from any doubts which might be entertained concerning the divine authority of a particular book of the Old or New Teſtament. Mr. Whiſton's credulity, and his zealous attachment to his peculiar fancies, rendered him of all men the moſt likely to be miſtaken on a ſubject of this nature (100). With regard to the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, for the genuineneſs of which Mr. Whiſton was ſo warm an advocate, Dr. Bentley, when he was about to peruſe them, told Mr. Whiſton, that he would *cut the graſs from under his feet*, and prove them to be ſpurious. To this Mr. Whiſton replied, ‘ Maſter, ‘ you will not write againſt me on that head; for ‘ when you examine them, you will find them to be ‘ genuine.’ Accordingly, ſays Mr. Whiſton, when he had, in ſome meaſure, examined them, he gave this for his opinion; that ſome things in them he could correct as a critic, but that for other parts, they were *ab ultima antiquitate*. In another point, Dr. Bentley differed much more widely from Mr. Whiſton. That learned man, in his Harmony of the Goſpels, contended that the tranſactions recorded by the Evangeliſts included above four years. But Dr. Bentley, from his own peruſal of Matthew, Mark, and Luke (not pretending the ſame of John), revived the Valentinian notion, that our Saviour preached only one year. This opinion he had mentioned to Archbiſhop Sharp, who ſpoke of it with concern. From Dr. Bentley the notion was communicated to Dr. Hare, and by him to his pupil, Mr. Nicholas Mann, afterwards Maſter of the Charter-houſe, who defended it with ſo much learning and ſagacity, that Mr. Whiſton himſelf ſaid, that he had demonſtrated an impoſſibility, as well as an impoſſibility could be demonſtrated (101). It is well known that the ſame hypotheſis hath lately been ſupported, by many additional arguments, and with much critical acuteneſs, by Dr. Prieſtley.

When we conſider the great abilities, and uncommon erudition, of which Dr. Bentley was poſſeſſed, it reflects ſome diſgrace on our country, that even his literary reputation ſhould ſo long be treated with contempt, that he ſhould be repreſented as a mere verbal critic, and as a pedant without genius. The unjuſt light in which he was placed, was not entirely owing to the able men who oppoſed him in the Boylean controverſy. It aroſe, perhaps, principally from the Poets engaging on the ſame ſide of the queſtion, and making him the object of their ſatire and ridicule. The ‘ flaſhing Bentley’ of Pope will be remembered and repeated by thouſands who know nothing of the Doctor's real merit. Having mentioned this epithet, we ſhall add the candid note of the poet's right reverend editor. ‘ This great man, ‘ with all his faults, deſerved to be put into better ‘ company. The following words of Cicero deſcribe ‘ him not amiſs: “ *Habuit a naturâ genus quoddam* “ *acuminis, quod etiam arte limaverat, quod erat in* “ *reprehendis verbis verſutum et ſolers*; *ſed ſæpe ſtomachoſum, nonnunquam frigidum*; *interdum etiam facetum* (102).” In the fourth book of the Dunciad, Mr. Pope introduces our critic at greater length, and with ſtill greater ſeverity.

‘ As many quit the ſtreams that murm'ring fall
‘ To lull the ſons of Marg'ret and Clare-hall,
‘ Where Bentley late tempeſtuous wont to ſport
‘ In troubled waters, but now ſleeps in Port.
‘ Before them march'd that awful Ariſtarch;
‘ Plow'd was his front with many a deep Remark:
‘ His Hat, which never veil'd to human pride,
‘ Walker with rev'rence took, and lay'd aſide.
‘ Low bow'd the reſt: He, kingly, did but nod;
‘ So upright Quakers pleaſe both Man and God.
‘ Miſtreſs! diſmiſs that rabble from your throne:
‘ Avaunt—— is Ariſtarchus yet unknown?
‘ The mighty Scholiaſt, whoſe unweary'd pains
‘ Made Horace dull, and humbled Milton's ſtrains.
‘ Turn what they will to Verſe, their toil is vain,
‘ Critics like me ſhall make it Proſe again.
‘ Roman and Greek Grammarians! know your Better:
‘ Author or ſomething yet more great than Letter;
‘ While tow'ring o'er your Alphabet like Saul,
‘ Stands our Digamma, and o'ertops them all.
‘ 'Tis true, on Words is ſtill our whole debate,
‘ Diſputes of *Me* or *Te*, of *aut* or *at*,
‘ To ſound or ſink in *cano* O or A,
‘ Or give up Cicero to C or K.
‘ Let Friend affect to ſpeak as Terence ſpoke,
‘ And Alſop never but like Horace joke:
‘ For me, what Virgil, Pliny would deny,
‘ Manilius or Solinus ſhall ſupply:
‘ For Attic Phraſe in Plato let them ſeek,
‘ I poach in Suidas for unlicens'd Greek.
‘ In ancient Senſe if any needs will deal,
‘ Be ſure I give them Fragments, not a Meal;
‘ What Gellius or Stobæus haſh'd before,
‘ Or chew'd by blind old Scholiaſts o'er and o'er,
‘ The critic Eye, that microſcope of Wit,
‘ Sees hairs and pores, examines bit by bit:
‘ How parts relate to parts, or they to whole;
‘ The body's harmony, the beaming ſoul,
‘ Are things which Kuſter, Burman, Waſſe ſhall ſee,
‘ When Man's whole frame is obvious to a *Flea* (103).’

Perhaps it may be found that this aſperity of Mr. Pope was not entirely owing to the combination of certain wits and poets againſt Dr. Bentley, but to perſonal reſentment. We are told that Biſhop Atterbury, having Bentley and Pope both at dinner with him, inſiſted on knowing what opinion the Doctor entertained of the Engliſh Homer. He for ſome time eluded the queſtion; but, at laſt, being urged to ſpeak out, he ſaid, ‘ The verſes are good verſes, but ‘ the work is not Homer, it is Spondanus.’ Mr. Richard Bentley is ſaid to have been ſingularly provoked at Mr. Pope's attack upon his father, in the character of Ariſtarchus (104). We may obſerve, by the way, that the Walker mentioned in the preceding lines was the learned John Walker, who is ſpoken of in Bentley's propoſals for publiſhing the Greek Teſtament. He became Vice-maſter of Trinity College, and was always cloſely connected with the Doctor: nay, he has been called his Zany. Dr. Bentley, it ſeems, in all his conteſts, took care to keep upon good terms with the Vice-maſter (105).

Among the proſe writers who have treated our great critic with undue contempt, it is with concern that we mention an author of eminent ingenuity and learning, and who is very ſeldom deficient in candour. This is Dr. Lowth, the preſent excellent Biſhop of London; who, in ‘ his letter from a late Profeſſor of ‘ the univerſity of Oxford,’ addreſſing his right Reverend antagoniſt, expreſſes himſelf concerning Dr. Bentley in the following terms: ‘ And here, more opportunely for the illuſtration of what I am ſaying, ‘ you introduce the *incomparable Dr. Bentley*, as ſtanding in the foremoſt rank of modern critics; of ‘ grammatical and verbal critics, I agree with you: ‘ He could judge with great penetration of the age ‘ of an author, by the dialect, the phraſe, and the ‘ matter; by *Thericlean* cups and Sicilian talents. ‘ This was his proper ſphere of ſcience, and in this

(97) From the ſame Gentleman.

(98) Preface to his edition of Milton.

(99) Whiſton's Memoirs, p. 338.

(100) *Ibid.* p. 93—97.

(101) *Ibid.* p. 101, 102.

(102) Pope's Works, Vol. ii. p. 186, 12mo. Edition of 1776.

(103) *Ibid.* Vol. iii. p. 207—211.

(104) Gent. Magazine, Vol. xliii. p. 499.

(105) From Dr. Salter.

he excelled. But in matters of pure taſte, the fine diſcernment of the different characters of compoſition, colours of ſtile, and manners of thinking; of interior beauties and excellencies of writing, in regard to all this, what was he? *Unus Caprimulgus aut Foſſor*.' This ſevere paſſage produced, as might naturally be expected, a ſpirited reply from Mr. Cumberland, who, in defence of his grandfather's reputation, thus expoſtulates with Dr. Lowth, then Biſhop of Oxford:

'But I juſt now deſired your Lordſhip to reſolve me in which of Dr. Bentley's original works it was, that you had diſcovered ſuch convincing marks of the meanneſs and contemptible ruſticity of his genius: was it in his declamations from the pulpit that he betrayed this utter ignorance of *the beauties and excellencies of writing?* Did ever Herdſman from his obſervations on nature, and the fabric and conſtruction of man, argue up to the divine author and creator of all things with ſuch ſtrength of reaſoning, ſuch convictive eloquence, as are to be found in his *Lectures?* Did ever *Hedger and Ditcher* give ſuch edifying, ſuch ſatisfactory *Reaſons for the Hope and the Faith that was in him*, as are given in his famous *Commencement Sermon?* Many clowns, my Lord, it muſt be confeſs'd, have preached before Kings, and ſtill continue to preach; but does Dr. Bentley's ſermon before the King impeach him of inurbanity? ſurely not; and it will be hard to think with your Lordſhip, that the ſame perſon, who was capable of compoſing in ſo good a ſtyle himſelf, ſhould be incapable of forming any judgment with reſpect to that of another man's. I flatter myſelf therefore I may conclude, that it is not in the pulpit your Lordſhip will arraign Dr. Bentley; it is not for his labours in the cauſe of religion, the inſtruction of mankind, and the confutation of atheiſm, that your Lordſhip (ſo conſpicuous for merits of the ſame nature) means to degrade and diſgrace his memory. I may ſay for him what Biſhop W—— pleaded for himſelf—* "that his ſervices to religion and ſociety ſeem to entitle him to common reſpect—— from every man of letters, engaged in the ſame cauſe, *where no perſonal animoſities have intervened*." And as your Lordſhip, in deſcribing your own character, has profeſſed yourſelf to be, "† as a member of the commonwealth of letters, a true lover of peace and quietneſs, of mutual freedom, *candour, and benevolence*; and that you deteſt and deſpiſe the ſquabbles that are perpetually ariſing from the jealouſy and peeviſhneſs of the *genus irritabile ſcriptorum*," I will venture to conclude that you have not taken up this contemptuous opinion of his underſtanding and abilities, from the ſervices he has done to religion, and the inſtructions he has bequeathed to mankind.

'But, my Lord, this is not all; I have ſome little matter more to offer in defence of his mangled reputation; ſome few remarks more to make upon his ſervices in the cauſe of God and of religion; I hope theſe will not be taken for tokens of his want of underſtanding. The confutation of atheiſm ſeems an eaſy and obvious taſk, a work for real *herdſmen* and *hedgers*; every object proves the exiſtence of the Deity, and every rational being comprehends that proof; but Bentley, like a hardy obſtinate clown as he was, undertook a bolder taſk; this ignorant, unpoliſhed peaſant undertook, my Lord, to confute and expoſe the fine gentlemen of his age, the wits and reaſoners of the time, the ſet of *Free-thinkers* that unhinged the age in which he lived, and threw the whole bench of Biſhops (your Lordſhip was not then amongſt the number) into conſternation and diſmay. In this dilemma, my Lord, when the whole army of Proteſtant Divines, mitred and unmitred, like that of Saul upon the challenge of Goliath, trembled behind their trenches, this deſpicable herdſman, this booby boor, taken like David from the ſheep-folds, entered the liſts, and ſingly overthrew the mighty champion of infidelity. The triumphs of Chriſtianity upon this victory were only to be equalled by the applauſes, which every true believer beſtowed upon their defender: The whole bench of Biſhops honoured Dr. Bentley with their thanks: Behold the revolution of a few years! Bentley dies; your Lordſhip ſucceeds to a ſeat on that bench; you diſſent from your predeceſſors, and tear their trophies from his ſhrine (106).'

Mr. Cumberland afterwards adds; 'What, my Lord, will you allow the author of *The Remarks* (on Collins) no place but amongſt *grammatical, and verbal critics?* Will you expel him from the ſociety of liberal and well-accompliſhed ſcholars? Was he fit for no higher uſes than, like a juggler, to play with *Thericlean cups and Sicilian talents?* Was this his proper ſphere of ſcience, and did he greatly excel in nothing higher? Are there no ſparks of genuine attic wit, no ſallies of native humour, no poliſhed ſtrokes of temperate and cleanly ridicule to be found in that work? Are there really no dawnings of a *pure* taſte, no ſhadowings of a diſcerning *faculty* to be found?—What an error have the learned of all the nations of Europe been in! (107).' Speaking of the diſpute concerning the Epiſtles of Phalaris, and the combination of wits at Oxford againſt Dr. Bentley, Mr. Cumberland farther obſerves: 'With theſe confederates your Lordſhip well knows, he ſingly maintained a notable controverſy, with every advantage on his ſide, that ſuperior talents for wit, learning, and argumentation could give him. If your Lordſhip doubts which party triumphed in this diſpute, you are the only man in all Europe that does; but this I dare ſay is by no means the caſe (108).' The Earl of Cheſterfield ſpeaks of Dr. Bentley as the moſt learned man in England (109). We do not mention this as a teſtimony of any other conſequence, than as it ſhews the opinion really entertained of him by men of wit and genius, though ſuch men had affected to treat him with contempt. It is of greater importance to cloſe our evidences of his literary merit with the authority of a writer who hath already been referred to in note [*A*]; but whoſe encomium, as it came from a man of acknowledged critical diſcernment, of the foundeſt literature, and of the moſt enlarged general underſtanding, we ſhall repeat ſomewhat more fully. Dr. Samuel Clarke, in his preface to his fine edition of Cæſar's Commentaries, ſays, *Maximum mihi hoc in opere auxilium attulit Liber MS. haud quidem ipſe antiquiſſimus, ex valdè antiquis autem (ut videtur) codicibus exſcriptus; quem e ſereniſſimæ Reginæ Bibliothecâ utendum mihi dedit vir in hujuſmodi rebus peritiâ plane incredibili, et criticos omnes longè longèque judicio et ſagacitate antecellens*, RICHARDUS BENTLEY (110).

It muſt, we apprehend, be acknowledged, that one cauſe of Dr. Bentley's having enemies, was his not always bearing his faculties with ſufficient meekneſs. He appears to have had a conſiderable degree of literary pride, and to have ſpoken of himſelf and others with uncommon freedom. Mr. Whiſton informs us of the Doctor's having ſaid, 'That when he himſelf ſhould be dead, *Waſſe* would be the moſt learned man in England (111).' Dr. Salter, who was extremely devoted to the memory of Dr. Bentley, confeſſed that he was remarkable for his *Faſtus*, eſpecially towards his equals, and for ſpeaking highly of himſelf. But, at the ſame time, he is deſcribed by Dr. Salter, as having been a very amiable and pleaſant man in private life, and as poſſeſſing much good nature, though he hath been otherwiſe repreſented. This account agrees with the moſt authentic information from different quarters. It is related of Dr. Bentley, that he uſed to pull off his hat to the younger Students, but would not do it to the Fellows of his college. Being aſked the reaſon for making this difference, he anſwered, 'That the young ones might come to ſomething; but for the others, they never could be good for any thing (112).'

With regard to Dr. Bentley's long diſpute with his College, Mr. Whiſton repreſents his having been induced, in a ſingle inſtance, after four years of unexceptionable conduct, to recede from the excellent rule of *detur digniori*, in the election to a Fellowſhip, as the firſt falſe ſtep which led to others, and was very prejudicial to his own happineſs (113). A conciſe and accurate account of his controverſies with his College and the Univerſity, and of the publications which appeared on theſe occaſions, may be ſeen in Mr. Gough's Anecdotes of Topography (114). There are, likewiſe, in the Harleian Collection of manuſcripts in the Britiſh Muſeum, N°. 7523, ſome authentic papers, relative to the proceedings of the Univerſity againſt Dr. Bentley (115).

There is an error in the article of our predeceſſor, concerning the diſpute about the viſitatorial power, which we forgot to correct in time. Dr. Fleetwood is is ſaid to have been Biſhop of Ely in 1728; whereas Dr. Fleetwood had been dead ſeveral years, and Dr. Green was then Biſhop of that dioceſe.

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* Page 114.

† Page 131.

(106) Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of O——d, p. 14, 15. p. 24—28.

(107) *Ibid.* p. 30, 31.

(108) *Ibid.* p. 35.

(109) Lord Cheſterfield's Letters to his Son, Vol. iii. p. 62. 7th edition.

(110) C. J. Cæſ. Comment. a S. Clarke, S. T. P. Lectori.

(111) Whiſton, *ubi ſupra*, p. 212.

(112) This ſtory we have no other authority for than common report.

(113) Whiſton, *ubi ſupra*, p. 105—107.

(114) Anecdotes of Britiſh Topography, p. 114—118.

(115) Britiſh Biography, Vol. vii. p. 438.

The ſubſequent anecdotes have been communicated to us by an ancient and very reſpectable dignitary of the Church, who was preſent when the facts happened. ‘ At the aſſizes held for the county of Cambridge, at the caſtle of Cambridge (the year I don't recollect, but think it was 1726 or 1727), during the time of Dr. Bentley's degradation, the Cryer of the Court called the Doctor, as one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for the ſaid county, by the ſtyle and title of Richard Bentley, Doctor in Divinity. Upon which the Vice-Chancellor, who was preſent, reprimanded the Cryer, ſaying, “ there was no ſuch man.” The Judge (who as I remember was Sir Robert Raymond) inquiring of the Officer whether Bentley ſtood in the roll under that deſcription, and being anſwered in the affirmative, directed the Cryer to call him again in the ſame ſtyle; ſaying, that the Court would take no notice of their academical acts, in oppoſition to a commiſſion under the Great Seal, unleſs ſuch acts were confirmed either by the King in Council, or by ſome determination in the courts of law, which he apprehended was not the caſe.

‘ In the firſt Divinity Act which was kept in the public ſchools, after Dr. Bentley's reſtoration to his degrees, and in which Dr. Bentley himſelf moderated as Profeſſor, Dr. John Addenbroke, then Fellow of Catherine Hall, and afterwards Dean of Litchfield, was reſpondent for the degree of Batchelor of Divinity. His queſtions were, 1. *Galei argumenta, non valent contra Pædobaptiſmum.* 2. *Miracula a Chriſto edita probant divinam ejus Miſſionem.* Againſt the terms of the firſt the Profeſſor objected, as confining the queſtion to *Gale*'s arguments, ſaying, *Quid nobis cum Homuncione Galeo?* On which it was obſerved, that the laſt determination Dr. Bentley made in the ſchools, before he was degraded, was upon the queſtion concerning Pædobaptiſm, and that he had ſaid, that he would only conſider Gale's arguments, as that writer had ſaid every thing on the negative ſide, that could be alleged againſt infant baptiſm. To the terms of the other queſtion, he objected bad Latin, ſaying, We have heard of *edere librum, edere ſignum populo, ſed quis unquam audivit, edere Miraculum? Miracula facta ſunt, non edita.* N. B. Addenbroke was ſaid to be a great ſtickler againſt Bentley, in the Senate Houſe, while his degradation was in debate.’

In 1738, a libel was exhibited before the Vicar-General of the Biſhop of Ely, againſt Dr. Colbatch, Rector of Orwell, for refuſing to pay the proxies due to Dr. Bentley, as Archdeacon of Ely. Dr. Colbatch alleged in his defence, that the Arch-deacon, though he had been nearly forty years in that office, had never been known, in all that time, to *viſit* any one church or chapel, in the manner required by the eccleſiaſtical law. However, without bringing the matter, it ſeems, to a full hearing, Dr. Colbatch had a ſentence paſſed againſt him by the Court, and was charged with a bill of coſts. Upon this occaſion, he publiſhed a pamphlet with the following title: ‘ The Caſe of Proxies payable to eccleſiaſtical Viſitors fully ſtated: And the Queſtion diſcuſſed, Whether thoſe Payments can upon any Account become due from the Parochial Clergy to an Arch-deacon, who doth not viſit them and their Churches in Perſon? With ſome Remarks on Part of a poſthumous Diſcourſe of the late Biſhop Stillingfleet,’ 8vo, Cambridge, 1741 *. In this tract, Dr. Colbatch diſplays great learning in the eccleſiaſtical and canon law, and writes with much appearance of reaſon and argument; but we do not preſume to determine upon a ſubject of which we are not competent judges. The ſentence of the Court on the ſide of Dr. Bentley is a preſumptive evidence in his favour. Mr. Whiſton, in the Memoirs of his own Life, p. 356, gives an excellent character of Dr. Colbatch; but repreſents his virtue as having been of a ſevere, and not of an agreeable caſt.

* For a ſight of this pamphlet, and a knowledge of the fact it relates to, we are indebted to Mr. Reed.

Of Dr. Bentley's three children by his Lady, his ſon, who was called after his own name, was educated under his father's inſpection, at Trinity-college, of which he was choſen Fellow. He ſucceeded the Doctor in the Library-keeper's place of St. James's, but reſigned it in 1745 (116). Mr. Richard Bentley, who is ſtill living (1778), and is a gentleman of acknowledged ingenuity, taſte, and learning, was the inventor of the elegant and original deſigns for Mr. Gray's Poems. He is the author, likewiſe, of ſeveral publications, and has written ſome pieces, containing much wit and humour. Among others, the Mock-Patriotiſm, a poem printed within theſe few years, has been aſcribed to him. His Tragedy, intitled Philodamus, which was publiſhed by Dodſley in 1767, was eſteemed, by the late eminent poet Mr. Gray, to be one of the moſt capital poems in the Engliſh language. Accordingly, Mr. Gray wrote a laboured and elegant commentary upon it, which abounds with wit, and is one of his beſt productions (117). Dr. Bentley's eldeſt daughter, Elizabeth, was married, about the year 1727, to Sir Humphry Ridge, eldeſt ſon to ——— Ridge, Eſq; brewer to the navy at Portſmouth, a gentleman of ample fortune (118). The youngeſt daughter, Joanna, eſpouſed, not long after, a grandſon of the learned Dr. Cumberland, Biſhop of Peterborough. Dr. Bentley, in a viſit to his ſon-in-law, who lately died Lord Biſhop of Kilmore in Ireland, corrected, throughout, the firſt edition, which had been faultily printed, of the Biſhop of Peterborough's famous book, De Legibus Naturæ. This corrected edition is intended to be given to the world (119). Richard Cumberland, Eſq; ſon to the Biſhop of Kilmore, great-grandſon to the Biſhop of Peterborough, and grandſon to Dr. Bentley, is too well known, by his ingenious writings, and eſpecially by the applauſe with which his dramatic pieces have been generally and juſtly received, to ſtand in need of any particular encomiums in this place.] K.

(116) New Biographical Dictionary, Vol. ii. p. 143.

(117) From Mr. Cumberland.

(118) New Dictionary, *ubi ſupra.*

(119) From Mr. Cumberland.

⁂ [* DR. GEORGE BERKELEY, the learned and ingenious biſhop of Cloyne in Ireland, was a native of that kingdom, and the ſon of William Berkeley of Thomaſtown, in the county of Kilkenny, whoſe father went over to Ireland after the Reſtoration (the family having ſuffered greatly for their loyalty to Charles I.), and there obtained the collectorſhip of Belfaſt. Our author was born March 12, 1684, at Kilcrin near Thomaſtown, received the firſt part of his education at Kilkenny ſchool under Dr. Hinton, and was admitted a penſioner of Trinity College, Dublin, at the age of fifteen, under the tuition of Dr. Hall. He was admitted fellow of that college June 9, 1707, having previouſly ſuſtained with honour the very trying examination, which the candidates for that preferment are by the ſtatutes required to undergo. The firſt proof he gave of his literary abilities was *Arithmetica abſque Algebra aut Euclide demonſtrata* [*A*], which, from the preface, he appears to have written before he was twenty years old, though he did not publiſh it till 1707. It is dedicated to Mr. Palliſer, ſon to the Archbiſhop of Caſhel, and is followed by a Mathematical Miſcellany, containing ſome very ingenious obſervations and theorems inſcribed to his pupil Mr. Samuel Molyneux, a gentleman of whom we ſhall have occaſion to make farther mention preſently, and whoſe

(*) Moſt of the following particulars of Biſhop Berkeley's life were received from a brother of his Lordſhip's, yet living; and the whole article was communicated by a gentleman, who is at this time (1778) one of the Fellows of Trinity-college, Dublin.

[*A*] *Arithmetica abſque Algebra,* &c.] This little piece is ſo far curious, as it ſhews his early and ſtrong paſſion for the mathematics, his admiration of thoſe great names in philoſophy, Locke and Newton, ſome of whoſe poſitions he afterwards ventured to call in queſtion, and the commencement of his application to thoſe more ſubtile metaphyſical ſtudies, to which his genius was peculiarly adapted.

father was the celebrated friend and correſpondent of Mr. Locke. His *Theory of Viſion* [*B*] was publiſhed in 1709, and the *Principles of human Knowledge* [*C*] appeared the year after.

[*B*] *Theory of viſion.*] Of all our author's works this ſeems to do the greateſt honour to his ſagacity; being, as Dr. Reid obſerves (1), the firſt attempt that ever was made to diſtinguiſh the immediate and natural objects of ſight from the concluſions we have been accuſtomed from infancy to draw from them: a diſtinction, that gentleman juſtly adds, from which the nature of viſion hath received great light, and by which many phænomena in optics, before looked upon as unaccountable, have been clearly and diſtinctly reſolved. The boundary is here traced out between the ideas of ſight and touch, and it is ſhewn demonſtrably, that though habit hath ſo connected theſe two claſſes of ideas in our minds, that they are called by the ſame names, and are not, without a ſtrong effort of attention, to be ſeparated from each other, yet originally they have no ſuch connection; inſomuch that a perſon born blind, and ſuddenly made to ſee, would at firſt be utterly unable to tell how any object that affected his ſight would affect his touch, and particularly would not from ſight receive any idea of diſtance, outneſs, or external ſpace, but would imagine that all the objects he ſaw were in his eye, or rather in his mind. This laſt very curious aſſertion was afterwards, in the year 1728, ſurprizingly confirmed in the caſe of a young man born blind, and couched at fourteen years of age by Mr. Cheſelden, F. R. S. and Surgeon to her Majeſty, whoſe narrative is ſo ſtrong in favour of our author's theory, that we could not forbear preſenting the reader with an extract of it from the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 402.

'When he firſt ſaw, he was ſo far from making 'any judgment about diſtances, that he thought all 'objects whatever touched his eyes (as he expreſſed 'it) as what he felt touched his ſkin; and thought 'no objects ſo agreeable as thoſe which were ſmooth 'and regular, though he could form no judgment of 'their ſhape, or gueſs what it was in any object that 'was pleaſing to him. He knew not the ſhape of 'any thing, nor any one thing from another, how'ever different in ſhape or magnitude; but upon 'being told what things were whoſe form he knew 'before from feeling, he would carefully obſerve, 'that he might know them again: but having too 'many objects to learn at once, he forgot many of 'them, and as he ſaid, at firſt he learned to know, 'and again forgot a thouſand things in a day. One particular only, though it may appear trifling, I 'will relate. Having often forgot which was the *cat* 'and which the *dog*, he was aſhamed to aſk; but 'catching the cat, which he knew by feeling, he 'was obſerved to look at her ſtedfaſtly, and then 'ſetting her down ſaid, So, puſs! I ſhall know you 'another time.—We thought he ſoon knew what 'pictures repreſented which were ſhewed to him, but 'we found afterwards we were miſtaken; for about 'two months after he was couched, he diſcovered at 'once they repreſented ſolid bodies, when to that 'time he conſidered them only as party-coloured 'planes, or ſurfaces diverſified with variety of paint: 'but even then he was no leſs ſurprized, expecting 'the pictures would feel like the things they repre'ſented; and was amazed when he found thoſe 'parts, which by their light and ſhadow appeared 'now round and uneven, felt only flat like the reſt; 'and aſked which was the *lying* ſenſe, feeling or 'ſeeing.—Being ſhewn his father's picture in a locket 'at his mother's watch, and told what it was, he 'acknowledged a likeneſs; but was vaſtly ſurprized, 'aſking how it could be that a large face ſhould be 'expreſſed in ſo little room? ſaying, it ſhould have 'ſeemed as impoſſible to him as to put a buſhel of 'any thing into a pint.'

[*C*] *Principles of human knowledge.*] The Theory of Viſion is dedicated to Sir John Percival, afterwards Earl of Egmont; the Principles of human Knowledge to the Earl of Pembroke, at that time Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In the Introduction to this laſt, the author quarrels with Mr. Locke's account of abſtract ideas and general names. Words, ſays Mr. Locke, become general, by being made the ſigns of general ideas, and ideas become general by abſtraction, that is, by a power of the mind to conceive ſeparately the ſeveral co-exiſting qualities of an object, and leaving out of the complex idea whatever is peculiar to the individual, and retaining only what is common to it with others of the ſame kind, to frame an abſtract idea, wherein all the particulars of that kind equally partake. According to Berkeley, this operation is impoſſible. A word becomes general by being made the ſign, not of an abſtract general idea, but of ſeveral particular ideas, any one of which it indifferently ſuggeſts to the mind. For example; when we prove any thing concerning motion and extenſion in general, we do not mean to ſay that we have an idea of motion without a body moved, or a particular velocity, or of extenſion without colour, magnitude, &c. but it is implied, that whatever *particular* motion or extenſion we conſider, the propoſition holds equally true concerning it. Again; an idea, which conſidered in itſelf is particular, becomes general by being made to repreſent, or ſtand for, all other particular ideas of the ſame ſort. The doctrine of abſtraction, he ſays, aroſe from a miſtake concerning the nature of language. It is ſuppoſed that the uſe of language is only to communicate ideas, and that every ſignificant name ſtands for an idea: ſince therefore names do not always mark particular ideas, it is ſtraightway concluded that they ſtand for abſtract notions. But firſt, the only end of language is not the communicating of ideas, but the exciting of ſome paſſion, &c. which is often accompliſhed without the intervention of words: and ſecondly, it is not neceſſary that names, every time they are uſed, ſhould excite the ideas they ſtand for: in reading and diſcourſe they are for the moſt part uſed as letters in algebra, wherein although a particular quantity is marked by each letter, it is not requiſite that in every ſtep the letter ſhould ſuggeſt to our thoughts the quantity it ſtands for. He infers therefore, that we have no ideas but particular ones; and that names do not always, at the time they are uſed, ſtand for ideas.

This whole diſpute ſeems to turn upon a ſingle point; whether it is poſſible for the mind, or pure intellect, to frame to itſelf ideas which cannot be the object of the imagination, cannot be pictured by fancy; or, in the language of the Peripatetic ſchool, whether there is any ground for the diſtinction between νοήματα and φαντάσματα, *notions* and *phantaſms*. The queſtion muſt, we think, be anſwered in the affirmative againſt Berkeley, by any one who ſhall attentively read over Cudworth's Eſſay on eternal and immutable Morality, IV. 1. § 8, &c. and IV. 3. § 6. See alſo Bolingbroke's Philoſophical Works, Eſſay I. p. 117, London, 1754.

The object of the Principles of human Knowledge, as well as of the Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous, is to prove, that the commonly received notion of the exiſtence of matter is falſe, and inconſiſtent with itſelf; that thoſe things which are called ſenſible material objects are not external to the mind, but exiſt in it, and are nothing more than impreſſions made upon our minds by the immediate act of God, according to certain rules, termed laws of nature, from which in the ordinary courſe of his government he never deviates; that the ſteady adherence of the ſupreme Spirit to theſe rules is what conſtitutes the reality of things to his creatures, and ſo effectually diſtinguiſhes the ideas perceived by ſenſe from ſuch as are the work of the mind itſelf or of dreams, that there is no more danger of confounding them together on this hypotheſis than on the common ſuppoſition of matter. The not attending to this diſtinction, which however is inculcated over and over by our author, has led many to ſuppoſe, that Berkeley was an arrant ſceptic that rejected the teſtimony of his ſenſes; when in truth the diſpute is not about the *reality of our ſenſations* (and ſo far only the teſtimony of mere ſenſe extends)—for of this he was as firmly convinced as any body could be, and of the neceſſity of acting accordingly—but concerning the *cauſes* of thoſe ſenſations, whether they proceed from a ſet of inſenſible material beings without us, or immediately from the creator himſelf. His principal argument againſt the exiſtence

(1) Inquiry into the Mind, c. 6. § 11.

after. The airy viſions of romances, to the reading of which he was much addicted, diſguſt at the books of metaphyſics then received in the Univerſity, and that inquiſitive attention to the operations of the mind which about this time was excited by the writings of Mr. Locke and Father Malebranche, probably gave birth to his diſbelief of the exiſtence of matter. In 1712, the principles inculcated in Mr. Locke's *Two Treatiſes of Government* ſeem to have turned his attention to the doctrine of paſſive obedience; in ſupport of which he printed the ſubſtance of three Common-places delivered by him that year in the college chapel, a work which afterwards did him ſome injury in his fortune. For, being preſented by Mr. Molyneux above mentioned to their late Majeſties, then Prince and Princeſs of Wales (whoſe Secretary Mr. Molyneux had been at Hanover), he was by them recommended to Lord Galway for ſome preferment in the church of Ireland. But Lord Galway, having heard of thoſe ſermons, repreſented him as a Jacobite; an impreſſion which Mr. Molyneux, as ſoon as he was apprized of it, took care to remove from the minds of their highneſſes by producing the work in queſtion, and ſhewing that it contained nothing but principles of loyalty to the preſent happy eſtabliſhment. This was the firſt occaſion of our author's being known to Queen Caroline. In February 1713, he croſſed the water, and publiſhed in London a farther defence of his celebrated ſyſtem of immaterialiſm, in *Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous.* Acuteneſs of parts and a beautiful imagination were ſo conſpicuous in his writings, that his reputation was now eſtabliſhed, and his company was courted, even where his opinions did not find admiſſion. Two gentlemen of oppoſite principles concurred in introducing him to the acquaintance of the learned and the great; Sir Richard Steele and Dr. Swift. He wrote ſeveral papers in the Guardian for the former, and at his houſe became acquainted with Mr. Pope, with whom he continued to live in ſtrict friendſhip during his life. Dean Swift, beſides

exiſtence of thoſe material beings may be reduced to this ſyllogiſm:

Whatever is immediately perceived by ſenſe, is an idea.
Senſible things are things immediately perceived by ſenſe.
Therefore ſenſible things are ideas; and conſequently exiſt only in the mind.

For the proof of the ſecond propoſition he appeals to the feelings of his reader, and aſks, whether by what he calls ſenſible things he means any thing elſe but the things he immediately perceives by ſenſe? whether, for inſtance, when he ſays this table exiſts, he means any thing more than that he ſees and feels it, that is, perceives it by his ſenſes? If you anſwer, that you are indeed immediately conſcious only of the ſenſation, but that reaſon obliges you to infer from thence the exiſtence of an external being which is the cauſe of it, he joins iſſue with you, and ſays, the queſtion then is only whether this external cauſe is active or inactive, ſpirit or matter. Now it is a contradiction to ſuppoſe that unthinking matter can be the cauſe of ideas: for cauſality ſuppoſes action: action muſt conſiſt either in motion or volition: it cannot conſiſt in the former, becauſe motion is a ſenſible quality, i. e. an idea; but all our ideas are paſſive, inert, including nothing of action in them: therefore nothing can be active, and conſequently nothing can be a *cauſe,* without volition. See Hylas, page 265, London 1734.—But, not to mention that a thing is here aſſerted which no force of argument will ever make out, that a quality of body is the ſame thing with an idea in the mind, it is obvious to obſerve, that the whole is merely an argument *ab ignorantiâ,* grounded on our inability of ſhewing the manner by which body operates on ſpirit; an inability, however, which cannot take away that of whoſe exiſtence we have otherwiſe good reaſon to be ſatisfied. This *good reaſon* then appears to us to be ſimply the very ſame that Dr. Reid firſt pointed out, the conſtitution of our nature (we ſhould call it *inſtinct,* if ſuch an outcry had not lately been raiſed againſt that word) which antecedent to, and independent of all reaſoning about the matter, compels us to believe the exiſtence of a number of beings without us both animate and inanimate, with as ſtrong and invincible a faith as we believe the exiſtence of ourſelves and our own ſenſations. If we are not to truſt this conſtitution in the former caſe, no reaſon can be given why we ſhould take its word for the truth of our own conſciouſneſs. 'It is folly,' ſaith Mr. Locke, 'to expect demonſtration in every thing.' Deſcartes attempted to prove his own exiſtence. Berkeley could find no proof at all for the exiſtence of matter, and but a probability (though he allows it to be a high probability, (ſee Hylas, page 297, l. 1.) for that of his fellow-creatures. The ſucceſs of theſe inquiries may ſerve to verify Mr. Locke's obſervation.

When the Principles of human Knowledge were firſt publiſhed, the ingenious author ſent copies of the work to Dr. Clarke and Mr. Whiſton. What effect it produced upon the latter, the reader may poſſibly be entertained with learning from his own words: Memoirs of Dr. Clarke, page 79—81.

'And perhaps it will not be here improper, by way of caution, to take notice of the pernicious conſequence ſuch metaphyſical ſubtilties have ſometimes had, even againſt common ſenſe and common experience, as in the caſes of thoſe three famous men, Monſ. Leibnitz, Mr. Locke, and Mr. Berkeley.—[The firſt in his pre-eſtabliſhed Harmony: the ſecond in the diſpute with Limborch about human Liberty.]—And as to the third named, Mr. Berkeley, he publiſhed, A. D. 1710, at Dublin, this metaphyſic notion, that *matter* was not *a real thing*; nay, that the common opinion of its *reality* was groundleſs, if not ridiculous. He was pleaſed to ſend Dr. Clarke and myſelf, each of us, a book. After we had both peruſed it, I went to Dr. Clarke, and diſcourſed with him about it to this effect; that I, being not a metaphyſician, was not able to anſwer Mr. Berkeley's ſubtile *premiſes,* though I did not at all believe his abſurd *concluſion.* I therefore deſired that he, who was deep in ſuch ſubtilties, but did not appear to believe Mr. Berkeley's concluſions, would anſwer him: which taſk he declined[*]. I ſpeak not theſe things with intention to reproach either Mr. Locke or Dean Berkeley.—I own the latter's great abilities in other parts of learning; and to his noble deſign of ſettling a College in or near the Weſt-Indies, for the inſtruction of the natives in civil arts and in the principles of Chriſtianity, I heartily wiſh all poſſible ſucceſs. It is the pretended metaphyſic ſcience itſelf, derived from the ſceptical diſputes of the Greek philoſophers, not thoſe particular great men who have been unhappily impoſed on by it, that I complain of. Accordingly when the famous Milton had a mind to repreſent the vain reaſonings of wicked ſpirits in Hades, he deſcribes it by their endleſs train of metaphyſics, thus:

'*Others apart ſat on a hill retired,*' &c,
Par. Loſt, II. 557—561.

[*] Many years after this, at Mr. Addiſon's inſtance, there was a meeting of Drs. Clarke and Berkeley to diſcuſs this ſpeculative point; and great hopes were entertained from the conference. The parties, however, ſeparated without being able to come to any agreement. Dr. B. declared himſelf not well ſatisfied with the conduct of his antagoniſt on the occaſion, who, though he could not anſwer, had not candour enough to own himſelf convinced. But the complaints of diſputants againſt each other, eſpecially on ſubjects of this abſtruſe nature, ſhould be heard with ſuſpicion.

Lord Berkeley of Stratton [*D*] (to whom our author dedicated his laſt publiſhed dialogues between *Hylas* and *Philonous)*, and other valuable acquaintance, recommended him to the celebrated Earl of Peterborough, who being appointed Embaſſador to the King of Sicily and to the other Italian States, took Mr. Berkeley with him in quality of Chaplain and Secretary, in November 1713. At Leghorn, his Lordſhip's well known activity induced him to diſencumber himſelf of his Chaplain and the greateſt part of his retinue, whom he left in that town for upwards of three months, while he diſcharged the buſineſs of his embaſſy in Sicily, as our author informs his friend Pope in the concluſion of a complimentary letter [*E*] addreſſed to that poet on the Rape of the Lock, dated Leghorn, May 1, 1714. It may not be amiſs to record a little incident that befel Mr. Berkeley in this city, with the relation of which he uſed ſometimes to make himſelf merry among his friends. Baſil Kennett, the author of the Roman Antiquities, was then Chaplain to the Engliſh factory at Leghorn, the only place in Italy where the Engliſh ſervice is tolerated by the government, which favour had lately been obtained from the Grand Duke * at the particular inſtance of Queen Anne. This gentleman requeſted Mr. Berkeley to preach for him one Sunday. The day following, as Berkeley was ſitting in his chamber, a proceſſion of prieſts in ſurplices, and with all other formalities, entered the room, and without taking the leaſt notice of the wondering inhabitant, marched quite round it, muttering certain prayers. His fears immediately ſuggeſted to him, that this could be no other than a viſit from the Inquiſition, who had heard of his officiating before heretics without licence, the day before. As ſoon as they were gone, he ventured with much caution to enquire into the cauſe of this extraordinary appearance, and was happy to be informed, that this was the ſeaſon appointed by the Romiſh calendar for ſolemnly bleſſing the houſes of all good catholics from rats and other vermin; a piece of intelligence which changed his terror into mirth. He returned to England with Lord Peterborough in Auguſt 1714 [*F*]; and his hopes of preferment through this channel expiring with the fall of Queen Anne's miniſtry, he ſome time after embraced an advantageous offer made him by Dr. St. George Aſhe, Biſhop of Clogher, and late Provoſt of Trinity College, Dublin, of accompanying his ſon, Mr. Aſhe (who was heir to a very conſiderable property), in a tour through Europe. At Paris, having now more leiſure than when he firſt paſſed through that city, Mr. Berkeley took care to pay his reſpects to his rival in metaphyſical ſagacity, the illuſtrious Pere Malebranche. He found this ingenious father in his cell, cooking in a ſmall pipkin a medicine for a diſorder with which he was then troubled, an inflammation on the lungs. The converſation naturally turned on our author's ſyſtem, of which the other had received ſome knowledge from a tranſlation juſt publiſhed. But

(*) See the article KENNET, BASIL.

[*D*] *Lord Berkeley of Stratton.*] Swift preſented him to this nobleman as his relation, with this humorous ſpeech, *that he was good for ſomething*. Obſervations on Orrery's Life of Swift, page 122, 1754, 8vo. In a letter to Stella, April 12, 1713, the Dean ſpeaks thus: ' I went to court to-day on purpoſe to preſent Mr. Berkeley, one of your Fellows of Dublin College, to Lord Berkeley of Stratton. That Mr. Berkeley is a very ingenious man, and a great philoſopher; and I have mentioned him to all the miniſters, and have given them ſome of his writings, and I will favour him as much as I can. This I think I am bound to in honour and conſcience, to uſe all my little credit towards helping forward men of worth in the world.'

[*E*] *To Mr. Pope.*] ' Leghorn, May 1, 1714.

' As I take ingratitude to be a greater crime than impertinence, I chuſe rather to run the riſque of being thought guilty of the latter, than not to return you my thanks for a very agreeable entertainment you juſt now gave me. I have accidentally met with your Rape of the Lock here, having never ſeen it before. Style, painting, judgment, ſpirit, I had already admired in other of your writings; but in this I am charmed with the magic of your invention, with all thoſe images, alluſions, and inexplicable beauties, which you raiſe ſo ſurpriſingly, and at the ſame time *ſo* naturally, out of a trifle. And yet I cannot ſay that I was more pleaſed with the reading of it, than I am with the pretext it gives me to renew in your thoughts the remembrance of one who values no happineſs beyond the friendſhip of men of wit, learning, and good-nature.

' I remember to have heard you mention ſome half-formed deſign of coming to Italy. What might we not expect from a muſe that ſings ſo well in the bleak climate of England, if ſhe felt the ſame warm ſun, and breathed the ſame air with Virgil and Horace!

' There are here an incredible number of Poets that have all the inclination, but want the genius, or perhaps the art of the ancients. Some among them who underſtand Engliſh, begin to reliſh our authors; and I am informed that at Florence they have tranſlated Milton into Italian verſe. If one who knows ſo well how to write like the old Latin poets came among them, it would probably be a means to retrieve them from their cold trivial conceits, to an imitation of their predeceſſors.

' As merchants, antiquaries, men of pleaſure, &c. have all different views in travelling, I know not whether it might not be worth a poet's while to travel, in order to ſtore his mind with ſtrong images of nature.

' Green fields and groves, flowery meadows and purling ſtreams, are no where in ſuch perfection as in England: but if you would know lightſome days, warm ſuns, and blue ſkies, you muſt come to Italy; and to enable a man to deſcribe rocks and precipices, it is abſolutely neceſſary that he paſs the Alps.

' You will eaſily perceive that it is ſelf-intereſt makes me ſo fond of giving advice to one who has no need of it. If you came into theſe parts, I ſhould fly to ſee you. I am here (by the favour of my good friend the Dean of St. Patrick's) in quality of Chaplain to the Earl of Peterborough, who about three months ſince left the greateſt part of his family in this town. God knows how long we ſhall ſtay here.

' I am,
' Your, &c.'

[*F*] *In Auguſt* 1714.] Towards the cloſe of this year he had a fever, in deſcribing the event of which to his friend Swift, Dr. Arbuthnot cannot forbear indulging a little of that pleaſantry on Berkeley's ſyſtem, with which it has frequently ſince been treated by ſuch as could not, or would not, be at the pains to acquire a thorough knowledge of it. ' October 19, 1714, poor philoſopher Berkeley has now *the idea of health*, which was very hard to produce in him; for he had *an idea* of a ſtrange fever on him ſo ſtrong, that it was very hard to deſtroy it by introducing a contrary one.'

the iſſue of this debate proved tragical to poor Malebranche.—In the heat of diſputation he raiſed his voice ſo high, and gave way ſo freely to the natural impetuoſity of a man of parts and a Frenchman, that he brought on himſelf a violent increaſe of his diſorder, which carried him off a few days after (*a*). In this ſecond excurſion abroad Mr. Berkeley employed upwards of four years; and beſides all thoſe places which are uſually viſited by travellers in what is called the grand tour, his curioſity carried him to ſome that are leſs frequented. In particular he travelled over Apulia (from which he wrote an accurate and entertaining account of the *tarantula* to Dr. Freind), Calabria, and the whole iſland of Sicily. This laſt country engaged his attention ſo ſtrongly, that he had with great induſtry compiled very conſiderable materials for a natural hiſtory of the iſland: but, by an unfortunate accident, theſe, together with a journal of his tranſactions there, were loſt in the paſſage to Naples; nor could he be prevailed upon afterwards to recollect and commit thoſe curious particulars again to paper [*G*]. What an injury the literary world has ſuſtained by this miſchance, may in part be collected from the ſpecimen he has left of his talent for lively deſcription, in his letter to Mr. Pope [*H*] concerning the iſland of Inarime

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(*a*) He died October 13, 1715. Dict. hiſt. portatif d'Advocat.

[*G*] *To recollect his obſervations on Sicily.*] One diſcovery of his only in that country his friends remember to have heard from him: that in the town by Virgil called *palmoſa Selinus*, Æneid III. 705, he found the ruins of a moſt magnificent temple dedicated to Pollux, to which the natives have given the appellation of *Tempio di Pulci*, corruptly for *Polluci*; and the territory adjoining has from thence taken the name of *Terra de li Pulci*.

[*H*] *His Letters to Pope and Arbuthnot.*] The firſt is in Pope's Works, Vol. VIII. p. 259, London 1757. The other is in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 354. We ſhall make no apology for giving them both a place in this narrative.

Naples, Oct. 22, 1717.

‘I have long had it in my thoughts to trouble you with a letter, but was diſcouraged for want of ſomething that I could think worth ſending fifteen hundred miles. Italy is ſuch an exhauſted ſubject, that I dare ſay you would eaſily forgive my ſaying nothing of it; and the imagination of a Poet is a thing ſo nice and delicate, that it is no eaſy matter to find out images capable of giving pleaſure to one of the few, who (in any age) have come up to that character. I am nevertheleſs lately returned from an iſland, where I paſſed three or four months; which were it ſet out in its true colours, might, methinks, amuſe you agreeably enough for a minute or two. The iſland Inarime is an epitome of the whole earth, containing within the compaſs of eighteen miles a wonderful variety of hills, vales, rugged rocks, fruitful plains, and barren mountains, all thrown together in a moſt romantic confuſion. The air is in the hotteſt ſeaſon conſtantly refreſhed by cool breezes from the ſea. The vales produce excellent wheat and Indian corn, but are moſtly covered with vineyards, intermixed with fruit-trees: beſides the common kinds, as cherries, apricots, peaches, &c. they produce oranges, limes, almonds, pomegranates, figs, water-melons, and many other fruits unknown to our climates, which lie every where open to the paſſenger. The hills are the greater part covered to the top with vines, ſome with cheſnut groves, and others with thickets of myrtle and lentiſcus. The fields in the northern ſide are divided by hedge-rows of myrtle. Several fountains and rivulets add to the beauty of this landſcape, which is likewiſe ſet off by the variety of ſome barren ſpots, and naked rocks. But that which crowns the ſcene is a large mountain, riſing out of the middle of the iſland (once a terrible volcano, by the ancients called Mons Epomeus): its lower parts are adorned with vines and other fruits; the middle affords paſture to flocks of goats and ſheep; and the top is a ſandy pointed rock, from which you have the fineſt proſpect in the world, ſurveying at one view, beſides ſeveral pleaſant iſlands lying at your feet, a tract of Italy about three hundred miles in length, from the promontory of Antium to the cape of Palinurus: the greater part of which hath been ſung by Homer and Virgil, as making a conſiderable part of the travels and adventures of their two Heroes. The iſlands Caprea, Prochyta, and Parthenope, together with Cajeta, Cumæ, Monte Miſeno, the habitations of Circe, the Syrens, and the Læſtrigones, the bay of Naples, the promontory of Minerva, and the whole Campagnia felice, make but a part of this noble landſkip; which would demand an imagination as warm, and numbers as flowing as your own, to deſcribe it. The inhabitants of this delicious iſle, as they are without riches and honours, ſo they are without the vices and follies that attend them; and were they but as much ſtrangers to revenge, as they are to avarice and ambition, they might in fact anſwer the poetical notions of the golden age. But they have got, as an alloy to their happineſs, an ill habit of murdering one another on ſlight offences. We had an inſtance of this the ſecond night after our arrival, a youth of eighteen being ſhot dead by our door: and yet by the ſole ſecret of minding our own buſineſs, we found a means of living ſecurely among theſe dangerous people. Would you know how we paſs the time at Naples? Our chief entertainment is the devotion of our neighbours: beſides the gaiety of their churches (where folks go to ſee what they call *una bella devotione*, i. e. a ſort of religious opera), they make fire-works almoſt every week, out of devotion; the ſtreets are often hung with arras, out of devotion; and (what is ſtill more ſtrange) the ladies invite gentlemen to their houſes, and treat them with muſic and ſweetmeats, out of devotion: in a word, were it not for this devotion of its inhabitants, Naples would have little elſe to recommend it beſide the air and ſituation. Learning is in no very thriving ſtate here, as indeed no where elſe in Italy: however, among many pretenders, ſome men of taſte are to be met with. A friend of mine told me not long ſince, that being to viſit Salvini at Florence, he found him reading your Homer: he liked the notes extremely, and could find no other fault with the verſion, but that he thought it approached too near a paraphraſe; which ſhews him not to be ſufficiently acquainted with our language. I wiſh you health to go on with that noble work; and when you have that, I need not wiſh you ſucceſs. You will do me the juſtice to believe, that whatever relates to your welfare is ſincerely wiſhed by

‘Your, &c.

‘April 17, 1717, with much difficulty I reached the top of Mount Veſuvius, in which I ſaw a vaſt aperture full of ſmoke, which hindered the ſeeing its depth and figure. I heard within that horrid gulf certain odd ſounds, which ſeemed to proceed from the belly of the mountain; a ſort of murmuring, ſighing, throbbing, churning, daſhing (as it were) of waves, and between whiles a noiſe like that of thunder or cannon, which was conſtantly attended with a clattering like that of tiles falling from the tops of houſes on the ſtreets. Sometimes, as the wind changed, the ſmoke grew thinner, diſcovering a very ruddy flame, and the jaws of the pan or *crater* ſtreaked with red and ſeveral ſhades of yellow. After an hour's ſtay the ſmoke, being moved by the wind, gave us ſhort and partial proſpects of the great hollow, in the flat bottom of which I could diſcern two furnaces almoſt contiguous: that on the left, ſeeming about three yards in diameter, glowed with red flame, and threw up red-hot ſtones with a hideous noiſe, which, as they fell back,

cauſed

rime (now Iſchia, in the bay of Naples), dated Naples, October 22, 1717; and in another from the ſame city to Dr. Arbuthnot, giving an account of an eruption of Mount Veſuvius, which he had the good fortune to have more than one opportunity of examining

‘ cauſed the fore-mentioned clattering. May 8, in the morning, I aſcended to the top of Veſuvius a ſecond time, and found a different face of things. The ſmoke aſcending upright gave a full proſpect of the crater, which, as I could judge, is about a mile in circumference, and an hundred yards deep. A conical mount had been formed ſince my laſt viſit, in the middle of the bottom: this mount, I could ſee, was made of the ſtones thrown up and fallen back again into the crater. In this new hill remained the two mounts or furnaces already mentioned: that on our left was in the vertex of the hill which it had formed round it, and raged more violently than before, throwing up every three or four minutes with a dreadful bellowing a vaſt number of red-hot ſtones, ſometimes in appearance above a thouſand, and at leaſt 3000 feet higher than my head as I ſtood upon the brink: but there being little or no wind, they fell back perpendicularly into the crater, increaſing the conical hill. The other mouth to the right was lower in the ſide of the ſame new formed hill: I could diſcern it to be filled with red-hot liquid matter, like that in the furnace of a glaſs-houſe, which raged and wrought as the waves of the ſea, cauſing a ſhort abrupt noiſe like what may be imagined to proceed from a ſea of quickſilver daſhing among uneven rocks. This ſtuff would ſometimes ſpew over and run down the convex ſide of the conical hill; and appearing at firſt red-hot it changed colour, and hardened as it cooled, ſhewing the firſt rudiments of an eruption, or if I may ſo ſay, an eruption in miniature. Had the wind driven in our faces, we had been in no ſmall danger of ſtifling by the ſulphureous ſmoke, or being knocked on the head by lumps of molten minerals, which we ſaw had ſometimes fallen on the brink of the crater, upon thoſe ſhots from the gulf at bottom. But as the wind was favourable, I had an opportunity to ſurvey this odd ſcene for above an hour and a half together; during which it was very obſervable, that all the volleys of ſmoke, flame, and burning ſtones, came only out of the hole to our left, while the liquid ſtuff in the other mouth wrought and overflowed, as hath been already deſcribed. June 5, after an horrid noiſe, the mountain was ſeen at Naples to ſpew a little out of the crater. The ſame continued the 6th. The 7th, nothing was obſerved till within two hours of night, when it began a hideous bellowing, which continued all that night and the next day till noon, cauſing the windows, and, as ſome affirm, the very houſes in Naples to ſhake. From that time it ſpewed vaſt quantities of molten ſtuff to the ſouth, which ſtreamed down the ſide of the mountain like a great pot boiling over. This evening I returned from a voyage through Apulia, and was ſurprized, paſſing by the north ſide of the mountain, to ſee a great quantity of ruddy ſmoke lie along a huge tract of ſky over the river of molten ſtuff, which was itſelf out of ſight. The 9th, Veſuvius raged leſs violently: that night we ſaw from Naples a column of fire ſhoot between whiles out of its ſummit. The 10th, when we thought all would have been over, the mountain grew very outrageous again, roaring and groaning moſt dreadfully. You cannot form a juſter idea of this noiſe in the moſt violent fits of it, than by imagining a mixed ſound made up of the raging of a tempeſt, the murmur of a troubled ſea, and the roaring of thunder and artillery, confuſed all together. It was very terrible as we heard it in the further end of Naples, at the diſtance of above twelve miles; this moved my curioſity to approach the mountain. Three or four of us got into a boat, and were ſet aſhore at *Torre del Greco*, a town ſituate at the foot of Veſuvius to the ſouth-weſt, whence we rode four or five miles before we came to the burning river, which was about midnight. The roaring of the volcano grew exceeding loud and horrible as we approached. I obſerved a mixture of colours in the cloud over the crater, green, yellow, red, and blue; there was likewiſe a ruddy diſmal light in the air over that tract of land where the burning river flowed; aſhes continually ſhowered on us all the way from the ſea-coaſt: all which circumſtances, ſet off and augmented by the horror and ſilence of the night, made a ſcene the moſt uncommon and aſtoniſhing I ever ſaw, which grew ſtill more extraordinary as we came nearer the ſtream. Imagine a vaſt torrent of liquid fire rolling from the top down the ſide of the mountain, and with irreſiſtable fury bearing down and conſuming vines, olives, fig-trees, houſes; in a word, every thing that ſtood in its way. This mighty flood divided into different channels, according to the inequalities of the mountain: the largeſt ſtream ſeemed half a mile broad at leaſt, and five miles long. The nature and conſiſtence of theſe burning torrents hath been deſcribed with ſo much exactneſs and truth by *Borellus* in his Latin treatiſe of Mount Ætna, that I need ſay nothing of it. I walked ſo far before my companions up the mountain, along the ſide of the river of fire, that I was obliged to retire in great haſte, the ſulphureous ſteam having ſurprized me, and almoſt taken away my breath. During our return, which was about three o'clock in the morning, we conſtantly heard the murmur and groaning of the mountain, which between whiles would burſt out into louder peals, throwing up huge ſpouts of fire and burning ſtones, which falling down again, reſembled the ſtars in our rockets. Sometimes I obſerved two, at others three diſtinct columns of flames; and ſometimes one vaſt one that ſeemed to fill the whole crater. Theſe burning columns and the fiery ſtones ſeemed to be ſhot 1000 feet perpendicular above the ſummit of the volcano. The 11th at night, I obſerved it, from a terraſs in Naples, to throw up inceſſantly a vaſt body of fire, and great ſtones to a ſurprizing height. The 12th in the morning it darkened the ſun with aſhes and ſmoke, cauſing a ſort of eclipſe. Horrid bellowings, this and the foregoing day, were heard at Naples, whither part of the aſhes alſo reached: at night I obſerved it throwing up flame, as on the 11th. On the 13th, the wind changing, we ſaw a pillar of black ſmoke ſhot upright to a prodigious height: at night I obſerved the mount caſt up fire as before, though not ſo diſtinctly becauſe of the ſmoke. The 14th, a thick black cloud hid the mountain from Naples. The 15th in the morning, the court and walls of our houſe in Naples were covered with aſhes. The 16th, the ſmoke was driven by a weſterly wind from the town to the oppoſite ſide of the mountain. The 17th, the ſmoke appeared much diminiſhed, fat and greaſy. The 18th, the whole appearance ended; the mountain remaining perfectly quiet without any viſible ſmoke or flame. A gentleman of my acquaintance, whoſe window looked towards Veſuvius, aſſured me that he obſerved ſeveral flaſhes, as it were of lightening, iſſue out of the mouth of the volcano. It is not worth while to trouble you with the conjectures[*] I have formed concerning the cauſe of theſe phænomena, from what I obſerved in the *Lacus Amſancti*, the *Solfatara*, &c. as well as in Mount Veſuvius. One thing I may venture to ſay, that I ſaw the fluid matter riſe out of the centre of the bottom of the crater, out of the very middle of the mountain, contrary to what *Borellus* imagines, whoſe method of explaining the eruption of a volcano by an inflexed ſyphon and the rules of hydroſtatics, is likewiſe inconſiſtent with the torrent's flowing down from the very vertex of the mountain. I have not ſeen the crater ſince the eruption, but deſign to viſit it again before I leave Naples. I doubt there is nothing in this worth ſhewing the Society, as to that, you will uſe your diſcretion.

‘ E. (it ſhould be G.) BERKELEY.’

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[*] Theſe conjectures do not appear in any of his writings; but he has often communicated them, in converſation, to his friends. He obſerved, that all the remarkable volcanos in the world were near the ſea. It was his opinion therefore, that a vacuum being made in the bowels of the earth by a vaſt body of inflammable matter taking fire, the water ruſhed in, and was converted into ſteam; which ſimple cauſe was ſufficient to produce all the wonderful effects of volcanos; as appears from Savery's fire-engine for raiſing water, and from the *Æolipile*.

very minutely. On his way homeward, he drew up at Lyons a curious tract *De motu* [*I*], which he ſent to the royal academy of ſciences at Paris, the ſubject being propoſed by that aſſembly, and committed it to the preſs ſhortly after his arrival in London in 1721. But from theſe abſtruſe ſpeculations he was drawn away for a while by the humanity of his temper and concern for the public welfare. It is well known what miſeries the nation was plunged into by the fatal South Sea ſcheme in 1720. Mr. Berkeley felt for his country and Britiſh neighbours groaning under theſe calamitous diſtreſſes, and in that ſpirit employed his talents in writing *An Eſſay towards preventing the Ruin of Great Britain*, printed at London, in 1721. His travels had now ſo far improved his natural politeneſs, and added ſuch charms to his converſation, that he found a ready admiſſion into the beſt company in London. Among the reſt, Mr. Pope introduced him to Lord Burlington, who conceived a high eſteem for him on account of his great taſte and ſkill in architecture, an art of which his Lordſhip was an excellent judge and patron, and which Mr. Berkeley had made his particular ſtudy while in Italy. By this nobleman he was recommended to the Duke of Grafton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who took him over to Ireland as one of his chaplains in 1721, after he had been abſent from his native country more than ſix years. He had been elected a ſenior fellow of his college in July 1717, and now took the degrees of bachelor and doctor in divinity, November 14, 1721. The year following, his fortune received a conſiderable increaſe from a very unexpected event. On his firſt going to London in the year 1713, Dean Swift introduced him to the family of Mrs. Eſther Vanhomrigh (the celebrated *Vaneſſa*), and took him often to dine at her houſe. Some years before her death, this lady removed to Ireland, and fixed her reſidence at Cell-bridge, a pleaſant village in the neighbourhood of Dublin, moſt probably with a view of often enjoying the company of a man, for whom ſhe ſeems to have entertained a very ſingular attachment. But finding herſelf totally diſappointed in this expectation, and diſcovering the Dean's connection with Stella, ſhe was ſo enraged at his infidelity, that ſhe altered her intention of making him her heir, and left the whole of her fortune, amounting to near 8000 l. to be divided equally between two gentlemen whom ſhe named her executors, Mr. Marſhal, a lawyer, afterwards one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas in Ireland, and Dr. Berkeley, S. F. T. C. D. The Doctor received the news of this bequeſt from Mr. Marſhal with great ſurprize, as he had never once ſeen the lady who had honoured him with ſuch a proof of her eſteem, from the time of his return to Ireland to her death. In the diſcharge, however, of his truſt as executor, he had an opportunity of ſhewing he by no means adopted the ſentiments of his benefactreſs with regard to Swift. Several letters, that had paſſed between Cadenus and Vaneſſa, falling into his hands, he committed them immediately to the flames; not becauſe there was any thing criminal in them; for he frequently aſſured Dr. Delany (*b*), and others of the contrary; but he obſerved a warmth in the lady's ſtyle, which delicacy required him to conceal from the public. Dr. Berkeley, it ſeems, was not apprized of a ſtrong proof this exaſperated female had juſt given, how little regard ſhe herſelf retained for the virtue of delicacy. On her death bed, ſhe delivered to Mr. Marſhal a copy, in her own hand-writing, of the entire correſpondence between herſelf and the Dean, with a ſtrict injunction to publiſh it immediately after her deceaſe. What prevented the execution of this requeſt, cannot now be affirmed with certainty: poſſibly the executor did not care to draw on himſelf the laſh of that pen, from which a particular friend of his (*c*) had lately ſmarted ſo ſeverely. Some years after the Dean's death, Mr. Marſhal had ſerious thoughts of fulfilling the intention of Vaneſſa. With this view, he ſhewed the letters to ſeveral perſons of his acquaintance, without any injunction of ſecrecy: which may account for the extracts of them that have lately got into print. The affair however was protracted, till the death of Judge Marſhal put a ſtop to it entirely. The letters are ſtill in being: and whenever curioſity or avarice ſhall draw them into public light, it is probable they will be found after all to be as trifling and as innocent as thoſe which our author ſaw and ſuppreſſed. May 18, 1724, Dr. Berkeley reſigned his fellowſhip, being promoted by his patron the Duke of Grafton to the deanery of Derry, worth 1100 *l. per annum*. In the interval between this removal and his return from abroad, his mind had been employed in conceiving that benevolent project, which alone entitles him to as much honour as all his learned labours have procured him, the *Scheme for converting the ſavage Americans* [*K*] *to Chriſtianity, by a College to be erected in the Summer iſlands, otherwiſe called the iſles of Bermuda.* He publiſhed a propoſal for this purpoſe, at London, in 1725, and offered

(*b*) See Delany's Obſervations on Orrery's Remarks.

(*c*) Mr. Beteſworth.

[*I*] *A Tract De Motu.*] The principal poſitions in this treatiſe are, 1. That neither the beginning nor the communication of motion can juſtly be aſcribed to body, which is wholly incapable of action, but muſt be referred to ſpirit only, and ultimately to the ſupreme Spirit, the fountain of all things. 2. That pure ſpace is a mere figment of philoſophers; ſpace not being *abſolute*, but *relative* to the bodies comprehended in it: ſo that if theſe were annihilated, ſpace would periſh along with them, like all other relations, which cannot be conceived to exiſt without their correlatives.

[*K*] *A propoſal for converting the ſavage Americans.*] With this propoſal he carried a letter of recommendation from Dean Swift to Lord Carteret, Lieutenant of Ireland, which deſerves a place here, both becauſe it contains a number of particulars of our author's life, and is beſides a proof, as well of the friendly temper of the writer, as of his politeneſs and addreſs:

'September 3, 1724.—There is a gentleman of 'this kingdom juſt gone for England: it is Doctor 'George Berkeley, Dean of Derry, the beſt preferment among us, being worth about 1100 l. a year.

'He

offered to reſign his own opulent preferment, and to dedicate the remainder of his life to the inſtructing the youth in America, on the moderate ſubſiſtence of 100 *l.* yearly. Such was the force of this diſintereſted example, ſupported by the eloquence of an enthuſiaſt for the good of mankind, that three junior fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, the Reverend William Thomſon, Jonathan Rogers, and James King, Maſters of Arts, conſented to take their fortunes with the author of the project, and to exchange for a ſettlement in the Atlantic ocean at 40*l. per annum*, all their proſpects at home; and that too at a time, when a fellowſhip of Dublin College was ſuppoſed to place the poſſeſſor in a very fair point of view for attracting the notice of his ſuperiors both in the church and ſtate. Dr. Berkeley, however, was not ſo ill acquainted with the world, as to reſt the ſucceſs of his application to the miniſtry entirely on the hope his ſcheme afforded of promoting national honour and the cauſe of Chriſtianity: his arguments were drawn from the more alluring topic of preſent advantage to the government. Having with much induſtry acquired an accurate knowledge of the value of certain lands [*L*] in the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's, yielded by France to Great Britain at the treaty of Utrecht, which were then to be ſold for the public uſe, he undertook to raiſe from them a much greater ſum than was expected, and propoſed that a part of the purchaſe-money ſhould be applied to the erecting of his college. He found means, by the aſſiſtance of a Venetian of diſtinction, the Abbé Gualtieri (or Altieri) with whom he had formed an acquaintance in Italy, to carry this propoſal directly to King George I. [*M*] who laid his commands on Sir Robert Walpole to introduce and conduct it through the Houſe of Commons. His Majeſty was farther pleaſed to grant a charter for erecting a college by the name of St. Paul's College in Bermuda, to conſiſt of a preſident and nine fellows, who were obliged to maintain and educate Indian ſcholars at the rate of 10 *l. per annum* for each. The firſt preſident, Dr. George Berkeley, and firſt three fellows named in the charter (being the gentlemen above mentioned) were licenſed to hold their preferments in theſe kingdoms till the expiration of one year and a half after their arrival in Bermuda. The Commons, May 11, 1726, voted, ‘ That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that out of the lands in St. Chriſtopher's, yielded by France to Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht, his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to make ſuch grant for the uſe of the preſident and fellows of the college of St. Paul, in Bermuda, as his Majeſty ſhall think proper.’ The ſum of 10,000 *l.* was accordingly promiſed by the miniſter, and ſeveral private ſubſcriptions were immediately raiſed for promoting ‘ ſo pious an undertaking,’ as it is ſtyled in the King's anſwer *(d)* to this addreſs. Such a proſpect of ſucceſs in the favourite object of his heart drew from our author a beautiful copy of verſes [*N*], in which another age perhaps will acknowledge the old conjunction of the prophetic character with that of the

(d) Commons Journal, May 16, 1726.

‘ He takes the Bath in his way to London, and will of courſe attend your Excellency, and be preſented I ſuppoſe by his friend my Lord Burlington: and, becauſe I believe you will chuſe out ſome very idle minutes to read this letter, perhaps you may not be ill entertained with ſome account of the man and his errand. He was a Fellow in the Univerſity here; and going to England very young, about thirteen years ago, he became the founder of a ſect there called the Immaterialiſts, by the force of a very curious book on that ſubject: Dr. Smalridge and many other eminent perſons were his proſelytes. I ſent him Secretary and Chaplain to Sicily with my Lord Peterborough; and upon his Lordſhip's return, Dr. Berkeley ſpent above ſeven years in travelling over moſt parts of Europe, but chiefly through every corner of Italy, Sicily, and other iſlands. When he came back to England, he found ſo many friends, that he was effectually recommended to the Duke of Grafton, by whom he was lately made Dean of Derry. Your Excellency will be frighted when I tell you all this is but an introduction; for I am now to mention his errand. He is an abſolute philoſopher with regard to money, titles, and power; and for three years paſt hath been ſtruck with a notion of founding an Univerſity at Bermuda, by a charter from the crown. He hath ſeduced ſeveral of the hopefulleſt young Clergymen and others here, many of them well provided for, and all of them in the faireſt way of preferment: but in England his conqueſts are greater, and I doubt will ſpread very far this winter. He ſhewed me a little tract which he deſigns to publiſh, and there your Excellency will ſee his whole ſcheme of a life academico-philoſophical (I ſhall make you remember what you were) of a college founded for Indian ſcholars and miſſionaries, where he moſt exorbitantly propoſeth a whole hundred pounds a year for himſelf, forty pounds for a fellow, and ten for a ſtudent. His heart will break, if his Deanery be not taken from him, and left to your Excellency's diſpoſal. I diſcouraged him by the coldneſs of courts and miniſters, who will interpret all this as impoſſible, and a viſion; but nothing will do. And therefore I do humbly entreat your Excellency either to uſe ſuch perſuaſions as will keep one of the firſt men in this kingdom for learning and virtue quiet at home, or aſſiſt him by your credit to compaſs his romantic deſign, which however is very noble and generous, and directly proper for a great perſon of your excellent education to encourage.’

[*L*] *Certain Lands in St. Chriſtopher's.*] ‘ The iſland of St. Chriſtopher's,’ ſaith Anderſon, Hiſtory of Commerce, Vol. II. ‘ having been ſettled on the very ſame day and year by both England and France, A. D. 1625, was divided equally between the two nations. The Engliſh were twice driven out from thence by the French, and as often repoſſeſſed themſelves of it. But at length, in the year 1702, General Codrington, Governor of the Leeward Iſlands, upon advice received that war was declared by England againſt France, attacked the French part of the iſland, and maſtered it with very little trouble. Ever ſince which time, that fine iſland has been ſolely poſſeſſed by Great Britain, having been formally conceded to us by the treaty of Utrecht.’ The lands, therefore, which had belonged to the French planters, by this ceſſion became the property of his Britannic Majeſty. The firſt propoſals for purchaſing theſe lands were made to the Lords of Trade in 1717: ſee Journal of the Britiſh Commons. After which, the affair ſeems to have been forgotten, till it was mentioned by Berkeley to Sir Robert Walpole in 1726.

[*M*] *To King George* I.] It was the cuſtom of this prince to unbend his mind in the evening by collecting together a company of philoſophical foreigners, who diſcourſed in an eaſy and familiar manner with each other, entirely unreſtrained by the preſence of his Majeſty, who generally walked about, or ſat in a retired part of the chamber. One of this ſelect company was Altieri; and this gave him an opportunity of laying his friend's propoſal before the King.

[*N*] *A copy of verſes.*] They run thus:

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the poet to have again taken place. In the mean time, the Dean entered into a marriage, Auguſt 1, 1728, with Anne, the eldeſt daughter of the Right Honourable John Forſter, Eſq; ſpeaker of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons. This engagement however was ſo far from being any obſtruction to his grand undertaking, that he actually ſet ſail in the execution of it for Rhode Iſland about the middle of September following. He carried with him his lady, a Miſs Handcock, two gentlemen of fortune, Meſſrs. James and Dalton, a pretty large ſum of money of his own property, and a collection of books for the uſe of his intended library [O]. He directed his courſe to Rhode Iſland, which lay neareſt to Bermuda, with a view of purchaſing lands on the adjoining continent as eſtates for the ſupport of his college; having a poſitive promiſe from thoſe in power, that the parliamentary grant ſhould be paid him as ſoon as ever ſuch lands ſhould be pitched upon and agreed for. The Dean took up his reſidence at Newport in Rhode Iſland, where his preſence was a great relief to a clergyman of the church of England eſtabliſhed in thoſe parts, as he preached every Sunday, and was indefatigable in paſtoral labours during the whole time of his ſtay there, which was near two years. When eſtates had been agreed for, it was fully expected that the public money would, according to grant, be immediately paid as the purchaſe of them. But the miniſter had never heartily embraced the project, and parliamentary influence had by this time interpoſed, in order to divert the grant into another channel. The ſale of the lands in St. Chriſtopher's, it was found, would produce 90,000 *l.* Of this ſum 80,000 *l.* (*e*) was deſtined to pay the marriage portion of the Princeſs Royal, on her nuptials with the Prince of Orange: the remainder General Oglethorpe (*f*) had intereſt enough in Parliament to obtain for the purpoſe of carrying over and ſettling foreign and other Proteſtants in his new colony of Georgia in America. The project indeed of the truſtees for eſtabliſhing this colony appears to have been equally humane and diſintereſted: but it is much to be lamented, that it ſhould interfere with another of more extenſive and laſting utility; which, if it had taken effect by the education of the youth of New England and other colonies, we may venture with great appearance of reaſon to affirm, would have planted ſuch principles of religion and loyalty among them, as might have gone a good way towards preventing the preſent unhappy troubles in that part of the world. But to proceed: After having received various excuſes, Biſhop Gibſon, at that time Biſhop of London (in whoſe dioceſe all the Weſt Indies are included) applying to Sir Robert Walpole, then at the head of the treaſury, was favoured at length with the following very honeſt anſwer: ‘ If you put this queſtion ‘ to me,’ ſays Sir Robert, ‘ as a Miniſter, I muſt and can aſſure you, that the money ‘ ſhall moſt undoubtedly be paid as ſoon as ſuits with public convenience: but if you aſk ‘ me as a friend, whether Dean Berkeley ſhould continue in America, expecting the payment of 10,000 *l.* I adviſe him by all means to return home to Europe, and to give up ‘ his preſent expectations.’ The Dean being informed of this conference by his good friend the Biſhop, and thereby fully convinced that the bad policy of one great man had rendered abortive a ſcheme, whereon he had expended much of his private fortune, and more than ſeven years of the prime of his life, returned to Europe. Before he left Rhode Iſland, he diſtributed what books he had brought with him among the clergy of that province; and immediately after his arrival in London, he returned all the private ſubſcriptions that had been advanced for the ſupport of his undertaking. In February 1732, he preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts, a ſermon, ſince printed at their deſire; wherein, from his own knowledge of the ſtate of religion in America, he offers many uſeful hints towards promoting the noble purpoſes for which that ſociety was founded. The ſame year, he gave a more conſpicuous proof that he had not miſpent the time he had been confined on the other ſide of the Atlantic, by producing to the world *The Minute Philoſopher*, a maſterly performance, wherein he purſues the Free-thinker through the various characters of atheiſt, libertine, enthuſiaſt, ſcorner, critic, metaphyſician, fataliſt, and ſceptic; and very happily employs againſt him ſeveral new [*P*] weapons, drawn from the ſtore-houſe of his own ingenious ſyſtem of philoſophy.

(*e*) Commons Journal, May 10, 1733.

(*f*) *Ibid.* The General paid Dean B. the compliment of aſking his conſent to his application of the money, before he moved for it in Parliament.

The muſe, diſguſted at an age and clime
  Barren of every glorious theme,
In diſtant lands now waits a better time
  Producing ſubjects worthy fame:

In happy climes, where from the genial ſun
  And virgin earth ſuch ſcenes enſue,
The force of art by nature ſeems outdone,
  And fancied beauties by the true:

In happy climes, the ſeat of innocence,
  Where nature guides, and virtue rules;
Where men ſhall not impoſe for truth and ſenſe
  The pedantry of courts and ſchools.

There ſhall be ſung another golden age,
  The riſe of empire and of arts,
The good and great inſpiring epic rage,
  The wiſeſt heads and nobleſt hearts.

Not ſuch as Europe breeds in her decay;
  Such as ſhe bred when freſh and young,
When heavenly flame did animate her clay,
  By future poets ſhall be ſung.

Weſtward the courſe of empire takes its way:
  The four firſt acts already paſt,
A fifth ſhall cloſe the drama with the day:
  Time's nobleſt offspring is the laſt.

[O] *His intended library.*] Dr. Berkeley has left a monument of his ſkill in architecture in ſome very elegant deſigns of this and other parts of his new college, drawn by himſelf, which were formerly in the poſſeſſion of the Rev. Dr. Raymond, Vicar of Trim, and are now the property of his grand-daughter, Mrs. Ewing, widow of Mr. Thomas Ewing, an ingenious and ſpirited Bookſeller of Dublin, lately deceaſed, whoſe death has deprived the public of what has long been much wanted, a complete edition of Biſhop Berkeley's works in 4*to*.

[P] *Several new arguments from his own ſyſtem.*] The moſt remarkable of theſe is a proof of the exiſtence of God, from the principles eſtabliſhed in the New Theory of Viſion. It is an argument *ad hominem*, in anſwer to a ſomewhat unreaſonable demand of philoſophy. It is written in a ſeries of dialogues on the model of Plato, a philoſopher whom he ſtudied particularly, and whoſe manner he is thought to have copied with more ſucceſs than any other that ever attempted to imitate him. We have already related by what means, and upon what occaſion, Dr. Berkeley had firſt the honour of being known to Queen Caroline. This Princeſs delighted much in attending to philoſophical converſations between learned and ingenious men; for which purpoſe ſhe had, when Princeſs of Wales, appointed a particular day in the week, when the moſt eminent for literary abilities at that time in England were invited to attend her Royal Highneſs in the evening: a practice which ſhe continued after her acceſſion to the throne. Of this company were Doctors Clarke, Hoadly, Berkeley, and Sherlock. Clarke and Berkeley were generally conſidered as principals in the debates that aroſe upon thoſe occaſions; and Hoadly adhered to the former, as Sherlock did to the latter. Hoadly was no friend to our author: he affected to conſider his philoſophy and his Bermuda project as the reveries of a viſionary. Sherlock (who was afterwards Biſhop of London) on the other hand warmly eſpouſed his cauſe; and particularly, when the Minute Philoſopher came out, he carried a copy of it to the Queen, and left it to her Majeſty to determine, whether ſuch a work could be the production of a diſordered underſtanding. After Dean Berkeley's return from Rhode Iſland, the Queen often commanded his attendance to diſcourſe with him on what he had obſerved worthy of notice in America. His agreeable and inſtructive converſation engaged that diſcerning Princeſs ſo much in his favour, that the rich deanery of Down in Ireland falling vacant, he was at her deſire named to it, and the King's letter actually came over for his appointment. But his friend Lord Burlington having neglected to notify the royal intentions in proper time to the Duke of Dorſet, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, his excellency was ſo offended at this diſpoſal of the richeſt deanery in Ireland, without his concurrence, that it was thought proper not to preſs the matter any farther. Her Majeſty upon this declared, that ſince they would not ſuffer Dr. Berkeley to be a *Dean* in Ireland, he ſhould be a *Biſhop*: and accordingly, in 1733, the Biſhopric of Cloyne becoming vacant, he was by Letters Patent, dated March 17, promoted to that See, and was conſecrated at St. Paul's church in Dublin, on the 19th of May following, by Theophilus Archbiſhop of Caſhel, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of Raphoe and Killaloe. His Lordſhip repaired immediately to his manſe-houſe at Cloyne, where he conſtantly reſided (except one winter that he attended the buſineſs of Parliament in Dublin) and applied himſelf with vigour to the faithful diſcharge of all epiſcopal duties. He revived in his dioceſe the uſeful office of Rural Dean, which had gone into diſuſe; viſited frequently parochially; and confirmed in ſeveral parts of his See. He continued his ſtudies however with unabated attention, and about this time engaged in a controverſy with the mathematicians of Great Britain and Ireland, which made a good deal of noiſe in the literary world. The occaſion was this: Mr. Addiſon had given the Biſhop an account of their common friend Dr. Garth's behaviour in his laſt illneſs, which was equally unpleaſing to both thoſe excellent advocates for revealed religion. For when Mr. Addiſon went to ſee the Doctor, and began to diſcourſe with him ſeriouſly about preparing for his approaching diſſolution, the other made anſwer, 'Surely, Addiſon, I have good reaſon not to believe 'thoſe trifles, ſince my friend Dr. Halley, who has dealt ſo much in demonſtration, has 'aſſured me, that the doctrines of Chriſtianity are incomprehenſible, and the religion 'itſelf an impoſture.' The Biſhop therefore took arms againſt this redoubtable dealer in

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of a minute philoſopher, who inſiſts upon having the ſame evidence for the being of a God, that he has for that of his fellow-mortals, to wit, the uſe of ſpeech. It is the arbitrary uſe, ſaith the objector, of ſenſible ſigns, which have no ſimilitude or neceſſary connection with the things ſignified by them, and which yet ſuggeſt to my mind an endleſs variety of things ſerving to inform me, and direct my conduct both preſent and future; it is this principally that convinces me of the exiſtence of another intelligent, thinking perſon, ſpeaking to me: ſhew me that God ſpeaks to man in the ſame manner by the intervention of arbitrary ſigns, no matter by which ſenſe they enter into the mind, whether by the ear or the eye, provided they have no neceſſary connection with the things they ſuggeſt—ſuch a proof as this only will content me. Such a proof as this you actually have, replies his opponent, in the connection you find between the objects of your ſight and touch, which is perfectly arbitrary, and as much learned from experience as the ſignification of words is. A man born blind would not, at firſt receiving his ſight, be able from the viſible appearance or figure of an object to form any judgment of its tangible diſtance or figure, no more than a Chineſe upon firſt hearing the words *man* and *tree*, would think of the things ſignified by them: in both caſes there muſt be time and experience to acquire a habit of knowing the connection between the ſign and the thing ſignified, that is, of underſtanding the language whether of the eyes or ears. If the connection appears neceſſary between the objects of ſight and touch, and not ſo between words and things, the reaſon is, becauſe verbal languages are particular; that of viſion is univerſal, learned from infancy, and practiſed through life: whence men are more apt to confound the ſign with the thing ſignified in one kind of language than in the other. If the uſe then of ſenſible, arbitrary ſigns, having no neceſſary coherence with the things ſuggeſted by them, is allowed to be a proof of the being and intelligence of him who employs them, you have as much reaſon to think the univerſal agent, or God, ſpeaks to your *eyes*, as you can have for thinking any particular perſon ſpeaks to your *ears*.—The compliment Cicero pays to an argument of Plato's in favour of the ſoul's immortality may with more propriety perhaps be applied to this new and ſubtle proof of the being of a God: *Licet concurrant plebeii omnes philoſophi, (ſic enim ii qui a Platone, & Socrate, & ab eâ familiâ diſſident, appellandi videntur) non modo nihil unquam tam eleganter explicabunt, ſed ne hoc quidem ipſum quàm ſubtiliter concluſum ſit, intelligent:* Tuſc. Diſp. I. 23. 'Though all the vulgar philoſophers in the world were to join their powers together, ſo far from being able to imitate the elegance of this reaſoning, they will never have ſenſe enough to comprehend the ingenuity of it.'

demonſtration, and addreſſed *The Analyſt* [*Q*] to him, with a view of ſhewing, that myſteries in faith were unjuſtly objected to by mathematicians, who admitted much greater myſteries, and even falſehoods in ſcience, of which he endeavoured to prove that the doctrine of fluxions furniſhed an eminent example. Such an attack upon what had hitherto been looked upon as impregnable produced a number of warm anſwers, to which the Biſhop replied once or twice. From this controverſy he turned his thoughts to ſubjects of more apparent utility; and his *Queries* propoſed for the good of Ireland, firſt printed in 1735, his *Diſcourſe addreſſed to Magiſtrates* [*R*], which came out the year following, and his *Maxims concerning Patriotiſm*, publiſhed in 1750, are equally monuments of his knowledge of mankind, and of his zeal for the ſervice of true religion and his country. In 1745, during the Scots rebellion, his Lordſhip addreſſed *a letter to the Roman Catholics* of his dioceſe; and in 1749, another to the clergy of that perſuaſion in Ireland, under the title of *A Word to the Wiſe*, written with ſo much candour and moderation, as well as good ſenſe, that thoſe gentlemen, highly to their own honour, in the Dublin Journal of November 18, 1749, thought fit to return 'their ſincere and hearty thanks to the worthy author; aſſuring him, that they are determined to comply with every particular recommended in his addreſs, to the utmoſt of their power.' They add, that 'in every page it contains a proof of the author's extenſive charity; his views are only towards the public good; the means he preſcribeth are eaſily complied with; and his manner of treating perſons in their circumſtances ſo very ſingular, that they plainly ſhew the good man, the polite gentleman, and the true patriot.' A character this, which was ſo entirely his Lordſhip's due, that in the year 1745 that excellent judge of merit, and real friend to Ireland, the late Lord Cheſterfield, as ſoon as he was advanced to the government, of his own motion wrote to inform him, that the See of Clogher, then vacant, the value of which was double that of Cloyne, was at his ſervice. This offer our Biſhop,

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[*Q*] *The analyſt.*] The Biſhop's chief objections to the doctrine of fluxions may be compriſed under theſe two heads:

I. That the object (viz. fluxions) was inconceivable.
II. That the arguments, brought to prove the truth of the fundamental propoſition, were fallacious and inconcluſive.

I. It had been ſaid, that fluxions are the velocities with which quantities vary or are generated; and that they are as the momenta, or in the firſt proportion of the naſcent increments. He objects, that he cannot form any clear idea of theſe momenta or naſcent increments, and ſtill leſs ſo of the abſtracted velocities of ſuch naſcent, imperfect entities: and elſewhere he *inſiſts* upon the impoſſibility of conceiving velocity without motion, or motion without time and ſpace.

Again; a ſecond fluxion being called a fluxion of a fluxion, he calls it the velocity of a velocity, the incipient celerity of an incipient celerity, a naſcent augment of a naſcent augment; and as ſuch, he pronounces the clear conception of it to be impoſſible. Now if a ſecond fluxion be inconceivable, what are we to think of third, fourth, fifth fluxions, and ſo onward without end?

II. A principal propoſition in the doctrine of fluxions is the rule for finding the momentum or fluxion of a product or power. Of this rule he found two demonſtrations in Newton's works: The firſt is in the 2d lemma of the ſecond book of the Principles; concerning which he obſerves, that ſuch reaſoning as this for demonſtration, nothing but the obſcurity of the ſubject could have encouraged the great author of the fluxionary method to put upon his followers, and nothing but an implicit deference to authority could move them to admit. The other demonſtration of this rule is found in the introduction to Newton's Quadratures: to which the Biſhop objects in the ſame peremptory manner, inſiſting that it is fallacious, becauſe it proceeds upon two contrary hypotheſes: for he ſays, when the ſecond of theſe hypotheſes is made, the firſt is deſtroyed, and together with it, all conſequences derived from it; whereas the concluſion is drawn from the ſecond hypotheſis, and a conſequence of the firſt jointly.

Suppoſing theſe objections to be valid, he brings ſome heavy charges againſt the illuſtrious author of the doctrine: That he placed his fluxions in various lights, and ſhifted his notions of them; that terms, which ſhould be ſteadily uſed, were ambiguous; that he employed various arts and devices, *&c.*

Several anſwers to the Analyſt ſoon appeared. Of theſe, if we except Colſon's commentary then firſt ſubjoined to an edition of Newton's fluxions, the principal were ſet forth by a gentleman who concealed himſelf under the name of Philalethes Cantabrigenſis, but who is generally ſuppoſed to be Dr. Jurin, and by Benjamin Robins, Eſq. The compaſs of this note will not permit us to do juſtice to the anſwers of theſe two gentlemen: it is ſufficient to obſerve, that though they differed from each other about the meaning of ſome paſſages in Newton's writings, yet they vindicated, to the entire ſatisfaction of the mathematical reader, the doctrine of fluxions from all the objections that had been advanced againſt it by the Biſhop. Philalethes very ſoon publiſhed a letter to the author of the Analyſt, under the title of *Geometry no Friend to Infidelity*, in which, after ſome ſharp animadverſions on his Lordſhip, he endeavours to point out to him his miſtakes, and anſwers ſeveral of his principal objections. The following year (1735) the Biſhop, in a reply, intitled *A Defence of Free-thinking in Mathematics*, declared himſelf ſtill of the ſame opinion, the arguments of his antagoniſt being futile, and ſeveral objections remaining unanſwered, and conſequently in full force. This drew from Philalethes a ſecond anſwer in June 1735, ſtiled *The minute Mathematician: or the Free-thinker no juſt Thinker*, wherein the defects of the firſt paper were ſupplied, the nature of fluxions of all orders explained in the cleareſt manner, and the former arguments repeated, illuſtrated, and cleared from the objections the Biſhop had raiſed againſt them. And here this controverſy ended.

Mr. Robins, in the year 1735, publiſhed his anſwer, intitled, *A Diſcourſe concerning the Nature and Certainty of Sir Iſaac Newton's Methods of Fluxions, and of prime and ultimate Ratios.* He proceeded on a different plan from Philalethes: for, without taking any notice of the Analyſt or his objections, he delivered the principles of the method of fluxions in ſuch a manner, as that it ſhould not even in appearance be liable to theſe or any other objections; his demonſtrations not yielding in accuracy to thoſe of the ancient geometricians, ſo much celebrated on that very account.

But whatever matter of reprehenſion mathematicians may find in this hoſtile attempt of our Biſhop, it muſt be acknowledged they have reaped no inconſiderable advantage from it, inaſmuch as it gave riſe to the moſt complete Treatiſe of Fluxions (1) that hath been yet preſented to the public, in which the whole doctrine is delivered with more preciſion and fulneſs than ever was done before, or probably than ever would have been done, if no attack had been made upon it.

(1) M'Laurin's.

[*R*] *Diſcourſe addreſſed to Magiſtrates.*] Occaſioned by an impious ſociety called *Blaſters*, which this pamphlet put a ſtop to. He expreſſed his ſentiments on the ſame occaſion in the Houſe of Lords, the only time he ever ſpoke there. The ſpeech was received with much applauſe.

with many expreſſions of thankfulneſs, declined. He had enough already to ſatisfy all his wiſhes; and agreeably to the natural warmth of his temper, he had conceived ſo high an idea of the beauties of Cloyne, that Mr. Pope had once almoſt determined to make a viſit to Ireland on purpoſe to ſee a place, which his friend had painted out to him with all the brilliancy of colouring, and which yet to common eyes preſents nothing that is very worthy of attention. The cloſe of a life thus devoted to the good of mankind was anſwerable to the beginning of it; the Biſhop's laſt years being employed in enquiring into the virtues of a medicine, whereof he had himſelf experienced the good effects in the relief of a nervous cholic, brought on him by his ſedentary courſe of living, and grown to that height, that, in his own words, ‘it rendered life a burden to him, the more ſo, ‘ as his pains were exaſperated by exerciſe.’ This medicine was no other than the celebrated Tar-water; his thoughts upon which ſubject he firſt communicated to the world in the year 1744, in a treatiſe entitled *Siris, a Chain of Philoſophical Reflections and Enquiries concerning the Virtues of Tar-water.* The author has been heard to declare, that this work coſt him more time and pains than any other he had ever been engaged in; a circumſtance that will not appear ſurpriſing to ſuch as ſhall give themſelves the trouble of examining into the extent of erudition that is there diſplayed. It is indeed a chain, which, like that of the poet, reaches from earth to heaven, conducting the reader by an almoſt imperceptible gradation from the phænomena of Tar-water, through the depths of the ancient philoſophy, to the ſublimeſt myſtery of the Chriſtian Religion. It underwent a ſecond impreſſion in 1747, and was followed by *Farther Thoughts on Tar-water*, publiſhed in 1752. This was his laſt performance [S] for the preſs, and he ſurvived it but a ſhort time. In July 1752 he removed, though (*g*) in a bad ſtate of health, with his lady and family to Oxford, in order to ſuperintend the education of one of his ſons [T], then newly admitted a ſtudent at Chriſt-church. He had taken a fixed reſolution to ſpend the remainder of his days in this city, with a view of indulging the paſſion for a learned retirement, which had ever ſtrongly poſſeſſed his mind, and was one of the motives that led him to form his Bermuda project. But as nobody could be more ſenſible than his Lordſhip of the impropriety of a Biſhop's non-reſidence, he previouſly endeavoured to exchange his high preferment for ſome canonry or headſhip at Oxford. Failing of ſucceſs in this, he actually wrote over to the Secretary of State, to requeſt that he might have permiſſion to reſign his biſhopric, worth at that time at leaſt 1400*l. per annum.* So uncommon a petition excited his Majeſty's curioſity to enquire who was the extraordinary man that preferred it: being told that it was his old acquaintance Dr. Berkeley, he declared that he ſhould die a Biſhop in ſpite of himſelf, but gave him full liberty to reſide where he pleaſed. The Biſhop's laſt act before he left Cloyne was to ſign a leaſe of the demeſne lands in that neighbourhood, to be renewed yearly at the rent of 200*l*, which ſum he directed to be diſtributed every year, until his return, among poor houſe-keepers of Cloyne, Youghal, and Aghadda. At Oxford he lived highly reſpected by the learned members of that great Univerſity, till the hand of Providence unexpectedly deprived them of the pleaſure and advantage derived from his reſidence among them. On Sunday evening, January 14, 1753, as he was ſitting in the midſt of his family, liſtening to a ſermon of Dr. Sherlock's which his lady was reading to him, he was ſeized with what the phyſicians termed a palſy in the heart, and inſtantly expired. The accident was ſo ſudden, that his body was quite cold, and his joints ſtiff, before it was diſcovered; as the Biſhop lay on a couch, and ſeemed to be aſleep, till his daughter, on preſenting him with a diſh of tea, firſt perceived his inſenſibility. His remains were interred at Chriſt-church, Oxford, where there is an elegant marble monument erected to his memory by his lady, who is ſtill living, and had during her marriage brought him three ſons and one daughter. As to his perſon, he was a handſome man, with a countenance full of meaning and benignity, remarkable for great ſtrength of limbs, and, till his ſedentary life impaired it, of a very robuſt conſtitution. He was however often troubled with the hypochondria, and latterly with that nervous cholic mentioned above. At Cloyne he conſtantly roſe between three and four o'clock in the morning, and ſummoned his family to a leſſon on the baſe-viol from an Italian maſter he kept in the houſe for the inſtruction of his children; though the Biſhop himſelf had no ear for muſic. He ſpent the reſt of the morning, and

(*g*) He was carried from his landing on the Engliſh ſhore in a horſe-litter to Oxford.

[S] *This was his laſt performance.*] His ſmaller pieces were collected together and printed under his inſpection by Faulkner, Dublin 1752, under the title of *Miſcellanies.* They are as follows: Farther Thoughts on Tar-water. Eſſay towards preventing the Ruin of G. Britain. Diſcourſe addreſſed to Magiſtrates, *&c.* Word to the Wiſe. Letter to the Roman Catholics of the dioceſe of Cloyne. Maxims concerning Patriotiſm. The Queriſt. Propoſal for ſupplying of Churches in our Plantations. Sermon before the Society for propagating the Goſpel. Tract De Motu.

[T] *Superintend the education of one of his ſons.*] This gentleman, George Berkeley, ſecond ſon of the Biſhop, proceeded A. M. January 26, 1759, took holy orders, and in Auguſt following was preſented to the vicarage of Bray in Berkſhire. The late Archbiſhop Secker, who had a high reſpect for the father's character, honoured the ſon with his patronage and friendſhip, both at the Univerſity and afterwards. By his favour Dr. Berkeley is now poſſeſſed of a canonry of Canterbury, the Chancellorſhip of the collegiate church of Brecknock, and (by exchange for the vicarage of Bray) of the vicarage of Cookham, Berks: to which was added in 1775, by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, the vicarage of Eaſt Peckham, Kent. He took the degree of LL. D. February 12, 1768. In the year 1760, he married the daughter of the Reverend Mr. Frinſham, rector of White-Waltham, Berks, and by this lady hath had iſſue two ſons. His elder brother, William, died young, in his father's life-time.

often a great part of the day, in ſtudy: his favourite author, from whom many of his notions were borrowed, was Plato. He had a large and valuable collection of books and pictures, which are now the property of his ſon, the Reverend George Berkeley, LL. D. The excellence of his moral character, if it were not ſo conſpicuous in his writings, might be learned from the bleſſings with which his memory is followed by the numerous poor [*U*] of his neighbourhood, as well as from the teſtimony of his yet ſurviving acquaintance, who cannot to this day ſpeak of him without a degree of enthuſiaſm, that removes the air of hyperbole from the well-known line of his friend Mr. Pope:

To Berkeley every virtue under heaven.

The inſcription on his monument was drawn up by Dr. Markham, the preſent Archbiſhop of York, then head maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool, and is in theſe terms:

Graviſſimo præſuli,
Georgio, Epiſcopo Clonenſi:
Viro,
Seu ingenii et eruditionis laudem,
Seu probitatis et beneficentiæ ſpectemus;
Inter primos omnium ætatum numerando.
Si Chriſtianus fueris,
Si amans patriæ,
Utroque nomine gloriari potes
BERKLEIUM vixiſſe.
Obiit annum agens ſeptuageſimum tertium (*b*):
Natus Anno Chriſti M.DC.LXXIX.
Anna Conjux
L. M. P.]

[*U*] *By the poor of his neighbourhood.*] One inſtance of his attention to his poor neighbours may deſerve relating. Cloyne, though it gives name to the ſee, is in fact no better than a village: it is not reaſonable therefore to expect much induſtry or ingenuity in the inhabitants. Yet whatever article of cloathing they could poſſibly manufacture there, the Biſhop would have from no other place; and choſe to wear ill cloaths, and worſe wigs, rather than ſuffer the poor of the town to remain unemployed.

*** [The above article, though it hath been ſeparately printed, was drawn up, by the ingenious writer of it, for the purpoſe of being inſerted in our work. We have given it, therefore, without alteration, and ſhall here ſubjoin a few additional facts and obſervations. In ſome memoirs of Dr. Berkeley, publiſhed in the Annual Regiſter, and which appear to have been taken almoſt verbatim, from the firſt edition of the Britiſh Plutarch, it is ſaid that when he had been ſent to Trinity College Dublin, he ſoon began to be looked upon as the greateſt genius or the greateſt dunce in the whole univerſity; that thoſe who were but ſlightly acquainted with him took him for a fool; but that thoſe who ſhared his moſt intimate friendſhip looked upon him as a prodigy of learning and good nature. It is farther aſſerted, that, curioſity having led him one day to ſee an execution, he came back with a ſtrange deſire of trying the effect of ſuſpenſion by a cord. Accordingly, he is deſcribed as having made the experiment; his chum, who was preſent, being requeſted to take him down upon a ſignal agreed upon. His companion, however, waited, it ſeems, a little too long for the ſignal; ſo that it was with ſome difficulty that Berkeley was brought to himſelf. We are told, likewiſe, in the ſame Memoirs, that he intereſted himſelf deeply, together with Swift, Bolingbroke and others, in the ſcheme for improving the Engliſh language, by a ſociety of wits and men of genius, to be eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe, in imitation of the academy in France; but that the whole deſign miſcarried by the death of Queen Anne, and the removal of Harley from the office of Prime Miniſter (2). In the Gentleman's Magazine for December, 1776, it is ſaid, in contradiction to the account given above, that Dr. Berkeley never went to Ireland as Chaplain to the Duke of Grafton, or any other Lord Lieutenant; and that he never took the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity; but that he was created D. D. by his college, *per Saltum*, in 1717, during his abſence in Italy (3). It is mentioned, in the text, that before Dr. Berkeley left Rhode Iſland, he diſtributed what books he brought with him among the Clergy of that province. A farther account of his benevolence in this reſpect, hath been communicated to us, by the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler: 'Within two years 'of his return from thence, by the aſſiſtance of ſeveral 'perſons that had ſubſcribed money for his intended 'college in Bermuda, he ſent over, as a preſent to '*Yale College* in Connecticut, a large collection of 'books, the moſt valuable that were extant. It 'amounted to nearly a thouſand volumes, of which 'two hundred and ſixty were in folio, and very large. 'At, or about, the ſame time, he ſent over a deed, 'by which he conveyed to that college his farm in 'Rhode Iſland, containing ninety-ſix acres. The 'annual income of it was to be divided between 'three Bachelors of Arts, who, upon examination 'publicly made by the Rector of the college and 'ſome neighbouring clergy of the church of England, ſhould appear to be the beſt claſſical ſcholars '—provided they would reſide at the college the 'three years between their Bachelors and Maſters degrees; and the forfeitures, in caſe of non-reſidence 'were to be given in premiums of books, to thoſe 'that ſhould perform the beſt exerciſes. Theſe were 'moſt valuable and important donations, judiciouſly 'adapted to the ſtate of that college, and will cauſe 'the name of Berkeley to be handed down, from generation to generation, with reſpect and gratitude.'

With regard to what is ſaid above, that Hoadly was no friend to our author, there is ſufficient proof of the truth of this aſſertion, in the extracts of letters, annexed to the life of the late Biſhop of Wincheſter. Dr. Hoadly, in writing to Lady Sundon, after having deſcribed with humour, his hearing Dr. Delany preach at the King's Chapel, goes on thus:——'I 'heartily wiſh that both he, and his brother Berkeley (who is truly the title of his own book), would 'keep their *minute philoſophy* to themſelves; or, at 'leaſt, would let religion alone, and not blend them 'into one inconſiſtent lump. They both ſeem to me 'to be well qualified to dreſs out a romance. Dean 'B. particularly has beautiful imagery, and fine expreſſion, and fruitful invention. But as to the native ſimplicity of religion, they are made to hurt it; 'and if they cannot be ſaid to corrupt it, it is only 'becauſe it is corrupted already to their hands. They 'do all they can to keep on the corruption; and I 'own, I think Alcephron the moſt plain attempt to 'bring obſcurity and darkneſs into all ſciences, as 'well as to make nonſenſe eſſential to religion, that 'this laſt age has produced. And I know very well,

(*b*) Miſtake.

(2) Annual Regiſter, Vol. vi. 2d Part, p. 2, 3, 4.

(3) Gent. Magazine, Vol. xlvi. p. 569.

that it was from ſuch books, formed upon ſuch principles exactly, that Dr. Clarke uſed to dread and foretell the total ſubverſion of all knowledge as well of all religion;——of all that Sir I. Newton, Mr. Locke, he himſelf, and many others, had been endeavouring to bring into ſome reputation. I cannot indeed ſay, that the veil is well made, or well ſpread. I think it may very eaſily be taken off, and the abſurdities placed in a glaring light; as I have heard acknowledged in many inſtances by the greateſt admirers of thoſe Dialogues. I would not have you think that I put the two upon an equal foot. But when I ſee even the beſt of the two flattered and careſſed for thoſe very wounds he has given to all that is moſt worthy of the ſtudy or regard of reaſonable creatures, I cannot help making an ejaculation—To what purpoſe are all endeavours to make knowledge and religion plain and amiable, when a few pretty words, either without a meaning, or with a very bad one, ſhall, like a charm, diſſolve, and tear to pieces all the labours of the Great!'——And a certain Lord, who knew the world of books and men as well as any body, thus expreſſes himſelf to the Biſhop (Hoadly): 'When I began this letter, I intended to write to you about nothing but Dean Berkeley's book; but have juſt found out, that I have not ſaid one word about it. I have been in the clouds with him theſe three laſt days, and think his reaſoning very often literally like being there; it is ſomething very exalted and very unſubſtantial; a ſort of ſublime fog, that looks bright, and makes one giddy. As to his Eſſay upon Viſion, I ſuppoſe it is from my want of apprehenſion, and not his want of perſpicuity—but I poſitively underſtand it no more than if it were wrote in Syriac. Pray tell me, if any one who was not prejudiced againſt him would not ſay, there was wit, ſpirit, and learning in the book; and any body, that was not partial for him, would not allow that there was a great deal of ſophiſtry, obſcurity, and unfairneſs (4)?'

An additional teſtimony of the ſervice done by Dr. Berkeley to Government, during the rebellion in 1745, may be brought from Dr. Maty's Memoirs of Lord Cheſterfield. 'Berkeley employed himſelf in the ſame cauſe, perhaps, more uſefully than in his recommendation of tar-water, or in his dialogues againſt matter. His letter to the Roman Catholics of his dioceſe was worthy of a Chriſtian Biſhop. He endeavoured to diſſuade his fellow-citizens and neighbours from falling into the ſame errors, which had been ſo fatal to their fathers; and, appealing to their reaſon, convinced them that their ſituation was as advantageous as they could wiſh it to be, and that it would be the height of imprudence to engage in a dangerous cauſe, to which neither intereſt did invite, nor conſcience oblige them (5).' The ſame writer confirms the account of our Prelate's having declined the offer of a better biſhopric. 'Soon after Lord Cheſterfield's return from his firſt embaſſy in Holland, Dr. Berkeley preſented him with his Minute Philoſopher, which was juſt then publiſhed, and met with uncommon approbation. His Lordſhip eſteemed the author ſtill more than the book; but no intimacy ſubſiſted between them. When he came to Dublin, with the power as well as deſire of rewarding merit, he employed the firſt opportunity of ſhewing his regard for ſo reſpectable a character; and, accordingly, made an offer to the Doctor of changing his biſhopric of Cloyne for that of Clogher, which was of much greater value. This conſideration had no influence upon a philoſopher, who had nothing little in his compoſition. He could not bear even the ſuſpicion of having been bribed to write in favour of government, and therefore declined the exchange (6).'

The prodigious excellency and beauty of Biſhop Berkeley's character cannot be ſufficiently admired. Perhaps it is ſcarcely enough enlarged upon in the preceding article. He had in him the nobleſt enthuſiaſm of diſintereſted virtue that is almoſt any where recorded. An admirable deſcription is given of him in the following anecdote. Biſhop Atterbury, having heard much of Mr. Berkeley, wiſhed to ſee him. Accordingly, he was one day introduced to that Prelate by the Earl of Berkeley. After ſome time, Mr. Berkeley quitted the room: on which Lord Berkeley ſaid to the Biſhop, 'Does my couſin anſwer your Lordſhip's expectations?' The Biſhop lifting up his hands in aſtoniſhment, replied, 'So much underſtanding, ſo much knowledge, ſo much innocence, and ſuch humility, I did not think had been the portion of any but Angels, till I ſaw this gentleman (7).' The fine enthuſiaſm of Dr. Berkeley's private character entered, likewiſe, into his literary one; and led him, no doubt, in matters of ſpeculation, into many things more fanciful than juſt. It is ſaid, however, but with what truth we know not, that he, at laſt, began to contemn the opinions of metaphyſicians, and to doubt of the certainty of the ſcience; and that, upon this account, he turned his thoughts to the more beneficial ſtudies of politics and medicine (8). That his knowledge extended to the minuteſt objects, and included the arts and buſineſs of common life, is teſtified by Dr. Blackwell, in his Memoirs of the Court of Auguſtus. That learned writer, having made an obſervation, *that* the ingenious mechanic, the workers in ſtone and metal, and improvers in trade, agriculture, and navigation, ought to be ſearched out and converſed with, no leſs than the profeſſors of ſpeculative ſcience, adds the following eulogium on our prelate: 'In this reſpect I would with pleaſure do juſtice to the memory of a very great though *ſingular* ſort of a man, Dr. Berkeley, better known as a philoſopher, and intended founder of an univerſity in the Bermudas, or Summer Iſlands, than as Biſhop of *Cloyne* in *Ireland*. An inclination to carry me out on that expedition, as one of the young profeſſors, on his new foundation, having brought us often together, I ſcarce remember to have converſed with him on *that art*, liberal or mechanic, of which he knew not more than the ordinary practitioners. With the wideſt views, he deſcended into a minute detail, and begrudged neither pains nor expence for the means of information. He travelled through a great part of SICILY on *foot*; clambered over the mountains and crept into the caverns to inveſtigate its natural hiſtory, and diſcover the cauſes of its volcanoes: and I have known him ſit for hours in forgeries and founderies to inſpect their ſucceſſive operations. I enter not into his *peculiarities* either religious or perſonal: but admire the extenſive genius of the man, and think it a loſs to the weſtern world that his noble and exalted plan of an American univerſity was not carried into execution. Many ſuch ſpirits in our country would quickly make learning wear another face (9).'

Though there is nothing to which Biſhop Berkeley was more averſe than ſcepticiſm, his writings have been treated as, in fact, though not intentionally, ſceptical. Mr. Hume, having applied our Prelate's reaſoning to his own purpoſes, thus expreſſes himſelf in a note: 'This argument is drawn from Dr. Berkeley; and indeed moſt of the writings of that very ingenious Author form the beſt leſſons of ſcepticiſm, which are to be found either among the ancient or modern philoſophers, *Bayle* not excepted. He profeſſes, however, in his title-page (and undoubtedly with great truth), to have compoſed his book againſt Sceptics, as well as againſt Atheiſts and Free-thinkers. But that all his arguments, though otherwiſe intended, are, in reality, merely ſceptical, appears from this, *that they admit of no anſwer, and produce no conviction*. Their only effect is to cauſe that momentary amazement, and irreſolution and confuſion, which is the reſult of ſcepticiſm (10).' Our Biſhop is ranked, likewiſe, by Dr. Beattie, among the authors whoſe writings have a ſceptical tendency. He is joined, however, with good company; the ſame charge being brought againſt Deſcartes, Malebranche, and Locke. 'The ſubſtance, or at leaſt the foundation, ſays Dr. Beattie, of Dr. Berkeley's argument againſt the exiſtence of matter may be found in Locke's Eſſay, and in the *Principia* of Deſcartes. And if this argument be concluſive, it proves that to be falſe, which every man muſt neceſſarily believe, every moment of his life, to be true, and that to be true which no man ſince the foundation of the world was ever capable of believing for a ſingle moment. Berkeley's doctrine attacks the moſt inconteſtable dictates of common ſenſe; and pretends to demonſtrate, that the cleareſt principles of human conviction, and thoſe which have determined the judgment of men in all ages, and by which the judgment of all reaſonable men muſt be determined, are certainly fallacious (11).' We remember that the Biſhop's notion, concerning the non-

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(4) Biſhop Hoadly's Life, prefixed to the folio edition of his Works, p. li, lii.

(5) Maty's Memoirs of Lord Cheſterfield, p. 157.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 163, 164.

(7) Duncombe's Letters, by ſeveral eminent perſons deceaſed, Vol. . p. 106, 107, note.

(8) Annual Regiſter, *ubi ſupra*, p. 4.

(9) Memoirs of the Court of Auguſtus, Vol. ii. p. 277, 278.

(10) Hume's Eſſays and Treatiſes, Vol. ii. p. 484, 485, *8vo* Edit. of 1777.

(11) Beattie's Eſſay on Truth, 4to Edit. p. 157.

non-exiſtence of the material world, to have been debated, for a conſiderable time, in the Gentleman's Magazine.

Though we have inſerted, without the leaſt alteration, the authentic and judicious Life of Dr. Berkeley which has been written for us, we do not, by that, purpoſe to be anſwerable for every ſingle expreſſion or ſentiment that may occur in the text or the notes. In the note [C], for inſtance, a direct approbation is given to the doctrine of *inſtinctive* principles of truth. But it is not our intention to make ourſelves parties in the controverſy, either on one ſide or the other. Some future occaſion may probably happen for recording the different opinions on this ſubject.

In the Gentleman's Magazine for January, 1777, it is ſaid that 'the Adventures of Signor Gaudentio di Lucca', have generally been attributed to Biſhop Berkeley; and we have obſerved that this work is aſcribed to him by the Bookſellers in their printed catalogues. It is a beautiful Utopian Romance, which was publiſhed between thirty and forty years ago, and hath gone through ſeveral editions. What external evidence there is for its having been written by our ingenious Prelate we cannot ſay; but we think that the book itſelf affords no internal evidence to the contrary. There are no ſentiments in it but what might be ſuppoſed to come from Dr. Berkeley, allowing for the *coſtume* neceſſary to be preſerved in the work, according to the plan upon which it is formed. The beauty and ſingularity of imagination diſplayed in it, and the philanthropy and humanity with which it abounds, are perfectly ſuitable to the Biſhop's character. The mode of government delineated in the Romance is agreeable to his ideas. It is the patriarchal, and repreſented as being admirably contrived for promoting the general happineſs. The deſcription, in particular, of the European diſcovered in the ſouthern wilds of Africa, and of his atrocious conduct, as ariſing from his being a modern Free-thinker, is quite in Berkeley's ſtyle of thinking. We ſhall here take notice of two or three circumſtances, which mark the Author's train of ſentiment, and his ideas of political regulation. In the notes, which are occaſionally interſperſed through it, an opinion is thrown out, that the Chineſe were a colony of the Egyptians. This hypotheſis has lately been advanced by ſome ingenious foreigners, and as warmly reprobated by others. Perhaps it is as plauſible a conjecture as any that could be offered, on a ſubject ſo extremely precarious and uncertain in its own nature. The Writer's notion about the puniſhment of murder, while it diſplays his humanity, is very ſingular. 'There is, ſays he, a poſitive law among them (the Mezzaraneans) not to ſhed human blood voluntarily. They carry this fundamental law of nature to ſuch a height, that they never put any one to death, even for murder, which very rarely happens; that is, once in ſeveral ages. If it appears that a perſon has really murdered another, a thing they think almoſt impoſſible, the perſon convicted is ſhut up from all commerce of men, with proviſions to keep him alive as long as nature allows. After his death the fact is proclaimed, as it was when they ſhut him up, over all the Nomes. His name is blotted out of their genealogies; then his dead body is mangled juſt in the ſame manner as he killed the innocent, and afterwards burnt to aſhes, which are carried up to the higheſt part of the deſerts, and then toſſed up into the air, to be carried away by the winds blowing from their own country: nor is he ever more to be reckoned as one of their race, and there is a general mourning obſerved throughout the kingdom for nine days (12).' The Author's ideas concerning Women, Love, and Marriage, are as follow: 'As for their women, the Pophar told me it was what gave them the moſt trouble of any thing in their whole government; that by their records their anceſtors had held frequent conſultations after what manner they were to be managed, there being great difficulties to be feared either from allowing them liberty, or keeping them under reſtraint. If you allow them liberty, you muſt depend on their honour, or rather caprice, for your own; if you keep them under confinement, they will be ſure to revenge themſelves the firſt opportunity; which they will find in ſpite of all you can do. The rules, ſaid he, by which men are governed, will not hold with women: ſolid reaſon, if you can make them ſenſible of it, will ſome time or other have an influence on moſt men; whereas humour is what predominates in women. Hit that, you have them; miſs it, you do nothing: and yet they are ſo far from being an indifferent thing in the commonwealth, that much more depends on the right management of them than people imagine. Licentiouſneſs of youth draws innumerable misfortunes on any government, and what greater incentives for licentiouſneſs than lewd women, whether common proſtitutes, wanton ladies, or adultereſſes; for all looſe women belong to one of theſe claſſes. Our women, continued he, are extremely beautiful, as you ſee; our men ſtrong and vigorous; conjugal fidelity, therefore, and chaſtity muſt be the ſtrongeſt bonds to keep them in their duty. As for our young men, we keep them in perpetual employment, and animate them to glory by every thing that can move generous minds; with our women, we endeavour the ſame by ways adapted to their genius. But our greateſt care of all is, to make marriage eſteemed by both parties the happieſt ſtate that can be wiſhed for in this life. This we believe to depend on making the woman, rather than the man, happy and fixed in her choice; becauſe, if the perſon be impoſed upon her, contrary to her own inward inclination; diſlike, or revenge, or perhaps a more ſhameful paſſion, will make her ſeek for relief elſewhere; and where women are not virtuous, men will be lewd. We therefore permit the woman to chooſe entirely for herſelf, and the men to make their addreſſes where they pleaſe: but the woman is to diſtinguiſh her choice by ſome ſignal occaſion or other, and that too not without great difficulties on both ſides, which being ſurmounted, they eſteem themſelves arrived at the happy point of all their wiſhes. The moſt ardent and tried love determines the choice: this endears the man to her on the one hand, and the difficulty of finding any woman who has not the ſame inducements to love her huſband, leaves him no encouragement for his lawleſs deſires among married women; and the ſingle women are either ſo early engaged with their lovers, or ſo poſſeſſed with the notion that a married man cannot belong to her, that his ſuit would be entirely vain (13).' We ſhall add another paſſage on the ſame ſubject. 'There is one peculiar method allowed by them, in which they differ from all other nations; for whereas theſe laſt endeavour to preſerve their young people from love, leſt they ſhould throw themſelves away, or make diſadvantageous matches; the former, having no intereſted views in that reſpect, encourage a generous and honourable love, and make it their care to fix them in the ſtricteſt bonds they can, as ſoon as they judge, by their age and conſtitution, of their inclinations: this they do ſometimes by applauding their choice, but moſtly by raiſing vaſt difficulties, contrived on purpoſe, both to try and enhance their conſtancy. They have hiſtories and ſtories of heroic examples of fidelity and conſtancy in both ſexes; but particularly for the young women, by which they are taught rather to ſuffer ten thouſand deaths, than violate their plighted faith. One may ſay they are a nation of faithful lovers; the longer they live together, the more their friendſhip increaſes, and infidelity in either ſex is looked upon as a capital crime. Add to this, that being all of the ſame rank and quality, except the regard paid to elderſhip, and public employments; nothing but perſonal merit, and a liking of each other, determines the choice; there muſt be ſignal proofs produced, that the woman prefers the man before all others, as his ſervice muſt be diſtinguiſhed in the ſame manner. Where this is approved of by the governors or elders, if the woman inſiſts on her demands, it is an inviolable law that that man muſt be her huſband. Their hands are firſt joined together in public, then they claſp each other in the cloſeſt embrace, in which poſture the elder of the place, to ſhew that this union is never to be diſſolved, takes a circle of the fineſt tempered ſteel, woven with flowers, and firſt lays it over their necks, as they are thus claſping each other, then round their waiſts, and laſt of all round their breaſts, or hearts, to ſignify that the ardency of their love muſt terminate in an indiſſoluble friendſhip; which is followed by infinite acclamations and congratulations of the whole aſſembly. I believe the world cannot furniſh ſuch examples of conjugal chaſtity as are preſerved between them by theſe means. Widowers and widows never marry ſingle perſons, and but rarely at all, except left young; when they are to

(12) Adventures of Signor Gaudentio di Lucca, p. 173, 174.

(13) *Ibid.* p. 191, —193. Edit. of 1774.

‘ gain each other as before. By ſuch prudent precautions infinite diſorders and misfortunes to the ‘ commonwealth are prevented, proceeding not ‘ only from diſproportionate and forced marriages, ‘ but from the licentiouſneſs of idle perſons, who ‘ either marry for money, or live on the ſpoil of ‘ other people, till they can get an advantageous ‘ match (14).’ Theſe ſentiments ſo pure and diſintereſted, and ſo contrary to the ideas and practice of large commercial ſtates, and corrupt and poliſhed kingdoms, may afford, perhaps, a farther internal preſumption that the Adventures of Signor Gaudentio di Lucca might come from the pen of Dr. Berkeley.

(14) *Ibid.* p. 195—197.

Beſides the pieces mentioned above, Biſhop Berkeley publiſhed, at Dublin, in 1735, a ſmall pamphlet, entitled, ‘ Reaſons for not replying to Mr. Walton's ‘ full Anſwer, &c.’ This related to the doctrine of fluxions. The Biſhop's Minute Philoſopher was attacked by ſeveral authors. Dr. Mandeville wrote, 1732, ‘ A Letter to Dion, occaſioned by his Book ‘ called Alciphron.’ In the ſame year came out, ‘ Some Remarks on the Minute Philoſopher: in a ‘ Letter from a Country Clergyman to his Friend in ‘ London.’ This is aſcribed to Lord Harvey. In 1734, was publiſhed, at Edinburgh, ‘ A Vindica‘ tion of the Reverend D—— B——y, from the ‘ ſcandalous Imputation of being the Author of a late ‘ Book, intitled, “ Alciphron, or the Minute Phi“ loſopher (15).”] K.

(15) From communications by Mr. Reed.

BERNARD (Nicholas), a learned Divine of the laſt century, was born in England, and educated in the univerſity of Cambridge, where he took the Degree of Maſter of Arts, and was incorporated (*a*) to the ſame Degree at Oxford, on the fifteenth of July 1628. He was created Doctor of Divinity of the univerſity of Dublin (as we think), but of this, or the time when it was done, we cannot ſpeak with any certainty, for the reaſons given in the remark [*A*]. He was ordained (*b*) by Primate Uſher, in the year 1626, in St. Peter's church, Drogheda, while he was only a Bachelor of Arts, and made his Chaplain, and ſoon after, by the Primate's intereſt, was promoted to the Deanery of Ardagh. His Grace having daily opportunities of taking notice of the parts, and the ſolidity of learning and judgment of Mr. Bernard, employed him in making collections for ſome works he was then meditating, and more particularly for the Antiquities of the Britiſh Churches, which did not appear in public till the year 1639. The Primate always expreſſed great friendſhip and eſteem for him, and upon taking his leave of him at Drogheda in 1640, gave him (*c*) ‘ A ſerious Preparative againſt the ‘ heavy Sorrows and Miſeries that he ſhould feel before he ſaw him again, and ſpoke of ‘ them with that confidence, as if they had been within his view.’ This ſerious diſcourſe of the Primate's proved in the event to be a prophecy [*B*]. The year following Dr. Bernard publiſhed a book and a ſermon, which gave offence to ſome of the over rigid bigots of the Church of England [*C*]; but the Primate had too juſt and generous a way of thinking to withdraw from him his favour or countenance, for adhering ſtrictly to the truth. The ſame year was publiſhed a pamphlet of his writing, upon a fact of which he was an eye-witneſs [*D*]. In the ſummer of 1642, having loſt moſt of his ſubſtance, he returned ſafe to England to attend on the Lord Primate, and carried with him a welcome preſent in thoſe times of calamity and diſtreſs, for which the whole kingdom of Ireland may with juſtice be ſaid to be his debtor [*E*]. Upon his arrival in England, he was preſented (*d*) by the Earl of Bridgwater, to the rich rectory of Whitchurch in Shropſhire, and after the declenſion of the Royal Cauſe, was made Chaplain to the Protector, one of his Almoners, and Preacher to the Society of Gray's-Inn. Being thus comfortably ſettled, in the year 1642, he found leiſure, from his paſtoral charge, to publiſh a few ſmall treatiſes [*F*], mentioned

(*a*) Faſt. Oxon. Vol. i. p. 244.

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*c*) Bernard's Life of Primate Uſher. See alſo Harris's Biſhops, p. 109.

(*d*) Ath. Oxon. *ibid.*

[*A*] *Cannot ſpeak with any certainty for the reaſons given in the remark.*] The regiſtries of the univerſity of Dublin, preceding the times of the Reſtoration, are not in being. But as Dr. Bernard was chaplain to Primate Uſher, from the year 1626 to the death of that learned Prelate, it is probable he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity ſome time before the year 1641, when he fled out of the kingdom at the time Droghedah was beſieged by the Iriſh rebels, in which he had taken refuge, or ſoon after.

[*B*] *This diſcourſe of the Primate's proved in the event to be a prophecy.*] It is taken notice of as a prophecy both by Dr. Bernard, and Mr. Parr, another chaplain of the Primate's, in the Lives they wrote of that Prelate, and by ſeveral other writers; and ſo is an expreſſion of his in a ſermon preached in the year 1601 upon Ezekiel iv. 6. *And thou ſhalt bear the iniquity of the houſe of Judah forty days: I have appointed thee each day for a year*; which words of Ezekiel, concerning the deſtruction of Jeruſalem and the Jews, he applied to Ireland, and made uſe of this obſervable expreſſion, *i. e.* ‘ From this year I reckon forty ‘ years, and then thoſe whom you now embrace ſhall ‘ be your ruin, and you ſhall bear their iniquity.’ Which time exactly anſwered to the rebellion which broke out forty years after. This matter bore heavy on his mind, as appears by his preparative to Dr. Bernard, who ſuffered greatly in the rebellion the year following, was ſtripped of the greater part of his ſubſtance, driven from his eccleſiaſtical preferments, obliged to take ſhelter in Droghedah under the protection of the Engliſh army, was often in danger of his life, and at length, in the ſummer of 1642, made his eſcape to England to attend on the Lord Primate.

[*C*] *Gave offence to ſome of the over-rigid bigots of the Church of England.*] The book and ſermon mentioned in the text were, I. *The Penitent Death of a woful ſinner*; *or, The Penitent Death of John Atherton, late Biſhop of Waterford in Ireland, who was executed at Dublin the 5th of December,* 1640; *with ſome Annotations on ſeveral paſſages.* Lond. 1641, 4*to.* 1642, 8*vo.* II. *A Sermon preached at the burial of John Atherton, the next night after his execution, in St. John's Church, Dublin.* Lond. 1641, 4*to.* 1642, 8*vo.* Dr. Bernard had the beſt opportunity in the world of knowing the truth of the fact for which Biſhop Atherton ſuffered, having attended him in his exemplary preparation for death, and in his laſt moments; and he gives us his behaviour and confeſſion fairly and honeſtly. Yet ſome, out of a miſtaken zeal for religion, think the ſtory ought not to have been related though it were truth, as if religion ſuffered, becauſe all the members of it are not Saints; and one gentleman (1) is ſo hardy as to deny the fact, though the Biſhop confeſſed it. Theſe things are the effect of bigotry, and only becoming the ſchools of the Jeſuits.

(1) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 67.

[*D*] *Was publiſhed a pamphlet of his writing, upon a fact, of which he was an eye-witneſs.*] This pamphlet was a letter to a friend in Dublin from the ſiege of Drogheda, dated the 7th of January, 1641, and publiſhed immediately after.

[*E*] *Preſent – for which Ireland may be ſaid to be his debtor.*] The furniture of the Primate's houſe at Drogheda, and, which was more welcome, his choice library of books were ſecured by the care and diligence of Dr. Bernard. After the Primate's death the library was removed to Ireland, and is now depoſited in the college of Dublin for the uſe of the kingdom.

[*F*] *He found leiſure to publiſh ſome treatiſes.*] Theſe were, I. *The whole proceedings of the Siege of Drogheda* mentioned in the remarks. After the Reſtoration of King Charles II., in 1660, being not ſatisfied of the thorough and firm ſettlement of the State of Ireland, he was terrified from venturing himſelf into it again, and therefore declined returning, and taking poſſeſſion of his deanery; and he continued at Whitchurch to his death, which happened in winter 1661. He left behind him ſeveral monuments of his induſtry, beſides thoſe before mentioned, a catalogue of which, from Anthony Wood (*e*), may be conſulted underneath [*G*].

(*e*) *Ibid.*

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heda in Ireland; *with a thankful remembrance of its wonderful delivery, raiſed, with God's aſſiſtance, by the prayers and ſole valour of the beſieged*; *with a relation of ſuch paſſages as have fallen out there, and in the parts near adjoining. To which is added an Appendix, concerning other occurrences fallen out ſince.* London, 1642. Dublin, 1642, 4*to*. Again Dublin, 1736. II. *A Dialogue between Paul and Agrippa.* London, 1642, 4*to*.

[*G*] *A catalogue of his works from Anthony Wood.*] They are—A farewell Sermon of Comfort and Concord, preached at Drogheda, printed 1651, 8*vo*.—The Life and Death of Dr. James Uſher, late Archbiſhop of Armagh, Primate, and Metropolitan of all Ireland, in a Sermon preached at his funeral in the abbey of Weſtminſter, on the 17th of April, 1656. Lond. 1656, 12*mo*, afterwards enlarged.—The Judgment of the late Archbiſhop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland; concerning firſt, the extent of Chriſt's death and ſatisfaction; ſecondly, of the Sabbath, and obſervation of the Lord's day, and of Ordination in other Reformed Churches, with a vindication of him from a pretended change of opinion in the firſt, ſome advertiſements upon the latter, and, in prevention of further injuries, a declaration of his judgment in ſeveral other ſubjects. Lond. 1657, 8*vo*.—This treatiſe was anſwered (3) by Dr. Peter Heylyn, in a book, intitled, *Reſpondet Petrus*; or, The Anſwer of Peter Heylyn, D. D. to ſo much of Dr. Bernard's book, intitled, The Judgment of the late Primate of Ireland, &c. as he is made a party by the ſaid Lord Primate in the point of the Sabbath. London, 1658, 4*to*.—He alſo publiſhed ſeveral Letters which paſſed between him and Dr. Heylyn,—and publiſhed and enlarged ſeveral poſthumous works of Dr. Uſher, as His Judgment on Babylon, being the preſent See of Rome, Rev. xviii. 4., with a Sermon of Biſhop Bedell's upon the ſame words, London, 1659,—Devotions of the ancient Church, in ſeven pious prayers, &c. London, 1660, 8*vo*.—*Clavi trabales*, or Nails faſtened by ſome great maſters of aſſemblies, confirming the King's Supremacy, the Subject's Duty, and Church Government by Biſhops; being a collection of ſome pieces written on theſe ſubjects by Archbiſhop Uſher, Mr. Hooker, Biſhop Andrews, and Dr. Hadrian Saravia; with a Preface by the Biſhop of Lincoln. London, 1661, 4*to*. H——s.

(3) *Ibid.* Vol. ii. p. 283.

BERNARD (EDWARD), a moſt learned Aſtronomer, Linguiſt, and Critic, in the XVIIth century, was born at Perry St. Paul, commonly called Paulers Perry, near Towceſter in Northamptonſhire, on the ſecond of May 1638 (*a*). He was the ſon of Joſeph Bernard, Rector of that pariſh (*b*), and Elizabeth, daughter of John Lenche or Linche, of Wyche in Worceſterſhire, both of them of good parentage. He had his firſt education at Northampton, where his father removed ſome time after his marriage. But before he was ſix years of age his father died. Upon this his mother ſent him to London to his uncle; who took care of his education, and placed him, in 1648, in Merchant-Taylors-School, of which the moſt famous William Dugard was then Head Maſter (*c*). Here he continued ſeven years [*A*], namely, till June 1655, when he was elected Scholar of St. John's college in Oxford (*d*). By this long ſtay at ſchool, he had the advantage of acquiring an uncommon fund of learning; ſo that, when he firſt went to the univerſity, he was maſter of the propriety and beauties of the Greek and Latin tongues, very converſant in the claſſical authors, and not unacquainted with Hebrew. He had alſo by frequent uſe, gained a tolerably good Latin ſtyle for his age; and could make verſes well. This poetical faculty remained with him as long as he lived; ſo that even to his dying day, he uſed ſometimes to divert himſelf in making epigrams, which were ſmart and witty (*e*). But when he came to be ſettled in the univerſity, he ſlighted this, which he looked upon as comparatively trifling, and applied himſelf, with the utmoſt attention and diligence, to the more uſeful ſtudies of Hiſtory, Philology, and Philoſophy; particularly to Philology, which he had a very great inclination to, and of which he was infinitely fond. Therefore, he firſt carefully read over, and attentively peruſed, the Greek and Latin authors, with the commentaries and emendations of the moſt famous ancient and modern Critics. Then, not ſatisfied with the knowledge of the languages of Greece and Rome, he would alſo be acquainted with Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, and Coptic; and that, not in a ſuperficial manner, but ſo as thoroughly to underſtand them (*f*). Next, he turned his thoughts to the Mathematics, of which he learned the elements under the moſt celebrated Dr. J. Wallis; but, by his own indefatigable application, ſoon made himſelf maſter of every branch of that uſeful ſcience. Three years after his admiſſion into the univerſity, he was made Fellow of St. John's college (*g*). February the 12th, 1658-9, he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts (*h*); and that of Maſter, April the 16th, 1662 (*i*); and was now much eſteemed and beloved, on account of his great parts and learning, and his remarkable ſweetneſs of temper (*k*). In the year 1667, he was choſen one of the Proctors of the univerſity; and on the 9th of June 1668, took his degree of Bachelor of Divinity, in compliance with the ſtatutes of the founder of St. John's college (*l*): but ſo great was his modeſty, that he could not be prevailed upon to take his Doctor's degree till ſeveral years after (*m*). About December 1668 he went to Leyden, in order to conſult ſeveral oriental manuſcripts, left to that univerſity by Joſeph Scaliger aud Levin Warner; and particularly to examine the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh books of Apollonius Pergæus's Conic Sections, of which the Greek text is loſt, but which are preſerved in the Arabic verſion of that author. This verſion the learned James Golius had brought from the Eaſt, and it

(*a*) Vita clariſſimi & doctiſſimi Edwardi Bernardi, &c. Scriptore Tho. Smitho, S. T. P. at the end of Biſhop Huntington's Epiſtles, Lond. 1704, 8*vo*, p. 1. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. edit. 1721, col. 1084.

(*b*) Dr. Smith ſays, *he thinks* his father was Rector of that pariſh—*in iſto viculo, ut puto, ſacrum parochi munus obibat*—Vita, &c. p. 1. but Mr. Wood ſtiles him *Gentleman*, *ubi ſupra*.

(*c*) Vita, &c. *ut ſupra*.

(*d*) *Ibid.*

(*e*) Vita, &c. *ut ſupra*, p. 4.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 7, 8.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 4.

(*h*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. ii. col. 122.

(*i*) *Ibid.* col. 148.

(*k*) Vita, &c. as above, p. 8.

(*l*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. ii. col. 171, and Vita, &c. *ut ſupra*, p. 9.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 10.

[*A*] *Here he continued ſeven years.*] He ſtaid two or three years in the upper form, that he might have an opportunity of being choſen into St. John's college (1).

(1) T. Smith, *ubi ſupra*, p. 3.

was now in the poſſeſſion of his executors; who finding that Mr. Bernard's chief deſign in coming to Holland, was to conſult that manuſcript, allowed him the free uſe of it. Upon this he tranſcribed the three books above mentioned, and the diagrams; intending to publiſh them at Oxford with a Latin verſion, and proper notes, with a view to ſupply the defect of the Greek, and correct the errors of the Arabic tranſlation (*n*); but he was hindered from putting his deſign in execution [*B*]. During his ſtay in Holland, he contracted a friendſhip with the Profeſſors, and other eminent and learned men, at Leyden. At his return to Oxford, he applied himſelf with freſh vigour to his ſtudies; and collated, or examined over again, the moſt valuable manuſcripts in the Bodleian library, which he had already collated, as well for his own uſe, as that of his friends: And ſo obliging was he in this reſpect, that he ſpared neither time nor pains to ſerve the learned. This obliging temper, joined to his exact judgment and approved fidelity, induced all ſuch as publiſhed any ancient authors, to deſire his obſervations, or emendations from the manuſcripts at Oxford; which he very readily imparted to them, and indeed oftener than ſome did acknowledge. By this means he came to be engaged in a very extenſive correſpondence with the learned men of moſt countries (*o*). About the year 1669, the famous Chriſtopher Wren, LL. D. Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Oxford, being appointed Surveyor-General of his Majeſty's works, and like to be much detained in London, obtained leave from the Vice-Chancellor to nominate a Deputy, and pitched upon Mr. Bernard; which engaged the latter to a more intenſe application to the ſtudy of Aſtronomy (*p*). In 1672, the Preſident and Fellows of his college preſented him to the rectory of Cheame in Surrey. The February following, Dr. Peter Mews, Preſident of that college, being advanced to the biſhopric of Bath and Wells, appointed our author one of his Chaplains (*q*). Hereby he was put into the direct road to good preferment; but he loſt all views and hopes of it, by accepting of the place of Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy, vacant by the reſignation of Sir Chriſtopher Wren [*C*], into which he was admitted April 9, 1673 (*r*). About this time there was a noble deſign formed in the univerſity of Oxford, of collecting together, and publiſhing, all the ancient Mathematicians. This was chiefly promoted and encouraged by the worthy Dr. John Fell, Dean of Chriſt-Church, and Biſhop of Oxford; who endeavoured to obtain a ſubſcription for the ſupport of that expenſive work. Mr. Bernard, who had it very much at heart, and firſt formed the project of it, collected together all the old books upon that ſubject, publiſhed ſince the invention of printing, and all the manuſcripts he could diſcover in the Bodleian and Savilian libraries; and diſpoſed them in order of time, and according to the matter they contained (*s*). Of this he drew a Synopſis, or Scheme, wherein the whole was divided into fourteen volumes, and preſented it to Biſhop Fell [*D*]. For a ſpecimen of this noble deſign, he publiſhed a few ſheets of Euclid in folio, containing the Greek text and a Latin verſion, with Proclus's Commentary in Greek and Latin, and learned ſcholia and corollaries, and the figures neatly and accurately engraven on copper, at his own expence (*t*). And in order to promote the ſtudy of Aſtronomy, which he looked upon as his proper profeſſion, he undertook an edition of the *Parva Syntaxis Alexandrina* [*E*]; in which, beſides Euclid, are contained the ſmall treatiſes of Theodoſius, Autolycus, Menelaus, Ariſtarchus, and Hipſicles: But this was never publiſhed (*u*). In the year 1676, at the recommendation of the Earl of Arlington, he was ſent to France by King Charles II. to be Tutor to the Dukes of Grafton and Northumberland, natural ſons of that King by Barbara Villiers, Ducheſs of Cleveland, who then lived with their mother at Paris; but being a man of a meek ſpirit, and great modeſty, though, however, without the leaſt moroſeneſs, he was not ſo acceptable in that ſtation as a perſon of a more gay and courtly temper would have been (*w*). Therefore, after about a year's ſtay there, he returned to his beloved retirement at Oxford; having, in that voyage, reaped the pleaſure and advantage of becoming acquainted with the learned in France [*F*], of collating ſeveral ancient and valuable manuſcripts, and of buying many ſcarce and curious books for his own library (*x*). Upon his return to Oxford, he reſumed his ſtudies with greater alacrity. And though, according to the duty of his profeſſorſhip, he ſpent moſt of his time in the Mathematics, yet he had a much greater inclination to Hiſtory, Chronology, and Antiquities. This made him undertake a new edition of Joſephus [*G*], which,

(*n*) Vita, &c. *ubi ſupra*, p. 11.

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 13, 14.

(*p*) Vita, &c. *ubi ſupra*, p. 14.

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 15.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 15. 22.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 23.

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 25.

(*u*) Vita, &c. *ut ſupra*, p. 23—25.

(*w*) He was but ill uſed, and called in contempt *the Schoolmaſter*, *Ibid.* p. 27.

(*x*) *Ibid*, p. 26, 27.

[*B*] *He was hindered from putting his deſign in execution.*] But this book was at length publiſhed by the learned Dr. Edmund Halley, (at Oxford, 1710, fol.) who has given a Latin tranſlation of the three laſt books out of Arabic, and ſupplied by his own ingenuity and induſtry the eighth book, which was entirely loſt.

[*C*] *Vacant by the reſignation of Dr. Wren.*] For, by the ſtatutes of the founder (Sir Henry Savile), the Profeſſors are not allowed to hold any other office, either eccleſiaſtical or civil; that they may conſtantly apply themſelves to their proper ſtudies, and not be diverted from them (2).

(2) Smith, Vita, &c. as above, p. 16.

[*D*] *Of this he drew up a Synopſis or Scheme,* &c.] It was publiſhed by Dr. Thomas Smith, at the end of his Life of our author, under the title of *Veterum Mathematicorum Græcorum, Latinorum, et Arabum, Synopſis. Collectore Viro clariſſimo & doctiſſimo D. Edwardo Bernardo.* And, at the end of it, there is a catalogue of ſome Greek writers, who are ſuppoſed to be loſt in their own language; but are preſerved in the Syriac or Arabic tranſlations of them.

[*E*] *Parva Syntaxis Alexandrina.*] Or Μικρὸς Ἀστρονόμος, of the contents of which there is an account in the *Veterum Mathematicorum Synopſis*, mentioned in the laſt note, p. 17.

[*F*] *Of becoming acquainted with the learned in France.*] Particularly with Peter Carcau Keeper of the King's library, Henry Juſtel, Iſmael Bullialdus, Daniel Huet, afterwards Biſhop of Avranches, John Mabillon, Paſchaſius Queſnel, Andrew Dacier, Euſebius Renaudot, &c. (3).

(3) Vita, &c. as above, p. 27, 28.

[G] *This made him undertake a new edition of Joſephus.*] Several years before, Biſhop Fell had reſolved, which, however, for ſome reaſons, was never completed. In 1683, he went a ſecond time to Holland, in order to be preſent at the ſale of Nicholas Heinſius's library by auction; where he purchaſed, at a great price, ſeveral of the claſſical authors, that had been either collated with manuſcripts, or illuſtrated with the marginal notes of Joſeph Scaliger, Bonaventure Vulcanius, the two Heinſius's, and other great Critics *(y)* There he renewed, or contracted, an acquaintance with ſeveral perſons of eminent learning [*H*]; and ſo taken was he with the civilities and humanity of the Dutch, and the great opportunities in that country, of making conſiderable improvements in Oriental learning, that he almoſt determined to ſettle at Leyden, if he could have been choſen Profeſſor of the Oriental tongues in that univerſity: but miſſing of that, he returned to Oxford. He began now to be weary of the dry and unentertaining ſtudy of Aſtronomy, which, as he complained, rendered life neither better nor more happy; and his health declining with his years, he was willing, upon proper terms, to reſign his profeſſorſhip to Mr. Flamſteed or Mr. Halley, who had cultivated that ſcience with great induſtry and wonderful ſucceſs, and with the applauſe of all Europe. But not being able to obtain any other ſettlement, he was forced to hold his place eight years longer (*z*). October 30, 1684, he was prevailed upon to take his degree of Doctor in Divinity (*a*). In 1691, he was preſented, by his good friend and patron Dr. Mews, Biſhop of Wincheſter, to the rich rectory of Brightwell in Berkſhire. That benefice lying but about nine miles from Oxford, he could conveniently reſide at either place, according to the different ſeaſons of the year; and for that purpoſe he was perſuaded by his friends to keep his houſe in Oxford. Soon after he reſigned his profeſſorſhip, after having enjoyed it eighteen years, and was ſucceeded therein by David Gregory, Profeſſor of the Mathematics at Edinburgh (*b*). In 1692, he was employed in drawing up a Catalogue of the manuſcripts in Great Britain and Ireland [*I*]. Auguſt 6, 1693, he married a handſome young Lady, named Eleanor Howell, deſcended from the Princes of Wales (*c*), with whom he lived very happily. In September 1696, though he had been for ſome time afflicted with the ſtone, and almoſt worn out with infirmities, he reſolved to take a third voyage to Holland, accompanied only with his wife, in order to be preſent at the ſale of Golius's manuſcripts [*K*], a great number of which he purchaſed at the requeſt and expence of Dr. Narciſſus March, Archbiſhop of Dublin *(d)*. After ſix or ſeven weeks ſtay in Holland, he returned to London (*e*), where having continued about a fortnight, to refreſh and recover himſelf from his voyage, he removed to Oxford about the end of November.

ſolved, with our author's aſſiſtance, to print at the Theatre at Oxford a new edition of Joſephus, more correct than any of the former. But, either for want of proper means to compleat that work, or in expectation of one promiſed by the learned Andrew Boſius, this deſign was for a while laid aſide. Upon the death of Boſius it was reſumed again; and Mr. Bernard collected all the manuſcripts he could procure out of the libraries of Great Britain, both of the Greek text and Epiphanius's Latin tranſlation, and purchaſed Boſius's valuable papers of his executors at a great price. Then he publiſhed a ſpecimen of his edition of Joſephus, and wrote great numbers of letters to his learned friends in France, Holland, Germany, and other countries, to deſire their aſſiſtance in that work. He laboured in it a good while with the utmoſt vigour and reſolution, though his conſtitution was much broken by his intenſe application to his ſtudies. But this noble undertaking was left unfiniſhed, for theſe two reaſons. Firſt, many perſons complained of Epiphanius's tranſlation, becauſe it was defective and not anſwerable to the original in many places, and required a new verſion, or at leaſt to have that of Gelenius reviſed and corrected. Secondly, Great faults were found with the heap of various readings that were to be introduced in this edition, and with the length of the commentaries, in which whole diſſertations were inſerted without any apparent neceſſity, that ought to have been placed at the end of the work, or printed by themſelves. Theſe things occaſioning a conteſt between Mr. Bernard and the Curators of the Oxford-preſs, the printing of it was interrupted: and at laſt the deſign of having it done at the expence of the Univerſity, was quite broken off by the death of Biſhop Fell. However, about ſix or ſeven years after, Mr. Bernard was prevailed upon by three Bookſellers of Oxford to reſume that work, and to publiſh it in a leſs form upon the model of his ſpecimen; but they not being able to bear the expence of it, on account of the war, after a few ſheets were printed off, deſiſted from their undertaking (4). Theſe repeated diſcouragements hindered the learned author from proceeding further than the *four firſt books*, and *part of the fifth*, of the Jewiſh Antiquities; and the *firſt book, and part of the ſecond*, of the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem; which were printed at the Theatre at Oxford in 1686 and 1687, and publiſhed in 1700, fol. In the notes, the learned author ſhews himſelf an univerſal ſcholar, and diſcerning critic; and appears to have been maſter of moſt of the Oriental learning and languages. Theſe notes have been incorporated into Mr. S. Havercamp's edition.

[*H*] *He renewed, or contracted, an acquaintance with ſeveral perſons of eminent learning.*] Namely, J. G. Grævius, Frederic Spanheim, James Triglandius, James Gronovius, James Perizonius, Theodore Ryckius, Servatius Gallæus, Evaldus Rulæus, and eſpecially Nicholas Witſen, Burgomaſter of Amſterdam, who preſented him with a Coptic dictionary, brought from Egypt by Theodore Petræus of Holſatia; and afterwards tranſmitted to him in 1686 the Coptic and Ethiopic types made of iron, for the uſe of the printing-preſs at Oxford (5).

[*I*] *He was employed in drawing up a catalogue of the manuſcripts*, &c.] He had rather the overſight than the drudgery of making this catalogue, which had been begun by other hands. The moſt conſiderable ſhare he had in this work, was, the drawing up a moſt uſeful and complete alphabetical Index; to which he prefixed this title, *Librorum manuſcriptorum Magnæ Britanniæ & Hiberniæ, atque externarum aliquot Bibliothecarum Index ſecundum alphabetum Edwardus Bernardus conſtruxit Oxonii*, An. Dom. CIƆIƆCXCVI. In this Index he mentions a great number of valuable Greek manuſcripts, which are to be found in ſeveral foreign libraries, as well as our own, that men of learning might know where to have recourſe to them. Thoſe foreign libraries are, thoſe of Augſburgh, Heidelberg now removed to the Vatican at Rome, Leyden, the Emperor Leopold's at Vienna, of the Princes di Medici at St. Laurence and St. Mark at Florence, of the Univerſity of Padua, of Monſieur Seguier Chancellor of France, and the Vatican at Rome. He prefixed a learned Preface to this Index, ſhewing the great uſefulneſs of it (6). This catalogue was publiſhed at Oxford in 1697, fol.

[*K*] *In order to be preſent at the ſale of Golius's manuſcripts.*] His executors had unwiſely refuſed a very conſiderable ſum offered them for the whole library, twenty-eight years before, by the Univerſity of Cambridge; and now they were ſelling them by auction (7).

(y) Ibid. p. 42.

(z) Vita, &c. *ut ſupra*, p. 29—45.

(a) Wood's Faſti, Vol. ii. col. 225.

(b) Vita, &c. p. 47.

(c) Wood's Ath. col. 1084.

(d) Vita, &c. *ubi ſupra*, p. 49. 51.

(e) Ibid. p. 52.

(4) Vita, &c. p. 29—35.

(5) *Ibid. p.* 43, 44.

(6) Vita, &c. *ubi ſupra*, p. 47, 48. 61, 62, 63.

(7) *Ibid.* p. 49.

There he immediately fell into a languiſhing conſumption, attended with a dyſentery, which put an end to his life, January 12, 1696-7, before he was quite fifty-nine years of age *(f)*. Four days after, he was interred in a very ſolemn manner in St. John's-college chapel, his pall being held up by ſix Doctors, among whom were his former collegue Dr. Wallis, and his ſucceſſor Dr. Gregory; and his corpſe was attended by the Vice-Chancellor and heads of the univerſity *(g)*. A monument of white marble was ſoon after erected for him by his widow [*L*]. The works he publiſhed were as follows: I. 'Tables of the Longitudes, Latitudes, right Aſcenſions, and Declinations of the chief 'fixed Stars, according to the beſt ancient Obſervers, written in Latin to Dr. Robert 'Huntington, Provoſt of Trinity-college, Dublin, in a Letter, dated March 25, 1684, 'and publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 158. p. 567.' II. 'The Obliquity of the Ecliptic from the obſervations of the Ancients; in Latin, inſerted in the 'Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 163, p. 721 [*M*].' III. A Latin Letter to Mr. John Flamſteed, containing obſervations on the Eclipſe of the Sun, July 2, 1684, at Oxford, inſerted alſo in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 164, p. 747. IV. A Treatiſe 'of 'the ancient Weights and Meaſures,' printed firſt at the end of Dr. Edward Pocock's Commentary on Hoſea, Oxford, 1685, fol. and afterwards reprinted in Latin, with very great additions and alterations, under this title, *De menſuris & ponderibus antiquis, Libri tres*, Oxon. 1688, 8*vo*. [*N*] V. 'Private Devotions, with a brief Explication of the 'Ten Commandments,' Oxford, 1689, 12*mo*. VI. *Orbis eruditi Literatura a charactere Samaritico deducta*; printed at Oxford from a copper-plate, on one ſide of a broad ſheet of paper: containing at one view, the different forms of Letters uſed by the Phœnicians, Samaritans, Jews, Syrians, Arabs, Perſians, Brachmans, and other Indian Philoſophers, Malabarians, Greeks, Cophts, Ruſſians, Sclavonians, Æthiopians, Francs, Saxons, Goths, *&c.* all collected from ancient inſcriptions, coins, and manuſcripts: together with the abbreviations uſed by the Greeks, Phyſicians, Mathematicians, and Chymiſts. VII. *Etymologicum Britannicum*, or derivations of the Britiſh and Engliſh words from the Ruſſian, Sclavonian, Perſian, and Armenian Languages; printed at the end of Dr. Hickes's Grammatica Anglo Saxonica and Moeſo-Gotthica, Oxon. 1689, 4*to*. VIII. He publiſhed Mr. William Guiſe's *Miſnæ pars prima, ordinis primi Zeraim tituli ſeptem*, Oxon. 1690, 4*to*. IX. *Chronologiæ Samaritanæ Synopſis* (*h*), in two Tables; the firſt containing the moſt famous epochas, and remarkable things, from the beginning of the world; the ſecond a catalogue of the Samaritan High Prieſts from Aaron. The author ſent it to the moſt learned Job Ludolphus, who had it publiſhed in the *Acta Eruditorum Lipſienſia*, April 1691, p. 167, *&c.* He alſo was author of the following things; X. *Notæ in fragmentum Seguierianum Stephani Byzantini*; or, Notes on a fragment of Steph. Byzantinus in the library of Monſieur Seguier Chancellor of France: part of which, relating to Dodone, were publiſhed by the great James Gronovius, at the end of his *Exercitationes de Dodone*, or Diſſertations on Dodone, *Lugd. Batav.* 1681. XI. *Adnotationes in Epiſtolam S. Barnabæ*, Notes upon St. Barnabas's Epiſtle, publiſhed in Biſhop Fell's edition of that author, Oxon. 1685, 8*vo*. XII. Short Notes, in Greek and Latin, upon Cotelerius's edition of the Apoſtolical Fathers, printed in the Amſterdam edition of them. XIII. *Veterum teſtimonia de Verſione LXXII Interpretum*, i. e. the Teſtimonies of the Ancients concerning the Greek Verſion of the Old Teſtament by the Seventy, printed at the end of *Ariſteæ Hiſtoria LXXII Interpretum*, publiſhed by Dr. Henry Aldrich, Oxon. 1692, 8*vo*. (*i*) XIV. He tranſlated into Latin, the Letters of the Samaritans, which Dr. R. Huntington procured them to write to their *brethren*, the Jews in England, in 1673, while he was at Sichem (*k*). Dr. Smith having obtained a copy of this tranſlation, gave it to the learned Job Ludolfus, when he was in England, who publiſhed it in the Collection of Samaritan Epiſtles, written to himſelf and other learned men *(l)*. Beſides what hath been here mentioned, he alſo aſſiſted ſeveral learned men in their editions of books, and collated manuſcripts for them [*O*]. He left behind him in manuſcript many books of his own compoſition, with very large Collections [*P*]; which, together with the books

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 53.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 54.

(*h*) Mr. Wood gives it the title of *Chronici Samaritici Breviarium*, which is wrong, col. 1085.

(*i*) Wood's Ath. col. 1085.

(*k*) See *Vita D. R. Huntingtoni Scriptore Tho. Smitho*, edit. Lond. 1704, 8*vo*, p. 12, 13.

(*l*) Vita D. E. Bernardi, as above, p. 42.

[*L*] *A monument of white marble was ſoon erected for him by his widow.*] In the middle of which there is the form of an *Heart* carved, circumſcribed with theſe words, according to his own direction a little before he died, HABEMUS COR BERNARDI: and underneath E. B. S. T. P. *Obiit Jan:* 12. 1696. The ſame is alſo repeated on a ſmall ſquare marble, under which he was buried (8).

[*M*] *Tables of the Longitudes, Latitudes,* &c. and, *The Obliquity of the Ecliptic,* &c.] The Latin titles of theſe two pieces are, I. *Canon præcipuarum e Stellis fixis ſecundum obſervata Majorum.* II. *Obſervata ex Græcis, Arabicis, Perſicis, Judaicis, Latiniſque Scriptoribus de obliquitate Zodiaci.*

[*N*] *De menſuris & ponderibus antiquis libri tres,* &c.] At the end of this edition are ſubjoined two Letters to the author. One from Nicholas Fatio de Duillier, containing a new deſcription of the *Brazen Sea* of Solomon, with a draught of it. The other from Dr. Thomas Hyde, concerning the Weights and Meaſures of the Chineſe.

[*O*] *He aſſiſted ſeveral learned men in their editions of books,* &c.] Particularly the learned Paſchaſius Queſnel, in his edition of the works of Leo Magnus (9); and collated Palæphatus and Cornutus, with the manuſcripts, for the uſe of the learned Dr. Tho. Gale, who publiſhed them among his *Opuſcula Mythologica, Ethica, & Phyſica* (10).

[*P*] *He left behind in manuſcript many books of his own compoſition, with very large collections,* &c.] Theſe were as follows. I. *Chronicon omnis ævi, ſive Canon Chronicus*; a very learned and laborious work in ſeveral tables, comprehending the moſt famous Epochas of all nations, the *Faſti Conſulares*, and a Chronology from Chriſt for ſeveral centuries. II. *Calendarium Eccleſiaſticum & Civile plerarumque Gentium.* The chief of theſe nations were the Greeks and Romans, Perſians, Arabians, Syrians, Copts, and Ethiopians,

(8) Vita, *&c. ut ſupra*, p. 54.

(9) Vide Paſch. Queſnel Præfat. ad opera S. Leonis magni.

(10) Vide Præf. ad Lectorem, præfixam Opuſcul. Mythol. *&c.*

books enriched in the margin with the notes of the moſt learned men, and collected by him in France and Holland, were purchaſed by the Curators of the Bodleian Library, for the ſum of two hundred pounds: They likewiſe bought a conſiderable number of curious and valuable books out of his library, which were wanting in the Bodleian, for which they paid one hundred and forty pounds. The reſt of his books were ſold by auction, all men of letters ſtriving to purchaſe thoſe which had any obſervations of Dr. Bernard's own hand (*m*). As to this learned man's character, Dr. T. Smith, who knew him well, gives him a very great one. He was, ſays he (*n*), of a mild diſpoſition, greatly averſe to conteſts and quarrels: and if he happened to be where diſputes ran high, he would deliver his opinion with great modeſty, and in few words, but entirely to the purpoſe. He was a candid judge of other mens works: not too cenſorious even on trifling books, if they contained nothing inconſiſtent with good manners, virtue, or religion: But when wit, learning, or good ſenſe ſhone in them, he was always ready to give them their due praiſe. Though he was a true ſon of the Church of England, and a zealous aſſerter and advocate of its apoſtolical doctrine, from which no conſiderations, offers, or advantages whatſoever, could ever have tempted him to depart; yet he judged favourably and charitably of Diſſenters of all denominations. He wiſhed, that peace and unity migh tbe reſtored among the Churches of a different communion, by removing the cauſes of thoſe diſputes with which the Chriſtian world is rent aſunder, and purging Chriſtianity of the leaven of the Schoolmen's opinions; but without hurting pure and uncorrupt Chriſtianity as delivered in the Goſpels, or intrenching upon the rights of Biſhops. His piety and prudence never ſuffered him to be hurried away by an immoderate zeal, in declaiming againſt the errors, or moſt ſpecious innovations of others. His piety was ſincere and unaffected, and his devotions, both in public and private, were very regular and exemplary (*o*). Of his great and extenſive learning, his works are a ſufficient evidence: and on this account he has been much applauded both at home and abroad (*p*). [The learned Huetius, in his *Comm. de Rebus ſuis, &c.* p. 315, ſpeaks thus of our Author; *Eduardus Bernardus Anglus, quem pauci hac ætate equiparabant eruditionis laude, modeſtiâ vero pene nulli* *.] Mr. Wood, in particular, ſays of him (*q*), that he was 'a perſon admirably well read in all kind of ancient learning, in Aſtronomy and Mathematics, a curious Critic, an excellent Grecian, Latiniſt, Chronologer, and Orientalian.'

(*m*) Ibid.

(*n*) Vita, &c. *ubi ſupra*, p. 54, 55.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 59.

(*p*) See *Teſtimonia & Elogia*, &c. at the end of Dr. Bernard's Life, by Dr. T. Smith.

(*) From a manuſcript note of Mr. Morant's.

(*q*) Athenæ, Vol. ii. col. 1084.

pians. He gave the copy of this to a Bookſeller of Lipſic, who promiſed to have it printed, but it never appeared. III. *Index Librorum Manuſcriptorum Angliæ & Hiberniæ* (11). IV. 'Large Commentaries on the private Devotions, drawn from the Eccleſiaſtics of the three firſt centuries of Chriſtians, and from the Gentile authors, Greek and Latin, and Oriental.' He put this other title to this manuſcript, 'Private Devotions, with a brief Explication of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apoſtle's Creed, in ſeven books.' V. *Obſervationes varii generis.* VI. *Notæ ad Scriptores veteres tam ſacros quam profanos.* VII. *Etymolog. Græcum & Latinum.* VIII. *Lexicon Ægyptiacum.* IX. *Lexicon Ruſſicum.* X. *Euclides, Græcè & Latinè.* In 1694 he prepared for the preſs all Euclid's works; and reviſed, corrected, and collated with the Greek and Arabic copies, his *Data* (of the Paris edition, 1625, 4*to*.), for which he had a very great value. XI. *Syntagma de Matheſi*; or, The Principles and Elements of the Mathematics, left unfiniſhed. XII. *Diſſertatio de Literaturâ*; or, Collections on the Letters and Alphabets of ſeveral nations. XIII. *Linguarum inſularum Britanniæ & Hiberniæ origines Perſicæ & Armeniacæ.* XIV. In the Polyglott Bible, which he had in twelve volumes, he had inſerted the Synopſis Criticorum, the Armenian Verſion, and other books of Scripture, in their proper places, for the more eaſy comparing of them. And in the margin had made critical Notes and Scholia, and collated the original with the Greek, Arabic, and Syriac Verſions, and the Samaritan Pentateuch, and alſo with the manuſcripts, and the writings of the Fathers. This moſt valuable ſet of books was permitted to go out of the kingdom; it being bought, at the ſale of Dr. Bernard's books, by the learned Olaus Wormius of Denmark, for the ſum of twenty pounds (12). XV. He collated the four firſt books of Apollonius's Conic Sections (13), with the Arabic Verſion, and with the Greek, which he added in the margin; and tranſlated the three laſt into Latin. To this he added the Lemmata of Archimedes in Arabic and Latin, with figures and notes, and a learned Preface. XVI. He collated Ariſtarchus the Samian, concerning the magnitudes and diſtances of the Sun and Moon, publiſhed in Latin at Piſauro in 1572, 4*to*, with the Arabic Verſion, and with the Greek Original, which he added in the margin from a manuſcript. This book was publiſhed at Oxford in 1688, by Dr. Wallis. XVII. He alſo collated Vitruvius, and Cleomedes's tract of Meteors, with the manuſcripts, and made notes on the laſt, taken from the ancient Scholiaſt. XVIII. He compared the book of Sacred Liturgies, *Liber divinarum Liturgiarum*, publiſhed by Robert Stephens at Paris in 1560, fol. eſpecially the Liturgies of St. Baſil and St. Chryſoſtom, with the manuſcripts. XIX. He wrote notes on the whole Engliſh Liturgy, and alſo Commentaries and Annotations on ſeveral chapters and verſes of the Bible. XX. He intended to have compoſed a large Commentary on the whole book of Pſalms, of which he publiſhed a ſpecimen. XXI. He deſigned to publiſh the Pſalter in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, with the old French and Roman Verſions, and one made immediately from the original, and likewiſe with the Coptic. For that purpoſe, having met with the Pſalter publiſhed by Jac. Faber Stapulenſis in 1508, he procured Father Mabillon to collate the French and Roman Verſions, and the Hebrew in that edition, with a manuſcript of good authority in the monaſtery of St. Germain's. XXII. Collections of Arabic Proverbs, tranſlated into Latin, partly by himſelf, and partly by Dr. Pocock. XXIII. Notes on the *Gloſſaria Græco-Latina & Latina Græca*, publiſhed by Vulcanius in 1600. For this purpoſe, in 1676, when he was at Paris, he collated an old Greek and Latin Lexicon, which is to be found at the end of ſome Tracts of Cyril, with a manuſcript in the library of St. Germain des Prez. XXIV. Obſervations on *Gerardi Voſſii Etymologicon Linguæ Latinæ.* And he intended once to write an Etymological Canon of the origin and variations of that language; and to reprint Henry Stephens's *Theſaurus* of the Greek tongue, or rather to compile a new work of that kind. In a word, he collated, or made curious obſervations on all the ancient and modern books he read. M.

(11) See above, note [*L*].

(12) Vita, &c. p. 71, 72.

(13) They were publiſhed in Latin at Bologna in 1556.

BERNARDI (JOHN) was the ſon of Count Francis Bernardi, Reſident here in England from the republic of Genoa, and was deſcended from a very ancient and honourable family, created, for their ſervices to the Houſe of Auſtria, Counts of the

Holy

Holy Roman Empire (*a*) [*A*]. He was born in 1657, and was very early enured to misfortunes and impriſonment: for his father being diſguſted at ſome ill uſage he received from the government of Genoa, refuſed to return thither, and being himſelf a native of England, retired into Worceſterſhire, where he ſettled; and being a great lover of gardening, ſpent a conſiderable fortune in improvements of that kind, which, however, did not ſo far amuſe or divert him, as to extinguiſh his ſenſe of the injuries he had received, which ſowered his temper to ſuch a degree, that he frequently confined his ſon John, for very ſlight cauſes, to a dark room, where he allowed him only bread and ſmall beer for ſeveral days, which hard uſage ſo wrought upon his diſpoſition, that he reſolved, at all events, to leave his father's houſe, and to throw himſelf into the world, though a perfect child (*b*). Accordingly, in 1670, he quitted his father's ſeat, with a full reſolution never to return thither while the old man lived. He travelled that night ſixteen miles in the road to Coventry, and as day-light began to appear, he took ſhelter in the houſe of a Wheelwright, who, upon hearing his melancholy ſtory, promiſed to conceal him, which he performed, and put him into a little room from whence he could look upon the road, and in which he had not been long before he ſaw his father on horſeback, who enquired of the Wheelwright, if he had ſeen ſuch a boy as he deſcribed, which being anſwered in the negative, prevented the young man from being carried back to confinement (*c*). When the ſecond night came on, he ſet out again for Packington-hall, the ſeat of Sir Clement Fiſher, who married the famous Mrs. Jane Lane, very inſtrumental in preſerving King Charles II., after the fatal battle at Worceſter (*d*). But on his coming thither, being informed that Sir Clement and his Lady were in London, he followed them up to town, and was very hoſpitably received, the Lady having been very kind to him at his father's, and often intreated the old gentleman to deal more indulgently with his ſon, and to afford him a liberal education. He was by her recommended to a near relation, Capt. Littleton Clent, who was then in garriſon at Portſmouth, who took him into his company, and cauſed him to be taught his exerciſe as a ſoldier, which gave him the firſt taſte for a military life. While he was under the protection of this gentleman, he very narrowly eſcaped a misfortune, which would have put an early end to his troubles and his life [*B*]. On the concluſion of the Dutch war, Captain Clent being broke, was no other

(*a*) Bernardi's Hiſtory of his own Life, p. 1. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. v. p. 156, 157, 158.

(*b*) Bernardi's Life, p. 5.

(*c*) From M. Bernardi's own mouth.

(*d*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. iii. p. 419—421.

[*A*] *For their ſervices to the Houſe of Auſtria, Counts of the Holy Roman Empire.*] The family of Bernardi was originally of Lucca, where they had flouriſhed from the year 1097, and from about the year 1384, had enjoyed the moſt conſiderable offices in that Republic; particularly that of Standard-bearer, which with much reputation and fidelity they diſcharged. Philip de Bernardi, the grandfather of the perſon of whom we are ſpeaking, reſided twenty-eight years with a public character in England, and is ſaid to have rendered important ſervices to the Houſe of Auſtria, more eſpecially the Spaniſh branch of it, at the imminent hazard of his life. He likewiſe married in this kingdom Mary Damport, of an ancient and honourable Catholic family, by whom he had iſſue two ſons, Philip and Francis, the latter of which was the father of our Major Bernardi. In conſideration of the ſervices and circumſtances before mentioned, the Emperor Ferdinand II., by letters patent, ſigned with his own hand, and under his imperial ſeal, dated the 24th of September, 1629, in the eleventh year of his reign over the Empire, the twelfth over Hungary, and the thirteenth over Bohemia, created him Knight and Count of the Holy Roman Empire, with remainder to his ſons Philip and Francis, and his and their heirs and ſucceſſors, male and female, in lawful wedlock begotten, ratifying and confirming their hereditary nobility and ancient coat-armour, which is thus blazoned in the patent, *viz.* the ſhield quarterly, the firſt and fourth Or, charged with an eagle diſplayed, ſable, crowned of the field, reſpecting each other, their beaks open, langued gules, holding in their fore-paws a reed proper; over all in an eſcutcheon gules, two battle-axes ſaltirewiſe, the ſhield adorned with two creſts each on an open helmet, iſſuing out of an imperial crown, that on the left a demy lion crowned, as in the field; that on the right, a black eagle crowned as in the field, reſpecting each other; and the mantling on the left, from the top of the helmet on the outſide, Or, and gules, lined with argent and azure; on the right ſide, from the top of the helmet on the outſide, Or and ſable; lined with ſable and argent covering the whole ſhield. Amongſt other privileges granted by this patent there are theſe; that himſelf and his deſcendants have the liberty of uſing red wax in all letters, writings, deeds, patents, and other inſtruments; that they ſhall be exempt from all juriſdiction, except that of the Imperial Aulic Council; that they ſhall have a power of nominating and appointing Public Notaries and ordinary judges throughout the empire, adminiſtering to them an oath of office ſet forth in the ſaid patent, that they may legitimate and reſtore in blood all baſtards and other ſpurious iſſue, excepting thoſe of Princes, Counts, and Barons, giving them thereby full power to inherit; to grant liberty to ſlaves; to reſtore infamous perſons to credit; to create Doctors in Divinity, Law, Phyſic, and Philoſophy, and other inferior degrees, after due examination, in as ample manner as the Univerſities of Vienna, Paris, Pavia, or any other Univerſity, or even his Imperial Majeſty, could do; to grant armorial enſigns, or coat-armour, to any perſons at their pleaſure; and all other privileges and immunities of right belonging to, or which have been exerciſed by the Counts or Knights of the Empire (1).

[*B*] *Which had put an end to his troubles and his life.*] This accident happened thus: While he continued as a cadet in Captain Clent's company, he had leave given him in the year 1671 to go to a gentleman's houſe not far off, which he did, as he was wont to do, in coloured cloaths, which ſubjected him to the accident of being ſeized, by a preſs-gang belonging to the Royal James, at Fareham, within four miles of Portſmouth, to which place he was carried. This was juſtly eſteemed one of the fineſt ſhips in the Royal navy, had been built in the dock there by Commiſſioner Dean, with whoſe ſervice in this reſpect King Charles II. was ſo well ſatisfied, that, as a mark of his eſteem and favour, he made him a preſent of a ſilver axe (2). If Mr. Bernardi had liſtened to the perſuaſions of thoſe who carried him to Portſmouth, and had reſolved to try his fortune at ſea, which, conſidering his youth, and the advantages that might have been propoſed to him, it is a wonder that he did not, his firſt and laſt voyage had been the ſame; for this fine ſhip, on board which the Earl of Sandwich ſoon after hoiſted his flag, was burnt by a Dutch fireſhip on the 28th of May, 1672, in the famous battle of Southwold Bay, and that noble Lord, and the beſt part of a thouſand brave men, periſhed in her (3). But our young adventurer had better fortune. He wrote a letter to his Captain, acquainting him with what had fallen out; and upon his being brought to Mr. Stephenſon, then Clerk of the Cheque, to have his name regiſtered, he found Captain Clent with him, who claimed him as belonging

(1) All theſe particulars are extracted from the Patent, which is publiſhed at large in Latin and Engliſh, in the Appendix to Bernardi's Life.

(2) From the Papers of Mr. Pepys, relating to the Navy.

(3) Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 85. Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 402, 403.

other way in a condition of expreſſing his kindneſs for Mr. Bernardi, than by making him a preſent of twenty pounds. But the loſs of his patron was not the only miſchief which befel him in the year 1673; for he had the ſmall-pox ſoon after, which reduced him very low both in conſtitution and fortune (e). In this diſtreſs he addreſſed himſelf to his godfather, Col. Anſelme, who propoſed to him goingover to Holland, with which he readily complied, and ſoon after his arrival, entered as a private ſoldier into the ſervice of the States, and then liſted in one of the Engliſh independent companies. He was in the famous action of Seneff, in which the Prince of Condé fell on the rear of the Prince of Orange's army, and took part of his baggage, but after an obſtinate engagement was obliged to retire (f). He was alſo preſent at the ſiege of Oudenarde, and afterwards at that of Grave, where he ſerved in the company of Capt. Philip Savage, and had his ſhare in a very dangerous attack on the counterſcarp, in which he was wounded. The place ſurrendered on the twenty-ninth of October, 1674. Soon after this, the Engliſh troops in the ſervice of the States being regimented, Mr. Bernardi obtained an Enſign's commiſſion from the Prince of Orange, dated the ſecond of February, 1675, in the company of his godfather, who was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of Diſney's regiment (g). In June following, he was removed, with his godfather, to another regiment, commanded by Sir John Fenwick, and at the cloſe of the year, had the misfortune to be wounded in endeavouring to part two gentlemen in a duel. He was preſent, the ſucceeding year, at the ſiege of Maeſtricht, where he had the misfortune to loſe the ſight of one of his eyes, and to be ſhot through one of his arms, the bones of which were ſhivered to ſplinters; when taking his arm in the lappet of his coat, he crowded back to the breach, and fell down to the bottom among the dead. A ſoldier of his ſeeing him fall, jumped after him, took him up in his arms, and carried him to the ſurgeons in the trenches, where he was dreſſed. The Prince of Orange being informed of his behaviour, and that the Lieutenant of the Major's company of that regiment was killed in the attack, gave his commiſſion to Mr. Bernardi: but it appearing afterwards that the Lieutenant was only taken priſoner, he miſſed of this preferment. In April 1677, he married a Dutch lady of a good family, with whom he lived comfortably eleven years. He had a ſhare the next campaign in the battle of St. Omers, at the cloſe of which he was appointed Lieutenant in Capt. Philip Savage's company, in which he firſt ſerved by a commiſſion from the Prince of Orange, dated September 6, 1677. He was preſent the next year in the battle of Mons, which was the laſt action in the war. After the peace, his godfather, Col. Anſelme, was ſo reduced as to be obliged to ſerve as a private man under Mr. Bernardi, who allowed him double pay, and excuſed him from duty (h). In 1683, Mr. Bernardi was made Captain-Lieutenant in Col. Monk's company, and at this time he was in ſo great favour with the Prince of Orange, that upon the death of Capt. Jaſper Paſton, brother to the Earl of Yarmouth, he had his company given him by a commiſſion from the Prince, dated the ſeventeenth of November, 1685, which was confirmed by a commiſſion from the States, dated the third of December following. At this time his circumſtances were very eaſy, and he had juſt reaſon to be thankful to Providence for the condition he was in, having obtained by his merit a company at the age of twenty-ſeven, the profits of which, together with his wife's fortune, brought him in a clear revenue of five hundred pounds a year (i). But it was not long that he continued in this eaſy and happy ſituation: for King James II., in the year 1687, having conceived ſome diſpleaſure againſt the States-General, demanded the ſix regiments of Britiſh troops that were in their ſervice, and which had been ſo for fifteen years (k). This the States refuſed; but, at the ſame time, did not conſtrain the officers to ſerve them againſt their will, though care was taken to repreſent to them, in very ſtrong terms, the difference between remaining upon a ſettled eſtabliſhment, and returning home upon an uncertainty [C]. This had ſuch an effect, that out of two hundred and forty officers that were in the

(e) Bernardi's Life, p. 12.

(f) Life of King William III. p. 37—41.

(g) See the Copy of this Commiſſion; in the Appendix to Bernardi's Life.

(h) Bernardi's Life, p. 13—43.

(i) *Ibid.* p. 49.

(k) Life of King James II. p. 435.

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longing to his company (4), and procured thereby his immediate diſcharge, which left him at liberty to proſecute his fortune in its former channel; which, as the reader will ſee, he ſome years after did with very good effect.

[C] *And returning home upon an uncertainty.*] In order to the reader's underſtanding this matter perfectly, it is neceſſary to inform him, that King Charles II., during the ſecond Dutch war in his reign, had ſent a conſiderable body of his ſubjects into the ſervice of France, under the command of the Duke of Monmouth and the earl of Dumbarton, who merited ſo well of the French King, that they were put upon a very good eſtabliſhment; and it is ſaid that the Earl of Dumbarton might have had the ſtaff of Marſhal of France, if he had not been recalled (5). When therefore the peace was made with the Dutch, the Prince of Orange, as the King's nephew, thought himſelf well intitled to demand a corps of Engliſh troops for the Dutch ſervice, which, as we have ſeen, he obtained about the year 1673. The Earl of Offory, ſon to the old Duke of Ormond, was General of theſe troops by a commiſſion from the States (6), and upon his death, the King named the Earl of Pembroke to ſucceed him, part of whoſe equipage was actually ſent to Holland; and Bernardi tells us, he had the uſe of it; but ſome diſputes ariſing, and the Dutch being very ſlow in their reſolutions, the Earl of Pembroke never went over in perſon (7). Theſe ſix regiments were ſent by the Dutch to the aſſiſtance of King James, on Monmouth's rebellion, and he permitted them to return again to the ſervice of the States, who knew the value of them ſo well, and were ſo thoroughly ſatisfied of their fidelity, that it was no wonder they were unwilling to part with them. Among other arguments that were uſed to induce the officers to remain where they were, notwithſtanding the King's commands, one was, the fate of the officers and ſoldiers recalled out of the French ſervice by King Charles II., the former being left unprovided for, and many of the latter begging and ſtarving in the ſtreets (8). This argument had, without doubt, very great weight in one ſenſe, that is, with regard to the officers changing a certainty for an uncertainty; but in

(4) Bernardi's Life, p. 10.

(5) Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 191.

(6) See the article of BUTLER (THOMAS) Earl of Offory.

(7) Life of Bernardi, p. 47.

(8) See the article of MACKAY (HUGH).

the whole brigade, no more than ſixty thought proper to obey the King's commands, amongſt whom was Captain Bernardi. King James was no ſooner informed of this, than he ordered a yacht to ſail for Holland to bring thoſe gentlemen over, to whom he ſent alſo three months pay; and upon their arrival in England, immediately raiſed three new regiments, in order to replace thoſe officers in their commands; and, at the ſame time, iſſued a proclamation, declaring all officers that remained in the ſervice of the States of Holland, rebels *(l)*. But the ſcene was very ſoon changed: his Serene Highneſs proceeded ſoon after on his expedition to England, which brought about the Revolution. One of the firſt ſteps taken by his Highneſs after the King was withdrawn, was to ſend an aſſociation to every one of the regiments then in being, which all the officers were required to ſign, importing, that they were determined to defend the Prince againſt all perſons whatever, and ſuch officers as refuſed it, were ordered to quit their commands. Amongſt theſe was Capt. Bernardi, who having obtained a paſs for himſelf and his family, he tranſported them to Calais, where finding many perſons of his own principles in great diſtreſs, the Captain pledged his effects for fifty pounds for their relief, though they were worth double as much, and the conſequence was, that he loſt both effects and money. He proceeded from thence to St. Germains, where he was very kindly received, and after a ſhort repoſe, made a long and fatiguing march to Breſt, to wait the return of the French fleet, which carried King James to Ireland, and ſpeedily tranſported two thouſand three hundred of his adherents to the ſame kingdom *(m)*. This was in the month of April, 1689, and it was with great difficulty they landed theſe people in Bantrey Bay on the firſt of May, and the next day engaged the Engliſh fleet under Admiral Herbert *(n)*. The Earl of Dover, who was appointed by King James to receive theſe recruits, conducted them directly to Dublin, where they were formed into ſeparate corps, and all the officers had commiſſions given them. Amongſt the reſt, Mr. Bernardi was appointed Major of an Iriſh regiment, which was ſoon diſbanded for mutiny; and then he had the like command in the regiment of Mac-Carthy Moor, a great Iriſh Chief, under whom he ſerved for ſome time *(o)*. After Marſhal Schomberg landed in that kingdom with twenty thouſand men from England, King James found his affairs in a very declining condition; however, as he had ſtill a ſuperior army, he marched to Ardee, which he fortified, and thereby kept the Marſhal in his camp near Dundalk, which being a marſhy, unwholeſome place, half his troops ſoon died of fluxes *(p)*. While King James was at Ardee, he formed a deſign of ſending the Earl of Seaforth into Scotland, in hopes that the preſence of that nobleman might ſupply the loſs of the famous Viſcount Dundee, then lately killed in his ſervice. To aſſiſt the Earl in this enterprize, the King directed Major Bernardi, and another Field Officer, to attend him, which they did, and embarking on board a man of war at Galway, in the weſt of Ireland, ſteered their courſe for Scotland: but before they got clear of the Iriſh coaſt they met with a ſtorm, by which their bowſprit and fore-maſt were both broke to pieces; upon which the Captain with much difficulty and danger worked the ſhip into Broad-Haven, in the province of Connaught, from whence the Earl ſent Major Bernardi to King James, then in his camp at Ardee, to acquaint him with this unlucky accident, which hindered his intended voyage *(q)*. King James thereupon ordered the ſhip back again to Galway, and put off the Earl's voyage to the next ſpring, when he proceeded, with Sir Thomas Southwell and Major Bernardi, for Scotland, where he ſpeedily raiſed a great body of men for King James's ſervice, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for joining Major-General Buchan, who commanded the remains of Lord Dundee's forces, in order to form the ſiege of Inverneſs *(r)* [*D*]. But the Earl

in other reſpects it was ſingular enough: for in the firſt place thoſe troops were recalled chiefly at the inſtance of the States themſelves; and ſecondly, it was a full proof that the French thought the King of England had a clear right to recal his ſubjects out of their ſervice. However, as moſt of the officers were very well ſettled in Holland, and many of them had acquired fortunes and eſtabliſhments, independently of their military commands, they were very willing to remain where they were, eſpecially at a time when King James was making the greateſt efforts at home in favour of the Popiſh religion, and might be preſumed to withdraw theſe forces, and increaſe his own, with no other view than to be in a better condition of carrying his deſigns into execution.

[*D*] *In order to form the ſiege of Inverneſs.*] This expedition of the Earl of Seaforth is a very curious and very important point of hiſtory, and yet very little, indeed hardly at all, known. When King James had received advice of the death of the Viſcount of Dundee (9), he reſolved immediately to ſend this Nobleman over to ſupply his place; and if it had not been for the accident of his diſappointment, as related in the text, in all probability he would have kept the Highlanders together, and have given the Government a great deal of trouble in Scotland; for there was no man had a larger intereſt in the Highlands, or was more reſpected by the Clans. Beſides, at that time King James was able to have ſpared him ſome regular troops from Ireland, and his country lay extremely convenient for the landing of thoſe troops: But by this diſappointment King James's friends in Scotland were ſo diſheartened, that the greateſt part of them diſperſed, and many of them ſubmitted and made their terms with the Government, which made his ſecond expedition of much leſs conſequence than otherwiſe it would have been. It was in his return to King James's camp that the Earl met with Sir Thomas Southwell, who, with about threeſcore other Gentlemen, had been convicted and condemned as traitors, for taking up arms againſt the Duke of Tyrconnel; and upon his procuring Sir Thomas's pardon, that Gentleman thought himſelf obliged in gratitude, or perhaps for his ſafety, to accept a commiſſion in King James's ſervice, and therefore went in quality of Captain under the Earl of Seaforth, into Scotland (10). When the Highlanders were aſſembled to the northward of Inverneſs, they appeared to be a very formidable number of men, conſidering the regular troops the Government had at that time in that country; and the more ſo, ſince General Buchan, whoſe body of horſe was of very little conſequence in itſelf, when joined to theſe men under the command of experienced officers, would have made up a very

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(l) Hiſt. of the Revolution, p. 95. Bernardi's Life, p. 52.

(m) Bernardi's Life, p. 50—54.

(n) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 416.

(o) Bernardi's Life, p. 61.

(p) Parker's Memoirs of Military Tranſactions in Ireland, &c. p. 16.

(q) Bernardi's Life, p. 64—67.

(r) Balcarras's Memoirs, p 125.

(9) Life of King William III., p. 226.

(10) Life of Bernardi, p. 66, 67.

Earl was diſappointed in this deſign, by the ſpeedy march of Major-General Mackay, with a conſiderable body of regular troops into thoſe parts; and while things were in this ſituation, the news came of the total defeat of King James's army at the Boyne, upon which Sir Thomas Southwell prevailed upon the Earl to diſmiſs his forces, and to ſurrender himſelf priſoner to Major-General Mackay upon honourable terms. The Earl taking this ſtep without the conſent of his uncle, Mr. Colin Mackenzie, and the reſt of his friends, it provoked them to ſuch a degree, that they would have cut Sir Thomas Southwell to pieces, if Major Bernardi had not interpoſed and prevented it. This Mr. Colin Mackenzie, took Major Bernardi, and the reſt of the officers that came with him from Ireland, under his protection, and conducted them ſafely to Major-General Buchan, who was then at an hundred miles diſtance, and who, upon hearing of the Earl of Seaforth's conduct, had diſmiſſed moſt of his forces. Major Bernardi had now nothing more to tranſact in the Highlands; and therefore, as his preſence there could be of no ſervice, he deſired to go to England, and Major-General Buchan approved of it, and ſent for the Laird of Glenco, to come with forty of his vaſſals, to receive Bernardi at Invergary, and to conduct and guard him to the Braes of Monteth, being near an hundred miles, and very difficult travelling over rocks and mountains in that ſeaſon of the year, near the end of October. A great part of the journey was to be performed in the night-time, ſeveral detachments of King William's forces lying in their way, particularly at Inverlochy, or Fort William, a place where was a garriſon of twelve hundred men, and there was no other way to climb up an high mountain, but near the gate of the ſaid fortreſs, ſo that it was impoſſible to paſs them but when aſleep and their gate locked (*s*). The Laird of Glenco's country lying within twenty miles of that garriſon, Major Bernardi arrived ſafe at that gentleman's houſe, and remained there ſome days, to reſt himſelf and recover his ſtrength. After having repoſed himſelf there ſix days, he deſired to proceed on his journey, and the Laird appointed forty of his beſt men, under the command of a relation of his own, to conduct him to the Braes of Monteth, places as dangerous and difficult to paſs as any of the way he had come before. The ſame inconveniences, of ſmall garriſons of the government, were in their way, and their parties were continually about the country in the day-time. This made the ſecond part of Major Bernardi's journey to be moſtly night-work: however, he arrived ſafe at the Braes, at which place he was recommended by Major-General Buchan, to one Col. Duncan Graham, to be then farther directed by him. Major Bernardi proceeded on his journey from the Braes of Monteth, under the conduct of a guide appointed him by Col. Graham, and having no more need of guards, he arrived at Edinburgh in the month of November, in the year 1691. The Magiſtrates of that city having heard that ſome gentlemen were come from the Highlands, ordered their gates to be ſhut, and a general ſearch to be made for them. Bernardi's landlord getting notice of it, conducted him out of town but half an hour before the order was put in execution, otherwiſe his journey at that time had terminated in ſome priſon at Edinburgh: but eſcaping that, and ſome other dangers, he travelled on from thence to London, meeting with no more difficulties than thoſe of a long winter's journey (*t*). Having finiſhed his affairs in London, by diſpoſing of ſome effects he had left with a friend when he went out of England, and by ſelling his Scots horſes, he purpoſed to go over to Flanders, and meeting with two gentlemen of his acquaintance ready to make the ſame voyage, he went with them to Colcheſter, where they were recommended to the Maſter of a ſhip, who was in a ſhort time to carry over a lady of great quality to Oſtend; but the wind happening to be fixed in the eaſt, the lady ordered her trunks to be put on board, and then went to a gentleman's houſe about five miles off, charging the Maſter to ſend for her as ſoon as the wind came fair. Bernardi and his friends met with two other gentlemen who were ſtrangers to them, and alſo unknown in the town, who were come thither to get a paſſage over in the ſame ſhip. They joined company, and lodged all together for ſome nights at Mr. Cook's, then Poſt-Maſter in Colcheſter: but having notice of ſome people's inquiſitiveneſs about them, Bernardi and his two friends went to a gentleman's houſe about a mile out of the town, and the other two gentlemen went to the Maſter of the ſhip's houſe. The ſecond night after Bernardi and his friends went into the country, intimation was given, that Sir Iſaac Rebow, a Juſtice of the Peace, had iſſued out his warrant to apprehend them and bring them before him, and the wind coming fair the ſame night, they went directly to the Maſter of the ſhip's houſe, to go on board. The Maſter of the ſhip told them, that he had ſent a meſſenger to the

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very formidable army, which, if ſucceſsful in the attack of Inverneſs, or any other action of conſequence, could not have failed ſpreading the flame of war through the Highlands, the inhabitants of which were, generally ſpeaking, diſaffected. But Sir Thomas Southwell obſerving the Earl much affected with the news of King James's defeat at the Boyne, laid hold of that opportunity to ſhew him ſecurity and peace on one ſide, and great hazards and difficulties on the other, which inclined him to follow his advice, and to make uſe of his aſſiſtance in obtaining reaſonable terms from General Mackay, which put an end to the troubles in Scotland, and conſequently to the diverſion that might have been made on that ſide, if he had continued firm to his firſt purpoſe, his forces being ſuperior at the time he ſubmitted to Mackay's, and the war continuing long after in Ireland, which would have made ſuch a diverſion extremely troubleſome; and therefore it is no wonder that Sir Thomas Southwell's ſervice was conſidered in ſo high a light by King William: and very probably it was with a view of doing this ſervice, or ſomething like it, that Sir Thomas accepted this command, which are points that were never hitherto cleared up.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 67—75.

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 75—80.

lady, and expected her in an hour more, and ſent one of his men to conduct them on board a-ſhip, and ſaid he would follow them, with the other two gentlemen at his houſe, as ſoon as the lady came. A meſſage came from the lady, that ſhe could not poſſibly come before the next day in the afternoon. Bernardi and his two friends continued on ſhip-board to avoid the Juſtice's warrant. The next day, towards the evening, came a company of Trained-Bands, with five hundred country people, to the key, where the ſhip then lay dry at low water, about two miles from the town, and Bernardi, and the two gentlemen with him, were ſeized, and carried directly to Colcheſter gaol, where the other two gentlemen, and the Maſter of the ſhip, had before been made priſoners (*u*). The lady who occaſioned all this ſtir was the Counteſs of Errol, with whom Mr. Bernardi was not at all acquainted: however, it coſt him a great deal of trouble, and hindered him from purſuing any ſettled courſe of life till a year and a half afterwards, that a bill being preferred againſt him and his friends in Eſſex for high treaſon, was rejected; by which he eſcaped, indeed, any farther ſuffering on this head, but at the expence of ſeveral hundred pounds, a loſs almoſt inſupportable to a man already of a broken fortune (*w*). He went afterwards over to Holland, with the Earl of Nottingham's paſs, who was then Secretary of State, and returning within the time preſcribed, merited thereby ſome farther indulgences from his Lordſhip. The times being now dangerous for a man of Major Bernardi's ſentiments, who could ſcarcely live ſo cautiouſly as not to give ſome offence, he reſolved to retire into the country, where he lived peaceably, and without ſeeing much company, for ſome months, at a houſe near Brentford (*x*). But being obliged to quit this houſe, on account of its changing its owner, he came to London again about Chriſtmas 1695, which proved his ruin by a ſeries of very unfortunate accidents, ſuppoſing what he conſtantly profeſſed to be true, that he was in no reſpect privy to the baſe and barbarous conſpiracy for aſſaſſinating King William (*y*). For being unhappily at a tavern on Tower-Hill, with one Capt. Rookwood, who was his old acquaintance, and who was involved in that affair, they were ſeized together, and ſent to the Compter, and afterwards committed to Newgate, which was extremely, though not equally fatal to them both [*E*]. He was committed on the 25th of

March

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 80—84.

(*w*) *Ibid.* p. 85.

(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 86.

(*y*) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtory, Vol. ii. p. 426. Life of King William III. p. 449. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. ii. p. 130.

[*E*] *Though not equally fatal to them both.*] We have ſhewn in the text, that Major Bernardi quitted his houſe near Brentford at Chriſtmas 1695, upon which he came up to London. It was in February following that the plot was diſcovered, and the firſt proclamation that iſſued was dated the 23d of that month, in which Mr. Rookwood's name was inſerted (11). But to underſtand this matter clearly, and the grounds of Mr. Bernardi's impriſonment, it will be requiſite to give his account of it in his own words. ‘ Captain Rookwood came to Bernardi of a Saturday, ‘ ſoon after the ſaid horrid plot broke out, and his ‘ countenance and behaviour ſeemed to diſcover diſturbance of mind. Bernardi thereupon aſked him, ‘ if any evil had happened to him? To which he anſwered, No; but ſaid, that if any body ſhould be ‘ ſo malicious as to give information of his being ‘ come over at that time, he ſhould certainly be taken ‘ up. But it ſeems his name was in a proclamation, ‘ which came out upon that very day, to ſeize him, ‘ as one of thoſe who was concerned in the ſaid aſſaſſination-plot, though Bernardi had not then heard ‘ any thing of the matter; and Rookwood concealed ‘ it from him, intending, as appeared by his behaviour afterwards, to ſpend the evening with Bernardi; but Bernardi told him, that he was under ‘ a promiſe and engagement to ſup that night at a ‘ tavern on Tower-hill. Captain Rookwood ſaid, ‘ that if the meeting there was not upon private buſineſs, he deſired he might be one of the company; ‘ which Bernardi readily complied with, and he and ‘ Rookwood, with other company, ſupped there accordingly; and making it too late to go home to ‘ their lodgings, Rookwood and Bernardi ſtaid all ‘ night at the tavern, and went to bed together ‘ there. The next morning ſome conſtables, and ‘ other armed men, came into the houſe, and entered the room where Bernardi and Rookwood were ‘ in bed; and producing their warrant to ſearch for ‘ and ſeize them, required ſubmiſſion thereto. Bernardi and Rookwood readily yielded to their authority, not making the leaſt reſiſtance, and got up ‘ and dreſſed themſelves as ſoon as poſſibly they ‘ could; but Mr. Conſtable's orders being to carry ‘ them, and all the people belonging to the tavern, ‘ before the Recorder of London, who was gone to ‘ church, they were obliged to remain in the tavern ‘ till noon, guarded by twenty men. This delay ‘ gave Bernardi an opportunity to make ſome inquiry ‘ into the cauſe of all that hurly-burly. The ſenior ‘ conſtable told him, that a neighbour's ſervant-maid ‘ came to the tavern the night before, and ſeeing ‘ ſome gentlemen at ſupper, ſhe aſked the drawer who ‘ they were? and he making her a ſurly anſwer, ſhe ‘ went with her brother, a journeyman ſhoemaker, ‘ directly to the Recorder, and gave information that ‘ ſome evil-minded men were at the tavern, and that ‘ the people of the houſe refuſed to diſcover who they ‘ were; and therefore it was reaſonable to believe, ‘ that they might be ſuch perſons as the Government ‘ then ſought for by divers proclamations. It was ‘ the latter end of February, and the before-mentioned horrid conſpiracy was diſcovered about the ‘ middle of the ſame month. The conſtables having ‘ notice of the Recorder's being at home, they carried Bernardi and Rookwood, with all the family, ‘ before him, who examined them ſeparately and very ‘ ſtrictly; and told them, that he could do no leſs ‘ than commit them at that diſturbed time, though ‘ he found no other cauſe than ſuſpicion for ſo doing; ‘ and therefore, as a favour, would ſend them to the ‘ two Compters, and not to Newgate, that they ‘ might with leſs difficulty and expence obtain their ‘ liberty, when the ſtorm was blown over: he ordered the family belonging to the tavern to give ‘ bail the next day; Bernardi and Rookwood remained quiet under their reſpective and different ‘ confinement near a month, without any communication with each other, either by letter or meſſage, ‘ in all that time. Captain Charnock, King, and ‘ Keys, were taken up on the firſt proclamation, ‘ which came forth on or about the 22d day of February, and between that time and the 18th day of ‘ March next following they were all three condemned and executed. And upon the 23d day of ‘ the ſame month of March, came forth another proclamation, in which Bernardi's name was inſerted, ‘ and the reward of a thouſand pounds was thereby ‘ offered to apprehend him. Captain Rookwood repoſing an entire confidence in the friendſhip of one ‘ Mr. George Harris, intruſted him with the knowledge of his and Bernardi's being impriſoned in the ‘ Compters, as before related: and here it is to be ‘ obſerved, that although Captain Rookwood was ‘ in a proclamation, which came forth but the day ‘ before he and Bernardi went together to the tavern ‘ on Tower-hill, and of which, without doubt, he ‘ had been apprized at the time of his firſt coming to ‘ Bernardi, who then knew nothing of the matter, ‘ yet Captain Rookwood thought fit to conceal the

‘ ſame

(11) State Trials, Vol. iv. p. 684, 685.

March 1696, for high treaſon, but not upon oath (z). Some time after this, the witneſſes againſt the conſpirators were examined before the Lord Chief-Juſtice Holt, in order to the trial of Major Lowick, Major Bernardi, Capt. Knightly, and Capt. Rookwood, but no evidence at all appearing, his name was ſtruck out of the liſt, and Mr. Cranburn's inſerted in his ſtead; and thoſe four were afterwards tried and convicted (a). After all the trials were over, ſix gentlemen who were confined entered their prayer at the ſeſſions in the Old Bailey, and were firſt bailed and then diſcharged, though five of their names had been in proclamations, and one thouſand pounds reward paid for apprehending them (b). There then remained in priſon Major Bernardi, Capt. Counter, Mr. Caſſils, Mr. Meldrum, and Mr. Chambers, who were confined in different parts of the gaol, and had no communication with each other. But their friends, after the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act expired, and the other gentlemen had been diſcharged, entered prayers for them at the next ſeſſions, in order to their being tried or bailed; but at the requeſt of the Solicitor of the Treaſury, the Court was adjourned, and the Parliament being ſitting, a bill was brought in for impriſoning them a year, on a ſuggeſtion, that in that time evidence might be found againſt them; and when this bill came up to the Houſe of Lords, Mr. Blackbourne's name was inſerted, though he was diſcharged before, and taken into cuſtody of a Meſſenger while the bill was depending in the Houſe of Commons, without any freſh charge againſt him (c). This act having paſſed, and the year expired, a ſecond act was paſſed for the ſame purpoſe, for another year. On the expiration of the ſecond act there paſſed a third, for confining them during the pleaſure of King William; and his Majeſty, upon the application of the late Earl of Burlington, was graciouſly pleaſed to promiſe that he would deliver them in a ſhort time; but his kind intention was fruſtrated by his illneſs and death, which followed ſoon after. An act was then paſſed for confining them during the pleaſure of Queen Anne, in whoſe reign Capt. James Counter was diſcharged, though the only one of the ſix that was committed upon oath; and the like promiſe was obtained from her Majeſty in favour of Major Bernardi, at the requeſt of the Duke of Buckingham, and for Mr. Blackbourne, at the inſtance of the Earl of Oxford. But no order was made before the Queen's death, when an act paſſed for confining them during the pleaſure of King George the Firſt, and a ſixth in the beginning of the late reign (d). Under this confinement, Robert Meldrum, James Chambers, Robert Caſſils, and John Bernardi, died, the latter on the 20th of September, 1736, after very near forty years impriſonment (e); and Mr. Robert Blackbourne, by the clemency of his late Majeſty, was removed to the King's Bench. There is nothing farther to be added in reſpect to this gentleman, but that, in the year 1712, he married a ſecond wife, by whom he had ten children while in Newgate, and by whoſe

ſame from the knowledge of Bernardi as long as he could; and judging it conducive to his ſafety, he changed his name, and prevailed on him ſo to do, but without acquainting Bernardi with the proclamation as a reaſon for his ſo doing. Captain Rookwood was often viſited by the ſaid Mr. Harris, to whom theſe particulars were communicated by Captain Rookwood; and as ſoon as the proclamation of the 23d of March came forth, which was the laſt that was publiſhed to apprehend conſpirators, and was publiſhed at ſome weeks diſtance from the reſt, and wherein Bernardi's name was inſerted, with a reward of a thouſand pounds to apprehend him, as before mentioned; Harris went and diſcovered Captain Rookwood and Bernardi for the ſake of the reward; and they were taken out of the Compters by a detachment of the guards in the night of the 24th of the ſame month of March, and were carried to the Tilt-yard, and examined by the Lords of the Council the next day, and committed cloſe priſoners to Newgate, loaded with heavy irons, and put into ſeparate, diſmal, dark, and ſtinking apartments, not being allowed to ſpeak to each other from the time of their firſt being taken out of the two Compters. Bernardi did never ſee Rookwood afterwards, who was ſoon after tried and condemned, and was executed at Tyburn on the 29th day of April following (12).' It appears from this account, that Major Bernardi was guilty of very great indiſcretions in the courſe of this affair, by carrying Captain Rookwood into the company of his friends at the tavern upon Tower-hill, which involved many innocent perſons in much trouble; in continuing there all night, which had a very ſuſpicious aſpect; in changing his name when he was committed, and ſubmitting quietly to that impriſonment, which had with reſpect to him the ſame aſpect as in regard to Captain Rookwood. After all, Major Bernardi was the only perſon amongſt thoſe who fell under this extraordinary confinement that had juſt reaſon to complain. Mr. Chambers is mentioned as the perſon who was to give notice of King William's going out, in order for the conſpirators to follow and attack him (13). Captain Counter is ſworn to have delivered arms to ſome of the conſpirators (14): and Blackbourne is poſitively ſworn to have been one of them that was to have acted under Captain Rookwood (15). But with reſpect to Major Bernardi, there is only Mr. Harris's account that he had ſeen him in the company of Mr. Rookwood; and conſidering the character that witneſs gives himſelf, we may very well judge, that after what Bernardi ſays in his relation, he could not do leſs than name him in the manner he did, having got his name inſerted in the proclamation. It is, indeed, ſtrange that the ſix other perſons ſhould be bailed and diſcharged, conſidering that as much or more had been ſaid againſt them in the trials of ſuch of the conſpirators as were convicted, than againſt thoſe that were detained with Bernardi. But the truth ſeems to be, that the conſequences of diſcharging ſo many deſperate people under ſo high an imputation ſo ſoon, had not been then ſufficiently conſidered: and that this was the true reaſon, and not any partiality to one ſet of men, or prejudice againſt the other, appears from the apprehending Blackbourne the ſecond time, and cauſing his name to be inſerted in the bill for impriſoning the reſt when it came up to the Houſe of Lords. Theſe remarks follow naturally from a view of the facts which occaſioned them, and which they are intended to explain; and, as ſuch, it is hoped the reader will conſider them, and make proper allowances for what one man is naturally apt to ſay in his own caſe, and the light in which things appear to another who inquires only after truth, and is not at all ſolicitous on which ſide he finds it.

⁂ [It muſt be acknowledged, that the long impriſonment of Major Bernardi, when no evidence of criminality could be produced againſt him (if that was indeed the caſe), was an act of flagrant injuſtice, totally inconſiſtent with thoſe principles that gave riſe to the Revolution, and which could not be juſtified by the circumſtances of the times.] T.

(z) See the copy of this commitment in Bernardi's Life, p. 110, 111.

(a) State Trials, Vol. iv. p. 661.

(b) Theſe were the three Higgons's, Capt. Stow, Capt. Walbank, and Mr. Blackbourne.

(c) Bernardi's Life, p. 95—97.

(d) *Ibid.* p. 97—103.

(e) London Magazine, 1736, p. 521, col. b. Gentleman's Magazine, 1736, p. 533, col. a.

(12) Life of Bernardi, p. 87—92.

(13) State Trials, Vol. iv. p. 568.

(14) *Ibid.* p. 688.

(15) *Ibid.* p. 687.

care and induſtry he was chiefly ſupported *(f)*. Major Bernardi was a little briſk man, of a very cheerful diſpoſition, and who bore his misfortunes, more eſpecially his long impriſonment, and frequent indiſpoſitions by the breaking out of old wounds, with great conſtancy of mind; and was much reſpected and beloved by all who knew him. C.

*** [BERNERS (Juliana), on account of her being one of the earlieſt female writers in England, is entitled to ſome notice in this Work. She is frequently called Juliana Barnes, but Berners was her more proper name *(a)*. She was an Eſſex lady, and, according to Mr. Ballard, was probably born, at Roding in that county, about the beginning of the fifteenth century; being the daughter of Sir James Berners of Berners Roding, and ſiſter of Richard Lord Berners *(b)* If, however, as is generally agreed, Sir James Berners was her father, her birth could have been very little after 1388; for in that year Sir James Berners was beheaded, as an enemy to the public, together with other favourites and corrupt miniſters of King Richard the Second *(c)*. The education of Juliana ſeems to have been the very beſt which that age could afford, and her attainments were ſuch, that ſhe is celebrated, by various authors, for her uncommon learning, and her other fine accompliſhments. Her extraordinary qualifications rendered her every way capable and deſerving of the office ſhe bore; which was that of Prioreſs of Sopewell Nunnery. This was a cell to, and very near St. Alban's; and a good part of the ſhell of it is ſtill ſtanding. Here ſhe lived in high eſteem, and flouriſhed, according to Bale, Tanner, and Ballard, about the year 1460; but if what we have ſaid concerning her birth be the true account, ſhe muſt have flouriſhed ſomewhat earlier. She was a very beautiful lady, of great ſpirit, and loved maſculine exerciſes, ſuch as hawking, hunting, *&c.* With theſe ſports ſhe uſed frequently to recreate herſelf; and ſo thoroughly was ſhe ſkilled in them, that ſhe wrote treatiſes of hawking, hunting, and heraldry *(d)*. ‘ From ‘ an Abbeſs diſpoſed to turn author,’ ſays Mr. Warton, ‘ we might more reaſonably ‘ have expected a manual of meditations for the cloſet, or ſelect rules for making ſalves, ‘ or diſtilling ſtrong waters. But the diverſions of the field were not thought inconſiſtent ‘ with the character of a religious lady of this eminent rank, who reſembled an Abbot in ‘ reſpect of exerciſing an extenſive manerial juriſdiction, and who hawked and hunted in ‘ common with other ladies of diſtinction *(e)*.’ So well eſteemed were Juliana Berners's treatiſes, and, indeed, ſo popular were the ſubjects on which they were written, that they were publiſhed in the very infancy of the art of printing. The firſt edition is ſaid to have been printed at St. Alban's, in 1481 *(f)*. It was certainly printed at the ſame place in 1486, in a ſmall *folio* *(g)*; and again, at Weſtminſter, by W. de Worde, in 1496, in *quarto* *(h)*. Among Cryne's books, in the Bodleian library, there is a black letter copy of this work, ‘ imprynted at London in Paul's Churchyarde by me Hary Tab.’ It was again printed, with wooden cuts, by William Copland, without date, and intitled, ‘ The ‘ Boke of hawkyng, hunting, and fiſhing, with all the properties and medecynes that are ‘ neceſſary to be kept.’ Here the tract on *Armory* is omitted, which ſeems to have been firſt inſerted that the work might contain a complete courſe of education for a gentleman. The ſame title is in W. Powel's edition, 1550 *(i)*. The laſt impreſſion of it was in *quarto*, at London, in 1595, under the following title, ‘ The Gentleman's Academie: ‘ or the Book of St. Albans: containing three moſt exact and excellent Books; the firſt ‘ of Hawking, the ſecond of all the proper Terms of Hunting, and the laſt of Armory: ‘ all compiled by Juliana Barnes, in the year from the incarnation of Chriſt 1486. And ‘ now reduced into better method by G. M. *(k)*.’ This editor is certainly miſtaken, in ſaying that the whole work was compoſed in 1486. Juliana Berners could ſcarcely have been living at that time; and even if ſhe was not then dead, the book muſt have been written by her in a more early period of life. It is ſaid, indeed, in the Colophon at the end of the St Alban's edition, ‘ And here now endith the Boke of blaſyng of armys, ‘ tranſlatyt and compylyt togedyr at Saynt Albons the yere from thyncarnacyon of our ‘ Lorde Jheſu Criſt MCCCCLXXXVI *(l)*.’ But all we can juſtly infer from hence is, that that part of the work which relates to heraldry was not drawn up by Juliana Berners. It is obſervable, that, though the whole treatiſe is uſually aſcribed to her, her name is only ſubjoined to the book on Hawking and Hunting; and that what relates to *the blaſing of Arms* contains no more than abſtracts from a performance of Nicholas Upton, *de re militari, et factis illuſtribus*, written about the year 1441 *(m)*. It is highly probable, therefore, that this latter part, if it was compiled ſo late as in 1486, was added by another hand; and, indeed, if Juliana Berners was the daughter of Sir James Berners, there can be no doubt about the matter. What ſhe has ſaid on the ſubject of Hawking begins thus: ‘ Inſomuch that gentill men, and honeſt perſones, have grete delite in haukyng, ‘ and deſire to have the maner to take haukys; and alſo, how, and in wat wyſe, they ‘ ſhoulde gyde theym ordinateli; and how to know the gentill termys in communyng of ‘ their haukys, and to underſtande theyr ſekeneſes and enfirmitees; and alſo to knowe ‘ medicines for theym accordyng; and many notabull termys that ben uſed in haukyng, ‘ both of theyr haukys, and of the fowles, that theyr haukys ſhall fley. Therefore thys ‘ book folowyng in a dew forme ſhewys veri knowlege of ſuch pleſure to gentill men, ‘ and parſonys diſpoſed to ſe itt *(n)*.’ That part of our Abbeſs's work which relates to Hunting is written in rhyme. It is ſpoken in her own perſon; in which, being otherwiſe

a woman

(f) Bernardi's Life, p. 228.

(a) Tanner's Bibliotheca, p. 76. Warton's Hiſt. of Poetry, Vol. ii. p. 171. Ballard's Memoirs of Britiſh Ladies, p. 3.

(b) Tanner and Ballard, *ubi ſupra.*

(c) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. ii. p. 196. Parliamentary Hiſt. Vol. i. p. 462.

(d) Tanner and Ballard, *ubi ſupra.* Bale, Cent. 833.

(e) Hiſtory of Poetry, Vol. ii. p. 172.

(f) Ballard, *ubi ſupra.*

(g) Ames's Typographical Antiquities, p. 465.

(h) *Ibid.* p. 85. Hiſt. of Poetry, *ubi ſupra*, p. 171.

(i) *Ibid.* note.

(k) *Ibid.* Ballard, *ubi ſupra.*

(l) *Ibid.* Hiſt. of Poetry, *ubi ſupra*, p. 172, note.

(m) *Ibid. ibid.*

(n) Typographical Antiquities, *ubi ſupra.* Ballard, *ibid.*

a woman of authority, ſhe aſſumes the title of Dame. Mr. Warton ſuſpects the whole to be a tranſlation from the French and Latin. The beginning of the poem is as follows:

'Mi dere ſons, where ye fare, by frith, or by fell *,
'Take good hede in his tyme how Triſtrem wol tell
'How many maner beſtes of venery there were,
'Liſtenes now to our Dame, and ye ſhullen here.
'Ffowre maner beſtes of venery there are,
'The firſt of hem is a hart, the ſecond is an hare;
'The boor is one of tho,
'The wolff, and no mo.
'And whereſo ye comen in pley † or in place,
'Now ſhal I tel you which ben beſtes of chace:
'One of the a buck, another a doo,
'The ffox, and the marteryn, and the wilde roo;
'And ye ſhal, mi dere ſones, other beſtes all,
'Where ſo ye hem finde, raſcal hem call,
'In frith or in fell,
'Or in fforeſt, y yow tell.
'And to ſpeke of the hert, if ye will hit lere,
'Ye ſhal call him a calfe at the firſt yere;
'The ſecond yere a broket, ſo ſhal he be,
'The third yere a ſpayard, learneth this at me;
'The iiii yere calles hem a ſtagge be any way,
'The firſt yere a grete ſtagge, mi Dame bade you ſay (o).'

The barbariſm of the times ſtrongly appears in the indelicate expreſſions which Juliana Berners often uſes; and which are equally incompatible with her ſex and profeſſion (p). The book on *Armory* begins with the following curious piece of ſacred heraldry: 'Of the offspring of the *Gentilman* Jafeth, come Habraham, Moyſes, Aron, and the profettys; and alſo the Kyng of the right lyne of Mary, of whom that *Gentilman* Jheſus was borne, very God and Man: after his manhode Kynge of the land of Jude and of Jues, *Gentilman* by his modre Mary, Prince of *Cote Armure*, &c. (q).' The moſt diligent inquirers have not been able to determine the exact period of Juliana Berners's deceaſe; but from what hath been mentioned above, it is probable that ſhe died ſooner than has commonly been imagined (r).] K.

⁂ [BERRIMAN (William), a pious and learned Divine of the Church of England, was born in London, on the 24th of September, 1688. His father, Mr. John Berriman, was an apothecary in Biſhopgate-ſtreet; and his grandfather, the Reverend Mr. Berriman, was Rector of Bedington, in the county of Surry. His grammatical education he received partly at Banbury, in Oxfordſhire, and partly at Merchant Taylors School, London (a). At ſeventeen years of age he was entered a commoner at Oriel College, in Oxford, where he proſecuted his ſtudies with great aſſiduity and ſucceſs (b). Senſible both of the ridiculouſneſs and dangerous tendency of poſſeſſing only *a little learning*, he determined not to quit the univerſity till he had formed his judgment by acquainting himſelf with the complete circle of academical ſciences, and going through the whole exerciſe of the ſchools. When he came more particularly to examine his faith, he did not build on modern verſions, or modern Divines; but curiouſly ſearched the authentic originals, and to a critical ſkill in the Greek tongue, added, what at that time was much neglected, though ſince happily revived, the ſtudy of the Hebrew. In the knowledge of this language he was very accurate; and for a more perfect acquaintance with it, called in the aſſiſtance of the *Chaldee*, *Syriac*, and *Arabic* In the interpretation of the Scriptures, he did not attend to that momentary light which fancy and imagination ſeemed to flaſh upon them, but endeavoured to explain them by the rules of *grammar*, *criticiſm*, *logic*, and the *analogy of faith*. The articles of doctrine and diſcipline which he drew from the ſacred Writings, he traced through the Primitive Church, and confirmed by the evidence of the Fathers, and the deciſions of the more generally received councils (c). On the 2d of June, 1711, Mr. Berriman was admitted to the degree of Maſter of Arts (d). After he left the univerſity, he officiated, for ſome time, as Curate and Lecturer of Allhallows in Thames-ſtreet, and Lecturer of St. Michael's, Queenhithe (e). The firſt occaſion of his appearing in print aroſe from the Trinitarian Controverſy. He publiſhed, in 1719, *A ſeaſonable Review of Mr. Whiſton's Account of Primitive Doxologies*, which was followed, in the ſame year, by *A Second Review*. Theſe pieces recommended him ſo effectually to the notice of Dr. Robinſon, Biſhop of London, that in 1720, he was appointed his Lordſhip's domeſtic Chaplain; and ſo well ſatisfied was that Prelate with Mr. Berriman's integrity, abilities, and application, that he conſulted and entruſted him in moſt of his ſpiritual and ſecular concerns. As a farther proof of his approbation, the Biſhop collated him, in April 1722, to the living of St. Andrew-Underſhaft (f). On the 25th of June, in the ſame year, he accumulated, at Oxford,

* Wood or field.

† Plain.

(o) Hiſt. of Poetry, *ubi ſupra*, p. 171, 172.

(p) *Ibid.*

(q) Ames and Warton, *ubi ſupra.*

(r) Ballard, *ubi ſupra*, p. 5.

(a) New and General Biographical Dictionary, 8vo, Vol. xii. p. 46.

(b) *Ibid.* Mr. Glocester Ridley's Funeral Sermon for Dr. Berriman, 4to, 1750, 4th edition.

(c) Ridley's Sermon, *ubi ſupra.*

(d) Catalogue of Oxford Graduates, p. 20.

(e) New Dict. *ubi ſupra.*

(f) Ridley's Sermon, *ubi ſupra.*

the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity (*g*). In 1723, Dr. Berriman loſt his patron, the Biſhop of London, who, in teſtimony of his regard to his Chaplain, bequeathed him the fifth part of his large and valuable library (*h*). In conſequence of the evidence our learned Divine had already given of his zeal and ability in defending the commonly received doctrine of the Trinity, he was appointed to preach Lady Moyer's Lecture; and this ſervice was performed by him in 1723 and 1724. The eight ſermons he had delivered on the occaſion, were publiſhed, in 1725, under the title of *An Hiſtorical Account of the Trinitarian Controverſy* (*i*). This work, in the opinion of Dr. Godolphin, provoſt of Eton College, merited a much greater reward than Lady Moyer's donation. Accordingly, he ſoon found an opportunity of conferring ſuch a reward upon Dr. Berriman, by inviting him, without ſolicitation, to accept of a Fellowſhip in his college. Our author was elected Fellow in 1727, and from that time he chiefly reſided at Eton in the Summer, and at his parſonage-houſe in the Winter (*k*). His election into the college at Eton was a benefit and ornament to that ſociety. He was a faithful ſteward in their ſecular affairs, was ſtrictly obſervant of their local ſtatutes, and laboured that others ſhould be the ſame. He obſerved, with concern, one hardſhip which the better the ſchool is, muſt the more frequently happen. This is, when the care of the maſters, and the proficiency of the ſcholars produce a more plentiful harveſt than the vacancies of the college can receive; ſo that many promiſing youths are diſappointed of that ſucceſs which they have toiled for and deſerved. Dr. Berriman, who was of too compaſſionate a temper, not to feel their diſtreſs, made, by his laſt will, a conſiderable proviſion towards a remedy; thus ſupplying, from his private urn, where the ſtreams of royal bounty fail (*l*). While the Doctor's learned productions obtained for him the eſteem and friendſhip of ſeveral able and valuable men, and, among the reſt, of Dr. Waterland, it is not, at the ſame time, ſurpriſing, that, being written on ſubjects very likely to be controverted, they ſhould excite againſt him formidable antagoniſts. Certain things caſually mentioned by him, in his *Hiſtorical Account*, relative to miracles, drew upon him the animadverſions of two writers. One of theſe, who then appeared without a name, and who treated our author with decency and reſpect, was Dr. Conyers Middleton. Afterwards, indeed, when Dr. Middleton publiſhed his Introductory Diſcourſe to the Inquiry into the miraculous powers of the Chriſtian Church, and the Inquiry itſelf, he ſpoke of Dr. Berriman with no ſmall degree of ſeverity and contempt (*m*). In anſwer to the attacks made upon him, our Divine printed, in 1731, *A Defence of ſome Paſſages in the Hiſtorical Account.* In 1733, came out his *brief Remarks on Mr. Chandler's Introduction to the Hiſtory of the Inquiſition*, which was followed by *A Review of the Remarks* (*n*). In this controverſy, he experienced the ſevere pen of that acute and learned nonconformiſt; and it was rather unfortunate for Dr. Berriman, that he ſhould expoſe himſelf to the hazard of having the charge brought againſt him of favouring, in any degree, the principles of intolerance. His next publication, which was more to his honour, and more for the common benefit of Chriſtianity, being calculated for the defence of Revelation in general, was his courſe of ſermons at Mr. Boyle's lecture. Theſe had been preached in the years 1730, 1731, and 1732; and were given to the world, in two volumes, 8*vo*, in 1733. The author, in this work, ſtates the evidence of our religion from the Old Teſtament; vindicates the Chriſtian interpretation of the ancient prophecies; and points out the hiſtorical chain and connection of theſe prophecies. In the preface, he aſſerts the authority of Moſes, as an inſpired hiſtorian and law-giver, againſt his old antagoniſt Dr. Middleton; who, in a Letter to Dr. Waterland, had diſputed the literal account of the Fall, and had expreſſed himſelf in a manner not ſufficiently orthodox concerning the Divine origin of the Moſaic inſtitution, as well as the Divine inſpiration of its founder (*o*). Beſides the writings we have mentioned, Dr. Berriman printed a number of occaſional ſermons, and, among the reſt, one on the Sunday before his induction to his living of St. Andrew Underſhaft, and another on Family Religion. He departed this life, at his houſe in London, on the 5th of February, 1749-50, in the 62d year of his age. On the 10th of that month he was buried, and his funeral ſermon was preached by the Rev. Glouceſter Ridley, LL. B. who hath given a great character of him, both as a miniſter of his pariſh [*A*], and as a private

(*g*) Catalogue of Oxford Graduates, *ubi ſupra.*

(*h*) Ridley, *ubi ſupra.*

(*i*) *Ibid.* New Dict. *ubi ſupra.*

(*k*) *Ibid. ibid.*

(*l*) Ridley's Sermon, p. 17.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 13.

(*n*) New Dict. *ubi ſupra.*

(*o*) Ridley, and New Dict.

[*A*] *As a miniſter of his pariſh.*] ‘ Of his conſcientious diſcharge,’ ſays Mr. Ridley, ‘ of the paſtoral duty, I have almoſt as many witneſſes as hearers. That ſound faith which influenced his actions, he religiouſly endeavoured to communicate to others: and the pains he had taken to confirm himſelf in the faith, pure and unmixt, was equalled by the fatherly care he took to recommend it in the ſame purity, and with the beſt effect.

‘ He *prayed* in the congregation with ſuch a ſerious and unaffected piety, as improved the devotion which he found in others, and kindled it where he found it not. His ſermons were well weighed judicious diſcourſes, aiming to ſtrengthen your faith and better your lives, thereby to procure you both temporal and eternal happineſs. They were the effects of labour and ſtudy, without the appearance of it; not the crude enlargements of zeal without knowledge, but the fruit of great learning and induſtry. Nor were they more carefully compoſed, than happily delivered; he had ſo engaging an articulation, that attention never flagged when he ſpoke, and the ready ear was pleaſed in conveying his leſſons to the heart.—Nor was he leſs careful to provide milk for babes, than ſtrong meat for thoſe of full age; diligently catechiſing the children of his pariſh during *Lent*, and familiarly expounding the Catechiſm to them.—In ſolving doubts and directing conſcience, a ready and nice Caſuiſt; a ſcience of which he made himſelf maſter, notwithſtanding the too general neglect in our congregations to afford opportunities of exerciſing it.’——

private Chriſtian [*B*]. Such was Dr. Berriman's integrity, that no ill uſage could provoke him, no friendſhip ſeduce him, no ambition tempt him, no intereſt buy him, to do a wrong, or violate his conſcience. When a certain Right Reverend Prelate, unſolicited, and in pure reſpect to his diſtinguiſhed merit, offered him a valuable prebend in his cathedral church of Lincoln, the Doctor gratefully acknowledged the generoſity of the offer, but conſcientiouſly declined it, as he was bound from accepting of it by the ſtatutes of his College. The greateſt difficulty of obtaining a diſpenſation was from himſelf (*q*). In the year of his deceaſe, forty of his ſermons were publiſhed, in two volumes 8vo, by his brother, John Berriman, M. A. Rector of St. Alban's, Wood-ſtreet, under the title of 'Chriſtian Doctrines and Duties explained and recommended.' In 1763, nineteen ſermons appeared in one volume, under the ſame title. With reſpect to Dr. Berriman's practical diſcourſes, it is allowed that they are grave, weighty, and uſeful; and well fitted to promote pious and virtuous diſpoſitions. But when he treats on the power, rights, and dignity of the prieſthood, or on doctrines which have been greatly diſputed, different opinions will be formed, according to the different ſentiments of his readers.] K.

(*q*) *Ibid. ibid.*

‘ In adminiſtering the ſacraments, punctual and exact; in baptiſm, not mixing the water of grace with the cups of intemperance, or blending Chriſtian ſacraments with Bacchanalian rites; but making the church the place of ingrafting into the congregation, and the hours of prayer the cuſtomary ſeaſons of it; that it might be done in the preſence of more witneſſes, who might at leaſt have thoſe opportunities of hearing the vows and promiſes which themſelves had made.—In the Lord's Supper, ſo conſtant in officiating himſelf, that in the ſummer, when he generally reſided at Eton, he journeyed every month to be at the ſtated celebrations of it, to communicate with his pariſhioners in thoſe pledges of love; and that by partaking with them of *that one bread*, he might with them *become one body in Chriſt*, 1 Cor. x. 17.—In ſhort, his aſſiduous labours and exemplary life could not fail of recommending religion in the cleareſt light and moſt affecting manner.’

[*B*] *As a private Chriſtian.*] ‘ In his family,’ ſays Mr. Ridley, ‘ he was a pattern of conjugal affection, a chearful, tender, inſeparable companion: to his ſervants an excellent maſter, who forgot not half his duty, but was careful of their ſouls as well as of their bodies, by family devotion, order, and inſtruction. It pleaſed not God to bleſs him with children in the courſe of nature, but he raiſed others to himſelf by adoption. And how *true* a father he was to them, let his pleaſures and his griefs declare. When he ſaw the happy fruit of his pious care in their education, the overflowings of his heart were viſible; rejoicing, like the great Father of the world, when from a ſurvey of his creation he ſaw that it was good; a joy which fathers only in like happy circumſtances can feel. In proportion to ſuch joy were his late ſorrows, when it pleaſed God to deprive him of one of theſe comforts; and if the loſs made deeper impreſſions than was expected in one whoſe affections were ſo ſubdued to the will of God, it proved, at leaſt, that in him adoption was as ſtrong as nature. But having corrected his griefs, and religiouſly ſubmitted to the divine appointment, it pleaſed God to give him reſt from his trouble, that whom he mourned an adopted daughter loſt, he might find again, and rejoice with a ſaint.

‘ In general, he had affability without meanneſs, dignity without pride, learning without pedantry, zeal without blindneſs, and piety without hypocriſy. The mark at which he ſteadily aimed was Heaven; yet he was ſtudious to ſerve and entertain his fellow-travellers in their paſſage.

‘ His converſation was guarded and correct, yet occaſionally enlivened with great wit and vivacity; not polluted with the froth and filthineſs of faſhionable mirth, but ſeaſoned with the quickneſs of *Attic* ſalt.

‘ His charity was effuſive; not the raſh ſcattering of weakneſs and indiſcriminating good-nature, but largely poured forth from principle, obedience to God, and love to mankind; increaſed by great prudence and œconomy, for this purpoſe, *that he might have to give to him that needeth*, Epheſ. iv. 28. and directed to proper objects, leſt he ſhould give his goods to feed the poor without charity, 1 Cor. xiii. 3. ſo ſecret, that ſcarcely did his left-hand know what his right-hand gave; yet occaſionally ſo large, that, as I am credibly informed, it has extended, at one time, early in life, to more than even half his ſubſtance.’ Beſides his extreme liberality to many of his relations, who ſtood in need of his help; his building a new fair parſonage-houſe; and his annual and occaſional aſſiſtance to the ſocieties for promoting Chriſtian knowledge, propagating the Goſpel, Iriſh ſchools, and the corporation of the Sons of the Clergy; he performed many other acts of a more than ordinary bounty (1).

(1) Ridley's Funeral Sermon.

⁂ [**BERTHEAU** (Charles), an eminent and ingenious French Proteſtant Divine, long reſident in the city of London, was born in the year 1660, at Montpelier, where his father, whoſe name alſo was Charles, was Miniſter. He ſtudied philoſophy and divinity partly in France, and partly in Holland, and was admitted a Miniſter in the Synod held at Vigan in 1681, being then only twenty-one years of age (*a*). He was, however, the next year, choſen Paſtor to the church of Montpelier; but he did not make any long ſtay in that city; for he was ſoon after promoted to be one of the Miniſters of the church of Paris, which met at Charenton (*b*). He continued in that ſtation about two years, and though he was yet in very early life, he diſcharged the paſtoral duties to which he was called in a manner greatly to his reputation (*c*). But when Lewis the Fourteenth thought proper, by the revocation of the Edict of Nantz [*A*], to drive his Proteſtant

(*a*) General Dictionary, hiſtorical and critical, folio, vol. iii. p. 280.

(*b*) General Dict. *ubi ſupra.*

(*c*) General Dict. *ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] *The revocation of the edict of Nantz.*] Mr. Hume ſays, ‘ Lewis the Fourteenth, after having long haraſſed and moleſted the Proteſtants, at laſt revoked entirely the edict of Nantz; which had been enacted by Harry the Fourth, for ſecuring them the exerciſe of their religion; which had been declared irrevocable, and which, during the experience of near a century, had been attended with no ſenſible inconvenience. All the iniquities, inſeparable from perſecution, were exerciſed againſt thoſe unhappy religioniſts; who became obſtinate in proportion to the oppreſſions which they ſuffered, and either covered under a feigned converſion a more violent abhorrence to the Catholic communion, or ſought among foreign nations for that liberty, of which they were bereaved in their native country. Above half a million of the moſt uſeful and induſtrious ſubjects deſerted France; and exported, together with immenſe ſums of money, thoſe arts and manufactures, which had chiefly tended to enrich that kingdom. They propagated every where the moſt tragical accounts of the tyranny exerciſed againſt them, Proteſtant ſubjects out of France, an act equally repugnant to juſtice, humanity, and the dictates of ſound policy, Mr. Bertheau found himſelf obliged to quit his native country. He accordingly came to England in 1685, and the following year was choſen one of the Miniſters of the Walloon Church in Threadneedle ſtreet, London, where he diſcharged the duties of the paſtoral office for about forty-four years, in ſuch a manner as procured very general applauſe. He died on the 25th of December, 1732, in the ſeventy-third year of his age, exceedingly regretted by his congregation, and by all who had the pleaſure of being acquainted with him *(d)*. He poſſeſſed conſiderable abilities, was diſtinguiſhed for his good ſenſe and ſound judgment, and had, we are informed, ſo retentive a memory, ‘ that it might be ſaid, he never forgot any thing of what he ſaw, read, or heard. He underſtood eccleſiaſtical hiſtory perfectly well, and might always be conſulted upon that ſubject with ſafety; for he would at any time name the perſons, and even the moſt minute circumſtances of time and place relating to the events upon which he was conſulted *(e)*.’ He was a very eloquent preacher, though it is intimated, that there was ſomewhat unfavourable in his appearance. Two volumes of his ſermons have been printed in French, from which we ſhall ſelect one or two ſtriking paſſages, which will be found in the notes [*B*]. It is ſaid in the General Dictionary, that he wrote ‘ Diſcourſes ‘ upon

(d) General Dict. *ubi ſupra.*

(e) General Dict. *ubi ſupra.*

‘ and revived amongſt the Proteſtants all thoſe ſentiments of the bloody and perſecuting ſpirit of Popery, to which ſo many incidents in all ages had given too much foundation. Near fifty thouſand refugees paſſed over into England (1).’

(1) Hiſtory of England, vol. viii p.235, 236. Edit. 8*vo*, 1763.

It appears, that the French refugees might ſpeak in very ſtrong terms of the tyranny and cruelty which, about the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantz, had been exerciſed againſt the Proteſtants in France, without any exaggeration. Mr. Voltaire informs us, that in the year 1681, a declaration was publiſhed, by which the children of Proteſtants ‘ were *permitted* to renounce their religion at the age of ſeven years. In conſequence of this declaration, great numbers of children were ſeized in the provinces, with a view to make them abjure, and troops were quartered upon their parents (2).’ The reſult of this was, that the ſame year, ‘ a great many families of Poitou, Saintonge, and the neighbouring provinces, abandoned the kingdom (3).’ To prevent theſe emigrations, eſpecially with reſpect to artiſans and ſeamen, the puniſhment of the gallies was denounced againſt all of theſe profeſſions who ſhould attempt to quit the kingdom (4).’

(2) Age of Lewis XIV. ch. 32.

(3) Voltaire, *ubi ſupra.*

(4) Voltaire, *ubi ſupra.*

Mr. Voltaire alſo ſays, ‘ it was obſerved, that a great number of Calviniſt families ſold their eſtates. Immediately a proclamation appeared, confiſcating all thoſe eſtates, in caſe the ſeller ſhould leave the kingdom within the ſpace of a year. The perſecution was now redoubled againſt the miniſters; their meetings were taken from them upon the moſt frivolous pretences; and all the rents and annuities left by will to their congregations, were applied to the hoſpitals of the kingdom (5).’

(5) Voltaire, *ubi ſupra.*

‘ Towards the end of the year 1684, and in the beginning of 1685, when Lewis XIV., ſtill powerfully armed, had nothing to apprehend from any of his neighbours, troops were ſent into all the cities and caſtles where the Proteſtants were moſt numerous; and as the dragoons, who at that time were very ill diſciplined, committed the greateſt exceſſes, this execution obtained the name of the *Dragonade.*

‘ The frontiers were guarded with all poſſible care, to prevent the flight of thoſe who were deſigned to be reunited to the church. It was a kind of chace carried on within a large encloſure. A Biſhop, an Intendant, a Subdelegate, a Curate, or ſome other perſon in authority, marched at the head of the ſoldiers. The principal Calviniſt families were aſſembled, thoſe eſpecially who were judged moſt likely to ſubmit. They renounced their religion in the name of the reſt; and ſuch as continued obſtinate were given up to the mercy of the ſoldiers, who had every licence, except that of killing: yet many were treated with ſo much cruelty, as to die ſoon after of the uſage they had received (6).’ Our author afterwards ſays, that ‘ while the meetings of the reformed were thus demoliſhed in all parts, and abjurations were demanded in the provinces with an armed force, the edict of Nantz was at laſt revoked in the month of October, 1685; which completed the ruin of the Proteſtant cauſe, already weakened and undermined on all ſides (7).’

(6) Voltaire, *ubi ſupra.*

(7) Voltaire, *ubi ſupra.*

The edict which revoked that of Nantz will ever reflect the greateſt diſhonour on the memory of that pompous tyrant, Lewis the Fourteenth, and on thoſe who adviſed him to that infamous meaſure. His bigotted Chancellor, Le Tellier, when he ſigned the edict of revocation, cried out with an air of joy, *Nunc dimittis ſervum tuum, Domine, quia viderunt oculi mei ſalutem tuam* (8). ‘ He did not imagine,’ ſays Voltaire, ‘ that what he then ſigned would be productive of the greateſt miſchief to France (9).’

(8) Voltaire, *ubi ſupra.*

(9) *Ibid.*

[*B*] *Two volumes of his ſermons have been printed.*] The firſt volume was publiſhed in 1712; and it was reprinted at Amſterdam in 1730, two ſermons being then added to the volume, and the ſecond volume publiſhed at the ſame time. Theſe two volumes contain the following ſermons:

Vol. I. I. Of enquiring after *News* in a Chriſtian manner, Acts, xvii. 21. 2. On a New-year's day, 2 Cor. iv. 8. 3. The Origin of Errors, Matt. xiii. 25. 4. Of a good Conſcience, Acts xxiv. 16. 5. On the Satisfaction of Chriſt, 2 Cor. v. 19, 20, 21. 6. A Charity-ſermon, Acts, xx. 35. 7. On the Tranſgreſſion of a ſingle Commandment, James ii. 7. 8. On the Contentment of a Chriſtian, Philip. iv. 11. 9. On Covetouſneſs, 1 Tim. vi. 9, 10. On the divine eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian religion. 11. On the eaſineſs of Chriſt's Yoke, Matt. xi. 30. 12. On Self-denial, Matt. xvi. 21.

Vol. II. 1. On a Faſt-day, Pſ. xxxiii. 12.. 2. On the Uſe of Afflictions, 1 Cor. xi. 32. 3 On Obedience to the Faith, 2 Cor. x. v. 4. On the Love of God to the World, John, iii. 16. 5. On the Obſcurity with which the Deity is ſurrounded, Iſa. xlv. 15. 6. On the Vanity of the World, Eccleſ. i. 2. 7. On Slander, James, iv. 11. 8. On Reſtitution, Luke, xix. 8. 9. On the Myſtery of Godlineſs, 1 Tim. iii. 16. 10 On the Means of obtaining Salvation, Matt. xix. 16. 11. On the fooliſhneſs of the Wiſdom of the World, 1 Cor. iii. 19. 12. On the Effects of the Death of Chriſt, Heb. ii. 14, 15.

The ſermon on enquiring after *News* in a Chriſtian Manner, is a very curious diſcourſe, and we ſhall therefore make ſome extracts from it. It begins in the following manner: ‘ I am doubtful, my brethren, whether any of the great cities that have ever been, or which ſubſiſt at this day, have ſo ſtrongly reſembled the city of London, wherein we now preach the Goſpel, as the city of Athens, in which St. Paul firſt publiſhed the truths of Chriſtianity, and which he found filled with a rumour on the ſubject of a new religion, or of a new Deity, which they imagined he had brought to them, under the name of *Anaſtaſis*, or the Reſurrection. Athens was a concourſe of people of all nations, ranks, conditions, profeſſions, and abilities, and of perſons of the moſt oppoſite characters. It was there that ſhips arrived that brought the riches of every part of the world: there reſided a multitude of conſiderable merchants, who trafficked with theſe commodities, and diſtributed them on every ſide: there was the ſeat of the auguſt ſenate of Areopagus, which in majeſty did not give place to that of Rome, and which was ſuperior to it in merit, learning, and ability: there were aſſembled men of letters of every claſs, mathematicians, lawyers, poets, philoſophers, orators, as the public oracle of all the world, the ſource of juſtice, and the center of wit and of fine taſte. This aſſemblage of people, living in eaſe and in opulence, employed themſelves in learning ſuch news as might give ‘upon the Catechiſm,’ which were ſent into Holland to be printed; but as we have not ſeen them, we cannot determine whether they were ever publiſhed.] T.

‘give them information in their buſineſs, which might afford employment for their underſtandings, and furniſh matter for their converſations and intercourſe in ſociety. In this picture you undoubtedly recognize the city in which we live. The ſituation, the greatneſs, the concourſe of people, the opulence, the wit, the learning, all are ſimilar, but in a ſuperior degree; and which naturally produce that earneſt deſire of news, eſpecially relative to great events, which is ſo inſeparable from large cities. The vice of ſmaller and leſs populous places is a ſolicitude after news of an inferior kind, concerning particular families, and the neighbourhood; and on this ſubject they have a propenſity to raſh judgments and to ſlander. But in great cities men are addicted to news of a higher kind, to matters of ſtate, of religion, and of war, treaties, navigation, and commerce (10).’

Mr. Bertheau then proceeds to divide his diſcourſe into two parts; in the firſt, he ſhews how men enquire after news from a wrong principle and a bad motive; and in the ſecond, he explains from what principle and in what manner we ought to enquire after news. Men enquire after news, he ſays, firſt, out of idleneſs, which makes them averſe to ſerious buſineſs, and more inclined to trifle away their time, by enquiring after news, and making their obſervations on the facts and occurrences, whether true or falſe, which they hear related. Secondly, a ſpirit of curioſity is the ſource of their eagerneſs after news. Thirdly, they inquire after news from a principle of vanity. They are deſirous of collecting what information they can reſpecting public affairs, that they may communicate it again, and thereby appear poſſeſſed of a great deal of political penetration, or be thought to be upon very intimate terms with thoſe who govern the ſtate, and to be acquainted by them with the moſt ſecret deſigns, and the moſt important tranſactions. Fourthly, a ſpirit of malignity leads ſome to be deſirous of knowing whatever paſſes, and ſuch perſons are delighted, when they can publiſh ſome diſagreeable piece of news. Fifthly, they act from a ſpirit of faction. Sixthly, men inquire after news from a principle of intereſt. ‘Commerce,’ ſays Mr. Bertheau, ‘produces this effect in all great cities, but it is no where more viſible than in this city (London), and in a neighbouring place (11), which is the general rendezvous of merchants. When I paſs through it, methinks I ſee the very throne of Mammon, where private intereſt acts all its parts, appears in every ſhape, and diſplays all its arts and devices, to ſupplant other people, and to diſguiſe the true ſituation of public affairs, and where every one is always ready and diſpoſed to enrich himſelf at his neighbour's coſt. But after all, what is the main ſpring, which puts all this world of covetouſneſs in motion? What is the grand art there employed, to alter the courſe of exchange, to cry down merchandiſes, to raiſe their price, or to make the public funds riſe or fall? What is the myſtery of that game which hath coſt many ſo dear, by which ſuch numbers have been ruined; I mean the game of transferring and of receiving ſtocks, of buying and ſelling, of making and breaking bargains, and all this without a real fund, and by an imaginary traffic? It is ſome piece of news, which a man pretends to know before the public is acquainted with it, ſome falſe fact, which is artfully diſperſed by ſome perſon appointed for that purpoſe; a mere probability, which is given for an inconteſtable fact; it is a panic fear, or a vain conjecture, raiſed for ſome private view. They make the ſtate flouriſh, or reduce it to the brink of ruin; they beat the enemy, or are beaten; they take or loſe veſſels; the face of public affairs changes and changes again a thouſand times; and this merely to enrich or to ruin ſome private individuals. Such is the power of intereſt, ſuch the zeal of men for knowing and publiſhing news, when they can find their account in it.’

Mr. Bertheau proceeds, in the ſeventh place, to ſhew, that men inquire after news from a ſpirit of impatience; and eighthly, from a ſpirit of ſuperſtition, which, he obſerves, was very much the caſe with the Athenians. In the ſecond part of his diſcourſe, he ſhews how the deſire after news might be exerted in a Chriſtian manner, in favour of the church. Firſt, with regard to the propagation of Chriſtianity among the infidel nations. Here he reproaches the Proteſtants with the little zeal they have for the converſion of the Heathens, and oppoſes their coldneſs in that reſpect to the great zeal of the Roman Catholics; and he cloſes this head with praying for God's bleſſing upon the Society for propagating the Goſpel in foreign parts. Secondly, he ſays, we ought to inquire about news in favour of orthodoxy; and under this head Mr. Bertheau ſhews himſelf to be ſomewhat tinctured with bigotry. Thirdly, he ſhews that we ought to inquire after news with relation to the temporal affairs of the church; and laſtly, that we ought to make uſe of the news we learn, in order to lead us to expect, and even to promote, thoſe happy events, which God has promiſed to his church.

(10) Sermons ſurs divers textes de L'Ecriture Sainte. par Charles Bertheau, tome i. p. 1, 2, 3. Edit. Amſt. 1730.

(11) The Royal Exchange, which is but a ſmall diſtance from the church in Threadneedle-ſtreet, wherein this Sermon was preached.

BERTIE, the name of a very ancient, illuſtrious, and noble family, anceſtors of the preſent moſt noble Robert, Duke of Ancaſter, and alſo of the Right Honourable the Earl of Abingdon. There are few families more ancient than this; for we can, with great certainty, trace it as far back as the days of King Ethelred II., between ſeven and eight hundred years ago. That we may make the more room for this article, we ſhall give the genealogy of the family down to Peregrine, the firſt nobleman of it, in the note [*A*]; and ſhall confine ourſelves in the text to the Lives of PEREGRINE, ROBERT, and

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[*A*] *We ſhall give the genealogy of the family in the notes.*] This family originally came into England from *Bertiland* in Pruſſia, when the Saxons invaded this nation; and by the gift of one of the Saxon Kings had a caſtle, and alſo a town, which was denominated from thence *Bertieſet*, now Berſted, near Maidſtone in Kent; Sted, and Stad, denoting in the Saxon language a town (1). It appears from an old manuſcript in the Cotton library, that Leopald de Bertie was Conſtable of Dover-caſtle in the reign of King Ethelred, from whom deſcended Hieronymus de Bertie, founder, or at leaſt a great benefactor to one of the monaſteries in Kent, the north part of which he built at his own expence, and was himſelf buried in a chapel there, where theſe arms were put up againſt a pillar, *viz.* Three Battering Rams in pale (*). The ſaid Leopald quarrelling with the Monks of St. Auſtin at Canterbury about tithes, which the Monks endeavoured to carry off by force of arms, a fight began, in which a ſon of Leopald's was ſlain. Of this he complained to the King; but receiving no ſatisfaction, he flew to *Sweyn*, King of the Danes, for aſſiſtance, who invaded the kingdom with a powerful fleet, which was divided into two ſquadrons, one ſteering towards Northumberland, and the other for Kent, where they joined Leopald's forces, and laid ſiege to Canterbury, which they took in the year 1011, leading the Archbiſhop away captive. But Sweyn dying, the ſcale ſoon turned, for Ethelred miſerably perſecuted the Danes; and Burbach Bertie, the only ſurviving ſon of Leopald, conſcious of his father's actions, went to Robert, King of France, who received him honourably; and having married a French woman, ſettled there, where his poſterity continued till the year 1154, when Philip Bertie, with his family, accompanied King Henry the Second into England, and by that Prince's favour recovered his patrimony in Berſted. This Philip had iſſue Martin, who was father of Robert, and he of William, who had iſſue Edward, father of Jerome, who

(1) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. i. p. 255.

(*) The preſent arms of the family.

and Mountague BERTIE, three perſons renowned for their valour and loyalty, and ornaments to their country; and, as ſuch, highly deſerving a place in Engliſh Biography.

BERTIE (Peregrine), ſon and heir of Richard Bertie, by Catherine, Dutcheſs of Suffolk, and (in her own right) Baroneſs Willoughby of Ereſby (*a*), was, in the firſt year of Queen Elizabeth, made a free denizen, by patent bearing date the 2d of Auguſt, 1559 (*b*). On the death of his mother, he claimed the dignity and title of Lord Willoughby of Ereſby, wearing his mourning apparel at her funeral in all points as a Baron. The Queen having appointed Sir William Cecil, Knight, Lord Burleigh, Lord High-Treaſurer of England; Thomas, Earl of Suſſex, Lord High-Chamberlain; and Robert, Earl of Leiceſter; to hear and ſee the petition and proofs exhibited by the ſaid Peregrine Bertie, for the dignity of Lord Willoughby of Ereſby; and they having made their report to her Majeſty of his right and title to the ſame, ſhe commanded them to declare to him, that, according to his right, her pleaſure was, that he ſhould be admitted to the dignity, and be named and called by the title of, Lord Willoughby of Ereſby (*c*). This they did in the Star-Chamber, on Friday the 11th of November, 1580 (his father being then living), and placed him at the table with them according to his rank, above many other Barons who dined with them; and all of them drank to him by the name of Lord Willoughby: and on Monday the 16th of January following, he took his ſeat in Parliament, next to Lord Zouch of Harringworth, according to his rank (*d*). In the year 1582, the Lord Willoughby, with the Earl of Leiceſter, and ſeveral other noblemen, was commanded to attend the Duke of Anjou (then in England, and who was to have married Queen Elizabeth) to Antwerp, which he did (*e*), the Queen herſelf going with them as far as Canterbury; and before the end of that year, his Lordſhip was ſent Ambaſſador to Frederick II. King of Denmark, under colour of carrying him the Order of

who lived at Berſted aforeſaid in the reign of King Henry the Fifth. This Jerome, one Sunday in Lent, hearing a Monk in a church exclaiming againſt a murder occaſioned by his anceſtor, ruſhed in upon him, and ſlew him; for which raſh act he was excommunicated by the Archbiſhop, and was obliged to go to Rome to get abſolution; which he did, upon condition that he ſhould aſk pardon of the Archbiſhop and Monks of Canterbury at public maſs, and pay two pieces of gold to the Convent, as the fruit of his repentance, and for the ſouls of his anceſtors. He afterwards became a benefactor, by new building their church at his own charge. To this Jerome ſucceeded Robert, who had alſo iſſue Robert, father of William, who had iſſue Thomas, who was Captain of Hurſt-caſtle in the Iſle of Wight (2), in the reign of Henry the Seventh, and left iſſue Richard Bertie, Eſq; This Richard had his education, firſt, in Corpus-Chriſti college, Oxford (3), of which houſe he was a Fellow, and afterwards under Thomas Wriotheſly, Earl of Southampton, Lord Chancellor of England; and being ſingularly learned in the French, Italian, and Latin tongues, and an accompliſhed Gentleman, he gained the affections of that great Dutcheſs, Catherine, the fourth wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who left her a widow in 1545. She was, in her own right, Baroneſs Willoughby of Ereſby, being daughter and ſole heireſs of William, the laſt Lord Willoughby of Ereſby (4). This Lady, being very zealous for the Reformation in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, drew both herſelf and her huſband into danger, through the malice of Biſhop Gardiner (5), who having ſent for Richard Bertie her huſband, in the firſt year of Queen Mary's reign (6), amongſt other queſtions touching his religion, aſked, 'Whether the Lady his wife was now as ready 'to ſet up maſs as ſhe had been to pull it down, when 'in her progreſs ſhe cauſed a dog in a rochet to be 'carried, and called by his (Gardiner's) name?' Upon this, Mr. Bertie being adviſed by his friends that the Biſhop meant to call the Dutcheſs his wife to an account for her religion, and foreſeeing the danger, he procured the Queen's licence to travel beyond ſea, under colour of looking after ſuch debts as were due from the Emperor to the late Duke of Suffolk, his Lady's former huſband; and having obtained it, paſſed the ſeas at Dover in June the ſame year, leaving her behind, who, in January following, went diſguiſed from her houſe in Barbican, and paſſing to Leigh in Eſſex, privately took ſhipping (7), and, after much danger at ſea, met her huſband at Santon in Cleveland, where, after ſome ſtay, being like to be called to account for their faith by the Biſhop of Arras, they were obliged to haſte away on foot with her daughter, a child, and two ſervants, to *Weſel*, a hanſe-town in the duchy of Cleves; where, after going through many hardſhips, at length they met accidentally with one who knew them, and had formerly been under obligations to the Dutcheſs, and who therefore kindly entertained them till they got a protection from the magiſtrates for their ſtay there. They hired a houſe, and the Dutcheſs was brought to bed of a ſon, October 12, 1555, who was chriſtened Peregrine, becauſe he was born in a foreign country (*Terra peregrina*) (8); ſince which, it is obſervable, there has been conſtantly one of that name in the family. Mr. Bertie and his Dutcheſs thinking themſelves happily ſettled at Weſel, intelligence was ſent them, that it had been contrived in England to ſeize them there; upon which they were obliged to fly to *Winheim*, a town in the Palſgrave's dominions, where, having ſtaid till neceſſaries began to fail them, it providentially happened that the King of Poland, hearing of their diſtreſs, kindly invited them into his country (9). They ſet out from Winheim in 1557; but in their way underwent ſeveral great hardſhips, and were in danger of their lives from the Landgrave's ſoldiers, who, upon occaſion of a quarrel about a ſpaniel which they had along with them, thruſt boarſpears into the waggon where the Dutcheſs and her children were; and purſuing her huſband into a village, had murdered him, if he had not forſaken his horſe, and run up a ladder which was ſet to the top of a houſe, and thereby eſcaped. After this they paſſed on quietly to Poland, where they were courteouſly entertained by the King, and were honourably placed in the Earldom of Crozan in Sanogêlia; in which place they continued in great quietneſs and honour till the death of Queen Mary, and then returned into England.—In the ſixth year of Queen Elizabeth, Mr. Bertie having waited on the Queen to Cambridge, when the Univerſity for five days entertained her with comedies, tragedies, and orations, had then the degree of Maſter of Arts conferred on him (10). He died in 1582, aged ſixty-four, having ſurvived his Dutcheſs two years (11), and having iſſue an only ſon, *Peregrine Bertie*, before mentioned, and a daughter, married to Reginald Grey, Earl of Kent (12).—In the year 1680, Charles Bertie, Envoy Extraordinary to the Electors and Princes of Germany, in his paſſage through the city of Weſel, cauſed a ſtone to be affixed over the porch of the church of St. Willebrode in that city, with a Latin inſcription, in memory of the birth of his anceſtor *Peregrine Bertie*, in the manner we have related; and likewiſe procured a copy of the regiſter, under the Common Seal of the ſame city, certifying the ſaid birth (13).

B——M.

(*a*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. i. p. 258. Lloyd's Memoirs of the Sufferings of worthy Perſons, 8*vo*, p. 306. Hiſtorical and Genealogical Account of the preſent Nobility, p. 156. Dugdale's Baronage of England, Tom. ii. p. 409.

(*b*) Pat. 1 Eliz. p. 2. Holinſhed's Chronicle of England, p. 1142.

(*c*) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, p. 3. Rapin's Hiſt. of England, 8*vo*, Vol. ix. p. 23. Camden ſays, it was with much ado that the Queen admitted him to the title of Lord Willoughby. Complete Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. ii. p. 488.

(*d*) In Rot. Parl. 22 Eliz. Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, p. 528. Journal of Parliament.

(*e*) Peerage of England, *ut ſupra*. Rapin's Hiſt. of England, Vol. ix. p. 21. Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, ann. 1582. Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. ii. p. 488. Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. ii. p. 409. Holinſhed, p. 1143. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 349.

(2) Hiſtorical Account of the Nobility of England, p. 156.

(3) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. p. 689. Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 276. Holinſhed's Chron. of England, p. 1142.

(4) Collins's Peerage, Vol. i. p. 256. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 306.

(5) Hiſtorical Account of the preſent Nobility, p. 156.

(6) Holinſhed, p. 1143. Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. ii. p. 408.

(7) Dugdale, *ut ſupra*. Holinſhed, p. 1144.

(8) Dugdale's Baronage, p. 109. Holinſhed, p. 1145. Camden's Britannia, by Gibſon, p. 478, 479.

(9) Dugdale, *ut ſupra*. Holinſhed, *ut ſupra*.

(10) Collins's Peerage of England, *ut ſupra*.

(11) F. F. in Offic. Arm. p. 271.

(12) Catal. of Nob. by R. B.

(13) Camden's Britan. by Gibſon, p. 479. Peerage of England, *ut ſupra*.

the Garter: but the chief motive of his embaſſy was, to induce that Prince to deſiſt from certain cuſtoms, which the Engliſh merchant ſhips paid him in paſſing the Sound, in which, however, it was not poſſible to ſucceed *(f)*. The Lord Willoughby, however, inveſted his Daniſh Majeſty with the enſigns of the Order, put on the collar of roſes about his neck, and the Garter about his leg: but the other enſigns the King took to keep and lay up, refuſing to put them on becauſe they were outlandiſh (*g*). He, likewiſe, refuſed to take the uſual oath, having denied the ſame thing before, when he was admitted to the Order of St. Michael by the French King (*h*). In 1586, Lord Willoughby diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the ſiege of Zutphen in the Netherlands, where, in a ſharp encounter with the forces of that garriſon, he overthrew George Creſiack, at that time Commander in Chief of the enemy's horſe, and took him priſoner (*i*). The year after, he was made General of the Engliſh auxiliary forces in the United Provinces, in the room of the Earl of Leiceſter, who was recalled home (*k*). There he moſt valiantly defended Bergen-op-Zoom againſt the Duke of Parma, who had beſieged it (*); and did many other ſignal ſervices in Flanders, and acquired great applauſe and reputation. In the year 1589, he was one of the Peers that ſat on the trial of Philip, Earl of Arundel (*l*); and the ſame year he was ſent General of four thouſand auxiliaries into France, to the King of Navarre's aſſiſtance; and alſo carried with him twenty-two thouſand pounds Sterling in gold (*m*). He aſſiſted, and was very ſerviceable, at the ſiege of Paris, and alſo at the reduction of Mons, Alençon, Falais, Luxon, and Honfleur; and after the fatigue of a long winter's expedition, and a march of about five hundred miles, his troops were diſbanded with great commendations for their good ſervice (†), and a preſent of a diamond ring from the King of France to their brave General the Lord Willoughby. This his Lordſhip at his death left his ſon Peregrine, with a charge, upon his bleſſing, to tranſmit it to his heirs (*n*). We do not find his Lordſhip engaged in any military exploits after this expedition to France. He had already atchieved enough to eſtabliſh his reputation as a great and able Commander, and there wanted nothing to raiſe his renown higher than it now was, to render him fairer in the eye of public eſtimation, or to place him in a higher degree of confidence and eſteem with his Sovereign. Of this we have an inconteſtable proof, in a letter written by the Queen, with her own hand, to this nobleman, by way of congratulation upon the recovery of his health; at the ſame time gently exhorting him to return again to his employments and to Court, from which he voluntarily abſented himſelf (*): for he had a magnanimity and greatneſs of ſpirit, that could not ſubmit to the ſervileneſs and flattery of a Court. This letter is penned in ſuch a friendly and familiar ſtyle, with ſuch kind expreſſions of gratitude for his Lordſhip's ſervices, and genteel but juſt encomiums upon his merit, as to ſhew much good ſenſe and good nature in the writer. Where his Lordſhip was at the time her Majeſty paid him this honour, we are not informed: but, from the letter, it ſhould ſeem that he was ſomewhere abroad; though probably he might be only at Berwick, of which place he was Governor about this time, or, however, ſoon after: for his Will bears date 7th Auguſt, 1599, at Berwick (*o*), five years after the date of the Queen's letter, which we have preſerved in the note [*A*], as a curioſity which our readers will, doubtleſs, be pleaſed to ſee. Her Majeſty had, ſome years before this, given his Lordſhip a proof of her regard for him, by voluntarily offering to ſtand godmother to his firſt-born ſon, Robert (the *young General) (p)*, as ſhe then called him), and which words he verified, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. This great nobleman departed this life in the beginning of the year 1601 (*q*), and was buried, according to his deſire, in the pariſh-church of Spilſby, in the county of Lincoln, where a monument was erected to his memory. His Lordſhip's Will is remarkable, and we have therefore given an extract or two

(*f*) Camden's Annals.

(*g*) Rapin, *ubi ſupra.* Camden, *ubi ſupra.* Complete Hiſt. *ut ſupra.*

(*h*) Complete Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. ii. p. 488.

(*i*) Peerage of England, *ubi ſupra.* Camden, ann. 1586. Dugdale's Baronage, c. 409.

(*k*) Rapin's Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. ix. p. 117. Camden's Annals. Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. ii. p. 541.

(*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 409.

(*l*) Hiſtorical Account of the Nobility, p. 157. Camden's Annals. Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. ii. p. 409.

(*m*) Rapin, Vol. ix. p. 136.

(†) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 363.

(*n*) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. ii. p. 409. Camden's Annals, p. 16. Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. ii. p. 557. Holinſhed, p. 1143.

(*) Sir Robert Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 22.

(*o*) Peerage of England, Vol. i. p. 261. Camden's Annals. Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. ii. p. 643. Woodhall, qu. 58. Dugdale's Baronage, p. 409.

(*p*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 308.

(*q*) Camden's Annals, p. 257. Complete Hiſt. Vol. ii. p. 643. Collins's Peerage, Vol. i. p. 261.

[*A*] *The Queen's letter, which we have preſerved in the note.*] It is as follows.

'Good Peregrine,

'WE are not a little glad, that by your journey you have received ſuch good fruit of amendment; eſpecially when we conſider how great a vexation it is to a mind, devoted to action and honour, to be reſtrained by any indiſpoſition of body from following thoſe courſes, which, to your own reputation, and our great ſatisfaction, you have formerly performed. And therefore, as we muſt now (out of our deſire of your well-doing) chiefly enjoin you to an eſpecial care to increaſe and continue your health, which muſt give life to all your beſt endeavours; ſo we muſt next as ſeriouſly recommend to you this conſideration, that in theſe times, when there is ſuch appearance that we ſhall have the trial of our beſt and noble ſubjects, you ſeem not to affect the ſatisfaction of your own private contentment, beyond the attending on that which nature and duty challengeth from all perſons of your quality and profeſſion: For if neceſſarily (your health of body being recovered) you ſhould elloigne yourſelf by reſidence there from thoſe employments, whereof we ſhall have too good ſtore, you ſhall not ſo much amend the ſtate of your body, as happily you ſhall call in queſtion the reputation of your mind and judgment, even in the opinion of thoſe that love you, and are beſt acquainted with your diſpoſition and diſcretion.

'Interpret this our plainneſs, we pray you, to our extraordinary eſtimation of you; for it is not common with us to deal ſo freely with many; and believe, that you ſhall ever find us both ready and willing, in all occaſions, to yield you the fruits of that intereſt, which your endeavours have purchaſed for you in our opinion and eſtimation; not doubting, but when you have with moderation made trial of the ſucceſs of theſe your ſundry peregrinations, you will find as great comfort to ſpend your days at home, as heretofore you have done, of which we do wiſh you full meaſure, however you ſhall have cauſe of abode or return.

'Your moſt loving Sovereign,
'E. R.'

'Given under our ſignet, at our
'manor of *Nonſuch*, the ſe-
'venth of October, 1594, in
'the 37th year of our reign.'

from it in the note [*B*]. Sir Robert Naunton (*r*) ſays of him, ‘ that he was one of the ‘ Queen's firſt ſwordſmen, and a great maſter in the art military.’ Another writer (*s*) records two or three things of him, which indeed ſhew a great ſpirit and manly reſolution. They are briefly theſe: His Lordſhip having, in one of his campaigns, taken a fine gennet, managed for the war, and intended as a preſent for the King of Spain, he was importuned by the Spaniſh General to return it, with the offer of a thouſand pounds down, or an hundred pounds a year during his life. To this the Lord Willoughby replied, ‘ That ‘ if it had been a General or Commander he had taken, he would have freely ſent him ‘ back; but it being an horſe, he loved him as well as the King of Spain, and there‘ fore would keep him.’ Once, when his Lordſhip was confined to his bed with the gout, he had an inſulting challenge ſent him, to which he anſwered, ‘ That although he ‘ was lame of his hands and feet, yet he would meet his adverſary with a piece of a rapier ‘ in his teeth.’ He uſed to ſay, ‘ That a Court became a ſoldier of good ſkill and great ‘ ſpirit, as a bed of down would one of the Tower lions.’ Camden (*t*) gives him the character of having a very generous temper, and true martial courage. His Lordſhip married Mary, the daughter of John Vere, Earl of Oxford, ſiſter and heir of the whole blood to Edward, the ſeventeenth Earl of Oxford, and left iſſue by her five ſons; Robert, Peregrine, Henry, Vere, and Roger; and a daughter, married to Sir Lewis Watſon, of Rockingham caſtle, in the county of Northampton, afterwards Lord Rockingham (*u*). His Lordſhip was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, Robert Bertie.

(*r*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 22.

(*s*) Lloyd, in his Memoirs, p. 308.

(*t*) Camden's Britannia, by Gibſon, p. 322.

(*u*) Dugdale's Baronage, *ut ſupra*. J. S. in Officio Arm. fo. 13. a. Collins's Peerage, *ut ſupra*.

[*B*] *We have given an extract or two from his Will in the note.*] It begins thus: ‘ In the name of the ‘ bleſſed divine Trynitie in perſons, and of omni‘ potent Unitye in Godhead, who created, redeemed, ‘ and ſanctified me, whom I ſteadfaſtlye beleeve will ‘ glorifye this ſinfull, corruptyble and fleſhely bodye, ‘ with eternal happineſs by a joyeful reſurrection at ‘ the general Judgment, when by his incomprehenſible ‘ juſtice and mercye, having ſatisfied for my ſinfull ‘ ſoule, and ſtored it uppe in his heavenlye treaſure, ‘ his almightye voyce ſhall call all fleſhe to be joyned ‘ together with the ſoule to everlaſtyng comforte or ‘ diſcomforte. In that holye name I Peregrin Bertye, ‘ Knighte, Lorde Willoughbie of Willoughbie, Beke ‘ and Ereſbie, &c.’ He then proceeds to diſpoſe of his eſtates and effects among his children, and goes on to ‘ requeſt her moſt gracious Majeſty, in moſt ‘ humble and dutiful manner, that in ſome reſpect of ‘ his loyal and ready heart always to do her all faith‘ ful ſervice, her Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed ‘ to grant the education and wardſhip of his ſon and ‘ heir, and one leaſe of her Majeſty's third part of his ‘ lands, during his nonage, to the Lord Edward ‘ Zouch, &c. whereby her Majeſty would moſt loyally ‘ reſpect his long and affectionate ſervice towards her. ‘ And for a ſmall remembrance of his loyalty and ‘ duty, which he had always obſerved toward her ‘ Majeſty, he deſired ſhe would accept of a cup of ‘ gold to the value of 100 l. or ſome jewels to that ‘ value, as may beſt content her, and beſt repreſent ‘ the loyalty of his heart, &c.’

B —— M.

BERTIE (ROBERT) was born at London, December 16, 1582 (*a*). Her Majeſty Queen Elizabeth, the Earls of Eſſex and Leiceſter, were his ſponſors (*). This nobleman, when he was very young, ſhewed an unuſual forwardneſs and inclination to arms and military exerciſes, and was preſent at ſeveral ſieges; as that of Amiens, under Sir John Baſkerville, and Sir Arthur Savage (*b*); that of Cadiz, under the Earls of Eſſex and Nottingham, in 1596, where he was knighted for his valiant behaviour; and at the famous battle of Newport, fought between Prince Maurice and the Archduke, in the year 1600, when he was three times unhorſed, but remained ſtill undaunted, and where eight hundred Engliſhmen loſt their lives (*c*). He was with the Earl of Cumberland when he took the caracks at Porto-Rico; and alſo with Sir Richard Leveſon, and Sir William Monſon, in 1602 (*d*), when they took the great Spaniſh carack, worth a million of crowns, and diſperſed eleven gallies that guarded her (*e*). Having ſeen moſt of the Courts and countries in Europe, his Lordſhip, in the firſt year of King James I., ſet up his claim to the Earldom of Oxford, as alſo to the title of Bulbeck, Sandford, and Badleſmere, and to the office of Lord High Chamberlain of England, as ſon and heir to Mary, the ſole daughter to that great family (*f*). After much diſpute, he had judgment in his behalf, for the office of Lord High Chamberlain (*g*), and the ſame year took his ſeat above all the Barons (*h*). His Lordſhip was afterwards created a Knight of the Bath, at the inſtallation of Prince Charles, afterwards King of England (*i*). During the peaceable reign of King James, he lived quietly at his ſeat in Lincolnſhire (*k*): but in the next reign, which found employment enough for the moſt active mind, he greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf. In the ſecond year of King Charles I. he was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Lindſey (*l*). In 1628, he was made Admiral, in the room of the Duke of Buckingham, murdered by Felton at Portſmouth; in a few days after which, he ſailed with a large fleet to the relief of Rochelle, where he made many brave attempts to break through the great barricado acroſs the entry of that port, but all in vain (*m*). Four years after, he was elected a Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, and one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council (*n*). The next year, the ſeventh of King Charles I., he was made Lord High Conſtable of England, for the trial of Lord Rea and David Ramſay, in the Court Military (*o*); which patent was revoked the 20th of May (*p*). In the ninth of Charles I. he commanded a fleet of forty ſail of men of war, for ſecuring the Narrow Seas, and the trade of England (*q*). In the eleventh of Charles I. he was conſtituted Lord High Admiral of England (*r*), having, according to the Hiſtorian (*s*), been Admiral at ſea in ſeveral expeditions; and in 1639, on the Scots taking arms, he was made Governor of Berwick. In 1640, he was made Lord High Conſtable of England, for the

trial

(*a*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 301.

(*) See the preceding article.

(*b*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 309.

(*c*) Rapin, Vol. ix. p. 195.

(*d*) Lloyd, *ut ſupra*.

(*e*) Rapin, p. 217.

(*f*) Dugdale's Baronage of Engl. Tom. ii. p. 409.

(*g*) Peerage of England, Vol. i. p. 265. Journal of Parliament. Hiſtorical Account of the Nobility, *&c.* p. 157.

(*h*) Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, p. 540.

(*i*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 310.

(*k*) Lloyd, *ibid.*

(*l*) Pat. 2 Car. I.

(*m*) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. i. p. 49. *Memoirs of the* Duke of Buckingham, p. 188.

(*n*) Peerage, *ut ſupra*. Lloyd, *ut ſupra*. Inſtit. of the Garter, by Aſhmole.

(*o*) Pat. 7 Car. I. p. 20.

(*p*) Pat. 8 Car. I. p. 21.

(*q*) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 23. Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 81.

(*r*) Pat. 11 Car. I. p. 5.

(*s*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, 8*vo* edit. Vol. *i.* p. 673.

trial of Lord Strafford, of which he had the management (*t*), being alſo at that time Speaker of the Houſe of Peers. This ſame year his Majeſty declared him General of his forces (*u*); and he was ever near his Majeſty's perſon, aſſiſting him, to the very utmoſt of his power and abilities, with his advice in council, and his experience and valour in the field, as we ſhall ſoon ſee. He, and his ſon, the Lord Willoughby of Ereſby, afterwards Earl of Lindſey, were among thoſe Lords who left the Houſe of Peers, and followed the King to York, in 1642 (*w*), where they entered into, and ſigned a ſolemn engagement, to ſtand by his Majeſty, in defence of his perſon, crown, and dignity, and the maintenance of the eſtabliſhed laws and religion, with their lives and fortunes (*x*): and accordingly, the Earl of Lindſey and his ſon raiſed the counties of Lincoln and Nottingham, for the King's defence (*y*). They afterwards joined with the other Lords, then with the King at York, in a declaration or teſtimony in vindication of his Majeſty, proteſting, they were fully perſuaded he had no intention of making war upon the Parliament, as was then reported, but that all his endeavours tended to the firm and conſtant ſettlement of the Proteſtant religion, the juſt privileges of Parliament, the liberty of the ſubject, and the law, peace, and proſperity of his kingdom (*z*). Both theſe declarations were printed and publiſhed, with the Lords names thereto, remaining as monuments of their loyalty, and zeal for the honour of their Sovereign. The brave Earl of Lindſey, this ſame year, gave the laſt proof of his affection for his Majeſty, and of his own perſonal bravery, in the battle of Edgehill, fought on the 23d of October, 1642, in which his Lordſhip was killed, receiving a ſhot in his thigh at the head of his own regiment, and his ſon, the Lord Willoughby, taken priſoner (*a*). It is very proper to give a more particular account of this famous battle, which we ſhall do, briefly, in the note [*A*].

After

[*A*] *It is very proper to give a more particular account of this famous battle, which we ſhall do briefly in the note.*] The King's army conſiſted of about 14,000 men; that of the Parliament, under the command of the Earl of Eſſex, of near 16,000 (1). The two armies being in ſight of each other, near Keinton in Warwickſhire, on Sunday the 23d of October (2), the King drew up his army in the morning on Edgehill, from whence might be ſeen all *Keinton* plain, where the Parliament's army ſtood in battle array. The Earl of Lindſey was General of the King's whole army by his commiſſion; and, ſays the Hiſtorian, was thought very equal to it (3). But Prince Rupert, the King's nephew, who was General of the horſe, was, by the King's particular favour and regard for him, exempted from receiving orders from any body but the King himſelf; by which ſtep all the horſe was entirely ſeparated from any dependence upon the General (4); whoſe advice alſo concerning the order of battle, and diſpoſition of the troops, the King rejected for Prince Rupert's. It had been happier for the King, perhaps, if the Lord Lindſey had been ſole director of the army; ſince it was the raſhneſs, or too great eagerneſs, of Prince Rupert, that loſt the day. Beſides, this partiality of the King's to his nephew had created ſome diſcontent in the army, and made the Earl of Lindſey uneaſy; but it was far from ſhaking his loyalty. Accordingly, the army having marched down the hill, and the King having given orders to charge the enemy in a valley under it, called the Valley of the Red Horſe, a name not unſuitable to it that day (5), the General himſelf alighted at the head of his own regiment of foot, his ſon the Lord Willoughby being next to him with the King's regiment of guards, and bravely charged the enemy in front (6). Prince Rupert, with the King's right wing of horſe, advancing to charge the enemy's left wing, on a ſudden Sir Faithful Forteſcue, who commanded a troop of the Parliament's horſe, moving forwards with his whole troop from the groſs of the enemy's cavalry, and diſcharging their piſtols on the ground, preſented themſelves to Prince Rupert, and directly joined with him in charging thoſe they had juſt deſerted (7). This unexpected deſertion ſtruck the Parliament's horſe with ſuch a terror, each man looking upon his companion as upon an enemy, that they were entirely routed, and purſued above two miles from the field of battle. But this long and unadviſed purſuit loſt the King a complete victory. The Parliament's right wing ſtood their ground no better than the left; for they ran away full ſpeed, and were purſued with the ſame fury and the ſame imprudence. What was moreover fatal to the King, was, that a regiment of horſe which ſerved for a body of reſerve, thinking that the victory was now unqueſtionable by the flight of the enemy's cavalry, with ſpurs and looſe reins followed the chace, and could not be kept back by their commanders. All this while the foot of both armies were engaged, without victory inclining to either ſide; till at length Sir William Balfour, to whom the Earl of Eſſex had given the command of the reſerve, turned the ſcale: for, as ſoon as he ſaw the King's horſe ſo eagerly employed in the purſuit of the flying troops, he went and charged the foot in flank, and put them into ſuch diſorder, that the King, with the two Princes his ſons, were in danger of being made priſoners. Then it was that the brave General, the Earl of Lindſey, being far engaged (8), received a ſhot in the thigh, with which he fell, and was preſently encompaſſed with the enemy; and his ſon, the Lord Willoughby, piouſly endeavouring to reſcue his father, was taken priſoner along with him (9); or, according to the author cited in the margin (10), ſeeing his valiant father wounded and taken priſoner, he voluntarily yielded himſelf to a commander of horſe on the rebels ſide, that he might be near and attend him. At length, Prince Rupert returning from his fatal purſuit of the rebels, found the hope of ſo glorious a day totally vaniſhed. His return, however, prevented the King from being entirely routed: for Sir William Balfour, who had only a ſmall body of reſerve, ſeeing the cavalry coming back from the chace, ſuddenly quitted the fight, and went and ſkreened himſelf near the Earl of Eſſex's foot; and could the King and Prince Rupert have perſuaded their horſe at that time to have charged the Parliament's infantry, who had hardly any cavalry to ſupport them, it is very probable they would have routed them, and obtained a complete victory. But the horſe that were returned from the purſuit in extreme diſorder, could not be brought to charge the enemy, who ſtood in good order, though they were in great danger. It was three o'clock in the afternoon before the fight began, and it was now too late for the King to attempt to rally his infantry, who were in great diſorder: and thus both armies kept their poſts all night, and even the next whole day faced one another without renewing the battle. At laſt the Earl of Eſſex ordering his baggage to be drawn off, the King withdrew to the quarters he had taken the day before the battle; and the Earl of Eſſex marched to Warwick (11). The number of ſlain on the field of battle, and in the purſuit, was above 5000, of which the King's loſs was about a third part (12); and the King's party took from the enemy ſeventy colours and ſtandards, with ſeven pieces of cannon (13), and loſt only ſixteen colours (14). Nevertheleſs, both parties claimed the victory, though perhaps neither was more intitled to it than the other; for each in its turn was victorious, and each beaten. Indeed, the Parliament loſt more men, colours, ſtandards, and cannon; yet they kept the field in very good order, the doing which at leaſt ſaved them from the diſhonour of a defeat. But their

loſs

(*t*) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 41.

(*u*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, the Abridgment, 8*vo*, Vol. iii. p. 54. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 62. Peerage of England, *ut ſupra*. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 496. Rapin's Hiſt. of England, Vol. ii. p. 565. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. i. p. 673.

(*w*) Monteith's Hiſtory of the Troubles of Great Britain, p. 101.

(*x*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. iv. p. 379. Monteith, p. 107. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, 8*vo*, Vol. i. p. 654. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 60.

(*y*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 312.

(*z*) Ruſhworth, *ut ſupra*. Monteith, p. 108. Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 655.

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, p. 409. Clarendon, Ruſhworth, Rapin, Whitlock, Complete Hiſt. *&c.*

(1) Rapin's Hiſt. of England, Vol. ii. p. 11. 13. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 64.

(2) Monteith's Hiſtory of the Troubles of Great Britain, p. 118.

(3) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. ii. p. 43.

(4) Clarendon, *ut ſupra.*

(5) Monteith, *ubi ſupra.*

(6) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. iv. p. 547. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 548.

(7) Clarendon, Vol. ii. p. 47. Rapin's Hiſt. Vol. xii. p. 17, 18.

(8) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 64.

(9) Dugdale's Baronage, p. 409. Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. ii. p. 48. Rapin's Hiſtory, Vol. xii. p. 18. Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. iv. p. 547.

(10) Collins, in his Peerage of England, Vol. i. p. 267.

(11) Clarendon, Vol. ii. p. 56. Rapin, Vol. xii. p. 20.

(12) Clarendon, *ut ſupra.*

(13) Monteith's Troubles of Gr. Britain, p. 119.

(14) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol iv. p. 546.

After his Lordſhip was wounded, and taken away by the enemy, he continued, even with his dying breath, his endeavours to ſerve his royal maſter, by ſeriouſly exhorting the Parliamentarian officers to return to their obedience and duty to the King; as we learn from the Lord Clarendon (*b*), in his character of this nobleman, which is as follows: ‘The Earl of Lindſey,’ ſays he, ‘was a man of very noble extraction, and inherited a great fortune from his anceſtors, which though he did not manage with ſo great care as if he deſired much to improve, yet he left it in a very fair condition to his family, which more intended the increaſe of it. He was a man of great honour, and ſpent his youth and vigour of his age in military actions and commands abroad: and albeit he indulged to himſelf great liberties of life, yet he ſtill preſerved a very good reputation with all men, and a very great intereſt in his country, as appeared by the ſupplies he and his ſon brought to the King's army; the ſeveral companies of his own regiment of foot being commanded by the principal Knights and gentlemen of Lincolnſhire, who engaged themſelves in the ſervice principally out of their perſonal affection to him. He was of a very generous nature, and punctual in what he undertook, and in exacting what was due to him; which made him bear that reſtriction ſo heavily, which was put upon him by the commiſſion granted to Prince Rupert; and by the King's preferring the Prince's opinion, in all matters relating to the war, before his: nor did he conceal his reſentment: the day before the battle, he ſaid to ſome friends with whom he uſed freedom, that he did not look upon himſelf as General; and therefore he was reſolved, when the day of battle ſhould come, that he would be at the head of his regiment, as a private Colonel, where he would die.’ (Which words of his proved truly prophetical, as did alſo the other, when, going into the battle, he caſt his eye upon young Prince Charles, and ſaid, (*) *There is the child that will end the war we now begin.*) ‘He was carried out of the field to the next village; and if he could then have procured ſurgeons, it is thought his wound would not have proved mortal. And as ſoon as the other army was compoſed, by the coming on of the night, the Earl of Eſſex, about midnight, ſent Sir William Balfour, and ſome other officers, to ſee him, and to offer him all offices, and meant himſelf to have viſited him. They found him upon a little ſtraw, in a poor houſe, where they had laid him in his blood, which had run from him in great abundance, no ſurgeon having been yet with him; only he had great vivacity in his looks, and told them he was ſorry to ſee ſo many gentlemen, ſome of whom were his old friends, engaged in ſo foul a rebellion; and principally directed his diſcourſe to Sir William Balfour, whom he put in mind of the great obligations he had to the King, how much his Majeſty had diſobliged the whole nation by putting him into the command of the Tower, and that it was the moſt odious ingratitude in him to make him that return. He wiſhed them to tell the Lord Eſſex, that he ought to caſt himſelf at the King's feet to beg his pardon, which if he did not ſpeedily do, his memory would be odious to the nation: and continued this kind of diſcourſe with ſo much vehemence, that the officers by degrees withdrew themſelves, and prevented the viſit the Earl of Eſſex intended him, who only ſent the beſt ſurgeons to him. But, in the very opening of his wounds, he died before the morning, only upon the loſs of blood. He had very many friends, and very few enemies, and died generally lamented.’ The Lord Lindſey's wound not being thought mortal, nor even dangerous, his death was imputed to the Earl of Eſſex, as if he had purpoſely neglected, or forbidden the performing of any neceſſary offices to him, out of the inſolence of his nature, and in revenge of ſome former unkindneſſes that had paſſed between them. But the above account clears him from ſuch imputation; and the Lord Clarendon, in another part of his work (*c*), acquits his Lordſhip, attributing the unfortunate Lord Lindſey's want of aſſiſtance to the hurry and diſtraction the rebels were in at that time. This great nobleman married Elizabeth, the only child of Edward, the firſt Lord Montague of Boughton in Northamptonſhire, by whom he had five daughters and nine ſons (*d*); Montague, his ſucceſſor; Roger, Knight of the Bath at the coronation of King Charles I.; Robert, Peregrine, Francis, who was Captain of horſe, and killed in the King's ſervice in Ireland, in 1641; Robert, ſixth ſon: Henry, who was alſo Captain of horſe, and loſt his life in the King's ſervice at the battle of Newbury; Vere, and Edward. His Lordſhip was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, Montague Bertie.

(*b*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. ii. p. 52, 53.

(*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 548.

(*c*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. ii. p. 51.

(*d*) J. S. in Officio Arm. f. 74. *Ibid.* f. 13. Dugdale's Baronage, p. 410.

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loſs was much more than equalled on the other ſide, by that irreparable one of the great Earl of Lindſey, than whom the King had not a more valiant, experienced, or faithful officer, left in his army. The King himſelf was very ſenſibly affected with the loſs of this great man, and the impriſonment of his ſon; and in a few days after the battle, with all the tenderneſs of a parent, he wrote the following letter with his own hand, directed *For the Earl of Lindſey, Lord High Chamberlain of England*, and ſigned with his Sign Manual. This letter, ſo much to the honour of the family, is no where extant but in Mr. Echard's Hiſtory of England (15), who had it from the honourable Charles Bertie of Uffington, on purpoſe to be by him publiſhed, which it never had been till then. We ſhall, therefore, give it a place here, as highly deſerving the reader's notice.

‘LINDSEY,

‘YOU cannot be more ſenſible (as I believe) of your father's loſs than myſelf, his death confirming the eſtimation I ever had of him: As for yourſelf, the double ſufferings you have had for my ſake, both in your father's perſon and your own, puts upon me the ſtricter obligation, not only to reſtore you to your liberty (now unjuſtly detained from you), but alſo to ſhew the world by my actions how really I am

‘Your moſt aſſured,
‘Conſtant friend,

Ayno, 27 *Oct.* 1642.

‘CHARLES R.’

B——M.

(15) Echard, p. 549.

BERTIE (Montague), whom in the laſt article we have followed (by the name of Lord Willoughby of Ereſby) to the battle of Edge-hill, where, we have ſeen, he was taken priſoner, by endeavouring to reſcue his father, being afterwards exchanged (*a*), went to Oxford, where the King then was, who joyfully received him (*b*); and he as reſolutely adhered to his Majeſty's ſervice, commanding the regiment of life-guards in ſeveral battles, as at Newbury, twice, Cropredy, Leſtwithiel, and other places; as alſo in the fatal battle of Naſeby (*c*), where he was wounded. He had a ſhare likewiſe in all the misfortunes of that King, being one of the Gentlemen of his royal Bedchamber, and of his Privy-Council, attending him even to the time his Majeſty put himſelf into the hands of the Scots (*d*). At the treaty in the Iſle of Wight, the King ſent for him, to be one of his Commiſſioners and adviſers (*e*). After the execution of the King, the Earl of Lindſey, together with the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, and Earl of Southampton, deſired leave to perform the laſt duty to their dead maſter, and to wait upon him to his grave, which they were permitted to do; and accordingly they attended the royal corpſe to Windſor, where it was buried (*f*). After this, the Lord Lindſey compounded, and lived privately; expecting and endeavouring the reſtoration of Monarchy and Epiſcopacy; which being effected, King Charles II. conſtituted him one of his Privy-Council (*g*), and his Lordſhip was alſo appointed one of the Judges at the trials of the regicides (*h*); and afterwards elected a Knight of the moſt noble order of the Garter, at a chapter held at Whitehall, the firſt of April 1661. At the King's coronation, exhibiting his claim for the exerciſe of that great hereditary office of Lord High-Chamberlain of England (*i*), and for the reception of ſuch fees and benefits, as his noble anceſtors had heretofore enjoyed, he did accordingly, on that ſolemn occaſion, execute the office of Lord High-Chamberlain, and received thoſe fees and benefits which were of right his due (*k*). His Lordſhip died at Campden houſe in Kenſington, the twenty fifth of July, 1666, aged fifty-eight years, and was buried at Edenham, in the vault with his noble father. Mr. Archdeacon Echard gives this character of the Lord Lindſey (*l*): 'He 'was, ſays he, one of the *Quadrumvirate*, that had been ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed for 'their unparalleled loyalty to the late king; a brave experienced ſoldier; a great patron 'of uſeful learning and ingenuity; an honeſt, frugal, and faithful Engliſhman, and a 'true patriot, and imitator of the ancient nobility, whoſe grandeur conſiſted neither in 'rich cloaths nor fine courtſhip: after he had waded through an ocean of difficulties, he 'died in quiet, peace, and honour.' He married to his firſt wife, Martha, daughter of Sir William Cockayn, of Ruſhton in Northamptonſhire, widow of the Earl of Holderneſs, by whom he had iſſue five ſons, Robert, Peregrine, Richard, Vere (one of the Barons of the Exchequer in the reign of King Charles II., and afterwards one of the Judges of the Common Pleas), and Charles; and three daughters. By his ſecond wife he had two ſons, James and Henry, the firſt of which (who was Lord Norris by deſcent from his mother, who was in her own right Baroneſs Norris of Rycote) was, on account of his noble deſcent and eminent ſervices to King Charles II. (as his patent ſets forth) by him created Earl of Abingdon, the thirtieth of November, 1682, 34 Car. II., and was the great-grandfather of the preſent Earl of Abingdon. To Montague Earl of Lindſey ſucceeded Robert, his eldeſt ſon, who the ſame year his father died, was ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council. He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Robert, the fourth Earl of Lindſey, who was one of the Privy-Council to King William III., and Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum for the county of Lincoln. On the 29th of December, 1706, the fifth of Queen Anne, he was created Marquis of Lindſey (*m*); and in the next reign, on the firſt of October, 1714, he was ſworn one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council; and in the ſame month he was made Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum for the county of Lincoln, being likewiſe, on the twenty-ninth of July, 1715, created Duke of Ancaſter and Keſteven. His Grace dying in 1723 (*n*), was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſurviving ſon, Peregrine, who ſoon after was ſworn of the Privy-Council, and appointed Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of the county of Lincoln, in which poſts he was alſo continued by King George the Second, and he was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Peregrine, the late Duke of Ancaſter.

B——m.

(*a*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. i. p. 267.

(*b*) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 48.

(*c*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, 8*vo*, Vol. iii. p. 656. Rapin's Hiſt. of England, 8*vo*, Vol. xii. p. 307. Dugdale's Baronage of England, Tom. ii. p. 409. Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, the Abridgment, Vol. v. p. 527.

(*d*) Peerage of England, *ut ſupra*.

(*e*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. vi. p. 475. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. iii. p. 181.

(*f*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. iii. p. 259.

(*g*) Rapin, Vol. xiii. p. 140. Continuation of the Hiſt. of England, Vol. i. p. 9. State Trials. Trials of the Regicides, &c.

(*h*) Continuation, Vol. i. p. 21.

(*i*) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. ii. p. 409.

(*k*) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. ii. p. 409. Journal of Parliament.

(*l*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 827.

(*m*) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of England, Vol. ii. p. 383.

(*n*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. i. p. 269.

BERTON (William), an eminent Divine of the XIVth century, and Doctor in that faculty, flouriſhed about the year 1381, in the reign of Richard II., and was ſome time Chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford (*a*). He is chiefly remarkable for his oppoſition to the doctrines of Wickliff: for, by virtue of his office, as Governor of the univerſity, he appointed twelve Cenſors, ſix of the order of Mendicants, and ſix Seculars, conſiſting of Divines and Lawyers, to examine Wickliff's opinions; who accordingly declared him an Heretic (*b*). He wrote likewiſe againſt that pretended Hereſiarch [*A*]. And for this reaſon it is, that his character is ſo differently repreſented by Bale and Pits [*B*].

(*a*) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Centur. vi. n. 89. *et* Pits de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. *an.* 1381. n. 670.

(*b*) Hiſtoria Wickleffiana, *in calce* Harpſfieldi Hiſt. Eccleſ. edit. Duaci, 1622, p. 684. *See the article* WICKLIFF.

[*A*] *He wrote againſt Wickliffe.*] He wrote ſeveral pieces upon the ſubject of Wickliff's pretended Hereſy; particularly *Determinations againſt Wickliff*; *a Treatiſe concerning his juſt condemnation*; and another *againſt the Articles extracted from his writings* (1).

(1) Bale and Pits, *ubi ſupra*.

[*B*] *His character is differently repreſented by Bale and Pits.*] Bale, as a Proteſtant, abuſes him plentifully for his proſecution of Wickliff, whom he calls *a moſt pious Divine*. He repreſents our Chancellor as *exalting the Pope* (whom he ſtiles *Romulus's Vicar in parricide)*

parricide) above all that is called God, or that is worſhipped. ‘ Primus omnium fuit, qui Romuli in ‘ parricidio vicarium Papam ſuperbiſſimum, ſuper ‘ omne quod dicitur Deus, aut quod colitur, extollens, ‘ Joannem Wicklevum, piiſſimum Theologum, pub- ‘ licè damnavit, et apoſtaticis bullis hereticum decla- ‘ ravit (2).’ Next to Berton, he falls upon the twelve Cenſors, whom he treats *as actuated by a Spirit of fanaticiſm*, and *as condemning the Truth of God himſelf* in their condemnation of Wickliff. ‘ Qui omnem in ‘ illum exercentes tyrannidem, fanatico ſpiritu agitati, ‘ vocibus et ſcriptis Dei veritatem in eo damnabant (3).’ Pits, on the contrary, being a zealous Papiſt, commends the piety, learning, prudence, and ſagacity of the Chancellor, in detecting the erroneous and pernicious doctrines of Wickliff, and his judgment in thinking it his duty to bring them under public cenſure. *Hic cum eſſet vir pius, doctus, prudens, et ingenio perſpicaci, vidit peſtilentem Wickleffi doctrinam ad Eccleſiæ perniciem tendere, et ad multarum animarum interitum. Quare ad officii ſui rationem pertinere judicavit ſuper hoc religionis negotio inquirere, et re accuratius examinata, competentes judices in tota cauſa conſtituere* (4). Behold here the ſtrange and deplorable effect of religious prejudice! The ſame action, in the opinion of one writer, is no leſs than maintaining the cauſe of Antichriſt; in another's, it is the dictate of piety, prudence, and every good quality; and the ſame doctrine is at once a *peſtilent error*, and the *truth of God* himſelf. B.

(2) Bale, *ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) Pits, *ubi ſupra.*

BETTERTON (THOMAS), the moſt famous Actor upon our ſtage, and who might be very juſtly ſtyled the Engliſh Roſcius. He was the ſon of Mr. Betterton, Under-Cook to King Charles I., and was born in Tothill-ſtreet in Weſtminſter, ſome time in the year 1635 *(a)*. Having received the rudiments of polite learning in ſeveral ſchools, and ſhewing a great propenſity to reading, it was once propoſed that he ſhould have been brought up to ſome learned profeſſion; but the violence and confuſion of the times putting this out of the power of his family, it was, at his own requeſt, agreed, that he ſhould be bound apprentice to a Bookſeller *(b)*; and accordingly he was ſo put to Mr. John Holden, a perſon in thoſe days very famous, and much in the confidence of Sir William D'Avenant *(c)*; though this, as almoſt every other circumſtance of the earlier part of Betterton's life, is ſubject to ſome diſpute [*A*]. It is, therefore, a very difficult thing to tell how, or when, he came upon the ſtage: not becauſe we have no accounts of this matter, but becauſe thoſe accounts differ from, and indeed are irreconcilable to, each other. Yet, upon examining them cloſely, and comparing all their circumſtances, it ſeems to be highly probable, that he began to act under the direction of Sir William D'Avenant, in 1656 or 1657, at the Opera-Houſe in Charter-Houſe Yard *(d)* [*B*]. He continued there till the Reſtoration, when the

(a) See this point cleared in note [*A*].

(b) From the information of the late Mr. Southern.

(c) He printed Sir William's Poem, called *Gondibert.*

(d) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 412. Philip's Theatrum Poetarum, p. 191. Life of Betterton.

[*A*] *Is ſubject to ſome diſpute.*] There are very few lives in which the dates and circumſtances are more difficult to be ſettled with tolerable certainty than this; which probably ariſes from nothing ſo much as perſons affirming facts upon memory, in which they were liable to be miſtaken, and others committing them to writing without diſcerning their miſtakes. As for inſtance, Mr. Charles Gildon, who drew up a kind of rhapſody, to which he gave the title of Mr. *Betterton's Life* (1), tells us, that at his deceaſe he was ſeventy-five years of age. Another author ſays, that he was about ſeventy (2); and a perſon who had reaſon to be better acquainted with his hiſtory, aſſures us, that he was conſiderably above that age (3). In all this we have nothing of certainty: but the late Mr. Southern, who was very well acquainted with Mr. Betterton, when applied to upon this head, recollected that on his laſt benefit Mr. Betterton declared he was in his ſeventy-fifth year; if ſo, that fixes the time of his birth very exactly. It is affirmed alſo by Mr. Gildon, that he was bound to Mr. Rhodes, a Bookſeller, and that he was fellow-prentice with Mr. Kynaſton (4): but if Mr. Betterton might be allowed to know this fact better than any body elſe, he told the late Mr. Pope that he was bound to Mr. Holden (5). But whether he might not afterwards live with Mr. Rhodes, is a queſtion not eaſy to be anſwered at this diſtance of time, and when there are ſo few people living to whom any application could be made with any tolerable hopes of receiving an anſwer with certainty.

[*B*] *At the Opera-houſe in Charter-houſe Yard.*] We are told by a certain author, from a kind of tradition, that Betterton, being a Bookſeller's prentice, and coming to the playhouſe about his maſter's buſineſs, took a fancy to the ſtage, and ſo became a player (6). Mr. Gildon, in his book before mentioned, gives us quite another account of the matter (7). ‘ That, ſays ‘ he, which prepared Mr. Betterton and his fellow- ‘ prentice for the ſtage was, that his maſter Rhodes ‘ having formerly been wardrobe-keeper to the King's ‘ company of comedians in the Black-Fryers, on Ge- ‘ neral Monk's march to London in 1659, with his ‘ army, got a licence from the powers then in being, ‘ to ſet up a company of players in the Cockpit in ‘ Drury-lane, and ſoon made his company complete; ‘ his apprentices, Mr. Betterton for men's parts, and ‘ Mr. Kynaſton for women's parts, being at the head ‘ of them. Mr. Betterton was now about twenty-two ‘ years of age, when he got great applauſe by act- ‘ ing in the *Loyal Subject*, the *Wild-Gooſe Chaſe*, the ‘ *Spaniſh Curate*, and many more. But while our ‘ young actor is thus riſing under his maſter Rhodes, ‘ Sir William D'Avenant getting a patent of King ‘ Charles II., for erecting a company under the name ‘ of the Duke of York's ſervants, took Mr. Betterton, ‘ and all that acted under Mr. Rhodes, into his com- ‘ pany.’ We find this account copied by ſeveral writers, though it is evidently inconſiſtent in its parts, and hardly one of the facts related in it true. According to this account, Mr. Betterton became an actor in 1659, and yet at the age of twenty-two (1657) he had great applauſe by acting, that is, he was a great actor before he was an actor at all. Sir William D'Avenant is ſaid to have erected a company after the Reſtoration, and to have compoſed it chiefly of Mr. Rhodes's actors: whereas in fact he was Maſter of a playhouſe before the Reſtoration, and indeed of that very houſe, and of thoſe actors which are here beſtowed upon Mr. Rhodes (8); ſo that it is very plain that this account is falſe, or at leaſt very inconſiſtent and inaccurate. The truth of the matter was this; Sir William D'Avenant with much difficulty obtained leave from thoſe who were then poſſeſſed of the government, to repreſent a kind of Operas, for Tragedies and Comedies he was not permitted to act; and he opened at Rutland-houſe, in Charter-houſe Yard, May 23, 1656, and afterwards removed to the Cockpit in Drury-lane, which was over-againſt the Caſtle tavern; and there it was that Mr. Betterton firſt appeared. For his maſter, Mr. Holden (9), having printed Sir William's poem, called *Gondibert*, and afterwards many other performances of his, Betterton became thereby known to that Gentleman; who, finding him a very capable perſon, took great pains in the inſtructing him, and gave him the firſt reliſh for theatric entertainments, as himſelf frequently acknowledged; and therefore we have reaſon to think, that this point is at laſt freed from thoſe difficulties with which it has been hitherto incumbered, and that the fact ought to ſtand as it has been repreſented in the text.

⁂ [The age of Betterton is a matter of no great moment, ſays a learned correſpondent, nor doth it ſignify whether ſuch a pitiful ſcribler as Gildon was miſtaken or not; but it is of uſe to conſider the import of evidence. It may, therefore be obſerved, that Gildon, when he ſaid that Betterton was twenty-two when he came upon the ſtage, ſuppoſed that he was of that age in 1659, not in 1657. So here is no inconſiſtency.]

(1) The title of this book is The Life of Mr. Thomas Betterton, the late eminent Tragedian, Wherein the Action and Utterance, of the Stage, Bar, and Pulpit are diſtinctly conſidered, &c. London, 1710, 8*vo*. It is dedicated to Richard Steele, Eſq; and the Dedication ſubſcribed Charles Gildon.

(2) Hiſtory of the Stage, p. 91.

(3) Cibber's Life, p. 99.

(4) Life of Betterton, p. 5.

(5) Mr. J. Richardſon's Life of Milton, p. 90.

(6) Hiſtory of Europe, 1710, p. 26.

(7) Life of Betterton, p. 5.

(8) See the article D'AVENANT (Sir WILLIAM).

(9) Life of Betterton, p. 5.

face of theatric affairs changed entirely, and two diſtinct companies were formed by royal authority, the firſt in virtue of a patent granted to Henry Killegrew, Eſq; his heirs and aſſigns, which was called *the King's Company*; the other in virtue of a like patent, granted to Sir William D'Avenant, his heirs and aſſigns, which was ſtyled *the Duke's Company* (*e*). The former acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane, and the latter at the Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn Fields. In order that every thing might appear to the utmoſt advantage, and the Engliſh Theatre want none of the decorations uſed abroad, Mr. Betterton, by command of king Charles II., went to Paris to take a view of the French ſtage, that he might the better judge of what would contribute to the improvement of our own (*f*). Upon his return, ſuch meaſures were taken, as it was apprehended would give the greateſt luſtre to the Engliſh ſtage; and for ſeveral years, both companies acted with the higheſt applauſe, and the utmoſt reputation (*g*) [*C*]. The Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn Fields being very inconvenient, they cauſed another to be built for them in Dorſet Gardens, which was called the Duke's Theatre, to which they removed, and followed their profeſſion with all the ſucceſs they could deſire, under a reign, which might be truly ſtyled *a reign of pleaſure* (*h*). In 1670, Mr. Betterton married a gentlewoman on the ſame ſtage, one Mrs. Saunderſon, who excelled, as an Actreſs, every thing but her own conduct in human life. In her he was completely happy, and by their joint endeavours, even in thoſe days, they were able, not only to acquire a comfortable ſubſiſtence, but alſo to ſave what might maintain them in their advanced age (*i*). After Sir William D'Avenant's death, the patent came into the hands of Dr. Charles D'Avenant his ſon, ſo well known to the learned world, for his admirable political writings. But whether his genius was leſs fit for the adminiſtration of ſuch a government, than that of his father, or that the King's Company was really ſuperior to his in acting, ſo it was, that they gained the hearts of the town, and Dr. D'Avenant was forced to have recourſe to rich ſcenes and fine muſic, for the ſupport of a ſtage upon which Betterton played (*k*). The Doctor himſelf wrote the Opera of *Circe*, which came firſt on the ſtage in 1675, and was received with ſuch applauſe, as gave hopes of ſucceeding in this new way [*D*]. The ſame year a Paſtoral of Mr.

(*e*) Apology for the Life of Mr. C. Cibber, by himſelf, London, 1740, 8*vo*, p. 75.

(*f*) Life of Betterton.

(*g*) See the Prologues to the Plays in thoſe times, Dryden's Prefaces, and other records of Dramatic Hiſtory.

(*h*) Life of Betterton.

(*i*) From the information of Mr. Southern.

(*k*) Cibber's Life, p. 79.

[*C*] *Acted with the utmoſt applauſe, and the higheſt reputation.*] It has been ſuppoſed that Betterton introduced moving ſcenes into our theatre, which before had the ſtage only hung with tapeſtry. I cannot poſitively ſay whether the fact be true or not, but if it was true, and as it is alſo ſaid, inſtead of being applauded, he was cenſured for it, his caſe was certainly hard; for as Mr. Gildon very juſtly obſerves, theſe ſcenes help the repreſentation, by giving the ſpectator a view of the place, which, though not neceſſary where the unity in that reſpect is ſtrictly obſerved, is however very convenient where that is diſpenſed with, as generally it is in our plays (10). The taſte for dramatic entertainments was never higher than while theſe two companies played; and Mr. Cibber, who is certainly a very good judge of the ſubject, has given us three ſtrong reaſons for it. Firſt, that plays having been ſo long prohibited, people came to them with greater eagerneſs, like folks after a long faſt to a great feaſt. The ſecond was, that women were now brought upon the ſtage, which muſt have been a very great advantage; for on all former ſtages female characters were performed by boys, or young men, of the moſt effeminate aſpect. The third, that a rule was eſtabliſhed, by which no play acted at one houſe could be attempted at the other. All the capital plays therefore of Shakeſpear, Fletcher, and Ben Jonſon were divided between them, by the approbation of the Court, and their own alternate choice; ſo that when Hart was famous for Othello, Betterton had no leſs a reputation for Hamlet. By this order the town was ſupplied with greater variety of plays than could poſſibly have been ſhewn, had both companies been employed at the ſame time upon the ſame play; which liberty too muſt have occaſioned ſuch frequent repetitions of them, by their oppoſite endeavours to foreſtall and anticipate one another, that the beſt actors in the world muſt have grown tedious and taſteleſs to the ſpectator. When theſe reaſons are conſidered, and withal the number of great actors that were then upon the ſtage, and the many new plays that appeared while theſe two companies continued, we ſhall not be ſurprized at the reputation the theatre was then in, or aſcribe it to mere prejudice, that many ſenſible people have ſpoken in ſuch high terms of the dramatic performances of thoſe days (11). To ſay the truth, the ſtage was then ſo much the care of the ſtate, or at leaſt of the Court, that whenever any diſputes aroſe, they were generally decided either by the King, or his brother the Duke of York; which not only kept the players in order, and in that obedience which was requiſite to the patentees, but gave them likewiſe figure and character in the world as gentlemen, and the immediate ſervants of their Prince (12). So that if this account juſtifies the high ſentiments entertained by ſome of our moſt judicious writers, it at the ſame time ſhews us upon what motives theſe ſentiments of theirs are grounded; and clearly proves, that if performers were better in thoſe times than in ours, it is becauſe they were in a better condition, that is, were under better regulations; for as to pay, it was very far from being ſo good. Mr. Hart, the beſt performer in the King's company, had but three pounds a week, and very probably Mr. Betterton had not then ſo much; and beſides, benefits were things unheard-of in thoſe times. So that we may plainly perceive, that a profeſſion is not always in the higheſt credit when it produces the greateſt profit; which however is a maxim not altogether confined to playhouſes; for in this, as in many other caſes, the theatre and the world are but too much alike.

(10) This Reflection occurs in the Life of Betterton, p. 6.

(11) See Dryden's Prefaces, Rymer's Criticiſms, and Cibber's Hiſtory of the Stage.

(12) There were ſome of the King's Company actually ſworn of his Majeſty's Chamber, and had ſcarlet cloth and lace aſſigned them, as menial ſervants.

[*D*] *As gave hopes of ſucceeding in this new way.*] It is a very difficult thing to write the hiſtory of the theatre with accuracy, and yet it is very well worth the knowing. Few authors have done ſo much towards this as Mr. Cibber; and no wonder, ſince, perhaps, never any man underſtood this ſubject better. What he ſays of the decline of the Duke's company is very clear, and very conſiſtent with good ſenſe and truth (13). 'Theſe two excellent companies were both 'proſperous for ſome few years, till their variety of 'plays began to be exhauſted. Then of courſe the 'better actors (which the King's ſeem to have been 'allowed) could not fail of drawing the greater au'diences. Sir William D'Avenant, therefore, Maſter 'of the Duke's company, to make head againſt their 'ſucceſs, was forced to add ſpectacle and muſic to 'action, and to introduce a new ſpecies of plays, ſince 'called dramatic operas; of which kind were the 'Tempeſt, Pſyche, Circe, and others; all ſet off 'with the moſt expenſive decorations of ſcenes and 'habits, with the beſt voices and dancers. This ſen'ſual ſupply of ſight and ſound coming in to the aſ'ſiſtance of the weaker party, it was no wonder they 'ſhould grow too hard for ſenſe and ſimple nature, 'when it is conſidered how many more people there 'are that can ſee and hear, than think and judge.' The reader will eaſily perceive that I differ from this author in point of time. He fixes the declenſion of the Duke's company, and aſcribes the introduction of Opera's on the ſtage of the Duke's theatre to the adminiſtra-

(13) Cibber's Life, p. 79.

Mr. Crowne's was repreſented at Court, called *Caliſto*, or *The Chaſte Nymph*, which was written at the deſire of Queen Catherine, and the Ladies Mary and Anne, daughters to the Duke of York, who afterwards did honour to the Engliſh throne, performed parts in it *(l)*. On this occaſion, Mr. Betterton inſtructed the noble Actors, and ſupplied the part of Prompter, and Mrs. Betterton gave leſſons to the young Princeſſes; in grateful remembrance of which, Queen Anne ſettled a penſion of one hundred pounds a year upon her *(m)*. All this time the theatrical war went on between the two Companies, in which the Duke's had much the better of the King's in all reſpects. A certain writer aſſures us, this advantage was gained by open force, and the frequent uſe of their new ſtage-artillery, *viz.* muſic, machines, and ſcenery; but beſides theſe, I find ſome other arts practiſed in the way of negociation, by which, the King's Company were at leaſt as much diſtreſſed as by the Operas *(n)* [*E*]. It was by theſe meaſures, that, at length, the King's company were compelled to come into the ſcheme, which thoſe at the head of the Duke's company had formed, of ſubmitting to a coalition, from whence it was hoped, a new company might ſpring, ſuperior, in every reſpect, to all that had gone before them *(o)*. This was one of the moſt ſingular revolutions in theatric government that ever happened, and one of the moſt important events of Mr. Betterton's life. But as to the time in which it was accompliſhed, we cannot be poſitive; though as to the circumſtances we have been tolerably exact, and it is from a compariſon of theſe we are led to judge, that it muſt have fallen out in the year 1685 or 1686, though many writers place it ſooner [*F*]. It was in this united company, that the merit of Betterton ſhone with

(l) Account of Engliſh Dramatic Poets by G. Langbain, Oxford 1691, 8*vo*, p. 92.

(m) Life of Betterton.

(n) See this explained in notes [*D*] and [*E*].

(o) Cibber's Life, p. 81.

administration of Sir William D'Avenant; but in this he is certainly wrong. Pſyche (14), written by Mr. Thomas Shadwell, did not appear till 1675. Circe came upon the ſtage the ſame year, and the Tempeſt, as it was altered by Sir William D'Avenant and Mr. Dryden, in 1676. But Sir William died April 7, 1668 (15), full five years before his company were reduced to the neceſſity of ſupporting ſenſe by ſound, and making uſe of machinery, when they found that plain acting would not do the buſineſs.

(14) Langbain's Account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets, p. 449, 450.

(15) See Dryden's Preface to the Tempeſt, as altered by him and Sir W. D. from Shakeſpeare.

[*E*] *Were at leaſt as much diſtreſſed as by the Operas.*] It is obſerved by Mr. Cibber, that the wanton change of the public taſte, after the introducing Operas at the Duke's theatre, began to fall as heavy upon the King's company, as their greater excellence in action had before fallen upon their competitors. He likewiſe obſerves, that Major Mohun and Captain Hart began to grow old, and the younger actors, ſuch as Goodman and Clark, grew impatient to get into their parts; and to theſe cauſes he attributes the declenſion of the King's company. But though doubtleſs theſe might help, yet he ſeems not to be acquainted with the principal cauſe, which, as it relates immediately to Mr. Betterton, I am obliged to mention. He had by this time a concern in the management of the Duke's company, and finding that theſe ſtruggles hurt both theatres, projected the union of them as the ſole means of recovering the credit of the ſtage; to which it ſeems the King's company, looking upon themſelves as the ſtrongeſt, were exceedingly averſe; and in order to render them more tractable, it was found expedient to take off two of their beſt actors, Mr. Kynaſton and Captain Hart. This was a ſingular tranſaction, and of ſuch a nature as not to deſerve credit, if the original article, containing this ſecret treaty, were not actually in being; and as it contains abundance of curious particulars, in relation to playhouſe policy, it may not be amiſs to inſert it (16).

(16) Life of Betterton, p. 4

Memorandum, *October* 14, 1681.

' IT was then agreed between Dr. Charles D'Ave-
' nant, Thomas Betterton, Gent. and William
' Smith, Gent. of the one part; and Charles Hart,
' Gent. and Edward Kynaſton, Gent. on the other
' part; That the ſaid Charles D'Avenant, Thomas
' Betterton, and William Smith, do pay, or cauſe to
' be paid, out of the profits of acting, unto Charles
' Hart and Edward Kynaſton, five ſhillings a-piece for
' every day there ſhall be any Tragedies or Comedies,
' or other repreſentations, acted at the Duke's theatre
' in Saliſbury-court, or wherever the company ſhall
' act during the reſpective lives of the ſaid Charles
' Hart and Edward Kynaſton, excepting the days the
young men or the young women play for their own
profit only. But this agreement to ceaſe if the ſaid
Charles Hart and Edward Kynaſton ſhall at any
time play among, or effectually aſſiſt, the King's
company of actors, and for as long as this is paid
' they both covenant and promiſe not to play at the
' King's theatre.

' If Mr. Kynaſton ſhall hereafter be free to act at
' the Duke's theatre, this agreement with him, as to
' to his penſion, ſhall alſo ceaſe.

' In conſideration of this penſion, Mr. Hart and
' Mr. Kynaſton do promiſe to make over within a
' month after the ſealing of this, unto Charles D'A-
' venant, Thomas Betterton, and William Smith, all
' the right, title, and claim, which they, or either
' of them, may have to any plays, books, cloaths, and
' ſcenes, in the King's playhouſe.

' Mr. Hart and Mr. Kynaſton do both alſo promiſe,
' within a month after the ſealing hereof, to make
' over to the ſaid Charles D'Avenant, Thomas Better-
' ton, and William Smith, all the Title which they
' or each of them have, to ſix and three-pence a-piece
' for every day there ſhall be any playing at the
' King's theatre.

' Mr. Hart and Mr. Kynaſton do both alſo promiſe
' to promote with all their power and intereſt, an
' agreement between both playhouſes; and Mr. Ky-
' naſton for himſelf promiſes to endeavour, as much
' as he can, to get free, that he may act at the
' Duke's theatre; but he is not obliged to play unleſs
' he has ten ſhillings *per* day for his acting, and his
' penſion then to ceaſe.

' Mr. Hart and Mr. Kynaſton do promiſe to go to
' law with Mr. Killegrew to have theſe articles per-
' formed, and are to be at the expence of the ſuit.

' In witneſs of this agreement all the parties have
' hereunto ſet their hands this fourteenth day of Oc-
' tober, 1681.'

[*F*] *Muſt have fallen out in* 1685, *or* 1686, *though many writers place it ſooner.*] Mr. Gildon ſays poſitively, that Mr. Hart and Mr. Kynaſton performed their promiſes ſo well, that the union was effected in 1682 (17). But Mr. Cibber ſays, that it was brought about in 1684, by the King's advice, which amounted to a command (18). In Mr. Dryden's poems we have a Prologue and Epilogue upon the union of the two companies, which is dated in 1686; and I am apt to think this the true date of that tranſaction for ſeveral reaſons (19). It was the firſt of King James's reign, which might poſſibly be the cauſe why his own company of comedians had ſo great advantage in the manner of this conjunction. In the next place, I find that Mr. Cibber is miſtaken in ſuppoſing that Mr. Hart quitted the ſtage upon the ſcore of this union, becauſe it manifeſtly appears, from the paper cited in the former note, that he had quitted the King's company ſeveral years before he was engaged to promote this union, and very probably did ſo. But for all this, I am very far from being poſitive on this head, and therefore I have given the reader the dates, the authorities, and the reaſons, which occur to me for preferring the laſt date. By this union a new company was formed, compoſed of the beſt actors that

(17) Life of Betterton, p. 10.

(18) Cibber's Life, p. 153.

(19) Original Poems and Tranſlations, by John Dryden, Eſq; Vol. ii. p. 259.

with unrivalled luſtre, and that having ſurvived the famous Actors upon whoſe model he had formed himſelf, he was now at liberty to diſcover his mighty genius in its full extent, by replacing many of them with advantage in thoſe very characters, in which, during their lifetimes, they had been thought inimitable (p). Of this it would be hard to yield belief, and harder ſtill to gain a juſt notion of what we ought to believe about it, if we had not from a living, a capable, and candid writer, as authentic a teſtimony, and at the ſame time, as clear, and as diſtinct an account of his excellence in this reſpect, as our own, or indeed any language will bear, and which may be juſtly eſteemed a deſcription equally expreſſive and worthy of its ſubject (q) [G]. Happy, in the notice of his Sovereign, the

(p) See the article of DRYDEN (JOHN).

(q) Cibber's Life, p. 81—99.

that, perhaps, ever appeared upon the Engliſh ſtage together, as appears from the following liſt given us by Mr. Cibber, in 1690, when he came into the company, *viz. Men*, Mr. Betterton, Mr. Monfort, Mr. Kynaſton, Mr. Sandford, Mr. Nokes, Mr. Underhill, and Mr. Leigh. *Women*, Mrs. Betterton, Mrs. Barry, Mrs. Leigh, Mrs. Butler, Mrs. Monfort, and Mrs. Bracegirdle.

[G] *A deſcription equally expreſſive, and worthy of its ſubject.*] What I intend to give the reader in this note is, the character of Mr. Betterton as a player, drawn by Mr. Cibber, whoſe long acquaintance with him in that character muſt have given him great opportunities of knowing him thoroughly, and whoſe excellence in that profeſſion, and the great ſkill he ſhewed for many years in the management of a theatre, muſt have rendered him a very competent judge. I have endeavoured to bring what he has delivered concerning our great actor into as narrow compaſs a as poſſible; and though it is ſtill pretty long, yet I am perſuaded that it will not appear tedious. ‘Betterton was an actor as Shakeſpeare was an author, both without competitors! formed for the mutual aſſiſtance and illuſtration of each other's genius! How Shakeſpeare wrote, all men who have a taſte for nature may read and know; but with what higher rapture would he ſtill be read, could they conceive how Betterton played him! then might they know the one was born alone to ſpeak, what the other only knew to write; Pity it is that the momentary beauties, flowing from an harmonious elocution, cannot, like thoſe of poetry, be their own record! That the animated graces of the player can live no longer than the inſtant breath and motion that preſents them, or at beſt can but faintly glimmer through the memory, or imperfect atteſtation of a few ſurviving ſpectators. Could how Betterton ſpoke be as eaſily known as what he ſpoke, then might you ſee the muſe of Shakeſpeare in her triumph, with all her beauties in their beſt array, riſing into real life, and charming her beholders. But, alas! ſince all this is ſo far out of the reach of deſcription, how ſhall I ſhew you Betterton? Should I therefore tell you that all the Othellos, Hamlets, Hotſpurs, Macbeths, and Brutus's, you may have ſeen ſince his time, have fallen far ſhort of him, this ſtill would give you no idea of his particular excellence. Let us ſee then what a particular compariſon may do, whether that may yet draw him nearer to you. You have ſeen a Hamlet, perhaps, who on the firſt appearance of his father's ſpirit has thrown himſelf into all the ſtraining vociferation requiſite to expreſs rage and fury, and the houſe has thundered with applauſe, though the miſguided actor was all the while (as Shakeſpeare terms it) *tearing a paſſion into rags*. I am the more bold to offer you this particular inſtance, becauſe the late Mr. Addiſon, while I ſat by him to ſee this ſcene acted, made the ſame obſervation, aſking me, with ſome ſurpriſe, if I thought Hamlet ſhould be in ſo violent a paſſion with the ghoſt, which, though it might have aſtoniſhed, it had not provoked him? for you may obſerve, that in this beautiful ſpeech the paſſion never riſes beyond an almoſt breathleſs aſtoniſhment, or an impatience limited by filial reverence to inquire into the ſuſpected wrongs that may have raiſed him from his peaceful tomb! and a deſire to know what a ſpirit ſo ſeemingly diſtreſſed might wiſh or enjoin a ſorrowful ſon to execute towards his future quiet in the grave? This was the light into which Betterton threw this ſcene, which he opened with a pauſe of mute amazement! Then riſing ſlowly to a ſolemn trembling voice, he made the ghoſt equally terrible to the ſpectator as to himſelf! and in the deſcriptive part of the natural emotions which the ghaſtly viſion gave him, the boldneſs of his expoſtulation was ſtill governed by decency; manly, but not braving; his voice never riſing into that ſeeming outrage, or wild defiance, of what he naturally revered. But, alas! to preſerve this medium between mouthing, and meaning too little, to keep the attention more pleaſingly awake by a tempered ſpirit, than by mere vehemence of voice, is of all the maſter-ſtrokes of an actor the moſt difficult to reach. In this none have equalled Betterton —— (20). He that feels not himſelf the paſſion he would raiſe, will talk to a ſleeping audience. But this never was the fault of Betterton; and it has often amazed me to ſee thoſe who ſoon came after him throw out in ſome parts of a character a juſt and graceful ſpirit, which Betterton himſelf could not but have applauded; and yet in the equally ſhining paſſages of the ſame character, have heavily dragged the ſentiment along like a dead weight, with a long-toned voice and abſent eye, as if they had fairly forgot what they were about. If you have never made this obſervation I am contented you ſhould not know where to apply it. A farther excellence in Betterton was, that he could vary his ſpirit to the different characters he acted. Thoſe wild impatient ſtarts, that fierce and flaſhing fire, which he threw into Hotſpur, never came from the unruffled temper of his Brutus (for I have more than once ſeen a Brutus as warm as Hotſpur). When the Betterton Brutus was provoked in his diſpute with Caſſius, his ſpirits flew out of his eye; his ſteady looks alone ſupplied that terror which he diſdained an intemperance in his voice ſhould riſe to. Thus, with a ſettled dignity of contempt, like an unheeding rock, he repelled upon himſelf the foam of Caſſius. Perhaps the very words of Shakeſpeare will better let you into my meaning.

“ Muſt I give way and room to your raſh choler?
“ Shall I be frighted when a madman ſtares?

‘ And a little after,

“ There is no terror *Caſſius* in your looks, &c.

‘ Not but in ſome part of this ſcene, where he reproaches Caſſius, his temper is not under this ſuppreſſion, but opens into that warmth which becomes a man of virtue; yet this is that haſty ſpark of anger which Brutus himſelf endeavours to excuſe: But with whatever ſtrength of nature we ſee the poet ſhew at once the Philoſopher and the Hero, yet the image of the actor's excellence will be ſtill imperfect to you, unleſs language could put colours in our words to paint the voice with. *Et ſi vis ſimilem pingere, pinge ſonum*, is enjoining an impoſſibility. The moſt that a Vandyke can arrive at is, to make his portraits of great perſons ſeem to think; a Shakeſpeare goes farther yet, and tells you what his pictures thought; a Betterton ſteps beyond them both, and calls them from the grave to breathe, and be themſelves again in feature, ſpeech, and motion, when the ſkilful actor ſhews you all thoſe powers at once united, and gratifies at once your eye, your ear, your underſtanding. To conceive the pleaſure ariſing from ſuch harnony! you muſt have been preſent at it! 'tis not to be told you!'——After ſome very juſt remarks upon the many defects in Lee's Alexander the Great, and ſhewing that the general reception that tragedy met with, was owing to the judgment of the actor, and not of the poet, he proceeds thus —— (21); ‘ When this favourite play I am ſpeaking of, from its being too frequently acted, was worn out, and came to be deſerted by the town upon the ſudden death of Monfort, who had played Alexander with ſucceſs for ſeveral years; the part was given to Betterton, which under this

(20) *Ibid.* p. 86.

(21) *Ibid.* p 91.

the protection of the nobility, and the general reſpect of all ranks of people, who conſidered him as an honour to the ſtage and to his country, he might have paſſed through life with as much eaſe, ſatisfaction, and peace of mind, as any man of his time, as having actually ſaved, even out of his moderate allowance, if not an ample, at leaſt a competent eſtate; had he not been perſuaded to attempt becoming rich, which unluckily engaged him in a deſign, which ſwept away all his capital and left him in real diſtreſs (*r*). This fell out in 1692, and though nothing could fall harder upon ſuch a man, and at ſuch a time of life, yet he bore it with manly patience, not only without murmur or complaint, but even without mention, and was ſo far from ſuffering this ſevere ſtroke of ill fortune, fallen upon him, by following the advice of one he thought his friend, to prejudice that friend, who ventured and loſt more than himſelf, that, on the contrary, he continued his friendſhip to his daughter after his deceaſe, and did for her all he could have done for his own (*s*) [*H*]. Such

' great diſadvantage of the ſatiety it had given, he immediately revived with ſo new a luſtre, that for three days together it filled the houſe, and had then his declining ſtrength been equal to the fatigue the action gave him, it probably might have doubled its ſucceſs; an uncommon inſtance of the power and intrinſic merit of an actor. This I mention, not only to prove what irreſiſtable pleaſure may ariſe from a judicious elocution with ſcarce ſenſe to aſſiſt it, but to ſhew you too, that though Betterton never wanted fire and force when his character demanded it, yet, where it was not demanded, he never proſtituted his power to the low ambition of falſe applauſe: And further, that when from a too advanced age he reſigned that toilſome part of Alexander, the play for many years after was never able to impoſe upon the public; and I look upon his ſo particularly ſupporting the falſe fire, and extravagancies of that character, to be a more ſurpriſing proof of his ſkill than his being eminent in thoſe of Shakeſpeare, becauſe there truth and nature coming to his aſſiſtance, he had not the ſame difficulties to combat, and conſequently we muſt be leſs amazed at his ſucceſs where we are more able to account for it. Notwithſtanding the extraordinary power he ſhewed in blowing Alexander once more into a blaze of admiration, Betterton had ſo juſt a ſenſe of what was true or falſe applauſe, that I have heard him ſay he never thought any kind of it equal to an attentive ſilence; that there were many ways of deceiving an audience into a loud one, but to keep them huſhed and quiet was an applauſe which only truth and merit could arrive at, of which art there never was an equal maſter to himſelf. From theſe various excellencies he had ſo full a poſſeſſion of the eſteem and regard of his auditors, that upon his entrance into every ſcene, he ſeemed to ſeize upon the eyes and ears of the giddy and inadvertent! To have talked or looked another way would then have been thought inſenſibility or ignorance. In all his ſoliloquies of moment, the ſtrongeſt intelligence of attitude and aſpect drew you into ſuch an impatient gaze and eager expectation, that you almoſt imbibed the ſentiment with your eye before the ear could reach it. I never heard a line in tragedy come from Betterton, wherein my judgment, my ears, and my imagination were not fully ſatisfied, which ſince his time I cannot equally ſay of any one actor whatſoever. Not but it is poſſible to be much his inferior with great excellencies. Had it been practicable to have tied down the clattering hands of all the ill judges, who were commonly the majority of an audience, to what amazing perfection might the Engliſh theatre have arrived, with ſo juſt an actor as Betterton at the head of it.'—— He ſpeaks then of the capacity of an actor, what he ought to know, and how far he ſhould be able to judge of ſentiment and poetry. He proceeds next to examine the talents requiſite in the profeſſion; and after confeſſing that with all theſe, it is not impoſſible a man may fail, he puts the queſtion, What ſhall we ſay will infallibly form an actor? and he anſwers it in the following terms——(22). 'This, I confeſs, is one of nature's ſecrets, too deep for me to dive into. Let us content ourſelves therefore with affirming, that genius which nature only gives, only can compleat him. This genius then was ſo ſtrong in Betterton, that it ſhone out in every ſpeech and motion of him; yet voice and perſon are ſuch neceſſary ſupporters to it, that by the multitude they have been preferred to genius itſelf, or at leaſt often miſtaken for it. Betterton had a voice of that kind, which gave more ſpirit to terror than to the ſofter paſſions; more ſtrength than melody. The rage and jealouſy of Othello became him better than the ſighs and tenderneſs of Caſtalio; for though in Caſtalio he only excelled others, in Othello he excelled himſelf; which you will eaſily believe, when you conſider, that, in ſpite of his complexion, Othello has more natural beauties than the beſt actor can find in all the magazine of poetry to animate his power and delight his judgment with. The perſon of this excellent actor was ſuitable to his voice, more manly than ſweet, not exceeding the middle ſtature, inclining to the corpulent; of a ſerious and penetrating aſpect; his limbs nearer the athletic than the delicate proportion; yet, however formed, there aroſe from the harmony of the whole a commanding mien of majeſty, which the fairer faced, or (as Shakeſpeare calls them) the curled darlings of his time, ever wanted ſomething to be equal maſters of. There was ſome years ago to be had, almoſt in every print-ſhop, a metzotinto from Kneller, extremely like him. In all I have ſaid of Betterton, I confine myſelf to the time of his ſtrength and higheſt power in action, that you may make allowances from what he was able to execute at fifty, to what you might have ſeen him at paſt ſeventy. For though to the laſt he was without his equal, he might not then be equal to his former ſelf, yet ſo far was he from being ever overtaken, that for many years after his deceaſe, I ſeldom ſaw any of his parts in Shakeſpeare ſupplied by others, but it drew from me the lamentation of Ophelia upon Hamlet's being unlike what ſhe had ſeen him.

' Ah! woe is me!
' T' have ſeen what I have ſeen, ſee what I ſee!'

[*H*] *Did for her all he could have done for his own.*] This extraordinary ſhipwreck of Mr. Betterton's ſmall fortune hath been very differently repreſented, and it is not an eaſy matter to come at the truth. Mr. Gildon is very conciſe upon this head. 'Mr. Betterton, ſays he, was ſo ſenſible of friendſhip, that though he loſt near eight thouſand pounds by the father, yet he took care of the daughter (23).' The like imperfect accounts we have elſewhere: but I preſume no reader can be very well ſatisfied with ſuch an abrupt hint, in relation to the moſt ſingular and extraordinary circumſtance of Betterton's life, and therefore I ſhall endeavour to give him as clear and circumſtantial an account of this matter, as at this diſtance of time can be reaſonably expected. As Mr. Betterton's character in private life was extremely fair, and his company very agreeable, he had abundance of friends at all ends of the town, but more eſpecially in the city. Amongſt theſe there was a Gentleman, whom I forbear to name, of great reputation, and of conſiderable fortune, who not only honoured him with his favour and protection, but entered with him alſo into the ſtricteſt intimacy and friendſhip. This Gentleman, in the year 1692, was concerned in an adventure to the Eaſt-Indies upon the footing then allowed by the Company's Charter, which veſſels ſo employed were ſtyled interlopers. The proſpect of ſucceſs was great, the gain unuſually high; and this induced Mr. Betterton, to whom his friend offered any ſhare in this buſineſs that he pleaſed, to think of ſo large a ſum as eight thouſand pounds; but it was not for himſelf, for he had no ſuch ſum in his power; and whoever conſiders the ſituation of the ſtage at that time, will need no other argument to convince him of it.

(*r*) From the information of an intimate friend of Mr. Betterton's lately deceaſed.

(*s*) See this tranſaction more fully explained in note [*H*].

(22) *Ibid.* p. 97.

(23) Life of Mr. Betterton, p. 11.

Such was the virtue! ſuch the integrity! ſuch the magnanimity of Mr. Betterton! who in his private character was as great as in any he borrowed from the poets, and was therefore always conſidered as the head of the Theatre, though veſted there with very little power. The patentees, as there was now only one Theatre, conſidered it as a means of accumulating wealth to themſelves by the labours of others, and having this maxim once in their minds, it began to have ſo ſtrong an influence on their conduct, that the actors ſoon found themſelves in a very wretched condition. They were oppreſſed without decency, left without means of redreſs for the preſent, and without hopes for the future. In this diſmal ſituation, Betterton endeavoured to convince the Managers of their folly, and laboured to ſhew, from reaſon and experience, that the means they uſed were very ill ſuited to the ends they propoſed, and that every government muſt fail, where the *few* forget their obligations to the *many*. This language, in the ears of this theatrical miniſtry, ſounded like treaſon; and, therefore, inſtead of thinking how to remedy the miſchiefs complained of, they bent their thoughts to get the better of their monitor, as if the not hearing of faults was equivalent to mending them. It was with this view, that they began to give ſome of Betterton's beſt parts to young actors; ſuppoſing this would leſſen his character and abate his influence (*t*). This policy ruined them, and aſſiſted him; the public reſented having Plays ill acted, when they knew they might be acted better. The wiſeſt and beſt Players attached themſelves wholly to Betterton, and deſired him to turn his thoughts on ſome method of procuring himſelf and them juſtice. Thus, ſtage-tyranny brought about the deſtruction of that power by which it was exerciſed, and the very ſteps taken to render Betterton deſperate, pointed out the way to his deliverance (*u*) [*I*]. The general acquaintance he had amongſt perſons of the firſt diſtinction, gave him an opportunity of repreſenting his caſe to them; and his caſe was ſo very reaſonable in itſelf, that being truly repreſented, it was ſufficient to affect all great and generous minds with a deſire of procuring ſo worthy and ſo extraordinary a perſon relief (*w*). But though the quality of thoſe who ſought this was great, and the thing ſought very reaſonable, yet for all that it was far from being eaſily brought about. But at length, partly through the hardſhip Mr. Betterton and his people endured, and partly through the obſtinacy of the patentees, who would liſten to nothing, it was held equally legal and juſt, that the Royal authority

(*t*) Cibber's Life, p. 153.

(*u*) Caſe of the Actors laid before the Lord Chamberlain.

(*w*) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 157.

it. Yet he had another friend, whom he was willing to oblige, which was the famous Dr. Radcliffe; ſo Mr. Betterton advanced ſomewhat more than two thouſand pounds, which was his all, and the Doctor made it up eight thouſand. The veſſel ſailed to the Eaſt Indies, and made as proſperous a voyage, as thoſe who were concerned in her could wiſh; and the war with France being then very warm, the Captain very prudently came home north about, and arrived ſafely in Ireland. But whether obliged by the orders of his owners, or elated by his ſucceſs hitherto, ſo it was, that in his paſſage from Ireland he was taken by the French. His cargo was worth upwards of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, which ruined Mr. Betterton, and broke the fortune and the heart of his friend in the city. As for Dr. Radcliffe, he expreſſed a great concern for Mr. Betterton, and none at all for himſelf. It is, ſaid the Doctor wittily, only trotting up ſome hundred pair of ſtairs more, and things are as they were. The Gentleman in the city left behind him an only daughter, whom Mr. Betterton took home, educated with all the care, and treated with all the tenderneſs of a parent, till ſhe thought fit to marry herſelf to Mr. Bowman the Player, who is but very lately dead, and whoſe behaviour was ſuch, as not only recommended him to the perſonal eſteem of all that knew him, but gave credit to the reports of the excellency of the old ſtage, when Players in general were like him (24). This is a teſtimony of reſpect due to his memory, which I am very glad to have this occaſion of paying; for ſo long as this work ſhall laſt, I hope it will be of uſe in conſecrating to poſterity the fame of worthy perſons deceaſed of all ranks, as well as the candour and impartiality of thoſe to whom Providence has conſigned the great charge of doing juſtice to the dead, and which it is their duty to perform with religious exactneſs.

(24) Theſe facts are many of them well known, but the whole of them was communicated by a perſon who deſires to be concealed.

[*I*] *Pointed out the way to his deliverance.*] It does not appear that Mr. Betterton had any intention of diſtinguiſhing his own intereſt from thoſe of the Patentees, till they convinced him by their behaviour that they were already diſtinguiſhed in their opinions. The perſon they fixed upon to come into Betterton's parts was one George Powell, a man as oppoſite to the perſon he thought to ſupplant, as nature could well form him (25). He had fire without judgment, confidence without merit, and ſtrength of lungs which very much exceeded the ſtrength of his underſtanding. With theſe abilities, or rather with this want of ability, he ſtept into Betterton's parts, and which was no leſs welcome to him, from forty ſhillings to four pounds a week ſalary. At the ſame time this ſtep was taken amongſt the men, another of the like kind was attempted in reference to the women. Mrs. Bracegirdle was then a young player, but had given ſuch an earneſt of what ſhe afterwards performed, that no ſcruple was made of offering her the parts of Mrs. Barry, the greateſt actreſs that had appeared upon the Engliſh ſtage; but Mrs. Bracegirdle ſhewed her capacity and her virtue at the ſame time by a ſteady refuſal. Mr. Betterton, when things were come to this paſs, thought fit to provide for his own ſecurity, by ſetting on foot a kind of aſſociation amongſt the actors, which ſufficiently demonſtrated his influence and their good ſenſe, ſince the ableſt and moſt eſteemed amongſt them readily agreed to ſupport him (26). The Patentees had recourſe to the ſame method, and liſted ſuch and ſo many as they could on their ſide. But though Betterton had a viſible advantage over them in this method of proceeding, yet he was a man of too much judgment and good ſenſe not to foreſee that any conqueſt would be prejudicial to the victors, as well as the vanquiſhed; and therefore the only uſe he made of his ſucceſs was, to propoſe an accommodation, as a thing moſt for the benefit of both parties; but this the Patentees rejected with that haughtineſs incident to weak minds, who fancy the deſire of quiet is a mark of want of ſtrength, or of a want of reſolution. They did not conſider of how much conſequence it is in all ſuch diſputes to be, and to be thought, in the right; or at leaſt they did not reflect, that by the making this propoſition, Mr. Betterton and his party would ſecure the good opinion of the public. They were heated with a fond preſumption of their own power, and blinded by a falſe notion they had conceived, that it was not to be controuled. They thought they had the Law on their ſide, and that whatever became of the juſtice of their cauſe, the power veſted in them by their Royal patents would enable them to triumph over all oppoſition. Theſe were their maxims, and indeed the maxims of all tyrants; and theſe were the ſteps by which they provoked and produced that rebellion which they meant to prevent, and which they might have ſo eaſily prevented, if they had diſtinguiſhed better their true intereſts, from what they were perſuaded by their paſſions to miſtake for their intereſts; a leſſon which was ſoon after ſufficiently taught them by experience, though their pride hindered them from learning it at preſent.

(25) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 153.

(26) Hiſtory of the Stage, p. 137.

ſhould interpoſe for the cure of an evil, which ſprang entirely from an abuſe of Royal favour (x) [K]. King William granted this favour at the inſtance of the famous Earl of Dorſet, the friend, the favourite, and protector of the Muſes. The nobility alſo, led by his example, contributed, by a voluntary ſubſcription, to raiſe a Theatre for them to play in, and this produced the new Playhouſe, near that which is ſtill ſtanding in Lincoln's-Inn Fields (y). This Theatre was opened in April 1695, with very great advantages. Mr. Congreve accepted a ſhare with this company, as Mr. Dryden had formerly with the King's company, and the firſt Play they acted was his admirable Comedy of *Love for Love*. The King honoured it with his preſence, there was a large and ſplendid audience, Mr. Betterton ſpoke a prologue, and Mrs. Bracegirdle an epilogue ſuitable to the occaſion, and it appeared plainly, by the reception they met with, the town knew how to diſcern and reward that merit, the ill judging Patentees had treated ſo ill (z) [L].

(x) Caſe of the Actors, before mentioned.

(y) Life of Betterton.

(z) Cibber's Life, p. 160.

[K] *Which ſprang entirely from the abuſe of Royal favour.*] It was in the winter of the year 1694 that this quarrel roſe to ſo great a height, and the interruption it occaſioned in their playing, proved the loſs of a thouſand pounds to the Patentees before Chriſtmas. They flattered themſelves with the hopes of going on better during the remaining part of the ſeaſon, by drawing off ſome of thoſe who ſided with Mr. Betterton, in which they met with an unforeſeen diſappointment by the death of Queen Mary, which occaſioned a total ſuſpenſion of all public diverſions (27). This gave Mr. Betterton and his friends leiſure to enquire upon what ground they ſtood, and whether it might not be in the power of the Earl of Dorſet, then Lord Chamberlain, to redreſs their grievances. His Lordſhip was known to be well inclined, but it was not found that his office enabled him to compel the Patentees to do what it was reaſonable they ſhould have done in favour of the actors. Upon this the ſubject was canvaſſed at Court, and even in the circle, ſo that at laſt it reached the Royal ear (28). The King, who naturally hated oppreſſion, ſignified a willingneſs to relieve theſe people from a yoke they were not able to bear, and with which the public alſo was highly diſpleaſed. The Lawyers were not long in finding out how this might be done; they had indeed given their opinions that the former patents were good, but they agreed now that a new patent would be as good. By this the knot was cut that could not be untied, and Mr. Betterton and his friends left at liberty to entertain the town on a ſtage of their own; and to enable them to do this, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction ſubſcribed forty guineas a-piece, and it was agreed to build a new theatre, where the Tennis-court then ſtood, in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields (29). The managers of the old patent then found, when it was too late, that they had puſhed the matter too far, and that when Betterton and his party left them, they ſhould be too weak to attempt any thing with ſucceſs. They had, however, the good fortune to draw over Mr. Williams and Mrs. Monfort from their adverſaries, which did them ſome hurt, and the managers a great deal of good. They, likewiſe, endeavoured to obtain recruits from the country, in which they were not altogether unſucceſsful, for this brought Mr. Johnſon and Mr. Bullock to the houſe; nor were they altogether deprived of good actors by the going off of Mr. Betterton, ſince they had ſtill with them Mr. Cibber, Mr. Kent, Mr. Verbruggen, Mr. Powell, and Mr. Haynes. As for women, they had only Mrs. Rogers and Mrs. Verbruggen; and to theſe we muſt add Mr. Williams and Mrs. Monfort, to whom the other company refuſed ſhares, as Mr. Cibber very juſtly obſerves againſt that principle of equity on which they ſhould have founded all their proceedings (30). I have been the more particular in this account, becauſe it ſerves to ſhew how excellent the other players muſt have been, when in this condition the Patentees proceeded with fear and trembling, as knowing that Betterton's company would, in the opinion of all proper judges, prove infinitely ſuperior to them; though, as we have ſhewn, ſetting this compariſon aſide, their company was very far from being deſpicable. They had, indeed, one advantage, which was that of opening before their rivals, and they did not fail to make uſe of it; but at the ſame time they had the misfortune to make uſe of a very bad Play, which they revived upon this occaſion. It was *Abdelazar; or, The Moor's Revenge*, very poorly written by Mrs. Behn, and they acted it before a numerous audience (31). The ſtage, however, appeared ſo indifferently filled when Mr. Betterton, Mrs. Barry, and Mrs. Bracegirdle were abſent, that the very next night their audience ſunk to nothing; ſo that they were not long in doubt as to the conſequences of this ſeparation with reſpect to themſelves. The Patentees ſaw plainly their error, and that whatever became of the other company, their own, by dint of their wiſe management, was fallen as low as their bittereſt enemies could wiſh it, without any viſible proſpect of their being able to raiſe it again.

(27) Life of King William, p. 313.

(28) See the article of SACKVILLE (CHARLES) Earl of Dorſet.

(29) Life of Betterton, p. 10.

(30) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 162.

(31) See Langbain's Account of Engliſh dramatic Poets, p. 18.

[L] *That merit the ill-judging Patentees had treated ſo ill.*] It is very certain, that if true merit alone could have ſupported an undertaking of this kind, Mr. Betterton's company would have met with conſtant and univerſal approbation. The actors he carried with him to Lincoln's-Inn-Fields were ſuch, as, together with himſelf, and his wife, might have raiſed any ſtage to reputation; which may the more eaſily be credited, when we reflect that their memories were freſh amongſt thoſe who lately were the beſt judges of the pieces they performed. Amongſt the men were Mr. Underhill, Mr. Smith, Mr. Bowman, Mr. Dogget, Mr. Sandford, and Mr. Bowen. Amongſt the women, Mrs. Barry, Mrs. Bracegirdle, Mrs. Bowman, Mrs. Ayliff, and Mrs. Leigh (32). The Prologue at their opening was very happily written, and contains a very beautiful and eaſy compliment to thoſe who had aſſiſted them in obtaining this eſtabliſhment. The reader perhaps being now ſo well acquainted with the ſubject, will the better reliſh the following lines from it (33).

The huſbandman in vain renews his toil
To cultivate each year a hungry ſoil,
And fondly hopes for rich and generous fruit,
When what ſhould feed the tree devours the root.
Th' unladen boughs he ſees bode certain dearth,
Unleſs tranſplanted to more kindly earth.
So the poor huſbands of the ſtage, who found
Their labours loſt upon ungrateful ground,
This laſt and only remedy have prov'd,
And hope new fruit from ancient ſtocks remov'd.
Well may they hope when you ſo kindly aid,
Well plant a ſoil which you ſo rich have made.
As nature gave the world to man's firſt age,
So from your bounty we receive this ſtage.
The freedom man was born to, you've reſtor'd,
And to our world ſuch plenty you afford,
It ſeems like Eden, fruitful of its own accord.
But ſince in Paradiſe frail fleſh gave way,
And when but two were made, both went aſtray;
Forbear your wonder, and the fault forgive,
If in our larger family we grieve
One falling Adam, and one tempted Eve (*).
We who remain would gratefully repay
What our endeavours can, and bring this day
The firſt-fruit offering of a Virgin Play.

The Epilogue, ſpoke by Mrs. Bracegirdle, alſo contains ſome farther remarks upon this theatrical revolution, and alludes to the players having formerly had recourſe to the ſame method, and to the ſame part of the town, in time of diſtreſs, I ſhall quote ſome lines from thence for the reaſons before given (34).

Sure Providence at firſt deſigned this place
To be the players refuge in diſtreſs;
For ſtill in every ſtorm they all run hither,
As to a ſhed that ſhields them from the weather.
But thinking of this change which laſt befel us,
'Tis like what I have heard our Poets tell us:
For when behind the ſcenes their ſuits are pleading,
To help their love, ſometimes they ſhew their reading;

(32) From private information of a perſon then upon the ſtage.

(33) See this Prologue in the ſecond Volume of Congreve's Works.

(*) Alluding to Mr. Williams and Mrs. Monfort.

(34) See this Prologue in the ſecond Volume of Congreve's Works.

But with all theſe vaſt advantages, Betterton's company were not able to maintain this flow of proſperity beyond two or three ſeaſons. Mr. Congreve was an excellent, and therefore a ſlow writer; the other houſe had the advantage of two authors who produced without pain, Vanbrugh and Cibber. They wrote, if not finiſhed, at leaſt taking Plays; and though they were ſometimes mauled by the critics, they were ſure of being applauded by the people (*a*). This gave ſuch a turn in their favour, that, with all their merit, Betterton's Actors had been undone, but for the ſeaſonable relief of *The Mourning Bride,* and *The Way of the World,* which came like reprieves, and ſaved them at the laſt gaſp (*b*). In a few years, however, it appearing plainly, that without a new ſupport from their friends it was impoſſible for them to maintain their independence, the protectors of Mr. Betterton ſet on foot a new ſubſcription, for building a Theatre in the Hay-Market, under the direction of Sir John Vanbrugh, which was finiſhed in 1706 (*c*). This favour was kindly received by Mr. Betterton; but he was now grown old, his health and ſtrength much impaired by conſtant application, and his fortune in a condition ſtill worſe than thoſe of his perſonal circumſtances. He choſe therefore, all things conſidered, and more eſpecially an untractable ſpirit having grown up amongſt his Actors, occaſioned by loſſes and diſappointments, to decline his poſt, and put the whole deſign under the conduct of Mr. Congreve and Sir John Vanbrugh (*d*). The former of theſe abandoned it ſoon after to Sir John entirely, and Betterton's ſtrength failing, many of the old Players dying, and other accidents happening, a re-union of the companies became not only expedient but neceſſary, and accordingly it took place ſoon after. We are now releaſed from the taſk of purſuing the ſtage hiſtory any farther. Hitherto it was that of Betterton, with whom it grew, it flouriſhed, it reached perfection, it declined, it decayed; and as the ſtory of a great Prince carries in it that of his people, ſo to write the life of Betterton fairly, is to give the Hiſtory of the Theatre during his time (*e*). At laſt, indeed, they ſeparated, but by degrees, and not with any unkindneſs. After Mr. Betterton reached ſeventy, his infirmities grew on him greatly, his fits of the gout were more laſting and more ſevere. His circumſtances alſo, which had not been mended by his having the conduct of the Theatre, grew daily ſtreighter, and all this joined to his wife's ill ſtate of health, made his condition but melancholy, at a time of life when the higheſt affluence could not have made it cheerful. Yet even under all theſe preſſures he kept up his ſpirit, and was as ſerene as ever, though ſomewhat leſs active: nay, he acted ſtill when his health would permit, which, however, was but ſeldom (*f*). The public (in thoſe days grateful) remembered the pleaſure that Betterton had given them, and could not ſuffer, after fifty years ſervice, that ſo deſerving a perſon ſhould withdraw, without ſome conſiderable marks of their bounty. It was in the ſpring of 1709, that a benefit, which was not then, as now, a common favour, much leſs a thing of right, was granted to Mr. Betterton; and the Play of *Love for Love* (*g*) was acted at the Theatre-Royal, on the ſeventh of April, for that purpoſe. Two of the beſt Actreſſes that ever graced our ſtage, and who had then quitted it, came upon that occaſion to render it more advantageous: the part of *Valentine* was played by Betterton, *Angelica* by Mrs. Bracegirdle, and Mrs. Barry performed that of *Frail.* The epilogue ſpoken by her was written by Mr. Rowe, who had deſerved the laurel he wore if it had been his ſingle performance; and ſo well was this affair conducted, that we are told it produced Mr. Betterton five hundred pounds, and a promiſe that the favour ſhould be annually continued (*h*) [*M*]. Theſe extraordinary

marks

(*a*) Hiſtorical Remarks on the Britiſh Theatre, p. 195.

(*b*) Cibber's Life, p. 161.

(*c*) Memoirs of Vanbrugh's Life, p. 65.

(*d*) Cibber's Life, p. 262.

(*e*) See Betterton's Life.

(*f*) Cibber's Life, p. 331.

(*g*) See the Tatler quoted in the notes.

(*h*) Life of Betterton.

And wanting ready caſh to pay for hearts,
They top their learning on us, and their parts.
Once of Philoſophers they told us ſtories,
Whom, as I think, they call'd—*Py—Pythagories.*
I'm ſure 'tis ſome ſuch Latin name they give 'em,
And we who know no better muſt believe 'em.
Now to theſe men (ſay they) ſuch ſouls were giv'n,
That after death ne'er went to Hell nor Heaven;
But liv'd, I know not how, in beaſts; and then,
When many years are paſt, in men again.
Methinks we play'rs reſemble ſuch a ſoul,
That does from bodies, we from houſes ſtrole.
Thus Ariſtotle's ſoul of old that was,
May now be damn'd to animate an aſs;
Or in this very houſe, for ought we know,
Is doing painful penance in ſome beau:
And thus our audience, which did once reſort
To ſhining theatres to ſee our ſport,
Now find us toſs'd into a *Tennis court.*

[*M*] *A promiſe that the favour ſhould be annually continued.*] In order to juſtify this fact, I find myſelf obliged to quote a paper, in which this tranſaction is ſet in the faireſt light by Sir Richard Steele, who deſcribes every action of humanity with almoſt as much warmth as he felt it. After mentioning the Ladies and Mr. Dogget's behaviour with juſt commendations, he goes on thus (35): 'There has not been 'known ſo great a concourſe of perſons of diſtinction 'as at that time; the ſtage itſelf was covered with 'Gentlemen and Ladies, and when the curtain was 'drawn, it diſcovered even there a very ſplendid audience. This unuſual encouragement, which was 'given to a play for the advantage of ſo great an 'actor, gives an undeniable inſtance, that the true 'reliſh for manly entertainments and rational pleaſures is not wholly loſt. All the parts were acted to 'perfection: The actors were careful of their carriage, and no one was guilty of the affectation to 'inſert witticiſms of his own, but a due reſpect was 'had to the audience for encouraging this accompliſhed player. It is not now doubted but plays 'will revive, and take their uſual place in the opinion 'of perſons of wit and merit, notwithſtanding their 'late apoſtacy in favour of dreſs and ſound. This 'place is very much altered ſince Mr. Dryden frequented it; where you uſed to ſee Songs, Epigrams, and Satires, in the hands of every man you 'met, you have now only a pack of cards; and inſtead of the cavils about the turn of the expreſſion, 'the elegance of the ſtyle, and the like, the learned 'now diſpute only about the truth of the game. But 'however the company is altered, all have ſhewn a 'great reſpect for Mr. Betterton; and the very gaming part of this houſe have been ſo much touched 'with a ſenſe of the uncertainty of human affairs '(which alter with themſelves every moment), that 'in this Gentleman they pitied Mark Anthony of

'Rome,

(35) Tatler, No. 1, under the head of *Will's* Coffee-Houſe.

marks of public gratitude had a proper effect upon Mr. Betterton, who, inſtead of indulging himſelf on their bounty, exerted the ſpirits given by this ſeaſonable act of generoſity, in their ſervice, and appeared and acted as often as his health would permit (*i*). On the twentieth of September following in particular, he performed the character of *HAMLET* with ſuch vivacity, as well as juſtice, that it gave univerſal ſatisfaction to the beſt judges (*k*). This activity of his in the winter, kept off the gout longer than uſual; but the fit was the more violent for it when it came upon him in the ſpring. This was the more unlucky, by its being about the time of his benefit, when the ſucceſs of his Play was ſure to depend, in a great meaſure, upon his own performance. The day fixed was April the thirteenth, and the Play he made choice of, was *The Maid's Tragedy*, in which he acted the part of *Melantius*, and notice was given accordingly by his good friend the *TATLER (l)*: but the fit intervened, and that he might not diſappoint the town, Mr. Betterton was forced to allow of outward applications to reduce the ſwelling of his feet, which had ſuch an effect, that he was able to appear on the ſtage, though he was forced to uſe a ſlipper. He acted that day with unuſual ſpirit and briſkneſs, by which he obtained univerſal applauſe (*m*). But this could not defend him from paying a very dear price for theſe momentary marks of approbation; ſince the gouty humour, repelled by fomentations, ſoon ſeized upon the noble parts, which being, perhaps, weakened by his extraordinary fatigue on that occaſion, he was not able to make a long reſiſtance, but on the twenty-eighth of April 1710, paid that tribute to nature, from which, neither heroes, nor thoſe who play them, can be exempted (*n*). His behaviour raiſed his reputation and character, in his life time, as high as he could wiſh; he received the ſtrongeſt proofs of public eſteem, we may ſay, almoſt literally, in his laſt moments; and ſuch honours were paid his memory after death, as only his memory could deſerve: for on the ſecond of May following, his corpſe was, with much ceremony, interred in Weſtminſter-abbey (*o*), and ſuch an account given of this ſolemnity, by the moſt agreeable writer of thoſe times, as will out-laſt even brazen monuments, and perhaps the very Abbey itſelf [*N*]. As to the character of this great man, in the way of his profeſſion, the reader has

(*i*) Hiſt. of the Stage, p. 139.

(*k*) The Tatler, No. 71.

(*l*) *Ibid.* No. 157.

(*m*) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 99.

(*n*) Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, Vol. v. p. 211.

(*o*) Antiquities of St. Peter's Weſtminſter, Vol. ii. p. 188.

'Rome, Hamlet of Denmark, Mithridates of Pontus, Theodoſius of Greece, and Henry the Eighth of England. It is well known, he has been in the condition of each of thoſe illuſtrious perſonages for ſeveral hours together, and behaved himſelf in thoſe high ſtations, in all the changes of the ſcene, with ſuitable dignity. For theſe reaſons we intend to repeat this favour to him on a proper occaſion, leſt he who can inſtruct us ſo well in perſonating feigned ſorrows, ſhould be loſt to us by ſuffering under real ones.' He was no leſs indebted to his friend Nicholas Rowe, Eſq; than he was to Sir Richard Steele: for the Epilogue which he wrote for Mrs. Bracegirdle was of ſuch a nature, as could not but convey to every generous heart and elegant mind, a tender feeling for the diſtreſs of him for whoſe ſake it was written. The paſſage therein, which relates to Shakeſpeare, is very fine and very poetical, at the ſame time that it is very natural and very moving. The reader will hereafter ſee the cauſe that very probably ſuggeſted this thought to Mr. Rowe; but in order to judge the better of it, it is requiſite that he ſhould ſee the piece itſelf. Indeed I am greatly miſtaken if this method of comparing occaſional poems with the narratives of the events, by which they were occaſioned, is not the beſt way of diſcloſing their beauties, and doing juſtice to their authors. Such poems make really a part of the memoirs of that life to which they relate, and therefore are never more properly introduced than in this manner, provided they are not too numerous, and the life to which they relate has dignity enough to deſerve ſuch illuſtrations. That of Mr. Betterton needs no apology of this kind; for if Cicero took ſo much pains to raiſe the character of the Roman Roſcius, I certainly run no hazard of being cenſured of over fondneſs for him, whom the beſt judges have deſervedly ſtyled the Roſcius of England. But it is now time to come to the poem which gave occaſion to theſe remarks, and which I take to be equally correct and gallant (36).

(36) This Epilogue is prefixed to the Life of Betterton.

As ſome brave Knight, who once with ſpear and ſhield
Had fought renown in many a well-fought field,
But now no more with ſacred fame inſpir'd,
Was to a peaceful hermitage retir'd;
There, if by chance diſaſt'rous tales he hears,
Of matrons wrongs and captive virgins tears,
He feels ſoft pity urge his generous breaſt,
And vows once more to ſuccour the diſtreſt.
Buckled in mail he ſallies on the plain,
And turns him to the feats of arms again.
So we to former leagues of friendſhip true,
Have bid once more our peaceful homes adieu,
To aid old Thomas, and to pleaſure you.
Like errant damſels boldly we engage,
Arm'd, as you ſee, for the defenceleſs ſtage.
Time was when this good man no help did lack,
And ſcorn'd that any She ſhould hold his back:
But now, ſo age and frailty have ordain'd,
By two at once he's forc'd to be ſuſtain'd.
You ſee what failing nature brings man to;
And yet let none inſult, for ought we know
She may not wear ſo well with ſome of you.
Tho' old, you find his ſtrength is not clean paſt,
But, true as ſteel, he's mettle to the laſt.
If better he perform'd in days of yore,
Yet now he gives you all that's in his power;
What can the youngeſt of you all do more?
What he has been, tho' preſent praiſe be dumb,
Shall hap'ly be a theme in times to come,
As now we talk of Roſcius and of Rome.
Had you with-held your favours on this night,
Old Shakeſpeare's ghoſt had riſ'n to do him right;
With indignation had you ſeen him frown
Upon a worthleſs, witleſs, taſteleſs town:
Griev'd and repining, you had heard him ſay,
Why are the Muſes labours caſt away?
Why did I only write, what only he could play?
But ſince like friends to wit, thus throng'd you meet,
Go on, and make the gen'rous work complete;
Be true to merit, and ſtill own his cauſe;
Find ſomething for him more than bare applauſe.
In juſt remembrance of your pleaſures paſt,
Be kind, and give him a diſcharge at laſt:
In peace and eaſe life's remnant let him wear,
And hang his conſecrated BUSKIN here.

[*N*] *And perhaps the very Abbey itſelf.*] It would have been the eaſieſt thing in the world to have referred the reader to the Tatlers for this fine diſcourſe; but then we ſhould have run the hazard of its not being immediately read, or connected with what has been ſaid upon the ſubject, which would leave this account imperfect, and hinder the reader's perceiving all the beauties of that (37). For theſe reaſons we have judged it more expedient to give the whole a place here, as ſecuring by that means the fineſt picture of this great man that was ever drawn, and the moſt pleaſing likeneſs. We may add alſo to theſe another, and perhaps a ſtronger reaſon. This humane and admirable paper diſcovers the ſentiments of thoſe days, and how juſt, how grateful, and full of reverence

(37) Tatler, No. 167.

has ſeen it very fully repreſented, by authors every way equal to the taſk, and who thought it did honour to their own talents, to do right to the great Genius of Betterton. But ſome other particulars there are, relating chiefly to his private life, of which I think it becomes me to take notice. He was a man of great ſtudy and application, and in regard to the ſubjects which employed his attention, as knowing, and as much a maſter, as any man could be. He was an excellent critic, more eſpecially on Shakeſpeare and Fletcher, not in remarking their defects, but in ſearching out, and producing to light, all their minute and hidden beauties. In this he was ſo accurate and ſo ſucceſsful, that Mr. Rowe *(p)*, who was himſelf an excellent judge, and had alſo ſtudied the ſame authors with deep attention, ſays the ſtrongeſt things that man can ſay of Betterton's ſkill in this

rence the public was to thoſe who deſerved well of it in any character. They were not then ſatisfied to read a few lines of when and where a man was born, how long he lived, and when he died, but liſtened with pleaſure to his whole ſtory, admired ſincerely all his good qualities, deplored his loſs, and favourably received the endeavours of that writer, who aimed at doing juſtice to the dead, and placed his own merit in celebrating that of other men. May we on all ſides emulate ſo laudable a practice!

From my own Apartment, May 2.

'HAVING received notice, that the famous actor Mr. Betterton was to be interred this evening in the cloiſters, near Weſtminſter-Abbey, I was reſolved to walk thither, and ſee the laſt office done to a man whom I had always very much admired, and from whoſe action I had received more ſtrong impreſſions of what is great and noble in human nature, than from the arguments of the moſt ſolid Philoſophers, or the deſcription of the moſt charming Poets I had ever read. As the rude and untaught multitude are no way wrought upon more effectually than by ſeeing public puniſhments and executions; ſo men of letters and education feel their humanity moſt forcibly exerciſed, when they attend the obſequies of men who had arrived at any perfection in liberal accompliſhments. Theatrical action is to be eſteemed as ſuch, except it be objected, that we cannot call that an art which cannot be attained by art. Voice, ſtature, motion, and other gifts, muſt be very bountifully beſtowed by nature, or labour and induſtry will but puſh the unhappy endeavourer in that way, the further off his wiſhes.

'Such an actor as Mr. Betterton ought to be recorded with the ſame reſpect as Roſcius among the Romans. The greateſt orator has thought fit to quote his judgment, and celebrate his life. Roſcius was the example to all that would form themſelves into proper and winning behaviour. His action was ſo well adapted to the ſentiments he expreſſed, that the youth of Rome thought they wanted only to be virtuous to be as graceful in their appearance as Roſcius. The imagination took a lovely impreſſion of what was great and good; and they who never thought of ſetting up for the art of imitation, became themſelves inimitable characters.

'There is no human invention ſo aptly calculated for the forming a free-born people as that of a theatre. Tully reports, that the celebrated player of whom I am ſpeaking uſed frequently to ſay, *The perfection of an actor is only to become what he is doing.* Young men, who are too unattentive to receive lectures, are irreſiſtibly taken with performances. Hence it is, that I extremely lament the little reliſh the gentry of this nation have at preſent for the juſt and noble repreſentations in ſome of our Tragedies. The Operas, which are of late introduced, can leave no trace behind them that can be of ſervice beyond the preſent moment. To ſing and to dance, are accompliſhments very few have any thoughts of practiſing; but to ſpeak juſtly, and move gracefully, is what every man thinks he does perform, or wiſhes he did.

'I have hardly a notion, that any performer of antiquity could ſurpaſs the action of Mr. Betterton in any of the occaſions in which he has appeared on our ſtage. The wonderful agony which he appeared in, when he examined the circumſtance of the handkerchief in Othello; the mixture of love that intruded upon his mind upon the innocent anſwers Deſdemona makes, betrayed in his geſture ſuch a variety and viciſſitude of paſſions, as would admoniſh a man to be afraid of his own heart, and perfectly convince him, that it is to ſtab it, to admit that worſt of daggers, Jealouſy. Whoever reads in his cloſet this admirable ſcene, will find that he cannot, except he has as warm an imagination as Shakeſpeare himſelf, find any but dry, incoherent, and broken ſentences: But a reader that has ſeen Betterton act it, obſerves there could not be a word added; that longer ſpeeches had been unnatural, nay, impoſſible, in Othello's circumſtances. The charming paſſage in the ſame tragedy, where he tells the manner of winning the affection of his miſtreſs, was urged with ſo moving and graceful an energy, that while I walked in the cloiſters, I thought of him with the ſame concern as if I waited for the remains of a perſon who had in real life done all that I had ſeen him repreſent. The gloom of the place, and faint lights before the ceremony appeared, contributed to the melancholy diſpoſition I was in; and I began to be extremely afflicted, that Brutus and Caſſius had any difference; that Hotſpur's gallantry was ſo unfortunate; and that the mirth and good humour of Falſtaff could not exempt him from the grave. Nay, this occaſion in me, who look upon the diſtinctions amongſt men to be merely ſcenical, raiſed reflections upon the emptineſs of all human perfection and greatneſs in general; and I could not but regret, that the ſacred heads which lie buried in the neighbourhood of this little portion of earth in which my poor old friend is depoſited, are returned to duſt as well as he, and that there is no difference in the grave between the imaginary and the real monarch. This made me ſay of human life itſelf with *Macbeth:*

'To-morrow, to-morrow, and to-morrow,
'Creeps in a ſtealing pace from day to day
'To the laſt moment of recorded time!
'And all our yeſterdays have lighted fools
'To their eternal night! Out, out, ſhort candle!
'Life's but a walking ſhadow, a poor player
'That ſtruts and frets his hour upon the ſtage,
'And then is heard no more.

'The mention I have here made of Mr. Betterton, for whom I had, as long as I have known any thing, a very great eſteem and gratitude for the pleaſure he gave me, can do him no good; but it may poſſibly be of ſervice to the unhappy woman he has left behind him, to have it known, that this great Tragedian was never in a ſcene half ſo moving, as the circumſtances of his affairs created at his departure. His wife, after the cohabitation of forty years in the ſtricteſt amity, has long pined away with a ſenſe of his decay, as well in his perſon as his little fortune; and, in proportion to that, ſhe has herſelf decayed both in her health and reaſon. Her huſband's death, added to her age and infirmities, would certainly have determined her life, but that the greatneſs of her diſtreſs has been her relief, by a preſent deprivation of her ſenſes. This abſence of reaſon is her beſt defence againſt age, ſorrow, poverty, and ſickneſs. I dwell upon this account ſo diſtinctly, in obedience to a certain great ſpirit, who hides her name, and has by letter applied to me to recommend to her ſome object of compaſſion, from whom ſhe may be concealed.

'This, I think, is a proper occaſion for exerting ſuch heroic generoſity; and as there is an ingenuous ſhame in thoſe who have known better fortune to be reduced to receive obligations, as well as a becoming pain in the truly generous to receive thanks; in this caſe both thoſe delicacies are preſerved; for the perſon obliged is as incapable of knowing her benefactreſs, as her benefactreſs is unwilling to be known by her.'

(p) Account of Mr. W. Shakeſpeare, prefixed to *The Life and Death of Thomas, Lord Cromwell.*

reſpect. His knowledge of Shakeſpeare's merit gave him ſo ſtrong and ſo perfect an eſteem for him, that he made a journey, or rather a pilgrimage, into Staffordſhire to viſit his tomb, and to collect whatever particulars, relating to his hiſtory, tradition might have preſerved; and theſe he freely communicated to the ſame friend, who acknowledges with much candour, that the memoirs of Shakeſpeare's life he publiſhed (from which later lives have been taken) were the produce of that journey, and freely beſtowed on him by the collector (*q*). Yet, extenſive as his knowledge was, and high as he ſtood in reputation and eſteem, he was the modeſteſt man living. The young Actors revered him as a parent, but they loved him as a parent at the ſame time. He was gentle in his language, mild in his behaviour, ready in commendation, ſincere in advice, and ſo indirect in his reproofs, that he had an art of ſhewing men their foibles without their ſeeing that this was what he intended, and the ſecret was the better kept, becauſe he never mentioned ſuch failings to another man. Mr. Booth, who knew him only in his decline, ſaid he never ſaw him, either upon the ſtage or off, without learning from him; and frequently obſerved, that Mr. Betterton was no Actor, that he put on his part with his clothes, and was the very man he undertook to be, till the Play was over, and nothing more. He was ſo exact in following nature, that the look of ſurprize he put on in the character of *Hamlet*, ſtruck Mr. Booth ſo in that of the *Ghoſt* (when he firſt played it), as to diſable him, for ſome moments, from going on (*r*). Yet he was ſo communicative, that in thoſe parts he played higheſt, he would enter into the grounds of his action, and explain, as far as it was poſſible to explain, the principles of his art. He was admirably verſed in the action of the ſtage, conſidered as independent of ſentiment, and knew perfectly the dependance, connection, and buſineſs of the ſcenes, ſo as to attract, preſerve, and ſatisfy, the attention of an audience; an art extremely neceſſary to an Author, and yet the hardeſt to be acquired of any. He was ſo far from putting on aſſuming looks, and a ſupercilious air to young authors, that he always inſiſted on their reading his parts to him, and took their inſtructions in the acting them, with the utmoſt deference and reſpect (*s*). But what ſhewed his accurate and thorough ſkill in dramatic entertainments, was his own performances as an author, which, to thoſe who read them, may poſſibly ſeem too high a compliment, becauſe it will be thought, and indeed juſtly, that we have many better writers of Comedies than he; but yet, as to the ſingle point I commend him for, he has been excelled by none (*t*) [*O*]. As he had the rare felicity of paſſing through life without envy or reproach, though not without misfortunes, ſo this felicity was alſo heightened by his fortunate choice of a wife, with whom he paſſed his days in domeſtic quiet, though they were of very different tempers. He was naturally chearful, and had a very high confidence in Providence; but ſhe was of a thoughtful and melancholy temper, more eſpecially after their great loſs, and when ſhe ſaw his health began to decline (*u*). She was ſo ſtrongly affected by his death, which, as we have ſhewn, was in ſome meaſure ſudden, that ſhe ran diſtracted, though ſhe appeared rather a prudent and conſtant, than a fond and paſſionate wife. She was extremely uſeful to the Theatre, and more happy in the inſtructing young Actreſſes than any other had been; ſo that her misfortune was a great, indeed a public loſs [*P*]. She did not long ſurvive Mr. Betterton. According to our beſt

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[O] *As to the ſingle point for which I commend him, he has been excelled by none.*] The works of Betterton, as a dramatic Poet, are but few, viz. I. *The Woman made a Juſtice.* II. *The Unjuſt Judge; or Appius and Virginia.* This was written originally by Mr. John Webſter, an old Poet, who flouriſhed in the reign of James I. It was altered only by Mr. Betterton, who was ſo cautious and reſerved upon this head, that it was by accident that the fact was known, at leaſt with certainty (38). III. *The Amorous Widow; or, The Wanton Wife*; a play written on the plan of Moliere's *George Dandin.* The *Amorous Widow* is a ſecond plot, interwoven to accommodate the piece more to the Engliſh taſte. This comedy was acted in Mr. Betterton's life-time with great applauſe; but notwithſtanding this he could never be prevailed upon to publiſh it; ſo that the world ſaw it only as a poſthumous performance (39). The chief merit of this, and indeed of all his performances, lay in the exact diſpoſition of the ſcenes, their juſt length, great propriety, and natural connection; to all which was owing their being juſtly eſteemed the beſt acting plays that had been brought upon the ſtage; and of how great conſequence this is to the fate of tragedy and comedy may be learned from all Banks's pieces, which, though they have nothing elſe to recommend them, ſeldom fail to affect an audience as much, or more, than ſome that are deſervedly in better reputation (40). This remark may be of uſe to thoſe who write for the ſtage, ſince there are many more plays loſt for want of attending to this, than from any deficiency of wit or judgment.

[P] *So that her misfortune was a great, indeed a public, loſs.*] All who remember the theatre in thoſe days, and whom pains have been taken to conſult, agree, that Mrs. Betterton deſerved in every reſpect the character given in the text, and was of infinite ſervice to the Engliſh ſtage. We will give her praiſes more particularly from one of them (41). 'She was, 'ſays Mr. Cibber, though far advanced in years, ſo 'great a miſtreſs of nature, that even Mrs. Barry, 'who acted Lady Macbeth after her, could not in 'that part, with all her ſuperior ſtrength and melody 'of voice, throw out thoſe quick and careleſs ſtrokes 'of terror from the diſorder of a guilty mind, which 'the other gave us with a facility in her manner, that 'rendered them at once tremendous and delightful. 'Time could not impair her ſkill, though he had 'brought her perſon to decay. She was to the laſt 'the admiration of all true judges of nature and lovers 'of Shakeſpeare, in whoſe plays ſhe chiefly excelled, 'and without a rival. When ſhe quitted the ſtage, 'ſeveral good actreſſes were the better for her inſtruc'tion. She was a woman of an unblemiſhed and 'ſober life, and had the honour to teach Queen 'Anne, when Princeſs, the part of Semandra in 'Mithridates, which ſhe acted at Court in King 'Charles's time. After the death of Mr. Betterton 'her huſband, that Princeſs, when Queen, ordered 'her a penſion for life, but ſhe lived not to receive 'more than the firſt half year of it.' Thus the reader has ſeen in this matchleſs couple, that all profeſſions honeſtly and ably diſcharged are honourable, and that it is not at all impoſſible for perſons of real worth, to

(*q*) Account of Mr. W. Shakeſpeare, prefixed to *The Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell.*

(*r*) From Mr. Booth's frequent mention of this paſſage at Button's.

(*s*) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 95.

(*t*) See this explained in the notes.

(*u*) From accounts of a Lady intimate with her for many years.

(38) Langbain's Account of the Dramatic Poets, p. 509.

(39) It is added to his Life, written by Capt. Gildon, and conſequently firſt printed in 1710.

(40) See the article of CONGREVE (WILLIAM).

(41) Apology for the Life of Mr. Cibber, p. 134, 135.

beſt informations, it was about ſix months; but this was long enough for Queen Anne to expreſs her compaſſion, by giving her a penſion, which was hardly ſettled upon her before it ceaſed. She is ſaid to have recovered her ſenſes a little before ſhe expired (*w*).

(*w*) Reported by the ſame Lady.

to transfer the reputation they acquire on the ſtage to the characters they ſuſtain in life. C.

*** [Motraye, in his Travels, relates the following anecdote concerning our great actor. 'Mr. Betterton (who by his merit made his profeſſion be forgot and diſpenſed with, and who, like another *Dominico* in the Italian Comedy at Paris, was welcome 'to perſons of the firſt rank, and as agreeable on 'ſerious converſation as on the ſtage) being one day 'at dinner at the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's, his 'Grace delivered his aſtoniſhment, that the repreſentation of fables in their pieces ſhould make more 'impreſſion upon the mind, than that of truth in the 'ſermons of the Clergy: upon which Mr. Betterton, 'deſiring leave as to the reaſon of it, and obtaining 'it on condition of preſerving the reſpect due to religion, ſaid, *May it pleaſe your Grace, it is becauſe 'the Clergy, in reading their ſermons, pronounce them 'as if they were reading fables: and we, in acting our 'parts, and uſing in them a proper geſture, repreſent 'them like matters of fact* (42).' There is undoubtedly a conſiderable degree of weight in Mr. Betterton's obſervation. The want of life, earneſtneſs and energy in the Clergy, of different denominations, prevents their being attended to in the manner that could be wiſhed, and greatly leſſens the effect of their diſcourſes. But this doth not include the whole of the difficulty. If the Archbiſhop had entered philoſophically into the matter, he would have been leſs aſtoniſhed that theatrical repreſentations ſhould make a more powerful impreſſion than ſermons. And if Mr. Betterton had extended his ſpeculations ſomewhat farther, he would have found that the full ſolution of the queſtion muſt be ſought for in the frame of human nature, and in a great variety of circumſtances, beſides that ſingle circumſtance to which alone he directed his attention.] K.

(42) Motraye's Travels, p. 143. Communicated by Mr. Reed.

BETTS (John), an eminent Phyſician in the XVIIth century, was ſon of Mr. Edward Betts by his wife Dorothy, daughter of Mr. John Venables, of Rapley in Hampſhire. He was born at Wincheſter, and educated there in grammar learning. From thence he was elected a ſcholar of Corpus-Chriſti college in Oxford, in February 1642 (*a*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, February 9, 1646 (*b*). Being ejected by the Viſitors appointed by the Parliament in 1648, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Phyſic (*c*), and commenced Doctor in that faculty, April 11, 1654; having accumulated the degrees (*d*). He practiſed with great ſucceſs at London, but chiefly among the Roman Catholics, being himſelf of that perſuaſion. He was afterwards appointed Phyſician in Ordinary to King Charles II. The time of his death is not certainly known. Dr. Betts wrote the two phyſical treatiſes mentioned below [*A*]. B.

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 1028.

(*b*) *Id.* Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 52.

(*c*) *Id.* Athen. *ib.*

(*d*) *Id.* Faſt. *ib.*

[*A*] *He wrote two Phyſical Treatiſes.*] The firſt is intitled, *De Ortu et Natura Sanguinis*; i. e. 'Of the 'Origin and Nature of the Blood.' Lond. 1669, in 8vo. Afterwards there was added to it, *Medicinæ cum Philoſophia Naturali Conſenſus*; i. e. 'The Harmony between Phyſic and Natural Philoſophy.' Lond. 1662, in 8vo. Dr. George Thomſon, a Phyſician, animadverted upon our author's treatiſe *De Ortu et Natura Sanguinis*, in his *True way of preſerving the Blood in its integrity*. Dr. Betts's ſecond piece is intitled, *Anatomia Thomæ Parri annum centeſimum quinquageſimum ſecundum et novem menſes agentis, cum clariſſimi viri Gulielmi Harvæi aliorumque adſtantium Medicorum Regiorum obſervationibus*; i. e. 'The Anatomy of Thomas Parr, who died in the 152d year 'and ninth month of his age, with the Obſervations 'of the celebrated Dr. William Harvey, and others 'of the King's Phyſicians, who were preſent (1).'

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon, Vol. ii. col. 1028.

*** [Thomas Parr, of whoſe anatomy Dr. Betts, or rather, according to Anthony Wood, Dr. Harvey drew up an account, is well known to have been one of the moſt remarkable inſtances of longevity which this country has afforded. He was the ſon of John Parr of Winnington, in the pariſh of Alberbury, in Shropſhire, and was born in 1483, in the reign of King Edward the Fourth. He ſeems to have been of very different ſtamina from the reſt of mankind, and Dr. Fuller tells us that he was thus characteriſed by an eye-witneſs of him:

From head to heel, his body had all over,
A quick-ſet, thick-ſet, nat'ral hairy cover.

At an hundred and twenty (or, more probably, an hundred and two), he married Catherine Milton, whom he got with child; and after that æra of his life he was employed in threſhing, and other huſbandry work. When he was above an hundred and fifty-two years of age, he was brought up to London, by Thomas, Earl of Arundel, and carried to Court. The King ſaid to him, 'You have lived longer than 'other men, What have you done more than other 'men?' He replied, 'I did penance when I was an 'hundred years old.' He ſlept away moſt of his time while he lived in London, which was only two months. He died in the Strand, on the 15th of November, 1635, and was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey. His death is thought to have been accelerated by the change of his place and mode of living, and by the troubleſome concourſe of viſitors and ſpectators. There is ſaid to be a portrait of him in Belvoir caſtle, and another in Aſhmole's Muſeum. The moſt valuable is in the collection of the Dutcheſs of Portland. The fulleſt account of him extant, is in his "Life," by Taylor, in the Harleian Miſcellany (2).] K.

(2) Granger's Biographical Hiſt. of England, Vol. ii. p. 401, 402. 8vo edition. Fuller's Worthies of England, under Shropſhire, p. 11.

BEVERIDGE (William), a learned Divine in the XVIIth century, and made Biſhop of St. Aſaph in the beginning of the XVIIIth, was born at Barrow in Leiceſterſhire, in the year 1638 (*a*). On the 24th of May, 1653, he was admitted into St. John's college in Cambridge, and took his degrees; of Bachelor of Arts in 1656, of Maſter of Arts in 1660, and of Doctor of Divinity in 1679 (*b*). At his coming to the univerſity, he cloſely applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the learned languages; and, by his great diligence and application, ſoon became ſo well ſkilled, particularly in all Oriental learning, that when he was not above eighteen years of age, he wrote a Treatiſe of the Excellency and Uſe of the Oriental Tongues, eſpecially the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and Samaritan, with a Syriac Grammar, in three books; which he publiſhed when he was about twenty years of age [*A*]. He alſo diſtinguiſhed him-

(*a*) From his Will in the Prerogative-Office: See alſo the time of his death, below.

(*b*) From the College and Univerſity Regiſters, communicated by the learned Dr. W. Richardſon.

[*A*] *A Treatiſe of the Excellency and Uſe of the Oriental Tongues, &c.*] The whole title of it is as follows: *De Linguarum Orientalium, præſertim Hebraicæ, Chaldaicæ, Syriacæ, Arabicæ, & Samaritanæ, præſtantiâ & uſu, cum Grammaticâ Syriacâ tribus libris traditâ, per G. Beveridgium.* Lond. 1658, 8vo.

ſelf, at the ſame time, by his early piety and ſeriouſneſs of mind, and by his exemplary ſobriety and integrity of life, all which procured him very great eſteem and veneration. The third day of January, 1660-1, he was ordained Deacon, in the church of St. Botolph, Alderſgate, by Robert, Biſhop of Lincoln; and Prieſt, in the ſame place, the 31ſt of that month (*c*). About this time (*d*), Dr. Sheldon, Biſhop of London, collated him to the vicarage of Yealing in Middleſex. On the 22d of November, 1672, he was choſen, by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of London, Rector of St. Peter's Cornhill, London, and then he reſigned the vicarage of Yealing (*e*). Upon his being thus placed in the metropolis of this kingdom, he applied himſelf, with the utmoſt labour and zeal, to the diſcharge of his Miniſtry in its ſeveral parts and offices; and ſo inſtructive was he in his diſcourſes from the pulpit, ſo warm and affectionate in his private exhortations, ſo regular and uniform in the public worſhip of the Church, and in every part of his paſtoral function, and ſo remarkably were his labours crowned with ſucceſs, that as he himſelf was juſtly ſtyled 'the great Reviver and Reſtorer of primitive piety,' ſo his pariſh was deſervedly propoſed, as the beſt model and pattern, for the reſt of its neighbours to copy after (*f*). His ſingular merit having recommended him to the favour of his Dioceſan, Biſhop Henchman, he was collated by him, on the twenty-ſecond of December, 1674, to the prebend of Chiſwick, in the cathedral of St. Paul's, London (*g*); and, by his ſucceſſor Biſhop Compton, he was alſo, on the third of November, 1681, collated to the archdeaconry of Colcheſter (*h*). In this dignity he behaved, as he had done before in every ſtation of life; namely, in a moſt regular, watchful, and exemplary manner: for, not ſatisfied with the falſe, or at leaſt imperfect, reports given in by Church-wardens at Viſitations, he viſited every pariſh within his archdeaconry in perſon [*B*]. November the 5th, 1684, he was inſtalled Prebendary of Canterbury, in the room of Dr. Du Moulin, deceaſed (*i*). He became alſo Chaplain to King William and Queen Mary. In 1691, he was offered, but refuſed, the See of Bath and Wells [*C*], then vacant by the deprivation of Dr. Thomas Kenn, for not taking the oaths to King William and Queen Mary (*k*). But though he refuſed that See, becauſe, probably, being a man of a tender conſcience, he would not eat Dr. Kenn's bread, according to the language of thoſe times, he afterwards accepted of that of St. Aſaph, vacant by the tranſlation of Dr. George Hooper to Bath and Wells, and was conſecrated July 16, 1704 (*l*). Being placed in this eminent ſtation, his care and diligence increaſed, in proportion as his power in the Church was enlarged; and as he had before diſcharged the duty of a faithful Paſtor over his ſingle fold, ſo when his authority was extended to larger diſtricts, he ſtill purſued the ſame pious and laborious methods of advancing the honour and intereſt of religion, by watching over both clergy and laity, and giving them all neceſſary direction and aſſiſtance, for the effectual performance of their reſpective duties. Accordingly, he was no ſooner advanced to the epiſcopal chair, but in a moſt pathetic and obliging letter to the Clergy of his dioceſe, he recommended to them the 'duty of catechiſing and inſtructing the 'people committed to their charge, in the principles of the Chriſtian religion; to the 'end they might know what they were to believe, and do, in order to ſalvation:' and told them, 'he thought it neceſſary to begin with that, without which, whatever elſe 'he, or they, ſhould do, would turn to little or no account, as to the main end of the 'miniſtry (*m*).' And to enable them to do this the more effectually, he ſent them a plain and eaſy *Expoſition upon the Church Catechiſm*. This good man did not enjoy his epiſcopal dignity above three years ſeven months and twenty days; for he died at his lodgings in the cloyſters in Weſtminſter-Abbey, March the 5th, 1707-8, in the 71ſt year of his age (*n*), and was buried in St. Paul's cathedral (*o*). He left the greateſt part of his eſtate to the Societies for *propagating the Goſpel*, and *promoting Chriſtian Knowledge*. To the curacy of *Mount-Sorrel* in particular, and vicarage of *Barrow* in the county of Leiceſter, in a thankful remembrance of God's mercies vouchſafed to him thereabouts, he bequeathed twenty pounds a year for ever, on condition that prayers be read morning and evening every day, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, in the chapel, and pariſh church aforeſaid; with the ſum of forty ſhillings yearly, to be divided equally upon Chriſtmas-eve, among eight poor houſekeepers of Barrow, as the Miniſter and Church-wardens ſhould agree, regard being had eſpecially to thoſe who had been moſt conſtantly at prayers, and at the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, the foregoing year. And if it ſhould ſo happen, that the Common-Prayer could not be read in the church or chapel aforeſaid, his will then was, that what ſhould have been given in either place for that, be in each place allowed to one choſen by the Vicar of Barrow to teach ſchool, and inſtruct the youth in the principles of the Chri-

(*c*) Regiſt. Sanderſon, Linc. See Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, p 353.

(*d*) Viz. Jan. 4. Kennet, *ibid.* ex Regiſt. Sheldon, and Newcourt's Report. Eccleſiaſtic. Vol. i. p. 764.

(*e*) Newcourt, *ubi ſupra*, p. 526, and 93.

(*f*) Preface to his *Private Thoughts upon Religion.*

(*g*) Newcourt *ubi ſupra*, p. 140.

(*h*) Newcourt, *ubi ſupra*, p. 93.

(*i*) Le Neve, Faſti Eccleſiæ Anglican. p. 15. edit. 1716.

(*k*) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. iii. edit. 1719, fol. p. 634. and Wood, Faſti, Vol. ii. col. 176.

(*l*) Le Neve, as above, p. 23.

(*m*) Preface to his Private Thoughts on Religion; and to his Sermons.

(*n*) J. Le Neve, Faſti, &c. as above, p. 23.

(*o*) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Addit. Vol. ii. Appendix I. p. 138.

[*B*] *He viſited every pariſh within his archdeaconry in perſon.*] He took a very particular and exact account of every church he viſited; the condition it was in; what utenſils it had, or wanted; what repairs were neceſſary, and the like. The ſame method he uſed with regard to the Clergy's houſes: And all thoſe things he ſet down diſtinctly in a book, which was in the poſſeſſion of his ſucceſſor.

[*C*] *He was offered, but refuſed, the See of Bath and Wells.*] Upon this occaſion there was publiſhed, 'A Vindication of their Majeſties authority to fill 'the Sees of the deprived Biſhops. In a Letter out 'of the Country; occaſioned by Dr. B——'s re'fuſal of the Biſhopric of Bath and Wells.' Licenſed May 29, 1691, 4to.

ſtian religion, according to the doctrine of the Church of England (p). His works were many, and full of great variety of learning. Thoſe publiſhed by himſelf were as follows: I. *De Linguarum Orientalium, præſertim Hebraicæ, Chaldaicæ, Syriacæ, Arabicæ, & Samaritanæ, præſtantiâ & uſu*, &c. mentioned above. Lond. 1658, 8vo. II. *Inſtitutionum Chronologicarum libri duo, una cum totidem Arithmetices Chronologicæ libellis*. Lond. 1669, 4to [*D*]. III. Συνόδικον, *ſive Pandectæ Canonum SS. Apoſtolorum, & Conciliorum ab Eccleſiâ Græca receptorum; necnon Canonicarum SS. Patrum Epiſtolarum; una cum Scholiis antiquorum ſingulis eorum annexis, & ſcriptis aliis huc ſpectantibus; quorum plurima e Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ aliarumque MSS. Codicibus nunc primum edita: reliqua cum iiſdem MSS. ſummâ fide & diligentiâ collata. Totum Opus in duos Tomos diviſum Gulielmus Beveregius Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Preſbyter, recenſuit, Prolegomenis munivit, & Annotationibus auxit*. Oxonii, 2 vol. fol. 1672 [*E*]. IV. *Codex Canonum Eccleſiæ Primitivæ vindicatus & illuſtratus*. Lond. 1679, 4to [*F*]. V. The Church Catechiſm explained, for the uſe of the dioceſe of St. Aſaph. Lond. 1704, 4to, reprinted ſeveral times ſince in a ſmaller volume. Next follow Biſhop Beveridge's works, publiſhed after his deceaſe by his executor Mr. Timothy Gregory. To ſpeak the truth, they do not ſeem to have been deſigned by the author for the preſs; and therefore the publication of them was, in general, a great injury to the good Biſhop's memory. However, they are, I. 'Private 'Thoughts upon Religion, digeſted into twelve Articles, with practical Reſolutions 'formed thereupon.' Written in his younger years (when he was about twenty-three years old), for the ſettling of his principles and conduct of Life. Lond. 1709. II. 'Private Thoughts upon a Chriſtian Life; or, Neceſſary Directions for its Beginning 'and Progreſs upon Earth, in order to its final Perfection in the Beatific Viſion.' Part II. Lond. 1709. III. 'The great Neceſſity and Advantage of public Prayer and 'frequent Communion. Deſigned to revive primitive Piety; with Meditations, Ejaculations, and Prayers, before, at, and after the Sacrament.' Lond. 1710. Theſe have been reprinted ſeveral times in 8vo and 12mo. IV. 'One hundred and fifty Sermons and Diſcourſes on ſeveral Subjects.' Lond. 1708, &c. in 12 vols. 8vo, reprinted at London, 1719, in 2 volumes, fol. V. *Theſaurus Theologicus*; or, 'A complete Syſtem of Divinity, ſummed up in brief Notes upon ſelect places of the Old and 'New Teſtament; wherein the ſacred Text is reduced under proper Heads, explained 'and illuſtrated with the Opinions and Authorities of the ancient Fathers, Councils, '&c.' Lond. 1711, 4 vols. 8vo. VI. 'A Defence of the Book of Pſalms, collected 'into Engliſh Metre by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others; with critical 'Obſervations on the New Verſion, compared with the Old.' Lond. 1710, 8vo. In this book he gives the old verſion the preference to the new. VII. 'Expoſition of the 'XXXIX Articles.' Lond. 1710, 1716, fol. [*G*] Biſhop Beveridge's character is in general

(p) From his Will in the Prerogative-Office, London.

[*D*] *Inſtitutionum Chronologicarum Libri duo*, &c.] The firſt edition was publiſhed in 1669; a ſecond came out in 1705, 4to; and a third beautifully printed in 1721, 8vo. This volume is a very good introduction to Chronology. In the firſt and ſecond books the author treats of the nature and parts of Chronology, and of the terms and other particulars belonging thereto. And in the third and fourth books has given a ſhort Syſtem of *Characteriſtic* Arithmetic (which has never been handled before by any writer), as far as is neceſſary for underſtanding Chronology thoroughly.

[*E*] Συνοδικόν, *ſive Pandectæ Canonum*, &c.] This beautiful edition contains, in Vol. I. The Canons attributed to the Apoſtles; the Canons — of the firſt Council of Nice; of the firſt Council of Conſtantinople; of the Council of Epheſus; of the Council of Chalcedon; of the ſixth Council in Trullo; of the ſecond Council of Nice; of the firſt and ſecond Councils of Conſtantinople held in the church of the Apoſtles; of the Council of Conſtantinople held in the church of Sancta Sophia; of the Councils of Carthage, Ancyra, Neocæſarea, Gangra, Antioch, Laodicæa, Sardica, Carthage: And the arguments and Arabic paraphraſe of Joſeph the Egyptian, on the Canons of the four General Councils. The IId volume comprehends the Canons of Dionyſius Alexandrinus; of Petrus Alexandrinus; of Gregory Thaumaturgus; of S. Athanaſius; S. Baſil; S. Gregory Nyſſen; the Canonical Anſwers of Timothy, Biſhop of Alexandria; the Canons of Theophilus, Archbiſhop of Alexandria; the Catholic Epiſtles of Cyrill, Archbiſhop of the ſame; Verſes of St. Gregory the Divine and S. Amphilochius, ſhewing what books of the Old and New Teſtament are to be read; a Circular Letter of Gennadius, Patriarch of Conſtantinople; a Letter of Taraſius, Patriarch of Conſtantinople, to Pope Adrian; a Synopſis of the Canonical Letters of Alexius Ariſtenus. Part II. An Alphabetical Index or Syntagma, by Matthew Blaſtaris, of the Contents of all the Canons; of the Synod, which reſtored the Patriarch Photius to the See of Conſtantinople; the Acts of the eighth Synod of Conſtantinople. Laſtly, Mr. Beveridge's large and learned Notes upon the whole. All the particulars above-named are printed in two columns, the Greek on one ſide, and the Latin tranſlation on the other; with the notes of Theodorus Balſamon, John Zonaras, and Alexius Ariſtenus, on ſeveral of the Canons.

[*F*] *Codex Canonum Eccleſiæ Primitivæ vindicatus*, &c.] This Book is a vindication of the author's opinion concerning the Authority of the Apoſtolical Canons, and the time when they were made. In his Notes on theſe Canons (1) he had fixed the date of them at *the end of the ſecond*, and *beginning of the third century* (2); taking a middle courſe between Fran. Turrianus, who affirmed that they were all made by the Apoſtles at the Council of Jeruſalem; and John Daillé, who maintained (3) that they were not compoſed till the fifth century, by ſome impoſtor, and did not appear till the end of that century. In the Notes above mentioned, Mr. Beveridge had made ſome reflections on this opinion of Daillé, whereupon an anonymous author publiſhed *Obſervations upon Mr. Beveridge's Reflections*; to which the *Codex Canonum Eccleſiæ Primitivæ vindicatus* is a reply.

(1) Page 2—8.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 4.

(3) *De Pſeudepigraphis Apoſtolicis*, publiſhed in 1652.

[G] *Expoſition of the XXXIX Articles*, &c.] Upon the publication of this, there came out a pamphlet, intitled, 'A ſhort View of Dr. Beveridge's Writ'ings, which may ſerve as a preliminary Diſcourſe 'to an Examination of his Articles.' Lond. 1711, 8vo. A pamphlet, wherein the good Biſhop's works are ſeverely attacked, and often juſtly. The Expoſition upon the firſt Article was publiſhed at firſt by itſelf in 1710.

⁂ [In the General Dictionary, a larger account is given of Biſhop Beveridge's Works than what we meet with above; and there is, likewiſe, in that Dictionary general repreſented in a moſt advantageous light. He was a perſon of the ſtricteſt integrity, of true and ſincere piety, of exemplary charity, and of great zeal for religion. For all which excellent qualities he was ſo highly eſteemed, that when he was dying, one of the chief of his order deſervedly ſaid of him, ‘ There goes one of the greateſt, ‘ and of the beſt men that ever England bred (*q*).’ He is alſo celebrated as a man of extenſive and almoſt univerſal learning; furniſhed, to a very eminent degree, with all uſeful knowledge; and much to be admired for his readineſs in the ſcriptures, which he had thoroughly ſtudied, ſo that he was able to produce ſuitable paſſages from them on all occaſions, and happy in explaining them to others (*r*). Mr. Nelſon ſays (*s*), that he cannot forbear acknowledging the favourable diſpenſation of Providence to the preſent age, in bleſſing it with ſo many of thoſe pious diſcourſes, which our truly primitive Prelate delivered from the pulpit; and that he the rather takes the liberty to call it a favourable diſpenſation of Providence, becauſe the Biſhop gave no orders himſelf that they ſhould be printed, but humbly neglected them, as not being compoſed for the preſs. But that this circumſtance is ſo far from abating the worth of the ſermons, or diminiſhing the character of the author, that it raiſes the excellency of both, becauſe it ſhews at once the true nature of a popular diſcourſe; which is to improve the generality of hearers, and for that purpoſe to ſpeak to them in a plain and intelligible ſtyle, and alſo the great talent the Biſhop had that way. Dr. Henry Felton ſays (*t*), that our learned and venerable Biſhop hath delivered himſelf with thoſe ornaments alone, which his ſubject ſuggeſted to him, and hath written in that plainneſs and ſolemnity of ſtyle, that gravity and ſimplicity, which give authority to the ſacred truths he teacheth, and unanſwerable evidence to the doctrines he defendeth. That there is ſomething ſo great, primitive, and apoſtolical, in his writings, that it creates an awe and veneration in our mind; that the importance of his ſubjects is above the decoration of words; and what is great and majeſtic in itſelf, looketh moſt like itſelf, the leſs it is adorned. The author of one of the Guardians (*u*), having made an extract out of one of the Biſhop's ſermons (*w*), tells us, that it may for acuteneſs of judgment, ornament of ſpeech, and true ſublime, compare with any of the choiceſt writings of the Ancients, who lived neareſt to the Apoſtles times. But the author of a pamphlet publiſhed in 1711 (*x*), paſſes a very different judgment upon Biſhop Beveridge's works, in order to ſtop, as he ſays, the miſchief they are doing, and that which the publication of his Articles may do.—With regard to the Biſhop's *Language*, he obſerves (*y*), that he delights in jingle and quibbling; affects a tune and rhyme in all he ſays, and reſts arguments upon nothing but words and ſounds.—And as to his *Principles* and *Arguings*, he eſtabliſhes, ſaith that author, falſehood and truth with equal ſtrength (*z*). His writings are full of miſtakes in Logic.—That ſome of his ſermons are a perplexed going round from one thing to another, and from that in return back again to it; and abound in contradictions (*a*): That he proves even the moſt important points by arguments that are not concluſive (*b*): That he is a downright Calviniſt; and ſpeaks in ſuch a manner of the ſatisfaction of Chriſt, as would in any one elſe have been called by a man of the Biſhop's zeal no leſs than blaſphemy (*c*): That he makes many things neceſſary to ſalvation, which the Scripture ſpeaks not one word of (*d*): That, though he dares ſay the Biſhop was far enough from Popery, yet there are ſome things in him which are agreeable to it (*e*): And finally, that he deſtroys that which is the foundation of all Religion, and of all other knowledge in the world, that which is the gift of God, and the glory of our nature, our ſenſes and our reaſon.—But perhaps this animadverter will by ſome be ranked among the perſons, of whom Dr. Lupton gives the following character (*f*): ‘ Thoſe ‘ who are cenſorious enough to reflect with ſeverity upon the pious ſtrains, which are ‘ to be found in Biſhop Beveridge, &c. may poſſibly be good judges of an Ode or ‘ Eſſay, but do not ſeem to criticize juſtly upon Sermons, or expreſs a juſt value for ‘ ſpiritual things.’ After all, whatever faults may be found in Biſhop Beveridge's poſthumous works, muſt be charged upon the avarice or injudiciouſneſs of his executor. He is not indeed to be ranked among Tillotſon, S. Clarke, Clagett, and the two Sherlocks, for cloſeneſs of reaſoning, and elegancy of ſtyle; but his honeſty and goodneſs will always be had in reverence. M.

(*q*) Preface to *Privat. Thoughts upon a Chriſtian Life.*

(*r*) Preface to his Sermons.

(*s*) Life of Biſhop Bull, ſecond edit. Lond. 1714, p. 75, 76.

(*t*) Diſſertation on reading the Claſſics, &c. fourth edit. London, 1730, 8*vo*, p. 190.

(*u*) No. 74, Vol. i.

(*w*) Sermon on Exodus iii. 14.

(*x*) Mentioned in note [*G*].

(*y*) Page 3.

(*z*) Page 7, &c.

(*a*) Page 14, 15.

(*b*) Page 17, &c.

(*c*) Page 46.

(*d*) Page 48.

(*e*) Page 57.

(*f*) In a Letter to Mr. Nelſon, Nov. 25, 1712. See Biſhop Bull's Life, p. 494.

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tionary, a very copious and particular analyſis of the ‘ Short View of Dr. Beveridge's Writings.’ From this analyſis it is evident, that the author of the pamphlet by no means falls under Dr. Lupton's cenſure. ‘ The Short View’ appears to be a maſterly piece of theological criticiſm, and to have pointed out a vaſt number of paſſages, in the good Prelate's performances, the weakneſs of which cannot juſtly be denied. —It is in the Biſhop's ‘ Private Thoughts’ that he has laid himſelf more particularly open to animadverſion. His Meditation upon the Trinity has been taken notice of by ſeveral authors; and it will be allowed, by all the judicious believers of that doctrine, that what he hath ſaid upon the ſubject is ſingularly extravagant and abſurd. He adopts, without reſerve, the famous maxim of Tertullian; *Credo, quia impoſſibile eſt.* The ſincerity and piety of Dr. Beveridge's intentions cannot be doubted; but if what he hath advanced were true, nothing could be more to the diſhonour of the Chriſtian religion. Mr. Whiſton, writing to the pious and learned Mr. Nelſon, obſerves: ‘ Good Sir, give me leave to ſay, that ſuch ‘ doctrines as you and Biſhop Beveridge do ſupport in ‘ theſe matters, are no better than the heretical no‘ tions which *Tertullian* and ſome of the Montaniſts ‘ took from elder Heretics; and which were after‘ ward propagated by thoſe ignorant and pernicious ‘ Heretics, *Marcellus* and *Athanaſius*, contrary to the ‘ ſenſe of the body of the Chriſtian Church in their ‘ times: and which, as improved by the later igno‘ rant ages, have come down to our days; but be‘ gins to be ſeen and rejected by all the moſt learned ‘ and impartial enquirers. Sure, Sir, we are not to ‘ believe *myſteries* farther than they are a part of the ‘ Revelation

‘ Revelation of *Chriſt*; and ſo far I fully believe any ‘ that are laid before me (4).’

When in King James the Second's reign, briefs were granted for collecting money for the relief of the perſecuted French Proteſtants, and Dr. Tillotſon, then Dean of Canterbury, was very zealous for the contribution, Dr. Beveridge, as one of the Prebendaries of that cathedral, either from a coolneſs towards foreign Proteſtants, or an unneceſſary ſcruple with reſpect to forms even in affairs of weight and ſubſtance, objected to the reading of a brief there, as contrary to the rubric. But the Dean made him this ſhort and ſignificant reply; ‘ Doctor, Doctor, cha‘ rity is above rubrics (5).’

The Life of Biſhop Beveridge, prefixed to the folio edition of his works, was written by Mr. Kimber, a diſſenting Miniſter, of the Baptiſt perſuaſion, in London (6).] K.

(4) Whiſton's Memoirs of his own Life and Writings, p. 154, 155.

(5) Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 121, 122.

(6) Monthly Review, Vol. xvii. p. 449.

BEVERLY (John of), in Latin *Joannes Beverlacius*, Archbiſhop of York in the eighth century, was born, of a noble family among the Engliſh Saxons, at *Harpham*, a ſmall town in Northumberland (*a*). He was firſt a Monk, and afterwards Abbot of the monaſtery of St. Hilda (*b*). He was inſtructed in the learned languages by Theodore, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and was juſtly eſteemed one of the beſt ſcholars of his time (*c*). Alfred of Beverly, who wrote his *Life*, pretends that he ſtudied at Oxford, and took there the degree of Maſter of Arts; but Biſhop Godwin aſſures us this cannot be true, becauſe ſuch diſtinction of degrees was not then known at Oxford, nor any where elſe in the Chriſtian world (*d*). Our Abbot's merit recommended him to the favour of Alfred, King of Northumberland, who, in the year 685, advanced him to the See of Haguſtald, or Hexham, and, upon the death of Archbiſhop Boſa in 687, tranſlated him to that of York (*e*). This prelate was Tutor to the famous Bede, and lived in the ſtricteſt friendſhip with Acca, and other Anglo-Saxon Doctors, ſeveral of whom he put upon writing Comments on the Scriptures. He likewiſe founded, in 704, a college at Beverly for ſecular prieſts [*A*]. After he had governed the See of York thirty-four years, being tired with the tumults and confuſions of the Church, he diveſted himſelf of the epiſcopal character, and retired to Beverly; and four years after died in *the odour of Sanctity*, on the 7th of May, 721 (*f*) [*B*]. The day of his death was appointed

(*a*) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. I. c. 94.

(*b*) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Scriptor. an. 721.

(*c*) Bale and Pits, *ubi ſupra*.

(*d*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Archiep. Ebor. *an.* 687.

(*e*) Bede, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Anglor. l. v. c. ii. iii. Chronic. Joan. Bromton, *apud* X Scriptor. col. 794. & Tho. Stubbs, Act. Pontif. Ebor. *ibid.* col. 1692, 1693.

(*f*) Bale and Pits, *ubi ſupra*.

[*A*] *He built a college at Beverly for ſecular prieſts.*] Camden informs us (1), that the memory of John of Beverly was ſo ſacred among our Kings (particularly Athelſtane, who honoured him as his guardian Saint, after he had defeated the Danes), that they endowed this college with very conſiderable immunities. Among other privileges, it had that of an *Aſylum* or ſanctuary for debtors, and perſons ſuſpected of capital crimes. Within it ſtood a chair of ſtone, with this inſcription:

Hæc Sedes Lapidea *Freedſtool* dicitur, i. e. Pacis Cathedra, ad quam reus fugiendo perveniens omnimodam habet securitatem.

That is,

This Stone Seat is called Freedſtool, i. e. *the Chair of Peace, to which what criminal ſoever flies has full protection.*

The ſame author tells us, that the town of Beverly had a church before the time of John of Beverly, dedicated to St. John the Evangeliſt, which this Archbiſhop converted into a chapel for his new erected monaſtery. He adds, ‘ The Minſter here is a very fair ‘ and neat ſtructure. – At the upper end of the quire, ‘ on the right ſide of the altar-place, ſtands the *Freed*‘ *ſtool* above mentioned, made of one entire ſtone ‘ (ſaid to have been removed from Dunbar in Scot‘ land), with a well of water behind it. At the up‘ per end of the body of the church, next the quire, ‘ hangs an ancient table with the pictures of St. John ‘ (from whom the church is named), and of King ‘ Athelſtane the founder of it; and between them ‘ this diſtich:

‘ *Als free make I thee*
‘ *As heart can wiſh, or egh can ſee* (2).’

But we have a more particular account of the foundation and hiſtory of the church of Beverly, in the *Appendix* to Leland's *Collectanea*, publiſhed by Mr. T. Hearne. It is intitled, *Out of a looſe paper lying in a fol. MS. (containing Excerpta out of Leland's Collectanea, that I have before printed) in the hands of my learned friend, Roger Gale, Eſq*; The account is as follows: ‘ *Out of the Great Regiſter, or Town*‘ *Book of Beverly. The Firſt Foundation of the Col*‘ *legiate Church of Bleſſed John of Beverly.* The ‘ Collegiate Church of Bleſſed John of Beverly was ‘ anciently founded in the county of York, in a cer‘ tain country called Deyira, to wit, in the wood of ‘ the Deyirians, in the time of Lucius the moſt il‘ luſtrious King of (England, then called) Brittany, ‘ the firſt King of the ſame, the ſon of Coil, a Pagan ‘ King, anointed by Pope Eleutherius, the thirteenth ‘ after Peter, in the year of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the ‘ Son of God the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven ‘ and earth, together with the Holy Ghoſt, according ‘ to the computation of the Church of England, 126. ‘ Afterwards it was deſtroyed by the Pagans Orſe and ‘ Hengiſt, and is again renewed and founded by the ‘ aforeſaid Bleſſed John, Archbiſhop of York, is or‘ dained a monaſtery of Black Monks, of religious ‘ Nuns, Virgins, ſeven ſecular Prieſts for the ſervice of ‘ God, and divers other miniſters, to wit, in the year ‘ of our Lord 704. And alſo again it is deſtroyed ‘ by the Pagans Hubba and Hungar Danes, the ‘ ſons of Swayn, King of the Danes. After that it ‘ is refounded and augmented by the moſt illuſtrious ‘ King of England, Athelſtane, who endowed the ‘ ſaid church with divers privileges, gifts, and bene‘ fices; and ſo it remained honourably endowed under ‘ the government of ſeven Canons, until the coming ‘ of William called the Baſtard, the Conqueror and ‘ King, and ſo until the year of our Lord 1082. ‘ And then with the conſent of William called Rufus ‘ of England, by Thomas Archbiſhop called the El‘ der, by the aſſent of the Canons, and others whom ‘ it concerned, Thomas the nephew of the ſaid Lord ‘ Archbiſhop, a prieſt, was ordained and called the ‘ firſt Provoſt; to whom ſucceeded Thurſtan of bleſſed ‘ memory, to whom Thomas called the Norman, to ‘ whom Robert, to whom, &c. to whom the ve‘ nerable father and lord, Lord Peter of Cheſter; ‘ who purchaſed many tenements, revenues, and ſer‘ vices to the ſayd Provoſtſhip and Provoſt thereof, ‘ and left implements of diverſe goods and chattells ‘ in all the mannors of the ſaid Provoſtſhip, both ‘ quicke and dead; to whom, &c. (3).’

[*B*] *He died*, &c.] Godwin tells us (4), he was buried in the church-porch of his monaſtery: but this is not conſiſtent with what Camden tells us concerning the diſcovery of his remains about the middle of the 16th century. Let that Antiquarian ſpeak for himſelf. ‘ In the year 1564, upon opening a grave, ‘ they met with a vault of ſquared free-ſtone, fifteen ‘ feet long, and two feet broad at the head, but at ‘ the feet a foot and a half broad. Within it was a ‘ ſheet of lead four feet long, and in that the aſhes, ‘ and ſix beads (whereof three crumbled to duſt with ‘ a touch, and of three remaining two were ſuppoſed ‘ to be cornelians), with three great braſs pins, and ‘ four large iron nails. Upon the ſheet lay a leaden ‘ plate, with this inſcription:

(1) Britannia, by Biſhop Gibſon, laſt edit. Vol. ii. col. 891.

(2) Camden, *ib.* & col. 892.

(3) *See* Append. *to* Leland's Collectan. Part ii. p. 45.

(4) De Præſul. Angl. *inter* Archiep. Ebor. *an.* 687.

pointed a feſtival by a Synod held at London in 1416 (*g*). Bede, and other Monkiſh writers, aſcribe ſeveral miracles to John of Beverly, of which we ſhall give the reader a taſte in the remark [*C*]. Between three and four hundred years after his death, his body was taken up by Alfric, Archbiſhop of York, and placed in a ſhrine richly adorned with ſilver, gold, and precious ſtones (*h*). Bromton relates (*i*), that William the Conqueror, when he ravaged Northumberland with a numerous army, ſpared Beverly alone, out of a religious veneration for St. John of that place. This prelate wrote ſome pieces, which are mentioned in the remark [*D*].

Pits helps us to another JOHN of BEVERLY, ſo called from the place of his nativity. He was a Carmelite Monk in the fourteenth century, a very learned man, and Doctor and Profeſſor of Divinity at Oxford. He flouriſhed about the year 1390, in the reign of Richard II., and wrote, I. *Queſtiones in Magiſtrum Sententiarum*; i. e. ' Queſtions on the Maſter of the Sentences.' In four books. II. *Diſputationes ordinariæ*; i. e. ' Diſputations on the uſual topics.' In one book (*k*).

(*g*) Godwin, *ubi ſupra.*

(*h*) Tho.Stubbs, *ubi ſupra*, col. 1700.

(*i*) *Ubi ſupra.* col. 966.

(*k*) Pits, *ubi ſupra*, an. 1390.

' + ANNO AB INCARNATIONE DOMINI MCLXXXVIII.
' COMBUSTA FUIT HÆC ECCLESIA IN MENSE SEPTEMBRI, IN SEQUENTI NOCTE POST FESTUM SANCTI
' MATHÆI APOSTOLI: ET IN AN. MCXCVII. VI.
' IDUS MARTJI FACTA FUIT INQUISITIO RELIQUIARUM BEATI JOHANNIS IN HOC LOCO, ET INVENTA SUNT HÆC OSSA IN ORIENTALI PARTE SEPULCHRI ET HIC RECONDITA, ET PULVIS CEMENTO MIXTUS IBIDEM INVENTUS EST ET RECONDITVS.'

In Engliſh thus:

In the year of our Lord 1188, *this church was burnt in the month of September, on the night following the feaſt of St. Matthew the Apoſtle*; *and in the year* 1197, *on the ſixth of the ides of March, enquiry was made after the reliques of St. John in this place, and theſe bones were found in the eaſt part of the ſepulchre, and were buried here, and there alſo duſt mixed with mortar was found and buried.*

' Croſs over this lay a box of lead, about ſeven ' inches long, ſix broad, and five high; wherein ' were ſeveral pieces of bones, mixed with a little ' duſt, and yielding a ſweet ſmell; as alſo a knife ' and beads. All theſe things were carefully re-interred in the middle alley of the body of the minſter, ' where they were taken up. But a ſeal, which was ' alſo found therein, was not re-interred with the reſt, ' but came into the poſſeſſion of a (*) private hand: ' Which account agrees not with what Biſhop Godwin has left us about this Saint; namely, that he ' was buried in the church-porch. For though what ' is mentioned in the inſcription was only a *re-interment* upon the inquiſition made, yet it looks a little ' ſtrange, that they ſhould not lay the reliques in the ' ſame place where they found them; unleſs we ſolve ' it this way, that but part of the church was then ' ſtanding, and they might lay him there with a deſign to remove him when it ſhould be rebuilt, but ' afterwards either neglected or forgot it (5).'

(*) Marmaduke Nelſon.

(5) Camden, *ubi ſupra.*

[*C*] *Bede, and others, aſcribe ſeveral miracles to this Saint.*] A youth, that had been dumb from his infancy, being brought to the good Biſhop, he ordered him to put out his tongue; and making the ſign of the croſs upon it, he commanded him to draw it in again. Then he bade him pronounce the letter A, which he readily did; then the letter B, and ſo on quite through the alphabet. Next he tried him with ſingle words, and afterwards with ſentences; and from that time the young man had the free and entire uſe of ſpeech (6). A Nun in the monaſtery of Watton, named *Quoanburg*, having been blooded in the arm, and the wound feſtering, was, through the violence of the pain occaſioned thereby, brought in danger of death. The Abbeſs hereupon deſired the Archbiſhop, who was come thither, to viſit the poor girl, and aſſiſt her with his prayers; which John accordingly did, and gave her his benediction. From that inſtant her pain began to abate, and ſhe was ſoon reſtored to perfect health (7). Another time, having conſecrated a church, and being invited to dinner by a nobleman named *Puch*, whoſe wife lay ſick in bed, John ſent her ſome of the conſecrated water, ordering her to drink it; by which means ſhe was inſtantly made whole, and ſerved the good Biſhop at table (8). Of the ſame ſtamp are the other miracles recorded by Bede (9). Bromton tells a ſtory (10) of a miraculous appearance of the Holy Ghoſt, in the ſhape of a dove, and ſitting on the altar, whilſt the holy man was praying in the porch of St. Michael's church in York. William of Malmſbury (11), and Matthew of Weſtminſter (12), report a very ſtrange thing, which continued to their time, and was ſhewn as it were for a ſight. They tell us, that the people of Beverly uſed to bring bulls, the wildeſt and fierceſt they could meet with. Theſe unmanageable creatures they uſed to bring hampered with cords, with ſeveral ſtrong men to drag them along; who, as ſoon as they entered the church-yard of Beverly, dropped their fierce and formidable nature, and were as tame as if they had been metamorphoſed into ſheep. And the people were ſo well aſſured of their inoffenſiveneſs, that they uſed to turn them looſe, and play with them.

(6) Bede, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Anglor. lib. v. c. 2.

(7) *Ibid.* c. 3.

(8) *Ibid.* c. 4.

(9) *Ibid.* c. 5 & 6.

(10) *Apud* X Scriptor. col. 794.

(11) De Geſt. Pontif. Angl. l. iii. p. 269. *ap.* Script. poſt Bedam, Francof. 1601.

(12) Flores Hiſtor. an. 721.

[*D*] *He wrote ſome pieces.*] Bale and Pits mention the following. I. *Pro Luca exponenda*; i. e. ' An ' Eſſay towards an Expoſition of St. Luke,' addreſſed to Bede. II. *Homiliæ in Evangelia*; i. e. ' Homilies ' on the Goſpels.' III. *Epiſtolæ ad Hildam Abbatiſſam*; i. e. ' Letters to the Abbeſs Hilda.' IV. *Epiſtolæ ad Herebaldum, Andenum, et Bertinum*; i. e. ' Letters to his diſciples Herebaldus, Andenus, and ' Bertinus.' B.

BIDDLE (JOHN), a very eminent Socinian writer in the ſeventeenth century, and ſon of Edward Biddle, a middle ſort of Yeoman, who alſo dealt in woollen clothes (*a*), was born at Wotton-under-Edge in Glouceſterſhire, and baptized the 14th of January, 1615 (*b*). He was educated in the free-ſchool of his native place, and being a hopeful youth, was taken notice of, particularly by George Lord Berkeley; who, for his encouragement, allowed him an exhibition of ten pounds a year, among other poorer ſcholars; though, being under ten years of age, he was not qualified, according to the common method, for that donation. This cauſed him ſo vigorouſly to apply himſelf to his ſtudies, that he made a great progreſs therein, and whilſt at ſchool was author of ſome Tranſlations that were publiſhed [*A*]. But the benefit of the exhibition on one hand, and perhaps his want of a ſufficient maintenance at the Univerſity on the other, detained him longer in that ſchool than was otherwiſe for his improvement; for he continued there

(*a*) Short Account of the Life of J. Biddle, prefixed to the firſt Vol. of Socinian Tracts, printed at London 1691, 4*to*. Mr. Wood ſays his father was a Taylor; which is much the ſame.

(*b*) Wood, *ibid.* Athenæ, edit. 1721, Vol. ii. col. 300.

[*A*] *Whilſt at ſchool was author of ſome Tranſlations that were publiſhed.*] Namely, of *Virgil*'s *Bucolics*, and the *Two firſt Satires of Juvenal*. Both theſe were printed at London in 1634, 8*vo*, and dedicated to John Smith of Nibley in the county of Glouceſter, Eſq; He likewiſe compoſed, in the beginning of that year, and recited before a full auditory, an elaborate Oration in Latin, at the funeral of an honourable ſchoolfellow (1).

(1) Wood, Athenæ, *ubi ſupra.*

till he was about nineteen years of age. However, having manifeſted, even in that ſtation, a ſingular piety of mind, and contempt of ſecular affairs (*c*), he was ſent, in 1634, to the Univerſity of Oxford, and entered a Student in Magdalen-hall (*d*) [*B*]. On the 23d of June, 1638, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*e*), and then became an eminent Tutor in the Hall juſt now mentioned. Before he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, he was invited by the overſeers of the ſchool of his native place to ſucceed in the Maſterſhip of it; but he declined that offer, and recommended to them another fit perſon, whom they accepted of (*f*). May the 20th, 1641, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*g*); ſoon after which the magiſtrates of Glouceſter, upon ample recommendations from the principal perſons in the Univerſity, choſe him Maſter of the free-ſchool of Crypt [*C*] in that city, where he went and ſettled, and was much eſteemed for his diligence in his profeſſion, and other valuable qualities (*h*). But falling into ſome opinions concerning the Trinity, different from the received ones [*D*], and expreſſing his thoughts of the ſame with too much freedom, he was accuſed to the magiſtrates of Hereſy: and, being ſummoned before them, he exhibited in writing a confeſſion, dated May 2, 1644 [*E*]; which not being thought ſatisfactory, he made another, more expreſs than the former, to avoid impriſonment, wherewith he was threatened (*i*). But, how diſtinct ſoever he might be in his conceptions concerning the Trinity, he was not ſo determinate in expreſſing his ſenſe of that doctrine, as he became not long after, by farther ſearching the Scriptures, and converſing with his acquaintance (*k*). When he had digeſted this point, he compriſed it into 'XII Arguments drawn out of the Scripture; wherein the 'commonly received opinion, touching the Deity of the Holy Spirit, is clearly and fully 'refuted [*F*];' which he intended ſoon to publiſh (*l*). But an unfaithful acquaintance, who had a copy of them, betraying him to the magiſtrates of Glouceſter, and to the Parliament Committee then reſiding there, he was, after the peruſal of his book, committed on the 2d of December, 1645, to the common gaol (though at that time afflicted with a ſore fever), to remain in that place till the Parliament ſhould take cognizance of the matter. However, an eminent perſon in Glouceſter, who had a reſpect

(*c*) Life, &c. as above, p. 4, col. 1.

(*d*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) *Idem.* Faſti, Vol. i. col. 275.

(*f*) *Idem* Athenæ, and Life, *ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. ii. col. 2.

(*h*) Wood, and Life of J. Biddle, as above.

(*i*) Wood and Life, as above.

(*k*) Life, &c. as above.

(*l*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

[*B*] *And entered a Student in* Magdalen-hall.] Here, as the author of his life informs us (2), he did ſo philoſophize, as it might be obſerved, he was determined more by reaſon than authority; however, in divine things he did not much diſſent from the common doctrine, as may be collected from a little *Tract* he wrote *againſt Dancing*.'

[*C*] *Choſe him maſter of the free-ſchool of* Crypt.] Not of *Criſps*, as the author of his life has it (3); but of the free-ſchool in the pariſh of St. *Mary de Crypt* in that city. It was founded by one Mrs. Cooke, who endowed the Maſter with ten pounds *per annum* if a prieſt, and nine pounds a year if a layman. But later benefactions have augmented the Maſter's ſalary to thirty pounds a year, and there are ſixteen pounds given for an Uſher (4).

[*D*] *But falling into ſome opinions concerning the Trinity, different from the received ones.*] The author of his life tells us (5), that 'having laid aſide the impediments of prejudice, he gave himſelf liberty to 'try all things, that he might hold faſt that which is 'good. Thus diligently reading the holy Scriptures, '(for Socinian books he had read none) he perceived 'the common doctrine concerning the holy Trinity 'was not well grounded in Revelation, much leſs in 'Reaſon. And being as generous in ſpeaking, as 'free in judging, he did, as occaſion offered, diſcover his reaſons of queſtioning it.' Thoſe that accuſed him were the Preſbyterian party (6). And what his particular opinions were, ſee in the next note.

[*E*] *He exhibited in writing a confeſſion, dated May* 2, 1644.] Which was as follows. 'I. I believe there is but one Infinite and Almighty Eſſence, called God. II. I believe, that as there is 'but one Infinite and Almighty Eſſence, ſo there is 'but one Perſon in that Eſſence. III. I believe that 'our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt is truly God, by being 'truly, really, and properly united to the only perſon of the Infinite and Almighty Eſſence.' But when this did not ſatisfy the Magiſtrates, and they ſtill preſſed him to acknowledge three Perſons in the divine Eſſence; he, it ſeems, knowing that the word *Perſons*, when aſcribed to God, is taken both by the ancient Fathers, and by modern writers in various ſignifications, did, about fourteen days after, confeſs, 'that there are three in that one divine Eſſence, 'commonly termed Perſons (7).'

[*F*] XII. *Arguments drawn out of the Scripture*, &c.] They are as follows: I. 'He that is diſtinguiſhed from God, is not God. The Holy Spirit 'is diſtinguiſhed from God. *Ergo*.' This he grounds upon thoſe paſſages of Scripture, where the Holy Spirit is called *the Spirit of God*, ſaid to be *ſent by God*, &c. II. 'If he that gave the Holy Spirit to the Iſraelites to inſtruct them, be Jehovah alone, then 'the Holy Spirit is not Jehovah, or God. But he 'that gave the Holy Spirit to the Iſraelites to inſtruct 'them, is Jehovah alone. *Ergo*.' Nehem. ix. 6. 20. III. 'He that ſpeaketh not of himſelf, is not God. 'The Holy Spirit ſpeaketh not of himſelf. *Ergo*.' John xvi. 13. IV. 'He that heareth from another 'what he ſhall ſpeak, is not God. The Holy Spirit doth ſo. *Ergo*.' John xvi. 13. V. 'He that 'receiveth of another's, is not God. The Holy Spirit doth ſo. *Ergo*.' John xvi. 14. VI. 'He that 'is ſent by another, is not God. The Holy Spirit 'is ſent by another. *Ergo*.' John xvi. 7. VII. 'He that is the Gift of God, is not God. The 'Holy Spirit is the Gift of God. *Ergo*.' Acts xii. 17. VIII. 'He that changeth place, is not God. The Holy Spirit changeth place. *Ergo*.' Luke iii. 21, 22. John i. 32. IX. 'He that prayeth unto 'Chriſt to come to judgment, is not God. The 'Holy Spirit doth ſo. *Ergo*.' Rev. xxii. 17. X. 'He in whom men have not believed, and yet have 'been diſciples and believers, is not God. Men have 'not believed in the Holy Spirit, and yet have been 'ſo. *Ergo*.' Acts xix. 2. XI. 'He that hath an 'underſtanding diſtinct from that of God, is not 'God. The Holy Spirit hath an underſtanding diſtinct from that of God. *Ergo*.' John xvi. 13, 14, 15. XII. 'He that hath a Will diſtinct in number 'from that of God, is not God. The Holy Spirit 'hath a Will diſtinct in number from that of God. '*Ergo*.' Rom. viii. 26, 27. Theſe ſeveral arguments are illuſtrated by reaſonings and proofs, too long to be inſerted here. At the end of them there are Expoſitions of the following texts. *Matth.* xxviii. 19. 1 *John* v. 7. *Acts* v. 3, 4. 1 *Cor.* vi. 19, 20. *Matth.* xii. 31. *Iſa.* vi. 9, 10. 2 *Cor.* iii. 17: And 'An Anſwer to the grand Objection of the Adverſaries, touching the ſuppoſed Omnipreſence of the 'Holy Spirit.' Theſe 'XII *Arguments*, &c.' were firſt publiſhed, as is ſaid above, in 1647, and reprinted in 1653, and laſtly in 1691, 4to, in a collection of Socinian Tracts, intitled, 'The Faith of 'One God, &c.' They were anſwered by Matth. Poole, M. A. the learned editor of *Synopſis Criticorum*, in his *Plea for the Godhead of the Holy Ghoſt*, &c. (8) and by Nich. Eſtwick, M. A. as alſo by Dr. Cloppenburch, and Sam Des Marets, Profeſſors in Holland.

(2) Life, as above, p. 4. col. 2.

(3) *Ubi ſupra.*

(4) See Sir Robert Atkyns's Glouceſterſhire, in Glouceſter.

(5) *Ubi ſupra.*

(6) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(7) Life, &c. as above, p. 5. col. 1.

(8) Wood, as above, col. 301.

for him [*G*], procured his enlargement, by giving ſecurity for his appearance when it ſhould pleaſe the Parliament to ſend for him (*m*). About June, 1646, Archbiſhop Uſher paſſing through Glouceſter in his way to London, had a conference with our author about his notions, but without any ſucceſs (*n*) [*H*]. Six months after he had been ſet at liberty, he was ſummoned to appear at Weſtminſter, and the Parliament immediately appointed a Committee to examine him; before whom he freely confeſſed, ‘ That he did not acknowledge the commonly received notion of the Divinity of the ‘ Holy Ghoſt, as he was accuſed; but, however, was ready to hear what could be op- ‘ poſed to him, and if he could not make out his opinion to be true, honeſtly to own ‘ his error (*o*):’ but being wearied with tedious and expenſive delays, he wrote, on the firſt of April, 1647, a letter to Sir Henry Vane [*I*], a Member of the Committee (*p*), wherein he beſought him either to procure his diſcharge, or to make a report of his caſe to the Houſe of Commons. Sir Henry propoſed it, and ſhewed himſelf a friend to our author (*q*); but the only reſult of it was, his being committed to the cuſtody of one of their officers, which reſtraint continued the five years following: and being referred to the Aſſembly of Divines, then ſitting at Weſtminſter for his conviction, before ſome of whom he often appeared, he gave them in writing his Twelve Arguments againſt the Deity of the Holy Spirit (*r*), which were publiſhed the ſame year. Upon their coming out they made ſo great a noiſe in the world, that the author was ſummoned to appear at the bar of the Houſe of Commons; where being aſked, ‘ Whe- ‘ ther he owned that book, and the opinions therein,’ he anſwered in the affirmative. Upon this, being remanded to priſon (*s*), the Houſe ordered, on the 6th of September, 1647, that the ſaid book, as blaſphemous againſt the Deity of Chriſt, ſhould be called in and burnt by the hangman, and that the author ſhould be examined by the Committee of plundered Miniſters. Accordingly the book was burnt the 8th of the ſame month (*t*). But Mr. Biddle drew a freſh and more dangerous ſtorm upon himſelf, by two Tracts he publiſhed in the year 1648 [*K*]. For, upon their appearing, the Aſſembly

(*m*) Wood, and Life, &c. as above.

(*n*) The Third Part of *Gangræna*, &c. by T. Edwards, Lond. 1646, 4*to*, p. 87.

(*o*) Life, &c. as above.

(*p*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*.

(*q*) *Ibid.*

(*r*) Life, &c. as above, p. 5, col. 2.

(*s*) Wood, &c. as above.

(*t*) Whitlock's Memorials, &c. edit. 1732, p. 268.

[G] *However, an eminent perſon in* Glouceſter, *who had a reſpect for him*, &c.] For Mr. Wood informs us (9), that, ‘ except his opinions, there was little or ‘ nothing blame-worthy in him.’

[*H*] —— *Archbiſhop Uſher* ——— *had a conference with our author about his notions, but without any ſucceſs.*] The author, from whom we have this particular (10), tells us, that ‘ Biſhop Uſher, that ‘ learned and godly Divine, coming through Glou- ‘ ceſter, ſpake with him (Biddle), and uſed him with ‘ all fairneſſe and pitty, as well as ſtrength of argu- ‘ ments, to convince him of his dangerous error. A ‘ Miniſter of the city of Gloceſter told me, the Biſhop ‘ laboured to convince him, telling him that either ‘ he was in a damnable errour, or elſe the whole ‘ Church of Chriſt, who had in all ages worſhipped ‘ the Holy Ghoſt, had been guilty of idolatry; but ‘ the man was no whit moved either by the learning, ‘ gravity, piety, or zeal of the good Biſhop, but ‘ continued obſtinate.’

[*I*] *He wrote on the* 1*ſt of April*, 1647, *a letter to Sir Henry Vane.*] It was publiſhed before his *Twelve Arguments*, &c. in 1647, under the title of ‘ A Letter ‘ written to a certain Knight, a Member of the Ho- ‘ nourable Houſe of Commons;’ and reprinted in the collection of Socinian Tracts; Lond. 1691, 4to, where it is intitled, ‘ A Letter written to Sir H. V. ‘ a Member of the Honourable Houſe of Commons.’ It begins thus: ‘ Sir, having now attended for the ‘ ſpace of ſixteen months, partly in the country, and ‘ partly in Weſtminſter, that I might come to my ‘ anſwer before the Parliament; and finding, after ‘ all this tarriance, that I am ſtill as far from having ‘ my cauſe determined as ever; I am even forced to ‘ make my addreſs to you, and to beſeech you, if ‘ you have any bowels towards them that are in mi- ‘ ſery, that you would either procure my diſcharge, ‘ or at leaſt make report to the Houſe, touching *my* ‘ *denial of the ſuppoſed Deity of the Holy Spirit. For* ‘ *that this only is the matter in conteſtation*, you very ‘ well know, having both heard my confeſſion before ‘ the Committee, and remembering how, when I ‘ was urged to declare my judgment concerning the ‘ Deity of Chriſt, I waved the queſtion, as neither ‘ being that I was accuſed of, nor which I had yet ‘ ſufficiently ſtudied, to engage myſelf publicly ‘ therein.’——Then he proceeds to deliver his opinion touching the Holy Spirit, which he confirms by ſeveral paſſages of Scripture; and complains of his adverſaries, who being unable to juſtify their practice by argument, reſorted to the arm of fleſh, and inſtigated the Magiſtrate againſt him.

[*K*] *Two Tracts he publiſhed in the year* 1648.] They were, ‘ A Confeſſion of Faith touching the ‘ Holy Trinity, according to the Scripture.’ And ‘ The Teſtimonies of *Irenæus*, *Juſtin Martyr*, *Ter-* ‘ *tullian*, *Novatianus*, *Theophilus*, *Origen*, (who lived ‘ in the two firſt centuries after Chriſt was born, or ‘ thereabouts). As alſo of *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, *Eu-* ‘ *ſebius*, *Hilary*, and *Brightman*; concerning that ‘ One God, and the Perſons of the Holy Trinity. ‘ Together with Obſervations on the ſame.’ Theſe were reprinted in 1653, 8vo, and in the collection of Socinian Tracts, Lond. 1691, 4to. The *Confeſſion of his Faith* is comprized in the ſix following articles. I. ‘ I believe that there is one moſt High God, Cre- ‘ ator of Heaven and Earth, and firſt Cauſe of all ‘ things pertaining to our Salvation, and conſequently ‘ the ultimate object of our Faith and Worſhip; and ‘ that this God is none but the Father of our Lord ‘ Jeſus Chriſt, the firſt perſon of the Holy Trinity. ‘ II. I believe that there is one chief Son of the moſt ‘ High God, or Spiritual, Heavenly, and perpetual ‘ Lord and King, ſet over the Church by God, and ‘ ſecond Cauſe of all things pertaining to our ſalva- ‘ tion, and conſequently the intermediate object of ‘ our Faith and Worſhip; and that this Son of the ‘ moſt High God is none but Jeſus Chriſt, the ſecond ‘ Perſon of the Holy Trinity. III. I believe that ‘ Jeſus Chriſt, to the intent he might be our brother, ‘ and have a fellow-feeling of our infirmities, and ſo ‘ become the more ready to help us (the conſideration ‘ whereof is the greateſt encouragement to piety that ‘ can be imagined), hath no other than a Human ‘ Nature, and therefore in this very nature is not ‘ only a Perſon (ſince none but a Human Perſon can ‘ be our brother), but alſo our Lord, yea our God. ‘ IV. Whence, though he be our God, by reaſon of ‘ his Divine Sovereignty over us, and Worſhip due ‘ to ſuch Sovereignty, yet is he not the moſt High ‘ God, the ſame with the Father, but ſubordinate to ‘ him. V. Again; though he be a God, ſubordi- ‘ nate to the moſt High God, as having received his ‘ Godhead, and whatſoever he hath, from the Fa- ‘ ther; yet may not any one thence rightly infer, ‘ that by this account there will be another God, or ‘ two Gods. For though we may, with allowance of ‘ the Scripture, ſay, that there are many Gods, yet ‘ neither will the Scripture, nor the thing itſelf, per- ‘ mit us to ſay, that there is another God, or two ‘ Gods; becauſe when a word in its own nature ‘ common to many, hath been appropriated, and ‘ aſcribed to one by way of excellency (as that of ‘ God hath been to the Father); albeit this doth not hinder

(9) Athenæ, col. 300.

(10) T. Edwards, *ubi ſupra*.

Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter ſolicited the Parliament, in whoſe hands was the ſupreme power at that time; and procured a ſevere Ordinance, May 2, 1648 [*L*], for inflicting the puniſhment of death upon thoſe that held opinions contrary to the eſtabliſhed ones about the Trinity, and other doctrines accounted blaſphemies and hereſies, and ſevere penalties upon thoſe who differed in leſſer matters. This ſeemed a damnatory ſentence againſt our author, from which there was no eſcape. But he was ſaved by a diſſention in the Parliament itſelf; to the greateſt part of which the army joined its power, for this reaſon among others, becauſe there were many, both officers and ſoldiers, liable to the ſeverities of the Ordinance above mentioned, which therefore from that time lay unregarded for ſeveral years. After the death of King Charles I., when a kind of univerſal toleration was introduced, our author had more liberty allowed him by his keeper, who ſuffered him, upon ſecurity given, to go into Staffordſhire (*u*), where he lived ſome time with a Juſtice of Peace (*w*), who not only entertained him courteouſly, but at his death left him a legacy; which was a very ſeaſonable ſupply to

‘ hinder us from ſaying, that there are many of that ‘ name, yet doth it from ſaying, that there is another, or two, ſince that would be all one as if we ‘ ſhould ſay, that there is another, or two moſt excellent (which is abſurd); for when two are ſegregated in this manner out of many, they claim excellency to themſelves alike. Thus though ſome ‘ faithful man be a Son of God, ſubordinate to the ‘ chief Son of God Chriſt Jeſus, yet we may not ‘ thereupon ſay, that there is another Son of God, or ‘ two Sons of God (ſince that would be to make another, or two Sons of God by way of excellency, ‘ whereas there can be but one ſuch a Son), howbeit ‘ otherwiſe the Scripture warrants us to ſay, that ‘ there are many Sons of God. VI. I believe that ‘ there is one principal Miniſter of God and Chriſt, ‘ peculiarly ſent from Heaven to ſanctify the Church, ‘ who, by reaſon of his eminency and intimacy with ‘ God, is ſingled out of the number of the other heavenly Miniſters or Angels, and compriſed in the Holy ‘ Trinity, being the Third Perſon thereof; and that ‘ this Miniſter of God and Chriſt is the Holy Spirit.’ ——Theſe ſix articles he endeavours to confirm by texts of Scripture, and by ſeveral other arguments. ——At the end of his *Teſtimonies out of Irenæus*, &c. he makes this remark: ‘ Thoſe Human Teſtimonies ‘ above written have I alleged, not that I much regard them as to myſelf (who make uſe of no other ‘ rule to determine controverſies about religion, than ‘ the *Scripture*; and of no other *Authentic Interpreter*, ‘ if a ſcruple ariſe concerning the ſenſe of the Scripture, than *Reaſon)*; but for the ſake of the adverſaries, who continually crake, *the Fathers, the Fathers* (11).’ Nich. Eſtwick wrote an Examination of this confeſſion of Faith, Lond. 1656, 4to.

[*L*] *And procured a ſevere Ordinance*, May 2, 1648.] This Ordinance declared all ſuch perſons guilty of *Felony*, as ſhould ‘ willingly, by preaching, teaching, ‘ printing, or writing, maintain and publiſh, that ‘ there is no God, or that God is not preſent in all ‘ places, doth not know and foreknow all things, or ‘ that he is not almighty, that he is not perfectly ‘ holy, or that he is not eternal, or that the Father ‘ is not God, the Son is not God, and the Holy ‘ Ghoſt is not God, or that they Three are not one ‘ eternal God; or that ſhall in like manner maintain and publiſh, that Chriſt is not God, equal ‘ with the Father; or ſhall deny the Manhood of ‘ Chriſt, or that the Manhood or Godhead of Chriſt ‘ are ſeveral natures, or that the Humanity of Chriſt ‘ is pure and unſpotted of all ſin; or that ſhall maintain and publiſh, as aforeſaid, that Chriſt did not ‘ die, nor riſe from the dead, nor is aſcended into ‘ Heaven bodily; or that ſhall deny his death is meritorious in the behalf of believers; or that ſhall ‘ maintain and publiſh, as aforeſaid, that Jeſus ‘ Chriſt is not the Son of God; or that the Holy ‘ Scripture, of the Old and New Teſtament, is not ‘ the word of God; or that the bodies of men, after ‘ they are dead, ſhall not riſe again; or that there is ‘ no day of judgment after death.——All ſuch perſons, upon complaint and proof made of the ſame, ‘ before any two of the next Juſtices of the Peace for ‘ that place or county, by the oaths of two witneſſes, ‘ or confeſſion of the party; the ſaid party ſo accuſed ‘ ſhall be by the ſaid Juſtices committed to priſon ‘ without bail or mainpriſe, until the next gaol-delivery, and the witneſſes bound over to give their ‘ evidence at the ſaid gaol delivery; at which time ‘ the party ſhall be indicted for felonious publiſhing ‘ and maintaining ſuch error. And in caſe the indictment be found, and the party upon his trial ‘ ſhall not abjure his ſaid error, and defence and ‘ maintenance of the ſame, he ſhall *ſuffer the pains of* ‘ *death*, as in caſe of felony, without benefit of ‘ Clergy; but in caſe he ſhall recant, he ſhall nevertheleſs remain in priſon, until he finds two ſureties ‘ to be bound with him, before two or more Juſtices ‘ of the Peace, that he ſhall not thenceforth publiſh ‘ or maintain the ſaid errors any more, and the ‘ Juſtices ſhall have power to take bail. And if any ‘ perſon indicted formerly for maintaining and publiſhing erroneous opinions, ſhall again publiſh and ‘ maintain the ſame, he ſhall ſuffer *death*, as in caſe ‘ of felony, without benefit of Clergy.’——The Ordinance farther enjoins, that all perſons who ſhould publiſh or maintain, ‘ That all men ſhall be ſaved; ‘ or that man by nature hath free will to turn to ‘ God; or that God may be worſhipped in or by ‘ pictures or images; or that the ſoul of any man ‘ after death goeth to Purgatory;—or that Revelations, or the workings of the Spirit, are a rule of ‘ Faith or Chriſtian life, though diverſe from, or ‘ contrary to, the written word of God; or that man ‘ is bound to believe no more than by his reaſon he ‘ can comprehend; or that the moral Law of God, ‘ contained in the Ten Commandments, is no rule ‘ of Chriſtian life; or that a Believer need not repent, or pray for pardon of ſins; or that the two ‘ Sacraments are not commanded by the word of ‘ God, or are unlawful; — or that the Churches of ‘ England are no true Churches, nor their Miniſters ‘ and Ordinances true Miniſters and Ordinances; or ‘ that the Church-Government by Preſbytery is unchriſtian or unlawful: or that all uſe of arms, though ‘ for the public defence (and be the cauſe never ſo ‘ juſt), is unlawful:—That all perſons, I ſay, who ‘ ſhould publiſh or maintain any of the ſaid errors, ‘ and be convicted thereof, ſhould be ordered to renounce them in the public congregation of the ſame ‘ pariſh from whence the complaint comes, or where ‘ the offence was committed; and in caſe of refuſal, ‘ to be committed to priſon by two of the next Juſtices, until he find two ſufficient ſureties, that he ‘ ſhall not maintain or publiſh the ſaid errors any ‘ more.’ This Ordinance was publiſhed in 1648, 4to, and is preſerved in the *Introduction* prefixed to an edition of Fr. Cheynell's *Chillingworthi Noviſſima*; the author of which Introduction juſtly obſerves, that though ‘ the Preſbyterians were poſſeſſed of their ‘ power but a very ſhort time, yet in that ſpace they ‘ were for carrying their Eccleſiaſtical Tyranny beyond what themſelves charged on their former ‘ Oppreſſors.’

⁂ [It is a juſt obſervation that is here made, concerning the exceſs to which the Preſbyterians of that time would have carried their eccleſiaſtical tyranny. In all the hiſtory of the perſecuting laws and decrees of this country, there is nothing more ſhameful and abominable than the Ordinance recited above; and it muſt give pleaſure to every candid mind, that the makers of it were deprived of the power of putting it into execution. It is well that, in the preſent age, the deſcendants both of Church of England men and Preſbyterians have adopted more enlarged and generous principles.] K.

(*u*) Life, &c. as above, p. 5, 6.

(*w*) Who made him his Chaplain, and alſo Preacher of a church there. Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 302.

(11) Socinian Tracts, entitled *The Faith of One God*, &c. Lond. 1691, 4to.

him, as he had already ſpent in a manner all he had gotten at Glouceſter, or elſewhere, though not inconſiderable, in now about four years chargeable reſtraint. But he could not continue long here, before notice was given to Serjeant John Bradſhaw, Preſident of the Council of State, his mortal enemy, who cauſed him to be recalled by his keeper, and to be kept more ſtraitly. In this long confinement, what proved moſt grievous to him was, that by reaſon of his lying under the imputation of blaſphemy and hereſy, all people in general were ſo alienated from him, that he could hardly have any one to converſe with: And of the Divines, whoſe duty it was to have endeavoured his information, not one vouchſafed him a viſit in his ſeven years confinement, excepting Mr. Peter Gunning, afterwards Biſhop of Ely. Here he ſpent his whole ſubſtance; ſo that not having wherewithal to pay for an ordinary meal, he was glad of the cheaper ſupport of drinking a draught of milk from the cow morning and evening (*x*). Being thus in a manner reduced to great indigence, he was, through the recommendation of a learned man, employed by Roger Daniel of London, to correct the impreſſion of the Greek Septuagint Bible, which that Printer was about to publiſh with great accuracy. And this employment, with another in private, gained him for a time a comfortable ſubſiſtence. In 1651, the Parliament publiſhed a general Act of Oblivion, that reſtored, among others, our author to his full liberty; which he improved among thoſe friends he had gained in London, in meeting together every Sunday for expounding the Scripture, and diſcourſing upon it; by which means his opinions concerning the Unity of God, Chriſt his only Son, and his Holy Spirit, were ſo propagated, that the Preſbyterian Miniſters at London became exceedingly uneaſy at it, but could not hinder its progreſs by the ſecular power, which then admitted an univerſal liberty of religion and conſcience. In the year 1654 he had three public diſputations in his Meeting with Mr. P. Gunning, afterwards Biſhop of Ely, concerning the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, and of Chriſt, and concerning Punitive Juſtice (*y*). The ſame year he publiſhed his Twofold Scripture-Catechiſm [*M*], which coming into the hands of ſome of the Members of Oliver Cromwell's Parliament, which met September 3, 1654, a complaint was made againſt it in the Houſe of Commons. Upon this the author being brought to the bar in the beginning of December, and aſked, Whether he wrote that book? He anſwered by aſking, Whether it ſeemed reaſonable, that one brought before a judgment-ſeat as a criminal, ſhould accuſe himſelf? After ſome debates and reſolutions [*N*], he was, on the 13th of December, committed cloſe priſoner to the Gatehouſe; prohibited the uſe of pen, ink, and paper, or the acceſs of any viſitant, and his books were ordered to be burnt; which was accordingly done the 14th of the ſame month (*z*). A bill likewiſe was ordered to be brought in for puniſhing him; ſo that he had nothing leſs than capital puniſhment to expect. But, after about ſix months impriſonment, he obtained his liberty at the Court of the Upper, or King's Bench, May 28, by due courſe of law (*a*). Scarcely was a year expired, when another no leſs formidable danger overtook him, by his engaging in a diſpute with an Anabaptiſt Teacher [*O*]; for he was

(*x*) Life, &c. p. 6.

(*y*) Life, &c. p. 6, 7. and Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 302. The author of his Life tells us, that J. Biddle acquitted himſelf with ſo much learning, judgment, and knowledge in the ſenſe of the Holy Scriptures, that inſtead of loſing, he gained much credit both to himſelf and his cauſe.

(*z*) Whitelock's Memorials, as above, p. 609. Life, &c. and Wood, *ubi ſupra*.

(*a*) Wood, and Life, *ibid.*

[*M*] *The ſame year he publiſhed his Twofold Scripture Catechiſm.*] That is, a larger, and a ſhorter Catechiſm; in which the anſwers are expreſſed in the very words of Scripture. The title of the firſt is, 'A Scripture Catechiſm; wherein the chiefeſt points 'of the Chriſtian Religion being queſtion-wiſe pro'poſed, reſolve themſelves by pertinent anſwers 'taken word for word out of the Scripture, without 'either conſequences or comments. Compoſed for 'their ſakes that would fain be mere Chriſtians, and 'not of this or that ſect, in as much as all ſects of 'Chriſtians, by what names ſoever diſtinguiſhed, 'have either more or leſs departed from the ſimpli'city and truth of the Scripture.' Lond. 1654, 8vo. The title of the other is, 'A Brief Scripture Cate'chiſm for Children; wherein, notwithſtanding the 'brevity thereof, all things neceſſary unto life and 'godlineſs are contained. By John Biddle, Maſter 'of Arts, of the Univerſity of Oxford.' In three ſheets, ſmall octavo. This Twofold Catechiſm was animadverted upon by Dr. John Owen, in his *Vindiciæ Evangelicæ*, or Myſtery of the Goſpel vindicated, &c. Oxon, 1655, 4to.

[*N*] *After ſome debates and reſolutions.*] The matter was referred to a Committee, by whom Biddle was examined, and in concluſion he adhered to the anſwer he had before given to the Houſe. Report being made of it by the Committee, the Houſe voted, on the 12th of December, 'That the whole drift and 'ſcope of the ſaid Twofold Catechiſm is to teach and 'hold forth many blaſphemous and heretical opi'nions; and that, in the Preface of the ſaid Cate'chiſm, the author thereof doth maintain and aſſert 'many blaſphemous and heretical opinions, and doth 'therein caſt a reproach upon all the Catechiſms 'now extant:' And therefore, that all the printed copies of the ſaid Catechiſm ſhould be burnt by the common hangman; that the Sheriffs of London and Middleſex ſhould ſee it done; and that the Maſter and Wardens of the Company of Stationers ſhould ſearch for the ſaid printed copies, and deliver them to the Sheriffs.—But this was not all, for the matter was agitated again in January following by the Committee, who reſolved on the 16th of the ſame month, as above. And the matter being reported to the Parliament, they ordered a bill to be brought in for puniſhing Biddle; but they came at laſt to no reſolution, though preſſed eagerly by the Preſbyterian Miniſters to take away his life (12).

[*O*] *By his raſhly engaging in a diſpute with an Anabaptiſt Teacher.*] That Teacher was one John Griffin; many of whoſe congregation having embraced Biddle's opinions concerning the Trinity, he thought the beſt way to regain them, and to ſtop the ſpreading of their errors, would be openly to confute their ſeducer. For that purpoſe he challenges Biddle to a public diſputation at his Meeting in the ſtone chapel in St. Paul's Cathedral, on this queſtion, 'Whether Jeſus Chriſt be the moſt High, or Al'mighty God.' Biddle would have declined the diſpute, as knowing Griffin to be inferior to him in learning, &c. but at laſt accepted it: And they two meeting, amongſt a numerous audience, ſome of whom were greatly prejudiced againſt our author, Griffin, either imprudently, or for ſome worſe end, repeats the queſtion, aſking, 'If any man there did 'deny, that Chriſt was God moſt High?' To which Biddle reſolutely anſwers, 'I do deny it;' and by this open profeſſion gave his adverſaries the opportunity of a poſitive and clear accuſation, which they ſoon laid hold of. But Griffin being baffled, for want of knowing the true way of arguing, the diſputation

(12) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 303.

was upon that account firſt caſt into the Poultry-Compter, July 3, 1655, and afterwards into Newgate; and tried for his life the next ſeſſions, on the Ordinance againſt blaſphemy mentioned above. After the reading of the indictment, he prayed that Counſel might be allowed him to plead the illegality of it; which being denied him by the Judges, and the ſentence of a Mute threatened, he at length gave into Court his exceptions ingroſſed in parchment, and with much ſtruggling had Counſel allowed him, but the trial was deferred to the next day. In the mean time, the Protector well knowing it was not for the intereſt of his Government to have him either condemned or abſolved [*P*], took him out of the hands of the Law, and detained him in priſon, intending to diſpoſe of him otherwiſe (*b*). But being wearied with receiving petitions for and againſt him [*Q*], he baniſhed him for life to St. Mary's caſtle in the iſle of Scilly, and ſent him thither in the beginning of October, 1655 (*c*). Soon after he allowed him a hundred crowns a year for his ſubſiſtence (*d*). In this exile Biddle continued about three years, during which time he employed himſelf in ſtudying ſeveral intricate matters, particularly the Revelation of St. John [*R*]. When he had continued a priſoner till the beginning of the year 1658, the Protector, at length, through the interceſſion of many friends, ſuffered a writ of Habeas Corpus to be granted out of the Upper-Bench Court (as it was then called), and to be obeyed by the Governor of Scilly, whereby the priſoner was brought back, and nothing being laid to his charge, he was ſet at liberty. Upon his return to London, he reſumed his long interrupted exerciſes among his friends; and, according to ſome [*S*], was Paſtor of an Independent Church in

(*b*) Wood, and Life, *ibid.*

(*c*) *Ibid.* Wood, col. 304.

(*d*) Life, p. 8, col. 1.

tation was deferred till another day; and Griffin, though not able to cope with Biddle, had the confidence to conſent to a ſecond meeting, when Biddle was to take his turn of proving the negative of the queſtion between them. In the mean while, Griffin and his party not thinking themſelves a match for our author, they accuſed him of freſh blaſphemies, and procured an order from the Protector to apprehend him on the 3d of July (being the day before the intended ſecond diſputation), and to commit him to the Compter, &c. as is related above (13).

(13) Life, and Wood, as above.

[*P*] *The Protector well knowing it was not for the intereſt of his Government to have him either condemned or abſolved.*] For, on the one hand, the Preſbyterians, and all enemies to liberty of religion, of which there appeared a great number at his trial, would be offended at his releaſe; and all that were for liberty, eſpecially many congregations of Anabaptiſts, had petitioned the Protector for his diſcharge from proſecution upon the Ordinance above mentioned, by which their liberties were threatened, and the capital article of the Protector's Government infringed, which runs thus: ‘ That ſuch as profeſs Faith in God by Jeſus Chriſt, ‘ (though differing in judgment from the Doctrine, ‘ Worſhip, or Diſcipline, publicly held forth) ſhall ‘ not be reſtrained from, but protected in the profeſ‑‘ ſion of their Faith, and exerciſe of their Religion, ‘ &c.’ Art. 37. And, ‘ That all Laws, Statutes, ‘ Ordinances, &c. to the contrary of the aforeſaid ‘ liberty, ſhall be eſteemed as null and void.’ Art. 38 (14).

(14) Life, &c. p. 8. and Whitelock, as above, p. 576.

[*Q*] *But being wearied with receiving petitions for and againſt him.*] For ſeveral of the leaders among the Anabaptiſts, who had embraced his opinions, drew up a petition in his behalf, in September 1655, and preſented it to Cromwell.—But, inſtead of complying with their deſires, he repreſented to them, ‘ how inconſiſtent it was for them, who profeſſed to ‘ be members of the Church of Chriſt, and to wor‑‘ ſhip him with the worſhip due to God, to give any ‘ countenance to one who reproached themſelves, and ‘ all the Chriſtian Churches in the world, as being ‘ guilty of Idolatry.’—Shewing alſo, that if it be true, which Biddle holds, ‘ That Jeſus Chriſt is but ‘ a Creature, then all thoſe that worſhip him with ‘ the worſhip due to God, are Idolaters, and that ‘ the maintainers of that opinion of Biddle are guilty ‘ of great blaſphemy againſt Chriſt (15).’—To the famous Mr. Thomas Firmin, who likewiſe preſented a petition for his releaſe from Newgate (16), the Protector gave this ſhort anſwer. ‘ You curl-pate ‘ boy, you, do you think I'll ſhew favour to a man ‘ that denies his Saviour, and diſturbs the Govern‑‘ ment (17).’——At length, his Highneſs yielded to the repeated ſolicitations of the Preſbyterian and Independent Miniſters, who were continually teazing and importuning him to ſend him into baniſhment (18).

(15) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 304.

(16) This Mr. Firmin was a diſciple of our author's, and gave him bed and board for a while before he was ſent to Scilly. Life of T. Firmin, Lond. 1698, p. 10.

(17) Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, fol. p. 760.

(18) Wood, as above, col. 304.

[*R*] *Particularly the Revelation of St.* John.] After his return to London, he publiſhed ‘ An Eſſay to the ‘ explaining of the Revelation; or, Notes on ſome ‘ of the chapters of the Apocalyps.’ In this, he treats of the Beaſt in the Apocalyps, Antichriſt, the perſonal reign of Chriſt on earth, &c. (19).

(19) *Idem*, col. 305.

[*S*] *And, according to ſome, was Paſtor of an Independent Church, &c.*] The perſon who relates this, is Sir Peter Pett, in the Preface to his *Happy future State of England* (20); where he farther tells us, that this congregation held the following notions: ‘ That the ‘ Fathers under the old covenant had only temporal ‘ promiſes; that the univerſal obedience performed ‘ to the commands of God and Chriſt was the ſaving ‘ Faith; that Chriſt roſe again only by the power of ‘ the Father, and not his own; that juſtifying Faith ‘ is not the pure gift of God, but may be acquired ‘ by men's natural abilities; that Faith cannot be‑‘ lieve any thing contrary to, or above reaſon; that ‘ there is no Original Sin; that Chriſt hath not the ‘ ſame body now in glory, in which he ſuffered and ‘ roſe again; that the Saints ſhall not have the ſame ‘ body in Heaven which they had on earth; that ‘ Chriſt was not Lord or King before his reſurrection, ‘ or Prieſt before his aſcenſion; that the Saints ſhall ‘ not before the day of judgment enjoy the bliſs of ‘ Heaven; that God doth not certainly know future ‘ contingencies; that there is not any authority of ‘ Fathers or General Councils in determining matters ‘ of Faith; that Chriſt before his death had not any ‘ dominion over the Angels; and that Chriſt by dy‑‘ ing made not ſatisfaction for us.’

(20) Lond. 1688, fol.

⁂ [Mr. Toulmin, ſpeaking of Biddle, ſays, ‘ that this good man ſet up religious meetings on ‘ every Lord's day, with the friends he had gained in ‘ London, for expounding the Scriptures and diſ‑‘ courſing thereupon, to inveſtigate and aſcertain the ‘ truths contained in them, and to diſcover popular ‘ errors. Mr. Thomas Firmin, that ſingular ex‑‘ ample of generoſity and active benevolence, whoſe ‘ life was a continued ſeries of uſeful meaſures and ‘ good actions, was his particular friend and patron. ‘ Amongſt the other members of this ſociety, a young ‘ gentleman, whoſe name was Nathaniel Stuchey, ‘ was active in promoting its intereſts, and had great ‘ influence by his zeal and parts. He tranſlated the ‘ Catechiſm of Biddle into Latin in the fifteenth year ‘ of his age, and ſubjoined an oration on the ſuffer‑‘ ings and death of Chriſt (21).’

(21) Memoirs of Socinus, p. 278, 279.

Mr. Toulmin obſerves farther, that ‘ the adherents ‘ to Mr. Biddle were called *Biddellians*; but this ‘ name was loſt in the more common appellation of ‘ Socinians, or, what they preferred, *Unitarians.* ‘ They did not perfectly agree in all points with So‑‘ cinus and the foreign Unitarians. They differed ‘ from them in this, that they believed the holy Spi‑‘ rit, though not God, is yet a perſon, in the vulgar ‘ ſenſe of that word. Biddle did not attempt to bring ‘ his friends to ſuch a perfect conformity of ſentiment ‘ to his opinions, and to unite them in ſuch cloſe ‘ mutual bonds, that would perpetuate the commu‑‘ nity, in that city. But he could not long continue there, for Oliver Cromwell dying September 3, 1658, his ſon Richard ſucceeded, and called a Parliament, dangerous certainly to J. Biddle, if any other; as conſiſting chiefly of Preſbyterians, whom, of all men, he moſt dreaded: therefore, by the advice of a noble friend, he retired privately into the country. That Parliament being ſoon diſſolved, he returned to his former ſtation till the reſtoration of King Charles II. (*e*), when the liberty of Diſſenters was taken away, and their Meetings puniſhed as ſeditious. On this account our author reſtrained himſelf from public to more private aſſemblies. But he could not even ſo be ſafe; for on the firſt of June, 1662, he was ſeized in his lodgings in London, where he and ſome few of his friends were met for divine worſhip, and carried before a Juſtice of Peace, who committed them all to priſon, without admitting them to bail. There they lay, till the Recorder took ſecurity for their anſwering to the charge brought againſt them at the next ſeſſions. But the Court not being then able to find a Statute whereon to form any criminal indictment, they were referred to the ſeſſions following, and therein proceeded againſt at common Law; when every one of the hearers was fined in twenty pounds, and J. Biddle in one hundred, and to lie in priſon till paid (*f*) [*T*]. But in leſs than five weeks after, through the noiſomeneſs of the place, and the cloſe air (very offenſive to him, whoſe only recreation and exerciſe had been for many years to walk daily into the open air), he contracted a diſeaſe [*U*], which put an end to his life on the 22d of September, 1662, in the 47th year of his age (*g*). He was buried in the cœmetry near Old Bethlem in Moorfields, London; and an altar monument of ſtone was erected over his grave, with an inſcription, ſhewing 'that he was Maſter of Arts of the Univerſity of Oxford, and had given the world great ſpecimens of his learning and piety, &c. (*h*).' As for his character, he is, in general, acknowledged to have been a man moſt eminent for piety and virtue, as well as learning and knowledge; as will appear by the inſtances which we ſhall give in the note [*W*].

(*e*) Life, &c. as above.

(*f*) Ibid. & Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) *Ibid.*

(*h*) Wood, col. 305.

⁂ [How

' nity, and continue them a ſucceſſive party, bearing ' his name as their founder; but left them to all ' that liberty which was conſiſtent with their mutual ' edification, and a conſcientious profeſſion of what ' appeared to their minds the truth. Accordingly, ' it does not appear, that this ſociety ſubſiſted after ' his death (22).'] T.

(22) Memoirs of Socinus, p. 280.

[*T*] *And* J. Biddle *in one hundred (pounds) to lie in priſon till paid.*] One of the Sheriffs would have been ſatisfied with ten pounds for him, and even have paid it; but Sir Richard Brown, the Juſtice who had committed him, could not be induced to conſent thereto upon any terms; but threatened him with a ſeven years impriſonment, though he ſhould pay the whole hundred pounds. This was the cauſe of his continuing in priſon (23).

(23) Life, &c. p. 9.

[*U*] *He contracted a diſeaſe.*] Notwithſtanding the violence of it, Sir Richard Brown could not be moved to grant the ſick priſoner the preſent comfort of a removal, in order to a recovery; but Sheriff Meynel did grant it. However, the ſecond day after his removal, between five and ſix o'clock in the morning, Sept. 22, he expired, as is related above (24).

(24) *Ibid.*

[*W*] *As will appear by the inſtances which we ſhall give.*] Theſe we take from his *Life*, which, as Mr. Wood informs us (25), was written by John Farrington of the Inner-Temple, and publiſhed in Latin at London in 1682, 8*vo*. The author of that Life, highly commends J. Biddle for 'his great *zeal for ' promoting holineſs of life* and manners; for (ſays he) ' this was always his end and deſign in what he ' taught. He valued not his doctrines for ſpeculation, ' but practice; inſomuch that he would not ' diſcourſe of thoſe points wherein he differed from ' others, with thoſe that appeared not religious according ' to their knowledge. Neither could he bear ' thoſe that diſſembled in profeſſion for worldly intereſts. ' He was a ſtrict obſerver himſelf, and a ſevere ' exactor in others, *of reverence in ſpeaking of God, ' and Chriſt, and holy things*; ſo that he would by no ' means hear their names, or any ſentence of holy ' Scripture, uſed vainly or lightly, much leſs any ' fooliſh talking, or ſcurrility. He would often tell ' his friends, that no religion would benefit a bad ' man, and call upon them to reſolve, as well to profeſs ' and practiſe the truth that is according to ' godlineſs, as to ſtudy to find it out.——His ' *Learning in* matters of religion was gained by a diligent ' ſtudy of the holy Scriptures, eſpecially of the ' New Teſtament: wherein he was ſo converſant, ' that he retained it all in his memory word for word, ' not only in Engliſh, but in Greek, as far as the ' 4th chapter of the Revelation of St. John. This ' thorough knowledge in the Scriptures, joined to a ' happy and ready *memory*, whereby he retained alſo ' the ſum of what he had read in other authors, gave ' him great advantage againſt all opponents, and in ' all diſcourſes, but without the leaſt appearance of ' boaſting.——No tincture of *Ambition* appeared in ' him, nor the leaſt degree of *Covetouſneſs*; for he ' always ſuſtained himſelf by his own induſtry, when ' he was in a capacity of uſing it; and would never ' accept of any ſupplies, though offered, but when ' his neceſſities, ariſing from impriſonment, ſickneſs, ' or the like, forced him to it; for he had learned ' to be contented with a little, and ſought not more, ' yea, out of that little would contribute to the neceſſities ' of others. *Temperance* was at all times moſt ' conſpicuous in him, as well in eating as in drinking; ' and he thought it not enough to be very ' chaſte, but that he ought to avoid all ſuſpicion of ' unchaſtity, inſomuch that he would not willingly ' look upon a woman without juſt occaſion; and was ' very uneaſy if left in a room with one alone, till ' relieved by more company.——He would be merry ' and pleaſant, and liked well that the company ' ſhould be ſo too; yet even in his common converſation ' he always retained an awe of the Divine Preſence, ' and was ſometimes obſerved to lift up his ' hand ſuddenly, which thoſe that were intimate ' with him knew to be an effect of a ſecret ejaculation. ' But in his cloſet-devotions he was wont to ' proſtrate himſelf upon the ground, after the manner ' of our Saviour in his agony, and would commend ' that poſture of worſhip alſo to his moſt intimate ' friends. Finally, he was as eminent for his ' juſtice and charity towards men, as he was for his ' piety towards God.' M.

(25) Athenæ, *ubi ſupra*, col. 306.

⁂ [Mr. Toulmin obſerves, that Mr. Biddle ' had ſuch a lively ſenſe of the obligations of humanity ' and kindneſs, that it was one of his leſſons, ' that it is a duty not only to relieve, but to *viſit* the ' ſick and poor (26).'

(26) Memoirs of the Life, &c. of Socinus, p. 278.

The author of 'The Humble Advice to the Right ' Honourable the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, and ' the reſt of the Juſtices of the honourable bench,' ſpeaking of Mr. Biddle, ſays, 'If you ſhall ſeriouſly ' and deliberately weigh all circumſtances touching ' the man and his opinions, he is ſo free from being ' queſtioned for any the leaſt blemiſh in his life and ' converſation, that the informers themſelves have ' been heard to admire his ſtrict exemplary life, full ' of modeſty, ſobriety, and forbearance; no ways ' contentious, touching the great things of the world, ' but altogether taken up with the things of God, ' revealed in the holy Scriptures; wherein his ſtudy, ' diligence, and attainments, have been ſo great,

' that

⁂ [How much is it to be regretted, that a man of ſo truly excellent and amiable a character ſhould have ſuffered ſuch a variety of perſecution, merely becauſe his religious ſentiments differed from thoſe generally received; and that he ſhould, at laſt, have fallen a victim to the intolerance of the times! For it is too evident, that his death was occaſioned by his impriſonment, and the other hardſhips that he underwent, in conſequence of the zeal and ſincerity with which he maintained his opinions. We cannot but rejoice, that in the preſent age, a more equitable and liberal way of thinking prevails, and that men may differ from each other in their religious ſentiments, without being expoſed to ſuch injurious treatment from thoſe who have adopted contrary opinions. It ſhould be obſerved, that the account given of Mr. Biddle, and his ſentiments, by Mr. Neal, in his Hiſtory of the Puritans (*i*), appears to be neither candid nor juſt. T.

(*i*) Vol. ii. p. 470, 4*to* edit.

' that his knowledge therein is of as ready uſe as a ' concordance, no part thereof being named, but he ' preſently cites the book, chapter, and verſe, eſpe- ' cially throughout the books of the New Teſtament, ' where all the Epiſtles he can ſay by heart out of the ' Greek tongue; and withal can read the Greek in ' Engliſh, and the Engliſh in Greek, ſo readily as a ' man can do the mere Engliſh; ſo careful hath he ' been rightly to underſtand them. As to the juſtice ' and integrity of his heart, his ways have manifeſted ' that he would not diſſemble, play the hypocrite, or ' deal fraudulently with any man to ſave his life; ' ſuch is he certainly, as is known to very many per- ' ſons of worth and credit in London.'

The author of ' The true State of the Caſe of Li- ' berty of Conſcience in England,' gives alſo this teſtimony of Mr. Biddle's converſation: ' We have ' (ſays he) had intimate knowledge thereof for ſome ' years; but we think he needs not us, but may ap- ' peal even to his enemies, for his vindication there- ' in. Let thoſe that knew him at Oxford for the ' ſpace of ſeven or eight years, thoſe that knew him ' at Glouceſter about three years, thoſe that knew ' him at London theſe eight or nine years (moſt of ' which time he hath been a priſoner), ſpeak what ' they know, of unrighteouſneſs, uncleanneſs, un- ' peaceableneſs, malice, pride, profaneneſs, drunk- ' enneſs, or any the like iniquity, which they can ' accuſe him of; or hath he (as the manner of He- ' retics is), 2 Pet. ch. ii. 3. *Through covetouſneſs,* ' *with feigned words made merchandiſe of any?* Hath ' he not herein walked upon ſuch true grounds of ' Chriſtian ſelf-denial, that none in the world can ' ſtand more clear and blameleſs herein alſo? He ' having ſhunned to make any of thoſe advantages ' which are eaſily made in the world, by men of his ' parts and breeding, languages and learning, that ' (if any known to us) he may truly ſay as the ' Apoſtle, *I have coveted no man's ſilver, or gold, or* ' *apparel; yea, ye yourſelves know, that theſe hands* ' *have miniſtered to my neceſſities*; he ever accounting ' it *a more bleſſed thing to give than receive* (27).'

(27) *Vid.* Croſby's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Baptiſts, Vol. i. p. 210—212.

BILSON (Thomas), a learned writer, and Biſhop, in the end of the XVIth, and beginning of the XVIIth century, was born in the city of Wincheſter (*a*), being the ſon of Harman Bilſon, the ſame probably who was Fellow of Merton-college in 1536 (*b*), and derived his deſcent by his grandmother, or great-grandmother, from the Duke of Bavaria [*A*]. Thomas, of whom we are now writing, was educated in Wykeham's ſchool near Wincheſter; and in 1565 admitted perpetual Fellow of New-college, after he had ſerved two years of probation (*c*). October 10, 1566, he took his degree of Bachelor, and April 25, 1570, that of Maſter of Arts (*d*): Alſo, that of Bachelor of Divinity, June 24, 1579, and finally the degree of Doctor of Divinity on the 24th of January 1580 (*e*). In his younger years, he was a great lover of, and extremely ſtudious in, Poetry [*B*], Philoſophy, and Phyſic (*f*). But when he entered into Holy Orders, and applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity, which his genius chiefly led him to, he became a moſt ſolid and conſtant preacher; and ſo complete for ſkill in languages, for readineſs in the Fathers, and for judgment to make uſe of his reading (*g*), that he was one of the moſt accompliſhed ſcholars of his time. The firſt preferment he had was that of Maſter of Wincheſter-ſchool [*C*]; next, he was made Prebendary of Wincheſter, and afterwards Warden of the college there (*h*). To this college he did a very important ſervice, about the year 1584, by preſerving the revenues of it (*i*), when they were in danger of being ſwallowed up by a notorious forgery [*D*]. In 1585, he publiſhed his book of ' The true Difference betweene Chriſtian Subjection

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies in Hantſhire, p. 7. A. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 142. and Athen. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. i. col. 403.

(*b*) Wood, Athen. *ibid.*

(*c*) *Ibid.*

(*d*) *Idem*, Faſti, Vol. i. col. 97. 104.

(*e*) *Ibid.* col. 119. 121.

(*f*) Briefe View of the State of the Church of England, &c. by Sir J. Harrington, Kt. Lond. 1653, 12*mo*, p. 72. and Wood, Athen. col. 403.

(*g*) *Ibid.*

(*h*) Briefe View of the State of the Church of England, &c. by Sir J. Harington, Kt. London 1653, 12*mo*, p. 72. and Wood, Athen. col. 403.

(*i*) See Epiſtle to the Reader, before Dr. Bilſon's *True Difference between Chriſtian Subjection and Unchriſtian Rebellion*, London, 1585, 8*vo*.

[*A*] *And derived his deſcent by his grandmother, or great-grandmother, from the Duke of Bavaria.*] Harman's father was Arnold Bilſon, ſon and heir of Arnold Bilſon, by his wife, the daughter of the Duke of Bavaria; but whether natural or legitimate is unknown (1).

[*B*] *In his younger years, he was a great lover of, and extremely ſtudious in, Poetry,* &c.] He compoſed ſeveral Poems, Orations, and other things, in Latin; which were in manuſcript in Mr. Wood's library (2), but have never been publiſhed.

[*C*] *The firſt preferment he had, was that of Maſter of Wincheſter-ſchool.*] While he was in that ſtation, Garnet, who was afterwards executed for being concerned in the Gunpowder-plot, reſolved, with ſome other of the ſcholars, to cut off their Maſter's right hand (Bilſon's), but their wicked deſign was happily diſcovered, and prevented in time (3).

[*D*] *He did a very important ſervice to Wincheſter-college, by preſerving the revenues of it, when they were in danger of being ſwallowed up by a notorious forgery.*] Of which take an account in his own words. '—There ' happened an injurie to be offered to the *Inheritance* ' *of the College* where I am, by *a falſe title derived from* ' *before the foundation of the Houſe*, and ſo ſtrengthened ' on every ſide with ancient Deeds and Evidences, ' that the forgerie was hard to be diſcerned, and ' harder to be convinced, but by infinite ſearching ' in the muniments of many Churches and Biſhoprics, ' as well as in our owne, and re-examining ſundrie ' large and laborious commiſſions which they had ' taken out before my time, to teſtifie the keeping, ' and juſtifie the delivering, of thoſe ſuſpected Deeds ' and Ligiers. To the detecting and impugning of ' this, no perſon was, or would be uſed, but my- ' ſelfe, the Cauſe was ſo huge, the comparing of the ' Circumſtances, and contrarieties both of Deeds and ' Witneſſes, ſo tedious: the Proofe ſo perplexed and ' intricate: and the danger ſo neerely touched the ' whole State of the Houſe: I was forced for two ' years to lay all Studies aſide, and addict myſelf ' wholly, firſt to the deprehending, and then to the ' purſuing of this falſehood (4).'

(1) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra.* Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, Lond. 1718, fol. p. 497.

(2) Wood, *Ibid.* col. 405.

(3) Church Hiſt. by T. Fuller, book x. p. 39.

(4) Epiſtle to the Reader, before *The True Difference between Chriſtian Subjection*, &c.

' and

‘and Unchriſtian Rebellion [*E*],’ and dedicated it to Queen Elizabeth. In 1593, came out his book entitled, ‘The perpetuall Government of Chriſtes Church: Wherein are handled, The fatherly Superioritie which God firſt eſtabliſhed in the Patriarkes for the guiding of his Church, and after continued in the tribe of LEVI and the Prophetes: and laſtlie confirmed in the New Teſtament to the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors: As alſo the points in queſtion at this day, touching the Jewiſh Synedrion: the true kingdome of Chriſt: the Apoſtles commiſſion: the Laie Preſbyterie: the Diſtinction of Biſhops from Preſbyters, and their ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles times and hands: the calling and moderating of Provinciall Synods by Primates and Metropolitanes: the allotting of Dioceſes, and the Popular electing of ſuch as muſt feede and watch the flock: And divers other points concerning the paſtoral regiment of the houſe of God [*F*].’ On the 20th of April, 1596, he was elected, confirmed June the 11th, and the 13th of the ſame month conſecrated, Biſhop of Worceſter [*G*]; and tranſlated in May following to the biſhopric of Wincheſter, and made a Privy-Counſellor (*k*). In 1599, he publiſhed ‘The Effect of certaine Sermons (*l*) touching the full redemption of Mankind by the Death and Bloud of Chriſt Jeſus; wherein beſides the Merite of Chriſts Suffering, the Manner of his Offering, the Power of his Death, the Comfort of his Croſſe, the Glorie of his Reſurrection, Are handled, What Paines Chriſt ſuffered in his Soule on the Croſſe: Together with the place and purpoſe of his deſcent to hel after death;’ &c. Lond. 4*to*. Theſe Sermons being preached at Paul's Croſs in Lent 1597, by the encouragement of Archbiſhop Whitgift (*m*), greatly alarmed moſt of the Puritans (*n*), becauſe they contradicted ſome of their tenets [*H*]. Upon this, uniting their forces, and making their obſervations, they ſent them to Henry Jacob, a learned Puritan (*o*), who publiſhed them with his Collections, and under his own name [*I*]. The Queen being at Farnham-caſtle (*p*), and, to uſe

(*k*) Godwin, de Præſulibus, Lond. 1616, 4*to*, p. 524, & 302. Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Lond. 1727, p. 648.

(*l*) On *Galatians* vi. 14.

(*m*) Life and Acts of Archbiſhop Whitgift, by J. Strype, Book iv. p. 502, edit. 1718.

(*n*) Wood, Ath. Vol. i. col. 404.

(*o*) Wood, Athen. *ubi ſupra*, col. 404. 464.

(*p*) Which belongs to the Biſhops of Wincheſter.

[*E*] *The true difference betweene Chriſtian Subjection and Unchriſtian Rebellion.*] The reſt of the title is as follows: ‘— Wherein the Princes lawful Power to command for truth, and indepriveable Right to beare the Sword, are defended againſt the Pope's Cenſures, and the Jeſuits Sophiſmes, uttered in their Apologie, and Defence of Engliſh Catholikes: With a Demonſtration, that the things Reformed in the Church of England, by the Lawes of this Realm, are truly Catholike, notwithſtanding the vaine ſhew made to the contrarie in their late Rhemiſh Teſtament.’ Oxford, 1585, 4to; London, 1586, 8vo. The book is divided into four parts, and written dialogue-wiſe. In the *firſt and ſecond part* Dr. Bilſon anſwers Dr. Allen's Apology and true ‘Declaration of the Inſtitution and Endeavours of the two Engliſh Colleges.’ [at Rome and Rhemes] Wherein Queen Elizabeth's Government was charged with Hereſy, Tyranny, and Blaſphemy. And it was aſſerted, that none of her Eccleſiaſtical Laws were orderly or duly made.—That her Sovereignty was a thing improbable, unreaſonable, unnatural, impoſſible; and the Oath of Allegiance to her intolerable, repugnant to God, the Church, her Majeſty's honour, and all men's conſciences. The *third part* contains an Anſwer to ‘A Defence of the Engliſh Catholics that ſuffer for their Faith.’ In this it was affirmed, that ſubjects bearing arms againſt their natural Princes, upon the Pope's warrant, do a holy, juſt, and honourable ſervice: In oppoſition to which, Dr. Bilſon ſhews, that Princes are placed by God, and ſo not to be diſplaced by man, and ſubjects threatened damnation by God's own mouth, if they reſiſt. The *fourth part* is an anſwer to the Rhemiſh Teſtament.——In this book are many paſſages in favour of *the Right of Subjects in ſome Caſes to reſiſt their Princes*; which have very much puzzled the patrons of Paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſtance (5). Nay one affirms, that Dr. Bilſon was employed by Queen Elizabeth to write it, when ſhe deſigned to take the Low-Countries into her protection; and that to juſtify the revolt of Holland, he gave ſtrange liberty in many caſes, eſpecially concerning religion, for ſubjects to caſt off their obedience (6).

[*F*] *The perpetual Government of Chriſt's Church.*] It was printed at London, 4to, in the old Engliſh letter. In this book the author ſhews, that the Church of God hath been always governed by an inequality and ſuperiority of paſtors and teachers among themſelves. It is one of the beſt books written in favour of Epiſcopacy.

[*G*] *On the 20th of April*, 1596, *he was elected, confirmed June the 11th, and the 13th of the ſame month conſecrated, Biſhop of Worceſter.*] His competitor to that See was the learned Dr. Thomas James, Keeper of the public library at Oxford, recommended by Archbiſhop Whitgift; but the Lord Treaſurer's intereſt prevailed in favour of Dr. Bilſon (7).

[*H*] *Theſe Sermons — greatly alarmed moſt of the Puritans, becauſe they contradicted ſome of their tenets.*] The Puritans notions reflected upon, and contradicted, in theſe Sermons, were, 1. That Chriſt ſuffered for us in his Soul the Wrath of God, and the Pains of Hell, and finiſhed all his Sufferings upon the Croſs before he died. 2. That Chriſt, after his death, went not into Hell in his Soul, to triumph there (as was imagined) over Satan, as he had done on the Croſs over Death and Sin; and that the word *Hades*, which was commonly rendered Hell, did not ſignify the place of the damned, but only the ſtate of the dead, or the inviſible world (8).——In oppoſition to that, Biſhop Bilſon maintained, 1. That it is no where recorded in the Holy Scriptures, nor juſtly to be concluded from thence, that Chriſt ſuffered the true pains of Hell. 2. That as the Scriptures deſcribe to us the paines of the damned, and of Hell, there are manie terrors and torments, which without evident impietie cannot be aſcribed to the Sonne of God. 3. That the death and bloud of Chriſt Jeſus were evidently, frequently, conſtantly ſet downe in the writings of the Apoſtles, as the ſufficient price of our Redemption, and true meane of our reconciliation to God, and ſealed with the Sacraments of the New Teſtament, as the verie ground-worke of our Salvation by Chriſt; and ſo have been received, and believed in the Church of God, 1400 years before ever any man made mention of hell-paines to be ſuffered in the Soule of Chriſt. Laſtly, Where the Scriptures are plain and pregnant, that Chriſt died for our ſinnes, and by his death deſtroyed him that had the power of death, even the divell, and reconciled us when we were ſtrangers and enemies *in the body of his fleſh* through death: beſides, that the Holie Ghoſt in theſe places by expreſſe words nameth the *bodily death* of Chriſt, as the meane of our Redemption and reconciliation to God; no conſiderate Divine might affirme or imagine Chriſt ſuffered the death of the Soule; for ſo much as the death of the Soule muſt exclude Chriſt from the Grace, Spirit, and Life of God, and leave in him neither faith, hope, nor love, ſanctitie, nor innocencie, which God forbid any Chriſtian ſhould ſo much as dreame (9).

[*I*] *Who publiſhed them with his collections, and under his own name.*] With this title, ‘A Treatiſe of the Sufferings and Victory of Chriſt in the work of our Redemption, &c. Written againſt certain Errors in theſe points publickly preached in London, 1597.’ Lond. 1598, 8vo.——In 1600 he publiſhed ‘A Defence of this Treatiſe, &c.’ Lond. 4to, to which Biſhop Bilſon's *Survey*, &c. above mentioned is an Anſwer (10).

(5) See Hiſt. of Paſſive Obedience, Amſt. 1689, p. 27. Mr. Collier ſays, that it gives a dangerous liberty to ſubjects in many caſes. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. ii. p. 709, edit. 1714, fol.

(6) Creſſy's Exomologeſis, ch. xii.

(7) See Life and Acts of Archbiſhop Whitgift, by J. Strype, p. 495, 496, edit. 1718, fol.

(8) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans. Lond. 1732, 8*vo*, Vol. i. p. 584.

(9) Preface to thoſe Sermons, p. 2.

(10) Wood, Ath. Vol. i. col. 465.

the Biſhop's words, ‘ taking knowledge of the things queſtioned between him and his ‘ opponents, directly commanded him neither to deſert the doctrine, nor to let the calling which he bore in the Church of God, to be trampled under foot by ſuch unquiet ‘ Refuſers of trueth and authoritie (*q*).’ Upon this royal command, he wrote that moſt learned treatiſe, chiefly delivered in Sermons, which was publiſhed in 1604, under the title of ‘ The Survey of Chriſt's Sufferings for Man's Redemption: And of his ‘ Deſcent to Hades or Hel for our Deliverance.’ Lond. fol. [*K*]. It was this learned perſon alſo, that preached the Sermon at Weſtminſter before King James I. and his Queen, at their Coronation on St. James's day, 28 July, 1603, from *Rom.* xiii. 1. which was publiſhed at London, 1603, 8*vo* (*r*). In January 1603-4, he was one of the Speakers and Managers at the Hampton-Court Conference, in which he ſpoke much, and, according to Mr. Fuller (*s*), moſt learnedly. And, in general, he was one of the chief maintainers and ſupports of the Church of England; as were alſo Dr. Richard Field of Oxford, and Dr. William Whitaker and Mr. Fulke of Cambridge; while John Rainolds and Tho. Sparke were promoters of Nonconformity (*t*). The care of reviſing, and putting the laſt hand to, the new Tranſlation of the Engliſh Bible in King James Iſt's reign, was committed to our author, and to Dr. Miles Smith, afterwards Biſhop of Glouceſter (*u*). His laſt public act, recorded in Hiſtory, was the being one of the Delegates (*w*) that pronounced and ſigned the ſentence of divorce between Robert Devereux, Earl of Eſſex, and the Lady Frances Howard, in the year 1613 [*L*]: And his ſon being knighted ſoon after upon this very account, as was imagined, the world was ſo malicious as to give him the title of Sir Nullity Bilſon (*x*). This learned Biſhop, after having gone through many employments, and lived in continual drudgery for the public good, departed this life on the 18th of June, 1616 (*y*), and was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey, near the entrance into St. Edmund's chapel, on the ſouth ſide of the monument of King Richard II. (*z*). His character is repreſented to the utmoſt advantage by ſeveral perſons. Sir Anth. Weldon calls him ‘ an excellent Civilian, ‘ and a very great Scholler (*a*):’ Mr. Th. Fuller, ‘ a deep and profound Scholar, excellently well read in the Fathers (*b*):’ Biſhop Godwin, ‘ a very grave man; and ‘ how great a Divine (adds he), if any one knows not, let him conſult his learned ‘ writings (*c*):’ Sir John Harrington, ‘ I find but foure lines [in Biſhop Godwin's ‘ book] concerning him; and if I ſhould give him his due, in proportion to the reſt, I ‘ ſhould ſpend foure leaves. Not that I need make him better known, being one of ‘ the moſt eminent of his ranck, and a man that carried prelature in his very aſpect. ‘ His riſing was meerly by his learning, as true Prelates ſhould riſe. *Sint non modo labe ‘ mali ſed ſuſpicione carentes*, not onely free from the ſpot, but from the ſpeech of corruption (*d*).’ He wrote in a more elegant ſtyle, and in fuller and better-turned periods, than was uſual in the times wherein he lived.

[*K*] *The Survey of Chriſt's Sufferings for Man's redemption; and of his deſcent to Hades or Hel for our deliverance.*] This book, as was obſerved in the laſt note, contains an Anſwer to Henry Jacob's ‘ Defence ‘ of a Treatiſe touching the Sufferings and Victory of ‘ Chriſt in the work of our Redemption (11);’ and is a full and learned vindication of the Sermons, and the Doctrine, mentioned above in the note [*H*]. The author gives us (12) the ſubſtance of this Survey in the following words: ‘ The maine ground of the ‘ Goſpel was this, that Chriſt died for our Sinnes ‘ according to the Scriptures, and was buried, and ‘ roſe the third day. Since then we are reconciled to ‘ God by the death of his Sonne, we muſt acknowledge no other death of Chriſt, than that which he ‘ ſuffered in the bodie of his fleſh, which death the Scriptures moſt apparently deſcribe to be the death ‘ of Chriſt's body. — The Scriptures do no where ‘ teach, nor mention the death of Chriſt's ſoul, or ‘ the death of the damned, which is the ſecond death, ‘ to be needful for our Redemption.—The true ‘ and full Satisfaction for our ſins muſt not be derived ‘ from the ſingularity and infinity of Chriſt's pains, ‘ longer and greater than which the divels and damned do every one ſuffer; but from the dignity of the ‘ perſon, who being the only and eternal Son of God ‘ that made us, humbled himſelf in our ſtead, and in ‘ our nature, to reſtore us, and offered recompenſe ‘ for our ſins, which was his ſubmiſſion and obedience unto the death of the Croſs, more pleaſing ‘ to God than our condemnation to hell could have ‘ been.’ In the ſecond part, treating of Chriſt's deſcent into hell, he ſhews that Chriſt's ſoul did not, at his death, aſcend to heaven, and there remained till his reſurrection, but actually went into hell, to ‘ deſtroy the divel's kingdom, triumph over powers ‘ and principalities, ſpoil them by delivering all his ‘ elect, dead, living, and yet unborn, from the ‘ right, power, and fear of eternal death; taking ‘ into his hands the keys of death and hell, that he ‘ might be Lord of all, in Heaven, Earth, and Hell.’ In the ſame part he endeavours to prove, that *Sheol*, or Hades, when diſtinguiſhed from the death of the body, or referred to the ſoul after death, apparently ſignifieth Hell.

[*L*] *He was one of the Delegates that pronounced and ſigned the ſentence of divorce between the Earl of Eſſex and the Lady Frances Howard.*] That affair is ſo well known, and related by ſo many of our Hiſtorians, that it need not be enlarged upon here. However, beſides the authors cited above in the margin, ſee a book intitled, *Truth brought to light by Time* (13). Two ſeveral commiſſions were iſſued out upon this occaſion, which is not commonly taken notice of. In the firſt Biſhop Bilſon was not put in, but he was in the ſecond (14). M.

⁂ [The notion of Biſhop Bilſon, that our Saviour actually deſcended into hell, the place where the finally impenitent are puniſhed, though at that time deemed orthodox, is now rejected by the Church of England. It is remarkable, that the firſt of our countrymen who gave a rational explication of this matter, was the famous Hugh Broughton, otherwiſe ſo fanciful in his opinions. Broughton explained the deſcent of Chriſt into hell by the word *Hades*, and ſhewed that this did not mean the place of the damned, but the ſtate of the dead, or the inviſible world, in which ſenſe it was uſed by the Greek Fathers. Bilſon was unfortunate in being the principal defender of an hypotheſis which hath ſince been exploded by the beſt expoſitors of the Thirty-nine Articles, and by every rational Divine.

It is related of our Prelate, that once, when he was preaching a ſermon at St. Paul's Croſs, a ſudden panic, occaſioned by the folly or caprice of one of the audience, ſeized the multitude there aſſembled, who thought that the church was falling on their heads. The good Biſhop, who ſympathized with the people, more from pity than from fear, after a ſufficient pauſe, reaſſumed and went through his ſermon with great compoſure (15).] K.

(*q*) Preface to the King's Majeſtie, before *The Survey of Chriſt's Sufferings for Man's Redemption*, &c. p. 7.

(*r*) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra*, col. 404.

(*s*) Church Hiſt. Book x. p. 71.

(*t*) Wood, Ath. col. 403.

(*u*) Fuller's Worthies, in Hantſhire, p. 7.

(*w*) A. Wilſon's Life and Reign of King James I. p. 69?, in Compleat Hiſt. edit. 1706, Frankland's Annals, p. 1, *&c.* *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, &c. Lond. 1650, 12*mo*, p. 113, *&c.*

(*x*) The Court and Character of King James, by Sir Anth. Weldon, Lond. 1650, 12*mo*, p. 177; and Rapin's Hiſt. of England, fol. Vol. ii. p. 184.

(*y*) Mr. Fuller, by Miſtake, ſays it was in 1618. *Worthies*, ubi ſupra.

(*z*) Wood. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 172; and Athen. Vol. i. col. 405.

(*a*) Court and Character of King James, *ubi ſupra*, p. 77.

(*b*) Church Hiſt. Book x. p. 71.

(*c*) De Præſulibus, *as above*, p. 302.

(*d*) Briefe View, *&c.* as above, being a Character and Hiſtory of ſome of the Biſhops, p. 71.

(11) Wood, *ibid.*

(12) Reſolutions of the Survey, in the beginning of it.

(13) Lond. 1651, 4*to*, p. 79.

(14) See *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, ubi ſupra.

(15) Granger's Biogr. Hiſt. Vol. i. p. 373, 374.

BINGHAM (Joseph), the learned author of *Origines Eccleſiaſticæ*, or, The Antiquities of the Chriſtian Church, was born at Wakefield in Yorkſhire in September 1668; and learned the firſt rudiments of Grammar at a ſchool in the ſame town, under Mr. Edward Clarke. In 1683, at the age of fifteen, he was admitted into Univerſity-college in Oxford, where he behaved in a very ſober and ſtudious manner. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1687, and ſoon after was choſen Fellow of the college juſt now mentioned. He proceeded to his Maſter's degree in the year 1690 (*a*). Not long after [*A*], he was preſented by the moſt famous John Radcliffe, M. D. to the rectory of Headbourn-worthy, a living of an hundred pounds a-year, near Wincheſter in Hampſhire, without any importunity or ſeeking of his own (*b*). In that country-retirement, with all the diſadvantages he lay under for want of many uſeful and neceſſary books [*B*], he undertook a very learned and laborious work, of which he publiſhed the firſt Volume in 1708, under this title, '*Origines Eccleſiaſticæ*; or, The Antiquities of 'the Chriſtian Church [*C*]:' And which he completed afterwards in nine volumes more,

(*a*) For theſe particulars we are obliged to his ſon, the Rev. R. Bingham, Rector of Havant.

(*b*) From the ſame information. See alſo Preface to Vol. i. of our Author's *Origines Eccleſiaſticæ.*

[*A*] *Not long after*, &c.] This I infer from a paſſage in the Preface to the firſt volume of his *Origines Eccleſiaſticæ*, where he ſays, that 'Providence 'removed him *early* from the Univerſity ——.'

[*B*] *With all the diſadvantages he lay under for want of many uſeful and neceſſary books.*] Of this he complains in the following words (1): 'I confeſs, 'indeed, this work will ſuffer ſomething in my hands 'for want of ſeveral books, which I have no oppor'tunity to ſee, nor ability to purchaſe; but that per'haps may tempt ſome others, who are at the foun'tains of learning, and have all manner of books at 'command, to add to my labours, and improve this 'Eſſay to a much greater perfection.—The chief aſ'ſiſtance I have hitherto had, is from the noble be'nefaction of ——, the renowned Biſhop Mor'ley; who, among many other eminent works of 'charity and generoſity,—has bequeathed a very va'luable collection of books to the church of Win'cheſter, for the advancement of learning among the 'parochial Clergy: and I reckon it none of the leaſt 'part of my happineſs, that Providence removing 'me early from the Univerſity (where the beſt ſup'plies of learning are to be had) placed me by the 'hands of a generous benefactor (2), without any 'importunity or ſeeking of my own, in ſuch a ſta'tion, as gives me liberty and opportunity to make 'uſe of ſo good a library, though not ſo perfect as I 'could wiſh.'—He complains likewiſe elſewhere (3) 'of his own difficult circumſtances, under which he 'was forced to labour for want of proper aſſiſtance 'of abundance of books.'—And yet, what vaſt numbers he uſed and conſulted, ſee in the *Index Auctorum* at the end of the work.

[*C*] *Origines Eccleſiaſticæ; or, The Antiquities of the Chriſtian Church*, &c.] The Contents of the ſeveral books and chapters of this curious work are as follow. Book I. Of the ſeveral names and orders of men in the Chriſtian Church. Ch. 1. Of thoſe titles and appellations which Chriſtians owned and diſtinguiſhed themſelves by. Ch. 2. Of the names of reproach which Jews, Infidels, and Heretics, caſt upon the Chriſtians. Ch. 3. Of the ſeveral orders of men in the Chriſtian Church. Ch. 4. A more particular account of the Believers, and their ſeveral titles of honour and privileges above the Catechumens. Ch. 5. Of the diſtinction of Believers from the Rulers; where, of the diſtinction obſerved in the names and offices of Laity and Clergy, and of the antiquity of theſe diſtinctions. Book II. Of the ſeveral ſuperior orders of the Clergy in the primitive Church. Ch. 1. Of the original of Biſhops, and that they were a diſtinct order from Preſbyters in the primitive Church. Ch. 2. Of the ſeveral titles of honours given to Biſhops in the primitive Church. Ch. 3. Of the offices of Biſhops, as diſtinct from Preſbyters. Ch. 4. Of the power of Biſhops over the Laity, Monks, ſubordinate Magiſtrates, and all perſons within their dioceſe; and of their office in diſpoſing of the revenues of the Church. Ch. 5. Of the office of Biſhops, in relation to the whole Catholic Church. Ch. 6. Of the independency of Biſhops, eſpecially in the Cyprianic and in the African Churches. Ch. 7. Of the power of Biſhops in hearing and determining ſecular cauſes. Ch. 8. Of the privilege of Biſhops to intercede for criminals. Ch. 9. Of ſome particular honours, and inſtances of reſpect, ſhewed to Biſhops by all perſons in general. Ch. 10. Of the age, and ſome other particular qualifications required in ſuch as were to be ordained Biſhops. Ch. 11. Of ſome particular laws and cuſtoms obſerved about the ordination of Biſhops. Ch. 12. Of the rule which prohibits Biſhops to be ordained in ſmall cities. Ch. 13. Of the rule which forbids two Biſhops to be ordained in one city. Ch. 14. Of the *Chorepiſcopi*, Περιοδευταὶ, and Suffragan Biſhops; and how theſe differed from one another. Ch. 15. Of the *Interceſſores* and *Interventores* in the African Churches. Ch. 16. Of Primates or Metropolitans. Ch. 17. Of Patriarchs. Ch. 18. Of the Αυτοκέφαλοι, or Independent Biſhops. Ch. 19. Of Preſbyters. Ch. 20. Of Deacons. Ch. 21. Of Archdeacons. Ch. 22. Of Deaconeſſes. Book III. Of the inferior orders of the Clergy in the primitive Church. Ch. 1. Of the firſt original of the inferior orders, and the number and uſe of them; and how they differed from the ſuperior orders of Biſhops, Preſbyters, and Deacons. Ch. 2. Of Subdeacons. Ch. 3. Of Acolythiſts. Ch. 4. Of Exorciſts. Ch. 5. Of *Lectors*, or Readers. Ch. 6. Of the *Oſtiarii*, or Door-keepers. Ch. 7. Of the *Pſalmiſtæ*, or Singers. Ch. 8. Of the *Copiatæ*, or *Foſſarii*. Ch. 9. Of the *Parabolani*. Ch. 10. Of the Catechiſts. Ch. 11. Of the *Defenſores*, or Syndics of the Church. Ch. 12. Of the *Oeconomi*, or Stewards and Guardians of the Church. Ch. 13. A brief account of ſome other inferior officers in the Church. Book IV. Of the elections and ordinations of the Clergy, and the particular qualifications of ſuch as were to be ordained. Ch. 1. Of the ſeveral ways of deſigning perſons to the Miniſtry, in the Apoſtolical and primitive ages of the Church. Ch. 2. A more particular account of the ancient manner and method of elections of the Clergy. Ch. 3. Of the examination and qualifications of perſons to be ordained in the primitive Church; and firſt of their Faith and Morals. Ch. 4. Of the qualifications of perſons to be ordained, reſpecting their outward ſtate and condition in the world. Ch. 5. Of the ſtate of Digamy and Celibacy in particular; and of the laws of the Church about theſe in reference to the ancient Clergy. Ch. 6. Of the ordinations of the primitive Clergy, and the laws and cuſtoms generally obſerved therein. Ch. 7. The caſe of forced ordinations and re-ordinations conſidered. Book V. Of the privileges, immunities, and revenues of the Clergy in the primitive Church. Ch. 1. Some inſtances of reſpect which the Clergy paid mutually to one another. Ch. 2. Inſtances of reſpect ſhewed to the Clergy by the Civil Government; where particularly of their exemption from the cognizance of the ſecular Courts in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes. Ch. 3. Of the immunities of the Clergy in reference to Taxes and Civil Offices, and other burthenſome employments in the Roman Empire. Ch. 4. Of the revenues of the ancient Clergy. Ch. 5. Of Tithes and Firſt-fruits in particular. Ch. 6. Of the management and diſtribution of the Revenues of the ancient Clergy. Book VI. An account of ſeveral Laws and Rules relating to the employment, life and converſation of the primitive Clergy. Ch. 1. Of the excellency of theſe rules in general, and the exemplarineſs of the Clergy in conforming to them. Ch. 2. Of Laws relating to the life and converſation of the primitive Clergy. Ch. 3. Of Laws more particularly relating to the exerciſe of the duties and offices of their function. Ch. 4. An account of ſome other Laws and Rules, which were a ſort of out-guards and fences to the former. Ch. 5. Some reflections on the foregoing Diſcourſe, concluding with an Addreſs to the

(1) Preface to Vol. i.

(2) Dr. Radcliffe.

(3) Dedication to Vol. i.

more, 8*vo*, containing in the whole XXIII books. He diſcovers in that work a prodigious fund of reading, eſpecially in the Fathers; as likewiſe a great deal of judgment,

the Clergy of the preſent Church. Book VII. Of the Aſcetics in the primitive Church. Ch. 1. Of the difference between the firſt Aſcetics and Monks; and of the firſt original of the Monaſtic Life. Ch. 2. Of the ſeveral ſorts of Monks, and their different ways of living in the Church. Ch. 3. An account of ſuch ancient Laws and Rules as relate to the Monaſtic Life, and chiefly that of the Cenobites. Ch. 4. The caſe and ſtate of Virgins and Widows in the ancient Church. Book VIII. An account of the ancient Churches, their original, names, parts, utenſils, conſecrations, immunities, &c. Ch. 1. Of the ſeveral names and firſt original of Churches among Chriſtians. Ch. 2. Of the difference between Churches in the firſt ages, and thoſe that followed; and of Heathen Temples and Jewiſh Synagogues turned into Chriſtian Churches. Ch. 3. Of the different forms and parts of the ancient Churches; and firſt of the exterior *Narthex*, or outward Ante-Temple. Ch. 4. Of the interior *Narthex*, and the parts and uſes of it. Ch. 5. Of the *Naos*, or Nave and body of the Church, and its parts and uſes. Ch. 6. Of the *Bema*, or third part of the Temple, called the Altar-part, or Sanctuary, and the parts and uſes of it. Ch. 7. Of the Baptiſteries, and other outer buildings, called the *Exedræ* of the Church. Ch. 8. Of the *Donaria* and *Anathemata*, and other ornaments of the ancient Churches. Ch. 9. Of the conſecration of Churches. Ch. 10. Of the reſpect and reverence which the primitive Chriſtians paid to their Churches. Ch. 11. Of the firſt original of *Aſylums*, or places of ſanctuary and refuge, with the Laws relating to them in Chriſtian Churches. Book IX. A Geographical Deſcription of the Diſtricts of the ancient Church, or an account of its diviſion into Provinces, Dioceſes, and Pariſhes; and of the firſt Original of theſe: With ſeveral Maps. Ch. 1. Of the ſtate and diviſion of the Roman Empire, and of the Church's conformity to that in modelling her own external polity and government. Ch. 2. A more particular account of the nature and extent of Dioceſes, or Epiſcopal Churches, in Africa, Egypt, Arabia, Paleſtine, Syria, Phœnicia, and other Eaſtern Provinces. Ch. 3. A continuation of this account of Dioceſes in the Provinces of Aſia Minor. Ch. 4. A continuation of the former account in the European Provinces of Thracia, Macedonia, Greece, Illyricum, &c. Ch. 5. A particular account of the ſeventeen Provinces of the Roman and Italic Dioceſes, and of the Epiſcopal Dioceſes contained in them. Ch. 6. Of the Dioceſes in France, Spain, and the Britiſh Iſles. Ch. 7. The *Notitia*, or Geographical Deſcription of the Biſhoprics of the ancient Church, as firſt made by the order of Leo Sapiens in the IXth century, compared with ſome others. Ch. 8. Of the diviſion of the Dioceſes into Pariſhes, and the firſt original of them. The Concluſion, wherein is propoſed an eaſy and honourable method for eſtabliſhing a primitive Dioceſan Epiſcopacy (conformable to the model of the ſmaller ſort of ancient Dioceſes) in all the Proteſtant Churches. With an Appendix, containing a Catalogue of the ancient Dioceſes in the ſix African Provinces. Book X. Of the inſtitution of the Catechumens, and the firſt uſe of the Creeds in the Church. Ch. 1. Of the ſeveral names of the Catechumens, and the ſolemnity that was uſed in admitting them to that ſtate in the Church; alſo of Catechiſing, and the time of their continuance in that exerciſe. Ch. 2. Of the ſeveral claſſes or degrees of Catechumens, and the gradual exerciſes and diſcipline of every order. Ch. 3. Of the original, nature, and names of the ancient Creeds of the Church. Ch. 4. A collection of ſeveral ancient forms of the Creed out of the primitive records of the Church. Ch. 5. Of the original, nature, and reaſons of that ancient diſcipline of concealing the ſacred myſteries of the Church from the ſight and knowledge of the Catechumens. Book XI. Of the Rites and Cuſtoms obſerved in the adminiſtration of Baptiſm in the primitive Church. Ch. 1. Of the ſeveral names and appellations of Baptiſm in the primitive Church. Ch. 2. Of the matter of Baptiſm; with an account of ſuch Heretics as rejected or corrupted Baptiſm by water. Ch. 3. Of the ancient form of Baptiſm; and of ſuch Heretics as altered or corrupted it. Ch. 4. Of the ſubject of Baptiſm, or an account of what perſons were anciently allowed to be baptized. Where particularly of Infant-baptiſm. Ch. 5. Of the Baptiſm of adult perſons. Ch. 6. Of the time and place of Baptiſm. Ch. 7. Of the renunciations and profeſſions made by all perſons immediately before their Baptiſm. Ch. 8. Of the uſe of Sponſors or Sureties in Baptiſm. Ch. 9. Of the Unction and the Sign of the Croſs in Baptiſm. Ch. 10. Of the conſecration of the water in Baptiſm. Ch. 11. Of the different ways of baptiſing by immerſion, trine immerſion, and aſperſion in the caſe of Clinic Baptiſm. Book XII. Of Confirmation, and other ceremonies following Baptiſm, before men were made partakers of the Euchariſt. Ch. 1. Of the time when, and the perſons to whom Confirmation was adminiſtered. Ch. 2. Of the Miniſter of Confirmation. Ch. 3. Of the manner of adminiſtering Confirmation, and the ceremonies uſed in the celebration of it. Ch. 4. Of the remaining ceremonies of Baptiſm following Confirmation. Ch. 5. Of the Laws againſt re-baptization both in Church and State. Book XIII. General obſervations relating to Divine Worſhip in the ancient Church. Ch. 1. Some neceſſary remarks upon the ancient names of Divine Service, which modern corruptions have rendered ambiguous. Ch. 2. That the devotions of the ancient Church were paid to every perſon of the Bleſſed Trinity. Ch. 3. That in the ancient Church religious worſhip was given to no Creature, Saint, or Angel, Croſs, Image, or Relic, but to God alone. Ch. 4. That anciently Divine Service was always performed in the Vulgar Tongue, underſtood by the people. Ch. 5. Of the original and uſe of Liturgies, in ſtated and ſet Forms of Prayer in the primitive Church. Ch. 6. An extract of the ſeveral parts of the ancient Liturgy out of the genuine writings of St. Chryſoſtom, following the order of his works. Ch. 7. Of the uſe of the Lord's Prayer in the Liturgy of the ancient Church. Ch. 8. Of the uſe of habits and geſture, and other rites and ceremonies in the ancient Church. Ch. 9. Of the times of their religious Aſſemblies, and the ſeveral parts of Divine Service performed in them. Ch. 10. The Order of their daily Morning Service. Ch. 11. The Order of their daily Evening Service. Book XIV. Of that part of Divine Service which the Ancients comprized under the general name of *Miſſa Catechumenorum*, the Service of the Catechumens, or Ante-Communion Service on the Lord's Day. Ch. 1. Of the Pſalmody of the ancient Church. Ch. 2. A particular account of ſome of the moſt noted Hymns uſed in the Service of the ancient Church. Ch. 3. Of the manner of reading the Scriptures in the public Service of the Church. Ch. 4. Of Preaching, and the uſages relating to it in the ancient Church. Ch. 5. Of the Prayers for the Catechumens, Energumens, Competentes, or Candidates of Baptiſm, and the Penitents. Book XV. Of the *Miſſa Fidelium*, or Communion-Service. Ch. 1. Of the Prayers preceding the Oblation. Ch. 2. Of the Oblations of the people, and other things introductory to the conſecration of the Euchariſt. Ch. 3. Of the Oblation or Conſecration Prayers, and the ſeveral parts of them. Ch. 4. Of Communicants, or perſons who were allowed to receive this Sacrament, and the manner of receiving it. Ch. 5. A reſolution of ſeveral queſtions relating further to the manner of communicating in the ancient Church. Ch. 6. Of their Poſt-Communion-Service. Ch. 7. How the remains of the Euchariſt were diſpoſed of; and of the common entertainment called *Agape*, or Feaſt of Charity. Ch. 8. Of the preparation which the Ancients required, as neceſſary in Communicants, to qualify them for a worthy reception. Ch. 9. Of frequent Communion, and the times of celebrating it in the ancient Church. Book XVI. Of the unity and diſcipline of the ancient Church. Ch. 1. Of the union and communion obſerved among Catholics in the ancient Church. Ch. 2. Of the diſcipline of the Church, and the various kinds of it; together with the various methods obſerved in the adminiſtration of it. Ch. 3. Of the objects of Eccleſiaſtical cenſures, or the perſons on whom they might be inflicted; with a general account of the crimes for which they might be inflicted. Ch. 4. A particular ment, ſincerity, and candour: And gives, at the ſame time, a ſpecimen of what induſtry and a diligent application are capable of doing (*c*). But, beſides this difficult and voluminous undertaking, he publiſhed other books: ‘ Namely, the French Church's Apology for the Church of England: Or, the Objections of Diſſenters againſt the Articles, ‘ Homilies, Liturgy, and Canons of the Engliſh Church, conſidered, and anſwered upon ‘ the Principles of the Reformed Church of France. A work chiefly extracted out of ‘ the authentic Acts and Decrees of the French National Synods, and the moſt approved writers of that Church [*D*],’ Lond. 1706, 8*vo*. And, ‘ A Scholaſtical Hiſtory

(*c*) See Preface to vol. x.

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account of thoſe called *Great Crimes*. Of tranſgreſſions of the firſt and ſecond commandments. Of the principal of theſe, *viz.* Idolatry. Of the ſeveral ſpecies of Idolatry, and degrees of puniſhment allotted to them according to the proportion and quality of the offences. Ch. 5. Of the practice of curious and forbidden arts, Divination, Magic, and Inchantment; and of the Laws of the Church made for the puniſhment of them. Ch. 6. Of apoſtacy to Judaiſm and Paganiſm; of Hereſy and Schiſm; and of Sacrilege and Simony. Ch. 7. Of Sins againſt the third commandment, Blaſphemy, profane Swearing, Perjury, and breach of Vows. Ch. 8. Of Sins againſt the fourth commandment, or violations of the Laws enjoining the religious obſervation of the Lord's Day. Ch. 9. Of great tranſgreſſions againſt the fifth commandment, *viz.* diſobedience to Parents and Maſters; treaſon and rebellion againſt Princes; and contempt of the Laws of the Church. Ch. 10. Of great tranſgreſſions againſt the ſixth commandment; of murder and manſlaughter, parricide, ſelf-murder, diſmembering the body, expoſing of infants, cauſing abortion, *&c.* Ch. 11. Of great tranſgreſſions againſt the ſeventh commandment, fornication, adultery, inceſt, polygamy, *&c.* Ch. 12. Of great tranſgreſſions of the eighth commandment, theft, oppreſſion, fraud, *&c.* Ch. 13. Of great tranſgreſſions againſt the ninth commandment, falſe accuſation, libelling, informing, calumny and ſlander, railing and reviling. Ch. 14. Of great tranſgreſſions againſt the tenth commandment, envy, covetouſneſs, *&c.* Book XVII. Of the Exerciſe of Diſcipline upon the Clergy in the ancient Church. Ch. 1. Of the difference of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures inflicted on Clergymen and Laymen. Ch. 2. Of reducing the Clergy to the ſtate and communion of Laymen, as a puniſhment for great offences. Ch. 3. Of the puniſhment, called *Peregrina Communio*, or reducing Clergymen to the communion of Strangers. Ch. 4. Of ſome other ſpecial and peculiar ways of inflicting puniſhment on the Clergy. Ch. 5. A particular account of the crimes for which Clergymen were liable to be puniſhed with any of the fore-mentioned kinds of Cenſure. Book XVIII. Of the ſeveral Orders of Penitents, and the method of performing public Penance in the Church, by going through the ſeveral ſtages of Repentance. Ch. 1. A particular account of the ſeveral Orders of Penitents in the Church. Ch. 2. Of the Ceremonies uſed in admitting Penitents to do public Penance, and the manner of performing public Penance in the Church. Ch. 3. A particular account of the *Exomologeſis*, or penitential Confeſſion of the ancient Church; ſhewing it to be a different thing from the private or auricular Confeſſion introduced by the Church of Rome. Ch. 4. Of the great rigour, ſtrictneſs, and ſeverity of the Diſcipline and Penance of the ancient Church. Book XIX. Of Abſolution, or the manner of re-admitting Penitents into the Communion of the Church again. Ch. 1. Of the nature of Abſolution, and the ſeveral ſorts of it; more particularly of ſuch as relate to the penitential Diſcipline of the Church. Ch. 2. Of the circumſtances, rites, and cuſtoms anciently obſerved in the public Abſolution of Sinners. Ch. 3. Of the Miniſter of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and particularly of the Miniſter of Abſolution. Two Sermons, and two Letters to the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter, concerning the Nature and Neceſſity of the ſeveral ſorts of Abſolution; ſhewing how far that Neceſſity extends, and where it ceaſes. Book XX. Of the Feſtivals obſerved in the primitive Church. Ch. 1. Of the diſtinction to be made between Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Feſtivals. Ch. 2. Of the original and obſervation of the Lord's Day among Chriſtians. Ch. 3. Of the obſervation of the Sabbath, or Saturday, as a weekly Feſtival. Ch. 4. Of the Feſtival of Chriſt's Nativity and Epiphany. Ch. 5. Of Eaſter, or the Paſchal Feſtival. Ch. 6. Of Pentecoſt, or Whitſontide. Ch. 7. Of the Feſtivals of the Apoſtles and Martyrs. Ch. 8. Of ſome other Feſtivals of a later date and leſſer obſervation. Book XXI. Of the Faſts in uſe in the ancient Church. Ch. 1. Of the Quadrageſimal, or Lent Faſt. Ch. 2. Of the Faſts of the Four Seaſons; of monthly Faſts, and the original of Ember-Weeks and Rogation-Days. Ch. 3. Of the weekly Faſts of Wedneſdays and Fridays, or the Stationary days of the ancient Church. Book XXII. Of the Marriage-Rites obſerved in the ancient Church. Ch. 1. A ſhort account of the Heretics who condemned or vilified Marriage anciently, under pretence of greater purity and perfection; and of ſuch alſo as gave licence to community of Wives, and Fornication. Ch. 2. Of the juſt impediments of Marriage in particular caſes, ſhewing what perſons might, or might not, be lawfully joined together; and of the times and ſeaſons when the celebration of Marriage was forbidden. Ch. 3. Of the manner of making eſpouſals preceding Marriage in the ancient Church. Ch. 4. Of the manner of celebrating Marriage in the ancient Church. Ch. 5. Of Divorces, how far they were allowed or diſallowed by the ancient Chriſtians. Book XXIII. Of Funeral Rites, or the Cuſtom and Manner of burying the Dead, obſerved in the ancient Church. Ch. 1. Of Cemeteries or Burying-places; with an inquiry, how and when the cuſtom of burying in Churches firſt came in. Ch. 2. Some farther obſervations concerning the place, and manner, and time of burying. Ch. 3. How they prepared the Body for the Funeral, and with what religious ceremonies and ſolemnities they interred it. Ch. 4. An account of the Laws made to ſecure the Bodies and Graves of the dead, from the violence of robbers and ſacrilegious invaders and buyers and ſellers of relics, and their worſhippers.

[*D*] *The* French *Church's Apology for the Church of* England.] He informs us in the Preface, that what firſt put him upon compiling this work, and furniſhed him with the principal part of the materials for it, was the peruſal of a book, intitled, ‘ *Synodicon in Gallia* ‘ *Reformata*; or, The Acts, Decrees, and Canons of ‘ the National Councils of the Reformed Churches ‘ in France.’ Publiſhed in two volumes, fol. Lond. 1692, by Mr. John Quick, Miniſter of the Goſpel; (that is, a Diſſenting Miniſter among the Preſbyterians). The whole collected out of the original manuſcript Acts of thoſe Synods; being a work never before extant in any language; wherein are contained many excellent expedients for preventing and healing of ſchiſms in the Churches, and for re-uniting the diſmembered body of divided Proteſtants. Our author conſidered, therefore, that if theſe Synods afforded any ſuch expedients, they were likely to weigh as much with Diſſenters, eſpecially thoſe of the Preſbyterian party, as any other arguments: Conſidering, 1. That they themſelves have commonly made their appeals to the Foreign Churches againſt the Church of England; blaming her eſtabliſhment and methods, and meaſures of Reformation; and requiring her to be reformed in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government, according to the example of the beſt Reformed Churches; which are the very words of the Solemn League and Covenant. 2. That in all probability they will freely own the French Church to be one of the beſt Reformed Churches, and let her authority be of ſome conſideration with them. 3. That the Tranſlator and Publiſher of theſe Synods, being (one of themſelves) a profeſſed Diſſenting Miniſter, cannot by them be ſuſpected to have tranſlated any thing partially in favour of the Church of England. Mr. Bingham endeavours, therefore, to make appear to them out of theſe very Synods (which are the moſt public and authentic rule of the French Church), in Book I. That the methods and meaſures tory of the Practice of the Church, in reference to the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm by Laymen. Wherein an account is given of the practice of the Primitive Church, the Practice of the Modern Greek Church, and the Practice of the Churches of the Reformation. With an Appendix, containing ſome Remarks on the Hiſtorical Part of Mr. Lawrence's Writings touching the Invalidity of Lay-Baptiſm, his Preliminary Diſcourſe of the various Opinions of the Fathers concerning the Rebaptization, and invalid Baptiſms, and his Diſcourſe of Sacerdotal Powers.' Part I. Lond. 1712, 8*vo.* ‘A Scholaſtical Hiſtory of Lay-Baptiſm. Part II. With ſome Conſiderations on Dr. Brett's and Mr. L———'s *(d)* Anſwers to the firſt Part.' Lond. 8*vo.* [*E*]. To which is prefixed, ‘The State of the preſent Controverſy.' And, at the end there is ‘An Appendix, containing ſome Remarks on the Author of the Second Part of Lay-Baptiſm invalid.' He publiſhed likewiſe, ‘A Diſcourſe concerning the Mercy of God to Penitent Sinners: Intended for the Uſe of Perſons troubled in Mind.' Being a Sermon on *Pſalm* ciii. 13. Printed ſingly at firſt: and reprinted among the reſt of his Works, in two Volumes, fol. Lond. 1725. Notwithſtanding his great learning, merit, and other excellent qualifications, he continued only rector of Headbourne-worthy, till the year 1712, when he was collated to the rectory of Havant near Portſmouth, by Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Biſhop of Wincheſter, to whom he dedicated ſeveral of his books. This learned and induſtrious perſon died Aug. 17, 1723, in the 55th year of his age; and was buried in the church-yard of Headbourn-worthy. He expreſſed, in his Will, a diſlike to any ſuch thing as a monument over his grave; which is the reaſon why none is yet erected to his memory. But there was one intended, with an inſcription, which we ſhall give in the note [*F*]. As to his character; Though he had not the ſtrongeſt conſtitution *(e)*, he was a perſon of very great induſtry, and indefatigable application, as his works abundantly teſtify. He was at the ſame time a great lover of truth *(f)*; and of ſo free and diſintereſted a temper, that, ‘though he loved not to enter into diſpute with any men, yet he did not think any Great Names ſo venerable, as to be of ſufficient Authority to lead others by their Dictates only, eſpecially in Matters of Fact and Hiſtory, unleſs they aſſign juſt Grounds and Reaſons for their Aſſertions *(g)*.'

(d) Lawrence's; an ingenious Layman.

(e) See his Works in folio, vol. ii. p. 417.

(f) *Ibid.* p. 587, 701, *&c.*

(g) *Ibid.* p. 523.

meaſures of Reformation in the Church of England, are the ſame that the French Church did take, or would have taken if ſhe could; and that our expedients for preventing and healing ſchiſms in the Church, are no other than what are laid down and preſcribed in theſe Synods. Book II. That our Articles and Homilies contain no other Doctrine, but what is publicly taught in the Articles and Homilies of the French Church. Book III. That the objections againſt our Liturgy and Rubrics, will hold as well againſt the Liturgy and public Offices that are uſed among them. Book IV. That our Canons require but the ſame things, or things equivalent to what the Canons of theſe Synods enjoin. In theſe three laſt Books, the Diſſenters objections againſt the Articles and Homilies, Liturgy and Canons of the Church of England, are conſidered and anſwered from the principles and practice of the Reformed Church of France. The principal perſon whom he takes objections from, and anſwers them upon the principles and grounds of the French Church, is Mr. R. Baxter, in one of his books, intitled, ‘Engliſh Nonconformity, as under King Charles II. and King James II., ſtated and argued,' 4to, Lond. 1689, where he has ſummed up their principal reaſons for their Nonconformity. To theſe our author returns anſwers, either from the French Synods, or their moſt approved writers, as the ſubject requires. Towards the concluſion of his Preface, he makes this remark—‘I cannot think the true method of preventing the dangers *ariſing from our diviſions*, is to make ſuch conceſſions to Diſſenters, as will ſhake and deſtroy the preſent Conſtitution; but to reaſon them into Union upon ſuch principles as are common to all the Churches of the Reformation.'

⁂ [All attempts to reaſon men into an exact uniformity of ſentiment have been found inefficacious, and ever will be ſo. Wherever men dare to think for themſelves, they will think differently; but though uniformity of ſentiment is impracticable, perſons of very oppoſite opinions may unite in mutual candour, forbearance, and benevolence.] T.

[*E*] *A Scholaſtical Hiſtory of the practice of the Church in reference to the adminiſtration of Baptiſm by Laymen*, &c.] His deſign in this work, briefly, is to ſhew, that although Laymen were always prohibited to baptize in ordinary caſes, yet they were allowed to do it in *caſes extraordinary*; and that this extraordinary Baptiſm of theirs was counted valid, without any need of Re-baptization.

[*F*] *But there was one intended, with an inſcription,* &c.]

The inſcription is as follows:

Obſtupeſce Viator!
Venerandi hic conduntur Cineres
Joſephi Bingham, A. M.
Nati Wakefeldiæ apud Eboracenſes
Collegii Univerſitatis apud Oxon.
quondam Socii.
Cujus multiplicem ſi ſpectes Doctrinam
Quam Scriptis prodidit,
Si exactam veteris Diſciplinæ et
Conſuetudinum Eccleſiaſticarum
Notitiam,
Cyprianicâ ætate vel etiam Ignatianâ
Moribus quoque primævis
Vixiſſe agnoſcas
Niſi quod non eſſet Epiſcopus.
At væ Sæculo meritorum immemori
Et ingrato!
Cum qui Patriarchatum in Eccleſiâ
Meruit,
NonniſiHeadbourn-Worthy&Havanti inAgroHanton.
Parochus, obiit
Decimo Septimo die Aug.
Anno { Chriſti 1723.
Ætatis 55.

M.

⁂ [BIRCH (Thomas) (*), a late valuable hiſtorical and biographical Writer, was born in the pariſh of St. John's, Clerkenwell, on the 23d of November, 1705. His parents were both of them Quakers, and his father, Joseph Birch, was a coffee-mill-maker by trade. Mr. Joſeph Birch endeavoured to bring up his ſon Thomas to his own buſineſs; but ſo ardent was the youth's paſſion for reading, that he ſolicited his father to be indulged in this inclination, promiſing, in that caſe, to provide for himſelf. The

(*) The materials of this article have been principally derived from ſome authentic papers and documents, included in No. 362, among Dr. Birch's collection of manu-

The firſt ſchool he went to was at Hemel-hempſted in Hertfordſhire. It was kept by John Owen, a rigid Quaker, for whom Mr. Birch afterwards officiated, ſome little while, as an uſher. The next ſchool in which he received his education, was taught by one Welby, who lived near Turnbull-ſtreet, Clerkenwell. This Welby never had above eight or ten ſcholars at a time, whom he profeſſed to inſtruct in the Latin tongue, in the ſhort ſpace of a year and a half. To him Mr. Birch was, likewiſe, an uſher; as he alſo afterwards was to Mr. Beſſe, the famous Quaker in George's Court near St. John's Lane, who publiſhed the poſthumous works of Claridge. It is farther ſaid, that he went to Ireland with Dean Smedley; but in what year he paſſed over to that country, and how long he reſided with the Dean, cannot now be aſcertained. In his removals as an uſher, he always took care to get into a ſtill better ſchool, and where he might have the greateſt opportunity of ſtudying the moſt valuable books. He was indefatigable in his application, and ſtole many hours from ſleep to increaſe his ſtock of knowledge. By this unremitting diligence, though he had not the happineſs of an univerſity education, he ſoon became qualified to take holy orders in the church of England; and as his early connections were of a different kind, his being ordained was a matter of no ſmall ſurpriſe to his old acquaintance. We do not preciſely know when this event took place; but it muſt have been as early as in 1728. In the ſame year he married the daughter of one Mr. Cox, a Clergyman to whom he was Curate; and in this union he was ſingularly happy: but his felicity was of a ſhort duration, Mrs. Birch dying in leſs than twelve months after their marriage. The diſorder which carried her off was a puerperal fever (*), and almoſt in the very article of her death ſhe wrote to her huſband the following letter:

‘ This day I return you, my deareſt life, my ſincere, hearty thanks for every favour
‘ beſtowed on your moſt faithful and obedient wife.
‘ July 31, 1729. HANNAH BIRCH.’

How much Mr. Birch was affected by this calamity appears from a copy of verſes written by him, Auguſt 3d, 1729, on his wife's coffin [*A*]. That Mrs. Birch was a woman

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ſcripts in the Britiſh Muſeum, and from the obliging information of Daniel Wray, Eſq;. Where no particular authorities are cited, the facts will be underſtood to be taken from the Muſeum; excepting in the account of the Doctor's writings, which is drawn from an inſpection of them.

(*) We do not certainly know whether her child was born alive; but apprehend that it was not.

[*A*] *A copy of verſes written by him on his wife's coffin.*] Theſe verſes are inſerted in Mrs. Rowe's miſcellaneous works, and are ſpoken of by that ingenious Lady, as might be expected, in terms of approbation. They appeared, likewiſe, in the Gentleman's Magazine; and Mr. Birch himſelf printed a number of them in a ſeparate paper, to be given away among his friends. As they relate to the moſt affecting event of his life, and have conſiderable merit, our readers will probably not be diſpleaſed with peruſing this ſpecimen of his poetical talents.

‘ *On the* DEATH *of his beloved Wife.*

‘ *Written by her Huſband on her Coffin.*

‘ WHILE pining anguiſh, wild deſpair,
‘ Increaſe my pangs, prolong my care;
‘ Depriv'd of all my ſoul held dear,
‘ Inchanting joy and love ſincere;
‘ While round the gloomy ſcene's diſplay'd,
‘ And death ſtill deepens ev'ry ſhade;
‘ Sad, ſilent, dark, the pomp of woe!
‘ Shall ſorrow's eye forbear to flow?
‘ Flow ſtill, ye tears! ye ſighs, complain!
‘ —But ſighs and tears alike are vain!
‘ See there all pale and dead ſhe lies!
‘ For ever flow, my ſtreaming eyes!
‘ Fly *Hymen*, with extinguiſh'd fires!
‘ Fly, nuptial bliſs, and chaſte deſires!
‘ *Cleora*'s fled, the lovelieſt mind;
‘ Faith, ſweetneſs, wit, together join'd.
‘ —Dwelt faith, and wit, and ſweetneſs here?
‘ O view the change, and drop a tear!
‘ Once in theſe eyes each grace was ſeen,
‘ And love and mildneſs ſhone ſerene:
‘ Once ſoft perſuaſion tun'd her tongue,
‘ As truth ſincere, and ſweet as ſong,
‘ Once this cold hand could touch the lyre,
‘ And ev'ry tender thought inſpire:
‘ Now ſinking to its parent clay,
‘ All chang'd, the body ſeems to ſay,
‘ Thus life, a ſhadow, fleets away!
‘ O whiſper ſtill, thou voice divine!
‘ Thine be the lore, attention mine.
‘ And while this awful object lies
‘ Expos'd before my weeping eyes,
‘ Teach me, ſome genius, from on high,
‘ Like her to live, like her to die;
‘ To emulate the paths ſhe trod,
‘ All humane, gen'rous, great, and good!
‘ Like her, the rage of death to charm,
‘ And ev'ry ſting of pain diſarm:
‘ Riſe as ſhe roſe, a ſpotleſs ſoul,
‘ Who aim'd at joys beyond the pole;
‘ And raptur'd on the verge of day,
‘ Smil'd to behold the ſhining way.
‘ But, hark! the ſadly ſolemn bell
‘ Sullenly ſounds my laſt farewel.
‘ Lo! round the corſe the plaintive throng
‘ Slow-moving, ſilent ſtalk along.
‘ The torch that lends its mournful light,
‘ The myſtic pray'r, the fun'ral rite,
‘ The weeping friend, th' expecting ground,
‘ The ſilent horror all around,
‘ Have tempted *Sorrow* from her cave,
‘ And now ſhe hovers o'er the grave;
‘ Now ſinks our hearts, impearls our eyes,
‘ And bids a gen'ral groan ariſe;
‘ Exclaims that man was doom'd to mourn,
‘ And ſits in pomp to guard the urn.
‘ 'Tis done!—O ever dear, adieu!
‘ Each tender name is loſt in you.
‘ Adieu, thou once kind, lovely fair!
‘ Soft ſpring of joy, relief from care!
‘ O reſt! may Love, with ev'ry Grace,
‘ And ev'ry Virtue, guard the place!
‘ While me receives the lonely bed,
‘ Sad, proſtrate, ſilent as the dead!
‘ Reſtleſs I preſs the well-known place,
‘ And vainly ſeek the dear embrace;
‘ While ſlow and drear the minutes roll,
‘ And anguiſh racks my inmoſt ſoul.
‘ —But ſee! what heav'nly pow'r ſerene
‘ Darts gently through the gloomy ſcene?
‘ 'Tis ſhe! ingliding from above;
‘ The ſame her form, the ſame her love.
‘ Weep'ſt thou, my deareſt? weep no more!
‘ Tho' tranſient ſcenes of life are o'er:
‘ New worlds now open to my view;
‘ Bliſs, knowledge, virtue, boundleſs, true;
‘ Where ſouls with ſocial raptures glow,
‘ While ſin and vengeance reign below.
‘ Hence nightly I, thy guardian pow'r,
‘ For ever conſcious of the hour
‘ That join'd our hearts, deſcend to keep
‘ My deareſt charge; to watch thy ſleep,
‘ Hint ſofter dreams; to chaſe away
‘ Black error's miſt, and bright diſplay
‘ The form of virtue to thy ſight;
‘ Dart o'er thy ſoul a ſtronger light;
‘ In

woman of very amiable accompliſhments, is not only evident from the verſes now mentioned, but from two Latin epitaphs drawn up for her; one by her huſband, and the other by Dr. Dale, which laſt was tranſlated into Engliſh by Mr. James Ralph. In both theſe epitaphs, ſhe is celebrated as having poſſeſſed an uncommon ſhare of knowledge and taſte, as well as the moſt excellent moral virtues. From the time of his wife's death till the year 1732, we learn nothing of Mr. Birch, excepting that, during this interval, he had been recommended, by a common friend, to the friendſhip and favour of the late Lord High Chancellor Hardwicke, then Attorney General; to which noble Peer, and to the preſent Earl of Hardwicke, he was indebted for all his preferments (*a*). The firſt proof he experienced of his patron's regard, was his being recommended to the living of Ulting in the county of Eſſex. To this living he was inducted by Dr. Gibſon, Biſhop of London, on the 20th of May, and he took poſſeſſion of it on the day following. In 1734, he was appointed one of the domeſtic Chaplains (*) to William Earl of Kilmarnock, the unfortunate Nobleman who was afterwards beheaded, on the 18th of Auguſt, 1746, for having been engaged in the rebellion which began in 1745 (*b*). The Earl of Kilmarnock was, we believe, in more early life, underſtood to be a Whig; and under no other character could Mr. Birch have been introduced to his Lordſhip's notice. On the 20th of February, 1734-5, Mr. Birch had the honour of being choſen a Member of the Royal Society, Sir Hans Sloane taking a leading part in the election (*c*). The ſame honour was done him on the 11th of December, 1735 (*d*), by the Society of Antiquaries; of which Society he afterwards became a Director. A few weeks before he was choſen into the Antiquarian Society, the Mariſchal College of Aberdeen had conferred on him, by diploma, the degree of Maſter of Arts (*e*). In the Spring of the year 1743, by the favour of his noble patron before mentioned, he received a more ſubſtantial benefit; being preſented by the Crown to the Rectory of Landewy Welfrey in the county of Pembroke. To this benefice, which was a ſinecure (*f*), he was inducted on the 7th of May, by Dr. Edward Willes, Biſhop of St. Davids. In January, 1743-4, Mr. Birch was preferred, in the ſame manner, to the Rectory of Sidington St. Peter's, in the county and dioceſe of Glouceſter. We find no traces of his having taken poſſeſſion of this living; and, indeed, it is probable that he quitted it immediately, for one that was more ſuitable to his inclinations, and to his literary engagements, which required his almoſt conſtant reſidence in town; for on the 24th of February, 1743-4, he was inducted to the rectories of St. Michael, Wood-ſtreet, and St. Mary, Staining, united. His next preferment was likewiſe in the city of London; being to the united Rectories of St. Margaret Pattens, and St. Gabriel, Fenchurch-ſtreet. To this benefice he was preſented in the beginning of February, 1745-6, and received induction to it on the 13th of that month. In January, 1752, he was elected one of the Secretaries of the Royal Society, in the room of Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, deceaſed (*g*). In January, 1753, the Mariſchal College of Aberdeen created him Doctor of Divinity; and in that year, the ſame honour was conferred on him by that excellent Prelate, Dr. Thomas Herring, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Our Author was alſo a Truſtee of the Britiſh Muſeum. The laſt preferment given to Dr. Birch, was the Rectory of Depden in Eſſex; for which he was indebted to the preſent Earl of Hardwicke. Depden itſelf, indeed, was in the patronage of Mr. Chiſwell, and in the poſſeſſion of the Rev. Dr. Cock. But the benefice in Lord Hardwicke's gift, being at too great a diſtance from town, to be legally held by Dr. Birch, he obtained an exchange with Dr. Cock; who the more readily quitted his own living, though of ſuperior value, becauſe he had for ſome time been diſturbed and terrified by attempts upon his houſe (*h*). Dr. Birch was inducted to Depden by the late eminent Biſhop Sherlock, on the 25th of February, 1761; and he continued poſſeſſed of this preferment, together with the united Rectories of St. Margaret Pattens, and St. Ga-

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' In reaſon's voice to whiſper ſtill;
' To purer bliſs direct thy will;
' A beamy cloud around you throw,
' And viewleſs guide you as you go.
' Lo! (few ſhort moments roll'd between)
' I preſent change the darkſome ſcene;
' Diſpel the awful ſhades of death,
' And gently eaſe your parting breath;
' Glad hail you to the realms above,
' Dear, bleſt, immortal as our love!
' Thus while we leave thy lifeleſs clay,
' To ſome bright orb thy ſoul convey,
' Where virtue, truth, and pleaſure join,
' And raptur'd ſay——This ſeat be thine!
' Here knowledge great as ſouls can know,
' Shall purge the errors learn'd below;
' Enlarge thy pow'rs, improve thy ſight,
' And ſhew thee truth in native light.
' See there yon happy ſhades employ
' Their hours in bliſs and ſocial joy;
' High-rais'd on virtue's eagle wing,
' The patriots act, the poets ſing;
' With purer fires the lovers glow,
' Than youth or ſenſe inſpire below.
' Here join we then the kindred race,
' That ſprings to meet our ſoft embrace;
' Or in ſome ſweet ſequeſter'd grove
' Mix flame with flame, and love with love.
' Hence wing'd with thought excurſive fly,
' From orb to orb, and range the ſky,
' View wiſdom, power, and goodneſs ſhine
' Through nature's frame; their ſource divine,
' ——O call theſe ſcenes to thy relief,
' Bright future ſcenes! and calm thy grief:
' Live happy; nouriſh ſtill the love,
' That bleſt on earth, and joins our ſouls above.
' She ſpake, ſhe ſmil'd, ſhe ſoar'd away;
' While comfort glanc'd a healing ray.
' *Aug.* 3, 1729 (1).'

There are, in the Britiſh Muſeum, ſeveral manuſcript poems of Dr. Birch's, written by him, we ſuppoſe, when he was young.

(*a*) From Daniel Wray, Eſq;

(*) In the latter part of his life he was chaplain to the Princeſs Amelia.

(*b*) Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, p. 378.

(*c*) From the Regiſter of the Royal Society, and Daniel Wray, Eſq;

(*d*) From the Regiſter of the Antiquarian Society.

(*e*) On the 31ſt of October, 1735.

(*f*) From Daniel Wray, Eſq;

(*g*) Gent. Mag. Vol. xxii. p. 45.

(*h*) From Daniel Wray, Eſq;

(1) Mrs. Rowe's Miſcellaneous Works, in Proſe and Verſe, Vol. ii. p. 133—137.

briel, Fenchurch-ſtreet, till his deceaſe. In 1765, he reſigned his office of Secretary to the Royal Society, and was ſucceeded by Dr. Morton. Dr. Birch's health declining about this time, he was ordered to ride for the recovery of it; but being a bad horſeman, and going out, contrary to advice, on a froſty day, he was unfortunately thrown from his horſe, on the road betwixt London and Hampſtead, and killed on the ſpot (*i*). Dr. William Watſon, of Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, as ſoon as he heard of the accident of the fall, haſtened to the relief of his friend, but in vain. It is not known whether Dr. Birch's fall might not have been occaſioned by an apoplexy. This melancholy event happened on the 9th of January, 1766 (*k*), in the 61ſt year of his age, to the great regret of the Doctor's numerous literary friends. Some days after his death, he was buried in the chancel of his own church of St. Margaret Pattens (*l*). Dr. Birch had, in his lifetime, been very generous to his relations [*B*]; and none that were near to him being living at his deceaſe, he bequeathed his library of books and manuſcripts, many of which are valuable, to the Britiſh Muſeum. He, likewiſe, left the remainder of his fortune, which amounted to not much more than five hundred pounds, to be laid out in Government Securities, for the purpoſe of applying the intereſt to increaſe the ſtipend of the three aſſiſtant librarians [*C*]: Thus manifeſting at his death, as he had done during his whole life, his reſpect for literature, and his deſire to promote uſeful knowledge (*m*).

[*B*] *To his relations.*] He had two brothers, George and Samuel. George was older than himſelf. In 1740, Samuel Birch reſigned all claim to a ſhare in his mother's effects, in conſideration of ſeveral ſums which had been advanced to him, at various times, by his brother Thomas. Dr. Birch had, likewiſe, a ſiſter, Sarah, born in the year 1709. This ſiſter, whoſe name, after her marriage, was Young, and who lived in Briſtol, had a daughter, Joanna, who was married to one Smith, a corkcutter in that city. Mrs. Smith died in 1762, after having been almoſt five years out of her mind. Her mother, Mrs. Young, was living at that time. It appears from their letters, that Dr. Birch was very affectionate to them on all occaſions. He had another niece, Ann Lamborn, who kept his houſe, but who died before him.

[*C*] *The ſtipend of the three aſſiſtant librarians.*] As Dr. Birch's Will throws ſome light upon his ſentiments, diſpoſitions, and connections, and is not very long, we ſhall inſert it in this place.

'I Thomas Birch, Doctor in Divinity, upon the deceaſe of my late niece Anne Lamborn having no other near relation ſurviving, do, this twelfth day of February, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-five, make this my laſt Will and Teſtament, in expectation of my removal from the preſent imperfect ſtate of exiſtence, in a full confidence in the mercy and goodneſs of Almighty God, and with a firm perſuaſion of a bleſſed immortality, diſcoverable by the light of Nature, and confirmed to us Chriſtians by that of Revelation. My deſire is, that my body be interred in the chancel of the church of Saint Margaret Pattens, of which I have been now Rector near nineteen years. I give and bequeath to the Truſtees of the Britiſh Muſeum all my printed books and manuſcripts, which ſhall not be otherwiſe diſpoſed of by this my Will, in order that ſuch of the former as are not in the ſaid Muſeum may be placed there, the reſt to be ſold for the purchaſe of others that ſhall be then wanting in the ſaid Muſeum; and with regard to the collection of letters written to myſelf, whether bound up in guard-books or ſingle, I deſire that they may be committed to the cuſtody of the Principal Librarian of the ſaid Muſeum for the time being, and continue there for the ſpace of thirty years after my deceaſe; and that, after the expiration of ſuch term, they be placed in the department of manuſcripts in the ſaid Muſeum, as they may poſſibly be ſome ſmall addition to the literary Hiſtory of my own Times. *Item*, I give and bequeath to the ſaid Truſtees of the Britiſh Muſeum the pictures of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, and Hugh Broughton, with my own painted in 1735, now at the head of my firſt ſtair-caſe in my houſe in Norfolk-ſtreet, and all other pictures and prints which ſhall be in my poſſeſſion at my death, except ſuch as ſhall be otherwiſe diſpoſed of by this my Will. I give and bequeath to the ſaid Truſtees of the Britiſh Muſeum all the moneys in the public funds or elſewhere which I ſhall die poſſeſſed of, or ſhall be due to me, and what ſhall ariſe from the ſale of my houſehold goods and other effects, the ſaid monies to be laid out in the reduced Bank Annuities, or in ſome other public fund, or in the purchaſe of ſome eſtate in land; the intereſt of ſuch ſtock, or the rent of ſuch eſtate, to be paid in equal portions to the three Under-librarians of the ſaid Britiſh Muſeum for the time being, as an augmentation of their ſalaries for ever; and I requeſt the favour of my worthy and learned friend Dr. Matthew Maty, one of the preſent Under-librarians of the ſaid Muſeum, to be Executor of this my Will. I give and bequeath to the Royal Society of London, to whom I owe the higheſt gratitude for the honour done me of electing me one of the Secretaries, my picture painted by Mr. Wills in 1737, in a black frame and gilt border, being the original of the Mezzotinto print done by Mr. Faber in 1741. I give and bequeath to the Right Honourable Philip Earl of Hardwicke his own picture, painted by Mr. Londſon in 1746, and preſented to me that year by his Lordſhip, together with all his letters to me, bound up in guard-books or looſe among my other papers, and the following manuſcripts, *viz.* two volumes in folio of letters and papers relating to the affairs of Scotland from the year 1525 to 1556, tranſcribed from the originals in the Cotton Library, by order of John Lord Somers, and reviſed and corrected by that great man's own hand; and one volume in folio of the Negociations of Sir Robert Anſtruther in Latin, from the year 1631 to 1634: and I take this opportunity to expreſs my moſt grateful ſenſe of the many obligations which I have received from the ſaid Earl of Hardwicke, during the long courſe of friendſhip with which he has been pleaſed to honour me, and to which, joined to his zeal for the encouragement of all attempts for the benefit of the republic of letters, I am indebted for all the preferments which I enjoy in the church, far beyond any merit of mine, or the proportion of what has fallen to the ſhare of many of my ſuperiors in every reſpect. I give and bequeath to the Honourable Mr. Charles Yorke my edition of Spenſer's Fairy Queen, in three volumes in 4*to*; to the Honourable Mr. John Yorke my Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; and to the Honourable and Reverend Mr. James Yorke, Dean of Lincoln, my edition of Profeſſor Grenſco's Miſcellaneous Works, and of the Works of Sir Walter Raleigh. Laſtly, I give and bequeath to the Reverend Mr. Henry Foulkes, my Curate at Saint Margaret Pattens, twenty pounds; and to each of the Servants who ſhall be in my ſervice at the time of my death, five pounds. This my laſt Will and Teſtament, written all with my own hand, is ſigned by me, on the day and in the year above mentioned, Thomas Birch. I deſire the above-mentioned Dr. Maty to accept of my ſilver ſtandiſh, as a ſmall compenſation for the trouble which he may have in the execution of this my laſt Will; to which I add this Codicil, April 20th, 1765. Thomas Birch (2).'

(*i*) From the ſame Gentleman.

(*k*) Gent. Mag. Vol. xxxvi. p.43.

(*l*) According to the direction of his Will.

(*m*) From Dr. Birch's Will, in the Prerogative Office, Doctor's Commons.

(2) From the Regiſter of the Prerogative Court of Cante.bury.

Having

Having related the more perſonal and private circumſtances of Dr. Birch's hiſtory, we proceed to his various publications. The firſt great work he engaged in, was 'the General Dictionary, hiſtorical and critical;' wherein a new tranſlation of that of the celebrated Mr. Bayle was included; and which was interſperſed with ſeveral thouſand lives never before publiſhed. It was on the 29th of April, 1734, that Dr. Birch, in conjunction with the Rev. Mr. John Peter Bernard, and Mr. John Lockman, agreed with the Bookſellers to carry on this important undertaking; and Mr. George Sale was employed to draw up the articles relating to oriental Hiſtory. The whole deſign was completed in ten volumes, folio; the firſt of which appeared in 1734, and the laſt in 1741 [*D*]. It is univerſally allowed, that this work contains a very extenſive and uſeful body of biographical knowledge. We are not told what were the particular articles written by Dr. Birch; but there is no doubt of his having executed a great part of the Dictionary: neither is it, we ſuppoſe, any diſparagement to his co-adjutors, to ſay, that he was ſuperior to them in abilities and reputation. However, in this obſervation, we except Mr. George Sale, who was, without controverſy, eminently qualified for the department he had undertaken. The next great deſign in which Dr. Birch engaged, was the publication of Thurloe's State Papers. This collection, which compriſed ſeven volumes in folio, came out in 1742. It is dedicated to the late Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, and there is prefixed to it a Life of Thurloe; but whether it was written or not by our Author, doth not appear. The ſame Life had been ſeparately publiſhed not long before. The letters and papers in this collection throw the greateſt light on the period to which they relate, and are accompanied with proper references, and a complete index to each volume. In 1744, Dr. Birch publiſhed, in octavo, a Life of the Honourable Robert Boyle, Eſq; which hath ſince been prefixed to the quarto edition of the works of that excellent man and eminent philoſopher. In the ſame year, our Author began his aſſiſtance to Mr. Howbraken and Mr. Vertue, in their deſign of publiſhing, in folio, the Heads of illuſtrious perſons of Great Britain, engraved by thoſe two Artiſts, but chiefly by Mr. Howbraken. To each head was annexed, by Dr. Birch, the Life and Character of the perſon repreſented [*E*]. The firſt volume of this work, which came out in Numbers, was completed in 1747, and the ſecond in 1752. Our Author's concern in this undertaking did not hinder his proſecuting, at the ſame time, other hiſtorical diſquiſitions: for, in 1747, appeared, in octavo, 'His Inquiry into the Share which King Charles the Firſt had in 'the Tranſactions of the Earl of Glamorgan [*F*].' A ſecond edition of the Inquiry was

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[*D*] *The firſt of which appeared in* 1734, *and the laſt in* 1741.] The ſecond and third volumes were publiſhed in 1735, the fourth in 1736, the fifth in 1737, the ſixth and ſeventh in 1738, and the eighth and ninth in 1739. The perſons to whom the volumes, in order of publication, were dedicated, were, Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. Preſident, and the Council and Fellows of the Royal Society; Dr. Richard Mead, the Honourable William Talbot, Eſq; Charles Duke of Queenſbury and Dover, James Duke of Hamilton, Martin Folkes, Eſq; James Earl of Abercorn, Algernon Earl of Hertford, George Earl of Macclesfield, and the Right Honourable Arthur Onſlow, Eſq; Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.

[*E*] *The Life and Character of the perſon repreſented.*] Theſe lives and characters are but ſhort, none of them exceeding more than two pages in folio, being only intended to bind up with the heads. The perſons of whom heads, lives, and characters are given in this work, are the following: Geoffry Chaucer; William of Wykeham, Biſhop of Wincheſter; William Waynfleet, Biſhop of Wincheſter; William Warham, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; John Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter; Cardinal Wolſey; Sir Thomas More; Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Eſſex; John Ruſſel, the firſt Earl of Bedford; George Buchanan; Queen Anne Boleyn; Queen Anne of Cleves; Queen Catharine Howard; Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerſet; Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk; Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord-keeper; Mary Queen of Scots; William Cecil, Lord Burleigh; Francis Ruſſel, ſecond Earl of Bedford; James Douglas Earl of Morton; Sir Francis Walſingham; Robert Dudley, Earl of Leiceſter; Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham; Sir Francis Drake; Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorſet; Robert Devereux, Earl of Eſſex; Sir Walter Raleigh; Queen Anne, wife of King James I.; Henry Prince of Wales; Archbiſhop Abbot; Ben Jonſon; Lord Bacon; Sir Edward Coke; George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham; Archbiſhop Williams; Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford; Thomas Lord Coventry, Lord-keeper; Archbiſhop Uſher; John Hampden; John Pym; Edward Sackville, Earl of Dorſet; Dr. William Harvey; Robert Bertie, Earl of Lindſey; William Cavendiſh, Duke of Newcaſtle; James Graham, Marquis of Montroſe; Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland; Oliver Cromwell; Henry Ireton; General Lambert; Charles Fleetwood, Lord-deputy of Ireland; Lord Fairfax; Sir Henry Vane; Secretary Thurloe; John Milton; James Stuart, Duke of Richmond; George Digby, Earl of Briſtol; William Ruſſel, Duke of Bedford; Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington; John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale: Dr. Thomas Willis; George Morley, Biſhop of Wincheſter; William Lord Ruſſel; Anthony Aſhley Cooper, the firſt Earl of Shafteſbury; George Savile, Marquis of Halifax; Thomas Otway; the Duke of Schomberg; Sir William Temple; Robert Boyle; Archbiſhop Tillotſon; John Locke; Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rocheſter; Lieutenant-general Tolmach; Sidney Earl of Godolphin; Sir Iſaac Newton; Daniel Finch Earl of Nottingham; Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough; Henry Boyle, Lord Carleton; Edward Ruſſel, Earl of Orford; Lord Chancellor Talbot; Sir William Windham, Bart.; Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham; Queen Elizabeth, wife of King Henry VII.; King Henry VIII.; Katharine of Arragon, his firſt wife; Queen Jane Seymour, his third wife; Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey; Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State in the Reigns of King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth; Sir Philip Sidney; Robert Cecil, Earl of Saliſbury; Robert Car, Earl of Somerſet; William Shakeſpeare; Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surry; Francis Ruſſel, the fourth Earl of Bedford: Francis Lord Cottington; Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick; Edward Montagu, Lord Kimbolton and Earl of Mancheſter; Sir Kenelm Digby; Sir William Morrice, Secretary of State to King Charles II.; Thomas Sydenham, M. D.; John Dryden; Thomas Marquis of Wharton; George Byng, Lord Torrington; George Hamilton, Earl of Orkney; Joſeph Addiſon; Sir Richard Steele; Sir Samuel Garth; Dr. Samuel Clarke; Alexander Pope.

[*F*] *In the tranſactions of the Earl of Glamorgan.*] The whole title of the work, as given in the ſecond edition, is, 'An Inquiry into the Share, which King was publiſhed in 1756; and it was a work which excited no ſmall degree of attention. In 1748 (*), Dr. Birch was the Editor, in twovolumes, 8*vo*, of the miſcellaneous Works of

‘ King Charles the Firſt had in the Tranſactions of the Earl of Glamorgan, afterwards Marquis of Worceſter, for bringing over a Body of IRISH REBELS, to aſſiſt that King, in the years 1645 and 1646. In which Mr. Carte's imperfect Account of that Affair, and the Uſe of his MS. Memoirs of the Pope's Nuncio *Rinuccini* are impartially conſidered. The whole drawn up from the beſt Authorities, printed and manuſcript. The ſecond Edition. To which is added an Appendix, containing ſeveral Letters of the King to the Earl of Glamorgan, from the Originals in the Harleian Collection of Manuſcripts.' Mr. Carte had aſſerted, that the King was entirely innocent of the Earl of Glamorgan's negociations with the Iriſh rebels and the Pope's Nuncio, which were ſo dangerous to the Proteſtant religion; and that all the commiſſions and letters produced by that nobleman, as authorities from his Majeſty, were mere *forgeries* of his Lordſhip (3). Dr. Birch, on the other hand, endeavoured to ſhew that the Earl was *really* authoriſed by the King, to treat with the Iriſh rebels; and produced very ſtrong teſtimonies and reaſons in ſupport of the fact. Many, however, ſeemed for ſome time, unwilling to acknowledge the force of the evidence collected by our author. Mr. Guthrie, in the third volume of his Hiſtory of England, took no notice of the ‘ Inquiry,' though it had then been publiſhed four years; but, in a very imperfect account of the affair of the Earl of Glamorgan, ſtyled his Lordſhip's commiſſion from the King a *pretended one*; and affirmed, ‘ *that in the whole of the negociation there were ſuch intricacies and inconſiſtencies*, as ought to have rendered it very doubtful, whether *Glamorgan* had ſuch a power as he pretended from *Charles*, who loudly diſclaimed it (4).' Mr. Hume, in the firſt edition of his Hiſtory of Great Britain, preſerved the ſame ſilence with regard to Dr. Birch's treatiſe. Though he remarked, that King Charles the Firſt's veracity, in diſavowing his having given any authority to the Earl of Glamorgan, was ſtill *by ſome hiſtorians very much called in queſtion*, he declared for the ſuppoſition of the forgery of his Lordſhip's commiſſion. But, in ſupport of this notion, he contented himſelf with a repetition of Mr. Carte's aſſertions and reaſonings (5). Mr. Hume, however, in the ſubſequent editions of his Hiſtory, acknowledged the facts contained in Dr. Birch's Inquiry. Neverthleſs, he, at the ſame time, endeavours to prove, that Glamorgan, when he received his private commiſſion, had injunctions from the King to act altogether in concert with the Duke of Ormond (6). But there is the leſs reaſon to inſiſt upon the matter at preſent, as the fact of the commiſſion granted to the Earl of Glamorgan, to treat with the Iriſh rebels, ſeems to be put out of all doubt, by a letter of that Nobleman to Lord Chancellor Hyde, written a few days after King Charles the Second's Reſtoration. This letter is in the Clarendon State Papers, and the inſertion of it will probably be acceptable to our readers.

‘ The Marquis of Worceſter (late Earl of Glamorgan) to the Earl of Clarendon.

‘ My Lord Chancellor,

‘ FOR his Majeſty's better information, through your favour, and by the channel of your Lordſhip's underſtanding things rightly, give me leave to acquaint you with one chief key, wherewith to open the ſecret paſſages between his late Majeſty and myſelf in order to his ſervice; which was no other than a real expoſing of myſelf to any expence or difficulty, rather than his juſt deſign ſhould not take place; or, in taking effect, that his honour ſhould ſuffer. An effect, you may juſtly ſay, reliſhing more of a paſſionate and blind affection to his Majeſty's ſervice, than of diſcretion and care of myſelf. This made me take a reſolution that he ſhould have ſeemed angry with me at my return out of Ireland, until I had brought him into a poſture and power to own his commands, to make good his inſtructions, and to reward my faithfulneſs and zeal therein.

‘ Your Lordſhip may well wonder, and the King too, at the amplitude of my commiſſion. But when you have underſtood the height of his Majeſty's deſign, you will ſoon be ſatisfied that nothing leſs could have made me capable to effect it; being that one army of ten thouſand men was to have come out of Ireland through North Wales; another, of a like number at leaſt under my command in chief, have expected my return in South Wales, which Sir Henry Gage was to have commanded as Lieutenant General; and a third ſhould have conſiſted of a matter of ſix thouſand men, two thouſand of which were to have been Liegois, commanded by Sir Francis Edmonds, two thouſand Lorrainers to have been commanded by Colonel Browne, and two thouſand of ſuch French, Engliſh, Scots, and Iriſh, as could be drawn out of Flanders and Holland. And the ſix thouſand were to have been, by the Prince of Orange's aſſiſtance, in the aſſociated counties; and the Governor of Lyne, couſin german to Major Bacon, Major of my own regiment, was to have delivered the town unto them.

‘ The maintenance of this army of foreigners was to have come from the Pope, and ſuch Catholic Princes as he ſhould draw into it, having engaged to afford and procure 30,000 l. a month: out of which the foreign army was firſt to be provided for; and the remainder to be divided among other armies. And for this purpoſe had I power to treat with the Pope and Catholic Princes with particular advantages promiſed to Catholics, for the quiet enjoying their religion, without the penalties which the ſtatutes in force had power to inflict upon them. And my inſtructions for this purpoſe, and my powers to treat and conclude thereupon, were ſigned by the King under his pocket ſignet, with blanks for me to put in the names of Pope or Princes, to the end the King might have a ſtarting hole to deny the having given me ſuch commiſſions, if excepted againſt by his own ſubjects; leaving me as it were at ſtake, who for his Majeſty's ſake was willing to undergo it, truſting to his word alone.

‘ In like manner did I not ſtick upon having this commiſſion inrolled or aſſented unto by his Council, nor indeed the ſeal to be put unto it in an ordinary manner, but as Mr. Endymion Porter and I could perform it, with rollers and no ſcrew-preſs.

‘ One thing I beſeech your Lordſhip to obſerve, that though I had power by it to erect a mint any where, and to diſpoſe of his Majeſty's revenues and delinquent's eſtates, yet I never did either to the value of a farthing, notwithſtanding my own neceſſities, acknowledging that the intention of thoſe powers given me, was to make uſe of them when the armies ſhould be afoot; which deſign being broken by my commitment in Ireland, I made no uſe of thoſe powers; and conſequently, repaying now whatever was diſburſed by any for patents of honour, as now I am contented to do, it will evidently appear that nothing hath ſtuck to my fingers in order to benefit or ſelf-intereſt; which I humbly ſubmit to his Majeſty's princely conſideration, and the management of my concerns therein to your Lordſhip's grave judgment, and to the care of me, which your Lordſhip was pleaſed to own was recommended unto you by the late King, my moſt gracious maſter, of glorious memory; and the continuance thereof is moſt humbly implored and begged by me who am really and freely at your Lordſhip's diſpoſal, firſt, in order to his Majeſty's ſervice, and next to the approving myſelf,

‘ My Lord,

‘ Your Lordſhip's moſt really affectionate

June 11, 1660. ‘ and moſt humble ſervant,

‘ WORCESTER (7).'

Dr. Scrope, the editor of the Clarendon State Papers, obſerves, in a note, that this letter is deciſive of the diſpute concerning the authenticity of the commiſſion granted to the Earl of Glamorgan. But, in the preface, he retracts this aſſertion, as too inconſiderately expreſſed. The letter, he ſays, does not prove the commiſſion to be authentic, the proof there reſting ſolely upon the veracity of the writer, a very intereſted perſon. The Doctor takes notice, however, that the authenticity of the commiſſion is abundantly confirmed by two letters from Sir Edward Hyde to Secretary Nicholas, and by a letter of

(*) We have here been led into a miſtake, by not being able to get the book for a long time, and by truſting, in the mean while, to two biographical writers: and the ſucceeding ſheet having been unfortunately printed off, we could not correct the error in the body of the text. Raleigh's Life and Works were not publiſhed by Dr. Birch till 1751. We ſhall add in this place, that our Author's laſt publication was a ſhort Sketch of Dr. Ward's Life, in 1766.

(3) Preface to the Inquiry, p. 5. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 550—563.

(4) Inquiry, p. 348.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 348, 349. Hume's Hiſtory of Great Britain, 1ſt edit. Vol. i. p. 412, 413.

(6) Hiſt. of Great Britain, Vol. vii. p. 68, 69, 70. Note, Octavo edition of 1763.

(7) Clarendon State Papers, Vol. ii. p. 201—203.

of Sir Walter Raleigh; to which was prefixed the Life of that great, unfortunate, and injured man. The next publication we meet with of our Author's, is, ‘An hiſtorical View of the Negociations between the Courts of England, France, and Bruſſels, from the year 1592, to 1617; extracted chiefly from the MS. State Papers of Sir Thomas Edmondes, Knight, Embaſſador in France, and at Bruſſels, and Treaſurer of the houſehold to the Kings James I. and Charles I. and of Anthony Bacon, Eſq; brother to the Lord Chancellor Bacon. To which is added, a Relation of the State of France, with the Character of Henry IV. and the principal perſons of that Court, drawn up by Sir George Carew, upon his return from his Embaſſy there in 1609, and addreſſed to King James I. never before printed.’ This work, which conſiſts of one volume, in octavo, appeared in 1749; and, in an introductory diſcourſe, to the Honourable Philip Yorke, Eſq; (the preſent Earl of Hardwicke), Dr. Birch makes ſome reflections on the utility of deducing Hiſtory from its only true and unerring ſources; the original letters and papers of thoſe eminent men, who were the principal actors in the adminiſtration of affairs; after which he gives ſome account of the Lives of Sir Thomas Edmondes, Sir George Carew, and Mr. Anthony Bacon. The ‘Hiſtorical View’ is undoubtedly a valuable performance, and hath brought to light a variety of particulars relative to the ſubjects and the period treated of, which before were either not at all, or not ſo fully, known [G]. In 1751, was publiſhed by our Author;

Monſ. Montreuil's to the King, all of which are inſerted in this volume. The general fact, therefore, is now aſcertained beyond contradiction, whatever credit may be paid to ſome of the particular circumſtances mentioned by the Earl of Glamorgan.’ Such, then, being the caſe, it may ſtill be a queſtion how far the King acted criminally in this tranſaction. Mrs. Macaulay, in ſpeaking of it, ſays, that the peace between Charles and the Iriſh Papiſts, was purchaſed with the proſtitution of character, and the violation of every principle of honour and morality (8). Dr. Birch expreſſes himſelf in the following terms. ‘If after all, it ſhould be urged, in juſtification of the King's conduct in this point, that in a ſtate of war and violence, he was entitled *to all* means for the recovery of what he thought his *rights*; it may juſtly be anſwered, that a *good man* will always ſcruple the uſe of *ſome means,* however juſt his cauſe may be: that a *good Prince* will never proſecute his *regal rights* by ſuch methods as tend to the inevitable ruin of his country: and that a *good Proteſtant* will abhor the eſtabliſhment of his *civil authority,* by endangering the ſafety of his own *religion* throughout his dominions (9).’ Mr. Hume views the matter in a very different light. ‘Some hiſtorians, ſays he, even at preſent, when the ancient bigotry is univerſally abated, are deſirous of repreſenting this very innocent tranſaction, in which the King was engaged by the moſt violent neceſſity, as a ſtain on the memory of that unfortunate Prince (10).’ Mr. Walpole, in his Royal and Noble Authors, under the article of Edward Somerſet, Marquis of Worceſter (that is, the Earl of Glamorgan), after having given a conciſe abridgment of the controverſy, as it then ſtood, concerning the authenticity of the commiſſion granted to the Earl, makes the following candid and lively reflections. ‘I cannot help forming an opinion, which, without reconciling, will comprehend what may be the ſtrongeſt ſentiments on either ſide. With the King's enemies I cannot but believe he commiſſioned the Earl to fetch Iriſh forces—With his favourers, I cannot think him ſo much to blame if he did. It requires very primitive reſignation in a Monarch to ſacrifice his crown and his life, when perſecuted by ſubjects of his own ſect, rather than preſerve both by the aſſiſtance of others of his ſubjects, who differed from him in ceremonials or articles of belief. *The dreadful Iriſh Papiſts* [and they certainly were horrid men] ſounded very pathetically in a party remonſtrance of the Parliament: But when he was dipped in a civil war, can we in this age ſeriouſly impute it to him as a crime that he endeavoured to raiſe an army wherever he could? His fault was not in propoſing to bring over the Iriſh, but in having made them neceſſary to his affairs. Every body knew that he wanted to do without them, all that he could have done with them. He had found the Crown in poſſeſſion of greater power than is fit to be truſted in a ſingle hand: He had exerted it to the utmoſt. Could a man, who had ſtretched every ſtring of prerogative, conſent with a good grace to let it be curtailed?—I argue for the man, not for the particular man. I think Charles to be pitied, becauſe few men in his ſituation would have acted better.—I am ſure, if he had acted with more wiſdom it had been worſe for us! It required a nobleneſs of ſoul and an effort of underſtanding united, neither of which he poſſeſſed, to prefer the happineſs of mankind to his own will. He had been bred in a palace; what idea could that give him of the wretchedneſs of a cottage? Beſides, Charles did not deſire to oppreſs the poor: He wanted to humble, perhaps to enſlave ſome free Speakers in the Houſe of Commons, who poſſibly, by the bye, he knew were ambitious, intereſted, worthleſs men. He did not know, or did not reflect, that by enſlaving or ſilencing two or three hundred bad men, he would entail ſlavery on millions of poor honeſt men and on their poſterity. He did not conſider that if he might ſend a Member to the Tower, an hundred of his ſubaltern Miniſters would, without his knowledge, ſend a thouſand poor men to gaol. He did not know that by his becoming King of the Parliament, his Lords, nay, his very Cuſtom-houſe Officers, would become the tyrants of the reſt of his ſubjects. How ſeldom does a criſis happen like that under Henry the Seventh, when the inſolence of the little tyrants the nobility is grown to ſuch a pitch that it becomes neceſſary for the great tyrant the King to truſt liberty in the hands of the Commons, as a balance between him and his Lords!—It is more ſeriouſly objected to Charles, that to obtain their aſſiſtance, he granted terms to his Catholic ſubjects very unſuitable to the character of a Proteſtant martyr King, as he has been repreſented. Yet they are his friends who give weight to this objection: If they would allow what was true, and what appeared clearly from his Majeſty's letter, when Prince, to Pope Gregory XV., that Charles had been originally not only not averſe to the Romiſh religion, but had thought the union of the two profeſſions very practicable and conſiſtent, it would ceaſe to appear extraordinary, that he ſhould very readily make conceſſions to a party whom he believed his friends, in order to prevent being forced to make conceſſions to his enemies. With his principles, could Charles avoid thinking that it was better to grant great indulgences to Catholic Biſhops, than to be obliged to conſent to the depreſſion or even ſuppreſſion of epiſcopacy in England? The convocation itſelf perhaps would not have thought Charles much in the wrong. Yet it is certain that the King ſent orders to the Marquis of Ormond to endeavour to diſunite the papiſts and turn their arms on one another, rather than grant them more indulgences. In my opinion, a toleration to Papiſts is preferable to intrigues for making them cut one another's throats (11).’

[G] *Either not at all, or not ſo fully known.*] The chief points contained in the Hiſtorical Review are, ‘A particular detail of the negociations between Queen Elizabeth and Henry IV. of France; and of the great aſſiſtance which he, as well as the States General, received from her Majeſty: The Earl of Eſſex's courſe of ſecret intelligence in France, by means of the famous Antonio Perez, who had been Secretary of State to Philip II. of Spain; and his

(8) Hiſt. of England, Vol. iv. p. 239, 240, *8vo* edition.

(9) Preface to the Inquiry, p. vi.

(10) Hiſt. of Great Britain, Vol. vii. p. 68, *ubi ſupra.*

(11) Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. i. p. 236—240.

Author, an edition, in two volumes, 8*vo*, of the theological, moral, dramatic, and poetical Works of Mrs. Catherine Cockburn; with an account of the Life of that very ingenious Lady. In the next year came out his ‘ Life of the Moſt Reverend Dr. John Tillotſon, Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Compiled chiefly from his original Papers and Letters (*n*).’ A ſecond edition, corrected and enlarged, appeared in 1753. This work, which was dedicated to Archbiſhop Herring, is one of the moſt pleaſing and popular of Dr. Birch's performances; and he has done great juſtice to Dr. Tillotſon's memory, character, and virtues. Our Biographer hath likewiſe intermixed with his Narrative of the good Prelate's tranſactions, ſhort accounts of the perſons occaſionally mentioned; a method which he has purſued in ſome of his other publications. In 1753, he reviſed the quarto edition, in two volumes, of Milton's Proſe Works, and added a new Life of that great Poet and Writer. Dr. Birch gave to the world, in the following year (*o*), his ‘ Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, from the year 1581, till her Death. In which the ſecret Intrigues of her Court, and the Conduct of her Favourite, Robert Earl of Eſſex, both at home and abroad, are particularly illuſtrated. From the original Papers of his intimate Friend, Anthony Bacon, Eſquire, and other Manuſcripts never before publiſhed.’ Theſe Memoirs, which are inſcribed to the Doctor's great friend, the preſent Earl of Hardwicke (*p*), give a minute account of the letters and materials from which they are taken: and the whole work undoubtedly forms a very valuable collection; wherein our Author has ſhewn himſelf (as in his other writings) to be a faithful and accurate Compiler; and in which, beſides a full diſplay of the temper and actions of the Earl of Eſſex, much light is thrown on the characters of the Cecils, Bacons, and many eminent perſons of that period. The book is now becoming ſcarce, and, as it may not ſpeedily be republiſhed, is riſing in its value. This is the caſe, likewiſe, with regard to the edition of Sir Walter Raleigh's miſcellaneous Works. Dr. Birch's next publication (*q*) was ‘ The Hiſtory of the Royal Society of London, for improving of natural Knowledge, from its firſt Riſe. In which the moſt conſiderable of thoſe Papers, communicated to the Society, which have hitherto not been publiſhed, are inſerted in their proper order, as a Supplement to the Philoſophical Tranſactions.’ The two firſt volumes of this performance, which was dedicated to his late Majeſty, appeared in 1756, and the two other volumes in 1757. The Hiſtory is carried on to the end of the year 1687; and if the work had been continued, and had been conducted with the ſame extent and minuteneſs, it would have been a very voluminous undertaking. But, though it may, perhaps, be juſtly blamed in this reſpect, it certainly contains many curious and entertaining anecdotes concerning the manner of the Society's proceedings at their firſt eſtabliſhment; and hath preſented to the public a variety of valuable communications. It is enriched, likewiſe, with a number of perſonal circumſtances relative to the Members, and with biographical accounts of ſuch of the more conſiderable of them as died in the courſe of each year. In 1760, came out, in one volume, 8*vo*, our author's ‘ Life of Henry Prince of Wales, eldeſt ſon of King James I. Compiled chiefly from his own papers, and other manuſcripts, never before publiſhed.’ It is dedicated to his preſent Majeſty, then Prince of Wales. Some have objected to this work; that it abounds too much with trifling details, and that Dr. Birch has not given ſufficient ſcope to ſuch reflections and diſquiſitions as aroſe from his ſubject. It muſt, nevertheleſs, be acknowledged, that it affords a more exact and copious account than had hitherto appeared of a Prince whoſe memory has always been remarkably popular; and that various facts, reſpecting ſeveral other eminent characters, are occaſionally introduced. The laſt publication of our diligent Searcher into the Hiſtory and Biography of his native country, was, ‘ Letters, Speeches, Charges, Advices, &c. of Francis Bacon, Lord Viſcount St. Alban, Lord Chancellor of England.’ This collection,

(*n*) In one volume 8*vo*.

(*o*) In two volumes quarto.

(*p*) Then the honourable Philip Yorke, Eſq.

(*q*) In four volumes quarto.

‘ Lordſhip's conſtant oppoſition to any treaty with Spain: The ſteps taken by the King of France towards a peace with that kingdom: Secretary Cecil's and Mr. Herbert's embaſſy to France, to divert that King from concluding the treaty of Vervins, without Queen Elizabeth and the States General: The negociations ſubſequent to that treaty, for a peace between England, the States General and Spain, which proved ineffectual during the Queen's life: The attention of her Majeſty, and her Miniſters, to the intrigues of the King of Scots with foreign Princes: Remarkable circumſtances attending the Queen's death: The prevalence of the Spaniſh intereſt in the Court of England after King James I.'s acceſſion to the Crown: The character of the principal Miniſters of the Courts of France and Bruſſels: The practices of the Jeſuits, and Engliſh fugitives in Flanders, for bringing over the Engliſh regiment, in the Archduke's ſervice there, to ſecond the execution of the gunpowder-plot; with ſeveral circumſtances, hitherto unknown, ſhewing the reality and extent of that plot: The conduct of the Engliſh Commiſſioners in the treaty for the truce between Spain and the United Provinces in 1609; with Prince Maurice's endeavours to break off that treaty: Remarks relating to the murder of Henry IV. of France: The ſtate of affairs in that kingdom during the minority of Lewis XIII.; the factions in that Court: The deſigns of the Princes of the Blood, and the heads of the Proteſtant party, to remove Secretary Villeroy, and other Miniſters, who were devoted to Spain: The countenance which King James I. gave to theſe deſigns; his intrigues with the Princes; and his frequent interpoſitions in the domeſtic quarrels of France: The attention which Prince Henry gave to foreign affairs: His zeal for the Proteſtant intereſt: and his ſpirit and vivacity, which gave umbrage to his father, and his favourite, Carr Viſcount Rocheſter: The factions which diſtracted the Engliſh Court under that favourite, and his ſucceſſor, Villiers Earl of Buckingham: The diſtreſſed ſituation of the nation under their adminiſtration, confeſſed even by ſome of the great men then in employment: and the characters of ſome of theſe great men (12).’

(12) Introduction to the Hiſtorical Review, p. xxii to xxix.

which is comprized in one volume, 8*vo*, and is dedicated to the Honourable Charles Yorke, Eſq; appeared in 1763. It is taken from ſome papers which had been originally in the poſſeſſion of Dr. Rawley, Lord Bacon's Chaplain, whoſe executor, Mr. John Rawley, having put them into the hands of Dr. Teniſon, they were, at length, depoſited in the Manuſcript Library at Lambeth. Dr. Birch, ſpeaking of theſe papers of Lord Bacon, ſays, that it can ſcarcely be imagined, but that the bringing to light, from obſcurity and oblivion, the remains of ſo eminent a perſon, will be thought an acquiſition not inferior to the diſcovery (if the ruins of Herculaneum ſhould afford ſuch a treaſure) of a new ſet of the Epiſtles of Cicero, whom our immortal countryman moſt remarkably reſembled as an orator, a philoſopher, a writer, a lawyer, and a ſtateſman (*r*). Though this, perhaps, is ſpeaking too highly of a Collection, which contains many things in it ſeemingly not very material, it muſt, at the ſame time, be allowed, that nothing can be totally unintereſting which relates to ſo illuſtrious a man, or tends, in any degree, to give a farther inſight into his character. Theſe are all the ſeparate publications of Dr. Birch that have come to our knowledge, excepting a Sermon on the Proof of the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God, from the Frame and Conſtitution of Man, preached before the College of Phyſicians, in 1749, in conſequence of Lady Sadlier's will: to which we may add, that he reviſed new editions of Bacon's, Boyle's, and Tillotſon's Works *. The Lives of Boyle and Tillotſon, though printed by themſelves, were drawn up partly with a view to their being prefixed to theſe great men's writings. It would ſwell this article too much, were we to enter into a detail of our author's communications to the Royal Society, and of the papers tranſmitted by him to that illuſtrious body. For theſe it muſt ſuffice to refer to the Philoſophical Tranſactions. Whoever looks into his Hiſtory of the early proceedings of the Society, will have no doubt of the aſſiduity and diligence with which he diſcharged his peculiar duty as Secretary. But there is nothing which ſets Dr. Birch's induſtry in a more ſtriking light than the vaſt number of tranſcripts which he made with his own hands. Among theſe, not to mention many other inſtances, there are no leſs than ſixteen volumes in quarto, of Anthony Bacon's papers, tranſcribed from the Lambeth library; and eight more volumes of the ſame ſize, relative to hiſtory and literature. Our author's correſpondence, by letters, was, likewiſe, very large and extenſive; of which numerous proofs occur in the Britiſh Muſeum. What enabled Dr. Birch to go through ſuch a variety of undertakings, was his being a very early riſer (*s*). By this method, he had executed the buſineſs of the morning before numbers of people had begun it: and, indeed, it is the peculiar advantage of riſing betimes, that it is not in the power of any interruptions, avocations, or engagements whatever, to deprive a man of the hours which have already been well employed, or to rob him of the conſolation of reflecting, that he hath not ſpent the day in vain. With all this cloſeneſs of application, Dr. Birch was not a ſolitary recluſe. He was of a chearful and ſocial temper, and entered much into converſation with the world. He was perſonally connected with moſt of the literary men of his time, and with ſome of them he maintained an intimate friendſhip. When we mention, among the dead, Sir Hans Sloane, Dr. Mead, Dr. Salter, Mr. Jortin, and Dr. Maty, and, among the living, Daniel Wray, Eſq; Dr. Morton, Dr. Ducarel, and Dr. William Watſon, we would not be underſtood to exclude others, who may, perhaps, be equally entitled to notice. With regard to the *great*, though he ſtood well with many of them, his chief connection was with the late and preſent Earls of Hardwicke, and with the reſt of the branches of that noble and reſpectable family (*t*). In his manners, Dr. Birch was ſimple and unaffected, and his diſpoſition was truly obliging and benevolent. No one was more ready to aſſiſt his fellow-creatures, or entered more ardently into uſeful and laudable undertakings. He was particularly active in the Society for promoting Literature by the printing of books (*u*), to which we are indebted for the publication of Tanner's Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, and ſome few other valuable works. In ſhort, Dr. Birch was entitled to that higheſt praiſe, of being a good man, as well as a man of knowledge and learning. His ſentiments with reſpect to ſubjects of divinity were rational and enlarged, and he was a zealous friend to religious and civil liberty. His turn of thinking was ſimilar to that of the late Biſhop Hoadly (*w*); and ſurely the wiſe and liberal minded will not eſteem it a diſhonour to him, that he had a conformity to the principles of that eminent and excellent Prelate.

We have ſeen that it hath been objected to Dr. Birch, that he was ſometimes too minute in his publications, and that he did not always exerciſe, with due ſeverity, the power of ſelection. The charge muſt be confeſſed not to be totally groundleſs. But it may be alleged in our author's favour, that a man who has a deep and extenſive acquaintance with a ſubject, often ſees a connection and importance in ſome ſmaller circumſtances, which may not immediately be diſcerned by others; and, on that account, may have reaſons for inſerting them, that will eſcape the notice of ſuperficial minds. If, however, the Doctor carried the fault of minuteneſs to an exceſs, it leaſt of all becomes us Biographers to blame it; ſince hereby we have already been, and ſhall hereafter be enabled to render our narration of the lives of ſeveral perſons, who occur in this work, more accurate and complete.] K.

BIRKENHEAD,

(*r*) Dedication to the Letters.

* He gave, likewiſe, an edition of Profeſſor Grenſco's Miſcellaneous Works.

(*s*) From Daniel Wray, Eſq.

(*t*) From the ſame Gentleman.

(*u*) From the ſame Gentleman.

(*w*) From the ſame Gentleman.

BIRKENHEAD or BERKENHEAD (Sir JOHN), a very famous political author in the XVIIth century *(a)*. He was the ſon of Richard Birkenhead, of Northwych in the county of Cheſhire, an honeſt Sadler (*b*), and if ſome authors may deſerve credit, he kept alſo a little alehouſe (*c*). Our Author was born, as the Univerſity Regiſters ſhew, about the year 1615; and having received ſome tincture of learning in the common grammar ſchools, came to Oxford, and was entered, in 1632, a Servitor of Oriel-college, under the tuition of the learned Dr. Humphrey Lloyd, afterwards Biſhop of Bangor *(d)*, by whom being recommended to Dr. William Laud, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, he became his Amanuenſis, and in that capacity diſcovered ſo great parts and diligence, that the Archbiſhop, by his diploma, created him Maſter of Arts in 1639, and the year following, by letter commendatory from the ſame great Prelate, he was choſen Probationer-Fellow of All-Souls-college in the ſame univerſity (*e*). This preferment brought him to reſide conſtantly in Oxford, and on King Charles I. making that city his head-quarters, during the Civil War, our author was made choice of to write a kind of Journal, in defence or ſupport of the Royal Cauſe, by which he gained great reputation *(f)* [*A*]. His labours in this way being equally uſeful and acceptable to the Royaliſts, his Majeſty was pleaſed to recommend him to be choſen Reader in Moral Philoſophy, which was accordingly done, and he enjoyed this employment, though with very ſmall profit, till 1648, when he was expelled by the Parliament Viſitors *(g)*. He retired afterwards to London, where adhering ſteadily to his principles, he acquired, among thoſe of his own ſentiments, the title of *the Loyal Poet*, and ſuffered, from ſuch as had then the power in their hands, ſeveral impriſonments, which ſerved only to ſharpen his ſpleen, without abating his courage. He publiſhed, while he thus lived in obſcurity, and, as Wood ſays, by his wits (*h*), ſome very tart performances, which were then very highly reliſhed, and are ſtill admired by the curious. Theſe were, like his former productions, levelled againſt the Republican grandees, and were all written with the ſame vindictive poignancy that was then faſhionable [*B*]. Upon the Reſtoration of King Charles II., our ingenious author came

[*A*] *By which he gained great reputation.*] In thoſe days, the Preſs being entirely at liberty on both ſides, the war was carried on from thence with the greateſt vigour. The work under the care of Mr. Birkenhead, was intitled, I. '*Mercurius Aulicus*; communicating the intelligence and affairs of the Court to the reſt of the kingdom.' It was printed weekly in one ſheet, and ſometimes more, in quarto; and was chiefly calculated to raiſe the reputation of the King's friends and commanders, and run down and ridicule thoſe who ſided with the Parliament. They came out regularly, from the beginning of 1642, to the latter end of 1645, and afterwards occaſionally. When Mr. Birkenhead was otherwiſe engaged, Dr. Peter Heylyn ſupplied his place, but was not thought ſo capable of that ſpecies of writing, that is to ſay, he did not excel in that ſort of low, popular wit, which is neceſſary to render ſuch kind of pieces acceptable to the public, the only method of making them anſwer their intention (1). The Parliament thought fit to oppoſe this Court-Journal by another on their ſide of the queſtion, under the title of *Mercurius Britannicus*, written by Marchmont Nedham, to whom the Royaliſts gave the name of *foul-mouthed Nedham*; who, finding himſelf ſomewhat unequal to the Oxford Writer, thought fit to aſcribe the *Mercurius Aulicus* to ſeveral perſons, that his deficiency might do the leſs prejudice to his party (2). 'The penning, ſays he, of theſe *Mercurii Aulici* was the act of many, *viz.* *Birkenhead* the Scribe, Secretary *Nicholas* the Informer, and *George Digby* the Contriver.' But to make the inequality appear ſtill greater, he (3) inſinuated farther, *that a weekly aſſeſſment of wit was impoſed on every college in the Univerſity for the better furniſhing this performance.* There has been a very ſtrange miſtake committed by a late writer upon this ſubject. He had heard that this gentleman was a Poet, and from thence took it for granted, that whatever he wrote muſt be in verſe: this induced him to give the following character, which ſhews how neceſſary it is to ſupply the defects of ſuch collections by a work of this nature (4). 'The ſtedfaſt adherence, ſays he, of this gentleman to the *Royal Cauſe*, procured him the title of the *Loyal Poet*; and though the reward of his loyalty was the moſt ſevere impriſonment, yet his principles were immoveable in all changes of fortune. Among his other pieces, the poem, intitled *Mercurius Aulicus*, will do him immortal honour, which a writer of that time thus juſtly celebrates:

'Whilſt laurel ſprigs another's head ſhall crown,
'Thou the whole grove may'ſt challenge as thy own.

'This worthy patriot lived to ſee the Reſtoration, and had not only that happineſs, but likewiſe to be a ſpectator of the deſerved execution of ſome of the rebels, who had ſo baſely conſpired to take away his life, and whom he had ſo truly delineated in his admirable poem above mentioned.'

[*B*] *All written with the ſame vindictive poignancy, that was then faſhionable.*] It would be a very difficult thing to give a correct catalogue of this gentleman's writings; but, however, it may not be amiſs to mention ſome of the moſt conſiderable, the rather becauſe they are at preſent remarkably ſcarce; and ſuch as have mentioned them do not always ſpeak of them with tolerable accuracy or exactneſs.

II. *The Aſſembly-man.* This was written by our author in the year 1647, but was printed, as Mr. Wood tells us, in 1662-3. It was printed again in 1681-2; and the reader may form a tolerable notion of it from the ſubſequent quotation, in which he gives us an account, after his manner, of the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter, which was, properly ſpeaking, the Parliament's Convocation (5).

'This aſſembly at firſt was a full *century*, which ſhould be reckoned, as the Scholiaſt's *Hecatomb*, by their feet, not heads; or count them by ſcores, for in things without heads ſixſcore go to an hundred. They would be a new *Septuagint*; the old tranſlated ſcriptures out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, theſe turn them into *four ſhillings* a day. And theſe *Aſſemblers* were begot in one day, as *Hercules*'s fifty baſtards all in one night. Their firſt liſt was ſprinkled with ſome names of honour [Dr. *Sanderſon*, Dr. *Morley*, Dr. *Hammond*, &c.]; but theſe were Divines too worthy to mix with ſuch ſcandalous Miniſters, and would not aſſemble without the *Royal Call.* Nay, the firſt liſt had one Archbiſhop, and a Biſhop and an half (for Biſhop *Browning* was then but elect): But now their aſſembly (as Philoſophers think the world) conſiſts of *atoms*, petty ſmall *Levites*, whoſe parts are not *perceptible.* And yet theſe inferior poſtern Teachers have intoxicated *England* (for a man ſometimes grows drunk by a gliſter). When they all meet they ſhew beaſts in *Affrick*, by coupling together monſters. Mr. *Selden* viſits them (as *Perſians* uſe) to ſee wild aſſes fight. When the Commons have tired him by their *new Law*, theſe Brethren refreſh him by their *mad Goſpel.* They 'lately

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(a) Winſtanley's Lives of the Engliſh Poets, p. 180.

(b) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 639.

(c) A ſeaſonable Argument to perſuade all Grand Juries to petition for a new Parliament, London, 1677, 4to, p. 19.

(d) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 639.

(e) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 282.

(f) Grey's Examination of Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. ii. and iii. in a multitude of places.

(g) Liſt of the reverend and worthy Perſons who ſuffered for their loyalty in the univerſity of Oxford.

(h) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 640. Winſtanley's Lives of the Engliſh Poets, p. 180.

(1) Life of Dr. Heylyn. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 639. Winſtanley's Lives of Engliſh Poets, p. 180.

(2) Mercur. Britan. No. xvi.

(3) *Id. Ibid.*

(4) Jacob's Lives and Characters of Engliſh Poets, Vol. i. p. 8, 9, all, but the blunder of making *Mercurius Aulicus* a Poem, being ſtolen from the Account given by Winſtanley.

(5) Aſſembly-Man, p. 1.

came to be as eminently diſtinguiſhed as his great merit deſerved. He was created, April 6, 1661, on the King's letters ſent for that purpoſe, Doctor of the Civil Law by the univerſity of Oxford (i), and in that quality, was one of the eminent Civilians conſulted by the Convocation on the queſtion, *Whether Biſhops ought to be preſent in capital caſes?* and with the reſt, Feb. 2, 1661-2, gave it under his hand, they ought and might (k). He was, about the ſame time, elected a Burgeſs, to ſerve in Parliament for Wilton in the county of Wilts, and continuing his ſervices to his Maſter, was by him promoted, on the firſt vacancy, to ſome office at Court, which he quitted afterwards, and became Maſter in the Faculty Office (l). He was knighted November 14, 1662, and upon Sir Richard Fanſhaw's going with a public character to the Court of Madrid, Sir John Birkenhead ſucceeded him as Maſter of Requeſts (m). Theſe were the rewards of his wit and loyalty; but it may not be amiſs to mention another evidence of his good ſenſe and learning, which is his being elected a Member of the Royal Society (n), an honour done to none who were not well known in the Republic of Letters, as men capable of promoting the truly noble deſigns of that moſt learned and famous Body. He lived afterwards in credit and eſteem with witty and learned men, and received various favours from the Court, in conſideration of the paſt, and to inſtigate him to other ſervices (o); which, however, drew upon him ſome very ſevere attacks from thoſe who oppoſed the Court. Anthony Wood has not only preſerved ſome of their coarſeſt imputations, in what he is pleaſed to ſay of our author, but is alſo diſpoſed to throw ſome unkind inſinuations himſelf, to hurt his reputation (p); but this will probably have the leſs effect, ſince his memory has been tranſ-

(i) Wood's Faſti, Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 144.

(k) Gibſon's Cod. Jur. Vol. i. p. 145. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 620.

(l) Hiſtory of the Reſtoration, p. 195.

(m) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 639.

(n) Sprat's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 431.

(o) A ſeaſonable Argument, &c. *ubi ſupra.*

(p) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 639, 640, 641.

'lately were gravelled 'twixt *Jeruſalem* and *Jericho*: 'they knew not the diſtance 'twixt thoſe two places: 'one cried twenty miles, another ten 'Twas concluded ſeven, for this reaſon, that fiſh was brought 'from Jericho to Jeruſalem market. Mr. *Selden* 'ſmiled, and ſaid, *perhaps the fiſh was ſalt fiſh*, and 'ſo ſtopped their mouths. Earl Philip goes thither 'to hear them ſpend; when he heard them toſs their '*National*, *Provincial*, *Claſſical*, *Congregational*, he 'ſwore damnably that a pack of good dogs made 'better muſic.'

III. 'News from *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*; or, '*Oxford Mancheſter'd*, &c. 1648; conſiſting of a 'ſingle ſheet in quarto.' This is a ſpeech which our author was pleaſed to put into the mouth of Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, upon his being ſent by the Parliament to new model the univerſity of Oxford, in the ſame manner that Edward Earl of Mancheſter had treated Cambridge when he viſited it as Chancellor. This ſpeech is ſuppoſed to have been delivered by the Earl in the Convocation-houſe at Oxon, on the 12th of April, 1648, and is beyond queſtion a very humorous performance, in which that Peer's wild way of talking is happily imitated, and the purpoſe our author meant to ſerve, as effectually proſecuted as in that ſatirical method could be done.

IV. '*Paul*'s Church-yard; *Libri Theologici, Politici, Hiſtorici, nundinis Paulinis (una cum templo)* '*proſtant venales*, &c. printed in three ſheets, quarto, '1649.' Theſe ſheets were publiſhed ſeparately, as if they had been parts of one general catalogue. They conſiſted of the feigned titles of books, and of Acts of Parliament, with ſeveral queries upon the times. They were written with great wit and ſpirit (6), allowing for the taſte of that age, had a very quick ſale, and contributed not a little to make thoſe laughed at for the uſe of their power, who were otherwiſe very terrible from their poſſeſſion of it.

(6) Grey's Examination of Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. iii. p. 98. 170. 261, &c.

He wrote beſides ſeveral other ſmall pieces in the ſame way, particularly *The four-legged Quaker*, a ballad, to the tune of *the Dog and Elder's Maid*. A New Ballad of a famous *German Prince*, without date. Some other pamphlets publiſhed in thoſe times, ſeem from their ſtyle and manner to be of his compoſition, though never owned by him, either at the time they were publiſhed, or after the Reſtoration, when it was ſafer as well as more honourable. Perhaps he had private reaſons for not owning them, as they were moſt of them perſonal ſatires againſt men, ſome of whom having changed their principles, were not without power in the reign of King Charles II.

Our author has alſo ſeveral copies of verſes and tranſlations extant, to which are vocal compoſitions ſet by Mr. Henry Lawes; as particularly Anacreon's ode, called the *Lute*, tranſlated from the Greek, and to be ſung by a Baſe alone; and an Anniverſary on the *Nuptials* of *John* Earl of *Bridgwater*, 22d July, 1652. He wrote likewiſe a poem *on his ſtaying in London*, after the Act of Baniſhment for Cavaliers; and another called the *Jolt*, made upon Cromwell the Protector's being thrown out of his coach-box in Hyde-Park.

He publiſhed Mr. Robert Waring's (7) *Effigies Amoris, ſive quid ſit Amor efflagitanti reſponſum.* London, 1649, in 12mo, from the original at the author's deſire, who was willing to be concealed. The third edition was publiſhed after the Reſtoration by William Griffith of Oxford, with an epiſtle before it, written by him to Sir John Birkenhead; wherein he gives the character of that gentleman, as well as of the author. This was the ſame piece afterwards tranſlated into Engliſh by the famous Mr. Norris of Bemerton (8), and publiſhed under the title of *The Picture of* LOVE *unveiled.*

(7) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 224.

(8) Printed at London, 1682, 8vo.

We meet alſo with ſeveral copies of verſes written by this gentleman, and prefixed to the works of the moſt eminent Wits and greateſt Poets of his time; and they are ſuch as ſhew he was a perſon who excelled in that way himſelf, as well as one who admired the good ſenſe of other men. The following lines are from a Poem of his prefixed to the works of Beaumont and Fletcher, in which he ſpeaks thus of the death of the former.

——— But as when fate one eye deprives,
The other ſtrives to double that ſurvives:
So Beaumont died, yet left in legacy
His rules and ſtandard wit, (Fletcher) to thee.
Still the ſame planet, though not fill'd ſo ſoon,
A two-horned creſcent then, now one full moon;
Joint love before, now honour doth provoke;
So the twin-giants forcing a huge oak,
One ſlipp'd his footing, th' other ſees him fall,
Graſp'd the whole tree, and ſingle held up all, &c.

Of Beaumont's performances he gave this commendation.

I grieve not now that old *Menander*'s vein
Is ruin'd to ſurvive in thee again:
Such in his time was he, of the ſame piece,
The ſmooth, even natural wit, and love of Greece;
Whoſe few ſententious fragments ſhew more worth,
Than all the Poets *Athens* e'er brought forth.

But his Latin lines under Fletcher's picture are juſtly conſidered as doing him as much honour as any that ever fell from his pen, and ſhall therefore be here preſerved.

Felicis ævi, ac *Præſulis* natus; comes
Beaumontio; ſic quippe Parnaſſus, *Biceps*;
FLETCHERUS unam in pyramida furcas agens.
Struxit chorum plus ſimplicem vates duplex;
Plus duplicem ſolus: nec ullum tranſtulit;
Nec transferendus: Dramatum æterni ſales.
Anglo theatro, orbi, ſibi, ſuperſtites.
FLETCHERE, facies abſque vultu pingitur;
Quantus! vel *umbram* circuit nemo tuam.

mitted with honour to poſterity by others [C]. He died in Weſtminſter, December 4, 1679, and was interred at St. Martin's in the Fields (q), leaving to his executors, Sir Richard Maſon, and Sir Muddiford Bamſton, a large and curious collection of pamphlets on all ſubjects.

(q) Obituarium, by J. Beauchamp, MS. p. 195.

[C] *Has been tranſmitted with honour to poſterity by others.*] It is not eaſy to conceive why Mr. Wood, who is otherwiſe ready enough to beſtow praiſes upon men of this gentleman's principles, ſhould be notwithſtanding inclined to treat him very harſhly, and with great diſreſpect. In ſpeaking of his conduct, after he was driven from Oxford to London, he makes uſe of the following terms (9). *He lived by his wits in helping young gentlemen out at dead lifts, and making Poems, Songs, and Epiſtles on and to their reſpective miſtreſſes; as alſo in tranſlating and writing ſeveral little things, and other petit employments.* He afterwards cites more groſs abuſe than his own, from a pamphlet written with an avowed deſign of abuſing every body that is mentioned in it; and, not ſatisfied with this, he has alſo written a Comment upon this abuſe in the following terms: 'The truth is, had he not been given to ſo much bantering, which is now taken up by vain and idle people, he might have paſſed for a good wit. And had he alſo expreſſed himſelf grateful and reſpectful to thoſe who had been his benefactors in the time of his neceſſity, which he did not, but rather ſlighted them (ſhewing thereby the baſeneſs of his ſpirit), he might have paſſed for a friend and a loving companion.' One would imagine from hence, that Mr. Wood muſt have been acquainted with theſe facts of his own knowledge; and yet in his Life written by himſelf, and in which abundance of little circumſtances, relating to almoſt every body that he knew are ſet down, there is not one word of our author, which induces me to believe, that he took this upon truſt from papers that were ſent him: for I find that in this life, as in moſt others, he ſets down many things as his own opinion in the words of other perſons, without taking the leaſt notice of thoſe from whom he tranſcribed. But men of as great reputation as Mr. Wood, and who had an opportunity of knowing Sir John Birkenhead to the full as well as he, mention him in very different terms, and as a perſon of quite another character. The celebrated Mr. Dryden calls him his learned and worthy friend (10). He is mentioned with great reſpect by Langbaine in his account of Engliſh dramatic Poets (11). And another author who has treated upon the ſame ſubject, excuſes his giving us but a very ſhort account of his performances, by ſaying, that (12) *as for his learned writings, thoſe who were ignorant of them, muſt plead ignorance both to wit and learning.* There might be much more ſaid upon this ſubject, but that we are not at all inclined to tire our reader with a tedious train of laboured commendations. It is enough if we have ſet this life in a clearer light than that in which it has hitherto ſtood, and vindicated the author's merit from the prejudices of a peeviſh writer, or of one who willingly employed his pen in tranſcribing the effects of other peoples malice. C.

(9) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 639, 640.

(10) Defence of an Eſſay upon Dramatic Poetry, prefixed to *The Indian Emperor.*

(11) Account of Engliſh Dramatic Poets, p 206.

(12) Winſtanley's Lives of Engliſh Poets, p. 181.

⁂ [It is related of Sir John Birkenhead, that when an unmannerly Member of Parliament, in oppoſing him, took occaſion to ſay, that he was ſurpriſed to hear an alehouſe-keeper's ſon talk ſo confidently in the houſe, he coolly replied, 'I am an alehouſe-keeper's ſon, I own it, and am not aſhamed of it; but had the Gentleman who upbraided me with my birth been thus deſcended, in all probability he would have been of the ſame profeſſion himſelf (13).] K.

(13) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. ii. p. 180.

BLACKALL (OFFSPRING) (a), Biſhop of Exeter at the beginning of the preſent century, was born in London in the year 1654, and was educated at Catherine-hall in the univerſity of Cambridge. In 1690, he was promoted to the living of St. Mary Aldermanbury in London. In 1695, he was choſen Lecturer of St. Olave in the Old Jewry; which lectureſhip he reſigned in 1698, for that of St. Dunſtan's in the Weſt. He was likewiſe one of King William's Chaplains in Ordinary; though it is ſaid, he had refuſed for two years to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary [A]. In 1699, he animadverted upon a paſſage thrown out by Mr. Toland, when he was maintaining that King Charles I. was not author of the *Icon Baſilike* [B]. In 1700, he preached

(a) *The particulars of the text of this article, excepting what relates to the Biſhop's writings, are extracted from the authors of the* General Dictionary, *to whom they were communicated by his Widow, &c.*

[A] *It is ſaid, he had refuſed for two years to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary.*] This is aſſerted in a pamphlet publiſhed in 1705, intitled, *Dr. Blackall's Offſpring*:

Aut paſtor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo. Juv.

London, printed for the uſe of the Veſtry of St. Dunſtan's in the Weſt. It was occaſioned by a *Sermon* of the Doctor's on *Proverbs* xxiv. 21. intitled *The Subjects Duty*, preached at the pariſh church of St. Dunſtan's in the Weſt, Tueſday, March the 8th, being the anniverſary of her Majeſty's happy acceſſion. The pamphlet pretends, that the principles advanced in the ſermon ſeem *altogether irreconcileable to a gentleman's character, who made a keck in a late reign at the oath of allegiance to the people's election*; and calls upon the Doctor to reconcile his *ſticking out two years againſt taking the oath of allegiance to the late King and Queen, with his reaſons of compliance afterwards* (1).

(1) Page 3, 4, 5.

[B] *He animadverted upon Mr. Toland for maintaining, that King Charles I. was not author of the* Icon Baſilike.] That author, in his *Life of Milton*, having ſtated the proofs, that Dr. Gauden, afterwards Biſhop of Exeter, was the true author of the book in queſtion, makes the following reflection. 'When I ſeriouſly conſider how all this happened among ourſelves, within the compaſs of forty years, in a time of great learning and politeneſs, when both parties ſo narrowly watched over one another's actions, and what a great revolution in civil and religious affairs was partly occaſioned by the credit of that book, I ceaſe to wonder any longer how ſo many ſuppoſititious pieces under the name of Chriſt, his Apoſtles, and other great perſons, ſhould be publiſhed and approved in the primitive times, when it was of ſo much importance to have them believed; when the cheats were too many on all ſides for them to reproach one another, which yet they often did; when commerce was not near ſo general as now, and the whole earth entirely overſpread with the darkneſs of ſuperſtition. I doubt rather the ſpuriouſneſs of ſeveral more ſuch books is yet undiſcovered, through the remoteneſs of thoſe ages, the death of the perſons concerned, and the decay of other monuments, which might give us true information.' This obſervation gave offence to many; and, among the reſt, Mr. Blackall, in a Sermon preached on the 30th of January before the Houſe of Commons, upon *John* ix. 3. particularly took notice of it in theſe words. *We may ceaſe to wonder, that he ſhould have the boldneſs, without proof, and againſt proof, to deny the authority of this book, who is ſuch an Infidel as to doubt, and is ſhameleſs and impudent enough, even in print, and in a Chriſtian country, publickly to affront our Holy Religion, by declaring his doubt, that ſeveral pieces under the name of Chriſt and his Apoſtles (he muſt mean thoſe now received by the Chriſtian Church, for I know of no other) are ſuppoſititious, though, through the remoteneſs of thoſe ages, the death of the perſons concerned, and the decay of other monuments, which might give us true information, the ſpuriouſneſs thereof is yet undiſcovered.* Mr. Toland, in his *Amyntor* (2), endeavoured to vindicate himſelf by ſhewing, that, in the paſſage animadverted upon, his meaning was, that 'a great many ſpurious books were early fathered upon Chriſt, his Apoſtles, and other great names, part whereof are ſtill acknowledged to be genuine, and the

(2) *Publiſhed in* 1699, p. 15.

preached a courſe of Sermons at Mr. Boyle's Lecture in the cathedral church of St. Paul's. He was conſecrated Biſhop of Exeter the 8th of February, 1707. In 1709, he was engaged in a controverſy with Mr. Hoadly [*C*], the late Biſhop of Wincheſter (*b*), concerning the inſtitution of Civil Government, and the meaſures of ſubmiſſion. This worthy Prelate died at Exeter, the 29th of November 1716, and was buried in the cathedral there. His Sermons [*D*] were collected and publiſhed together, in two volumes in *folio*, Lond. 1723. Sir William Dawes, late Archbiſhop of York gives (*c*) our author a moſt excellent character [*E*].

(*b*) *In* 1746.

(*c*) In his *Preface* to Biſhop Blackall's *Sermons.*

‘ the reſt to be forged :’ *in neither of which aſſertions,* ſays he, *I could be juſtly ſuppoſed to mean any books of the New Teſtament.* This occaſioned our Author to publiſh a little pamphlet in 12*mo*, intitled, *Mr. Blackall's Reaſons for not replying to a book lately publiſhed, intitled,* Amyntor, *in a Letter to a Friend,* April 21, 1699. And the principal reaſon aſſigned is, becauſe Mr. Toland, in explaining his meaning, had agreed with him, that the books of the New Teſtament are genuine ; which was all he (Mr. Blackall) ever meant to contend for (3). In this piece Mr. Blackall mentions an objection made by Mr. Toland in the concluſion of his *Amyntor*, againſt the obſervation of the 30th of January, and the Sermons which have been preached on that day ; *a ſubject* (he ſays) *more proper to be debated in Parliament, than by private perſons* (4). But he ſpeaks directly to another remark of the ſame author's, who pretended, that ſeveral perſons took offence at his calling King Charles I., in that Sermon, *the beſt of Kings, and the beſt of Men,* and eſpecially, *becauſe he had not excepted his* (then) *preſent Majeſty.* ‘ He might have added, *ſays our author* (5), ‘ that it was a greater fault in me, than it would have been in another, becauſe I write myſelf *Chaplain to his Majeſty.* But the author, I think, does not ſay, he himſelf was offended at this expreſſion ; and I ſuppoſe thoſe ſeveral (if indeed there were any that upon this account only were angry at it) were only ſuch as not only have not been converſant in ancient authors, but are not yet ſo far read even in their Teſtament, as to the beginning of St. Luke's Goſpel, where, *verſe* 3, he ſtyles Theophilus *moſt excellent*, by which, I ſuppoſe, few, even of theſe beginners to read, do think that St. Luke meant to make a compariſon between him and other excellent perſons, and much leſs to prefer Theophilus before all other men, the holy Apoſtles of our Lord not excepted. And therefore this being ſo manifeſtly an invidious cavil, I think, needs no anſwer, eſpecially when, in the Sermon itſelf, though I commend King Charles I. for his virtues, I did allow, that he had faults. But the faults that were then, and have been ſince charged upon him, being only ſuch as he might be, and I believe was, led into by miſinformation, and a miſtake of the extent of his power and prerogative, I ſaid, they were only ſuch as were conſiſtent with integrity of mind ; and ſuch faults as theſe can hardly, I think, be called Vices and Immoralities.’ *As to the reflections* (adds Mr. Blackall) *which he has almoſt in every page made upon me, particularly as to the meanneſs of my parts, and my great want of learning, I value them not. Let the world believe of me as it pleaſes: or if I was minded to make any anſwer to theſe parts of his book, it ſhould be only this: That my natural parts are ſuch as God was pleaſed to give me, to which I can no more add, than to my ſtature. However, ſuch as they are, I am contented with them, and thankful for them: And that my learning is as much as by moderate ſtudy with ſuch parts I have been able to attain. And to this perhaps I ſhould ſubjoin a prayer, in which I make no doubt* I. T. (*) *would think himſelf included* (*as well as he is thought by ſome to be in the prayer for Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Hereticks*), viz. *That they, who have better parts and more learning, may uſe and improve them to the glory of him that gave them, and do more good in the world than I am able to do.*

(3) Dr. Blackall's Reaſons, *&c.* p. 10.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 16.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 17.

(*) John Toland.

[*C*] *He was engaged in a controverſy with Mr. Hoadly.*] It was occaſioned by his Sermon upon *Rom.* xiii. 3, 4. intitled, *The Divine Inſtitution of Magiſtracy, and the gracious deſign of its inſtitution,* preached before the Queen at St. James's on Tueſday, March 8, 1708, being the anniverſary of her Majeſty's happy acceſſion to the throne, and publiſhed by her Majeſty's ſpecial command. The next year, 1709, Mr. Hoadly animadverted upon the Biſhop's Sermon, in a piece, intitled, *Some Conſiderations humbly offered to the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Exeter, occaſioned by his Lordſhip's Sermon before her Majeſty, March* 8, 1708 (6). Upon this the Biſhop publiſhed *An Anſwer to Mr. Hoadly's Letter,* dated from Bath, May the 10th, 1709. Mr. Hoadly endeavoured to vindicate himſelf, in *An Humble Reply to the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Exeter's Anſwer ; in which the Conſiderations offered to his Lordſhip are vindicated, and an Apology is added for defending the foundation of the preſent Government.* London, 1709, in 8*vo*. For the ſubject-matter of this controverſy, the reader is referred to the pieces themſelves. It need only be obſerved here, that Biſhop Blackall defends the *High-Church, Tory,* principles (as they uſually are called), of the *Divine Inſtitution* of *Magiſtracy*, and unlimited *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-reſiſtance*; which Mr. Hoadly oppoſes. There were ſeveral pamphlets written on the ſide of the Biſhop againſt Mr. Hoadly ; particularly one, intitled, *The beſt Anſwer that ever was made, and to which no Anſwer will be made*; ſuppoſed to be written by Mr. Leſley, a Nonjuring Clergyman, and which Mr. Hoadly animadverts upon in the *Poſtſcript* to his *Humble Reply.*

(6) It is extant in Mr. Hoadly's *Tracts*, p. 307, Lond. 1715, 8*vo*.

[*D*] *His Sermons.*] Dr. Felton, ſpeaking of the *celebrated Authors in Divinity* (7), ſays, ‘ Biſhop Fleetwood's *ſoftneſs*, and Biſhop Blackall's *plainneſs*, are their characters: excellent writers both!’ And Sir William Dawes, Archbiſhop of York, in his *Preface* to theſe *Sermons*, tells us, *it might ſeem abundantly ſufficient to recommend them to the world, only to aſſure it, that they are indeed the Sermons of our author, whoſe conſtant way of preaching was well known in the city of London to have been ſo* excellent, eaſy, clear, judicious, ſubſtantial, pious, affecting, and *upon all accounts truly* uſeful *and* edifying, *that he had univerſally acquired the reputation of being one of the beſt preachers, which the laſt century, above all others fruitful of good ones, had bred: That they are a complete ſet of Diſcourſes upon one of the nobleſt and moſt important ſubjects of our Holy Religion,* viz. *a Syſtem of Chriſtian Morality, according to its utmoſt improvement and perfection, delivered by our Lord himſelf in his Sermon on the Mount.*

(7) In his *Diſſertation on reading the Claſſicks,* &c. Lond. 1730, in 12*mo*, p. 188.

[*E*] *Sir William ——— gives our Author a moſt excellent character.*] Having told us, that his Sermons contain a complete Syſtem of Chriſtian Morality (8), he adds: ‘ The Author was, by his happy temper of mind, and truly Chriſtian converſation of life, peculiarly fitted to treat well on this ſubject ; and was indeed himſelf all that he preached, and had lived over every rule of this divine Philoſophy, before he preſumed to teach it to others ; and by ſo doing, he had feelingly and experimentally learned its reaſonableneſs, uſefulneſs, neceſſity, practicableneſs, and true way of practiſing it, and its conduciveneſs to attain that bleſſed ſtate, which it propoſed and promiſed to mankind.’ *I,* continues the Archbiſhop, *who had the happineſs of a long and intimate friendſhip with him, do ſincerely declare, that, in my whole converſation, I never met with a more perfect pattern of a true Chriſtian life in all its parts, than in him ; ſo much primitive ſimplicity and integrity ; ſuch conſtant evenneſs of mind, and uniform conduct of behaviour ; ſuch unaffected, and yet moſt ardent piety towards God ; ſuch orthodox and ſtedfaſt faith in Chriſt ; ſuch diſintereſted and fervent charity to all mankind ; ſuch profound modeſty, humility, and ſobriety ; ſuch an equal mixture of meekneſs and courage, of chearfulneſs and gravity, of pleaſing and profiting all he converſed with ; ſuch an exact diſcharge of all the relative duties ; and, in one word, ſuch an indifferency to this lower world and the things of it ; and ſuch an entire affection and joyous hope and expectation of the things which are above ; as are rarely to be found altogether even in very good Chriſtians.* B.

(8) *See the preceding Remarks.*

*** [BLACKMORE (Sir Richard), Phyſician to King William III. and Queen Anne, and a very voluminous Writer, was ſon of Mr. Robert Blackmore, an Attorney at Law (*a*) [*A*]. He received the firſt part of his education at a country ſchool, from whence he was removed to Weſtminſter, in the 13th year of his age (*b*). He was afterwards ſent to the univerſity of Oxford, where he continued thirteen years (*c*). He is ſaid to have been engaged for ſome time in the profeſſion of a ſchoolmaſter [*B*]; but it is probable he did not long continue in that ſituation. It appears, however, that he travelled into Italy, and took the degree of Doctor in Phyſic, at the univerſity of Padua. He alſo viſited France, Germany, and the Low Countries; and having ſpent about a year and a half abroad, he returned again to England (*d*). On his arrival in London, he engaged in the practice of phyſic there, and was choſen Fellow of the Royal College of Phyſicians. He early diſcovered his attachment to the principles of the Revolution; and this circumſtance, together with the eminence which he had attained in his profeſſion, recommended him to the notice and favour of King William. Accordingly, in 1697, he was appointed one of his Majeſty's Phyſicians in Ordinary: he had alſo a gold medal and chain beſtowed on him by that Prince (*e*), and received from him the honour of knighthood [*C*]. Upon the King's death, he was one of the Phyſicians who gave their opinions at the opening of his Majeſty's body. When Queen Anne aſcended the throne, he was appointed one of her Phyſicians, and continued in that ſtation for ſome time (*f*). Sir Richard Blackmore was the author of a variety of pieces both in proſe and verſe; and though the generality of his productions are now probably little read, yet they ſeem to have had many admirers in his own time; for the third edition of his 'Prince Arthur, an heroic Poem, in ten books,' was publiſhed, in folio, in 1696. The following year, he alſo publiſhed, in folio, 'King Arthur, an heroic Poem, in twelve books [*D*]'. In 1700, he publiſhed, in folio, in verſe, 'A Paraphraſe on the Book of Job; as likewiſe on the Songs of Moſes, 'Deborah, David; on four ſelect Pſalms; ſome Chapters of Iſaiah; and the third

(*a*) T. Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. v. p. 177.

(*b*) Cibber, *ubi ſupra.*

(*c*) Cibber, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) Cibber, *ubi ſupra.* New and Gen. Biog. Dict. 8*vo*, and Floyd's Bibliotheca Biographica.

(*e*) Cibber and Floyd, *ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) Cibber, *ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] *Son of Mr. Robert Blackmore, attorney at law.*] Anthony Wood ſays, that he was 'ſon of Robert 'Blackmore of Corſham in the county of Wilts, 'Gentleman.' He adds farther, that he 'was matriculated of St. Edmond-Hall the 19th of March, '1668, where he took his degrees in arts, afterwards ſtudied phyſic, travelled, and had the degree 'of Doctor in that faculty in Italy at Padua (1).'

(1) Atheræ Oxonienſes, Vol. ii. col. 1130.

[*B*] *He is ſaid to have been engaged for ſome time in the profeſſion of a ſchoolmaſter.*] This was certainly not in itſelf diſhonourable to Blackmore, though it was often urged as a kind of reproach, in the numerous ſatirical pieces that were written againſt him, and in one of which are the following lines:

'By nature form'd, by want a pedant made,
'Blackmore at firſt ſet up the whipping trade:
'Next quack commenced; then fierce with pride he 'ſwore,
'That tooth-ach, gout, and corns ſhould be no more.
'In vain his drugs, as well as birch, he tried;
'His boys grew blockheads, and his patients died (2).

(2) Cibber, *ubi ſupra.*

In Cibber's Lives of the Poets, theſe verſes are ſaid to have been written by Dr. Drake. But in T. Brown's works (3), they are attributed to Colonel Codrington, who was alſo the author of other pieces againſt him, and who had himſelf been attacked by Blackmore in his *Satire againſt Wit*, under the name of *Codron.*

(3) Vol. iv. p. 67.

Blackmore's being a ſchoolmaſter is alſo alluded to in the following lines of Sir Samuel Garth:

'Unwieldy pedant, let thy aukward muſe,
'With cenſures praiſe, with flatteries abuſe:
'To laſh, and not be felt, in thee's an art,
'Thou ne'er mad'ſt any but thy ſchool-boys ſmart (4).'

(4) T. Brown's Works, Vol. iv. p. 69.

[*C*] *Received from him the honour of knighthood.*] Pope mentions this in the following couplet, as an inſtance of honours and rewards being improperly beſtowed by kings:

'The hero William, and the martyr Charles,
'One knighted Blackmore, and one penſion'd 'Quarles.'

It is, however, certain, that ſuch honours have often been conferred on men who poſſeſſed much leſs merit than Blackmore.

[*D*] *King Arthur, an heroic Poem,* &c.] In the preface to this work, he ſays, 'When I had written 'Prince Arthur, a poem that came abroad two years 'ago, I was ſo diffident of the performance, that I 'continued unreſolved for many weeks, whether I 'ſhould let it appear, or wholly ſuppreſs it, till the 'judgment of others, for which I had a great deference, determined me to make it public. The favour and approbation it met with, was much greater 'and far more univerſal, even among great names, 'and eſtabliſhed, unconteſted judges, than I had ever 'the vanity to expect (5).'

(5) Pref. p. 1.

It ſeems as if our Author's *Prince Arthur* had been allowed to poſſeſs ſome merit by his opponents: for in T. Brown's Works (6) is the following paſſage: ''Tis ſtrange that an Author ſhould have a gameſter's 'fate, and not know when to give over. Had the 'City Bard ſtopped his hand at *Prince Arthur*, he 'had miſſed knighthood, 'tis true, but he had gone 'off with ſome applauſe.'

(6) Vol. iv. p. 118.

Mr. John Dennis publiſhed, in 1696, in 8*vo*, an elaborate criticiſm upon our Author's Prince Arthur, under the following title: 'Remarks on a book intitled, 'Prince Arthur, an heroic Poem. With ſome general critical obſervations, and ſeveral new remarks upon Virgil.' In this piece Mr. Dennis endeavoured to ſhew, that Blackmore's action had neither unity, nor integrity, nor morality, nor univerſality; and that conſequently he could have no fable, nor no heroic poem; and that his narration was neither probable, delightful, nor wonderful. It was not, however, his deſign to prove, that Prince Arthur was a work of no merit. For in his dedication, to the Earl of Dorſet, he ſays, 'The poem upon which I 'have made the following remarks has met with very 'different ſucceſs in the world. Some have admired 'it as a maſter-piece of art and nature. Others 'have exploded it with extreme contempt. And a 'third ſort, among whom are ſome extraordinary 'men, have been willing to encourage ſomething 'that is generous in the deſign, and ſomething that 'is happy, at leaſt in ſome parts of the execution. 'I need not acquaint your Lordſhip, that for my 'own part, I believe Prince Arthur to be neither admirable nor contemptible: for if I had either the 'one or the other opinion, I ſhould certainly never 'have written againſt him.'

One of Dennis's objections is, that 'all Mr. Blackmore's celeſtial machines, as they cannot be defended 'ſo much as by common received opinion, ſo they 'are directly contrary to the doctrine of the church 'of England *.' But in apology for Blackmore we ſhall obſerve, that it may very reaſonably be doubted, whether it be neceſſary to require, in an epic Poem, a preciſe adherence to the Thirty-nine Articles. It can hardly be reaſonable to expect ſo much orthodoxy in a poet; though Blackmore had certainly more faith than the generality of his poetical brethren. If he had poſſeſſed leſs, he would not have been ſo much an object of ridicule and ſatire.

(*) Pref. to Remarks on Prince Arthur.

Chapter of Habbakuk.' He appears to have been naturally of a very ſerious turn, and therefore took great offence at the licentious and immoral tendency of many of the productions of his contemporary Authors [*E*]. To paſs a cenſure upon theſe was the deſign

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[*E*] *Took great offence at the licentious and immoral tendency of many of the productions of his contemporary Authors.*] In the preface to *Prince Arthur* he introduces the following obſervations: ' To what ill purpoſes ſoever poetry has been abuſed, its true and genuine end is, by univerſal confeſſion, the inſtruction of our minds, and regulation of our manners; for which it is furniſhed with ſo many excellent advantages. The delicacy of its ſtrains, the ſweetneſs and harmony of its numbers, the lively and admirable manner of its painting or repreſentation, and the wonderful force of its eloquence, cannot but open the paſſages to our breaſts, triumph over our paſſions, and leave behind them very deep impreſſions. It is in the power of poetry to inſinuate into the utmoſt receſſes of the mind, to touch any ſpring that moves the heart, to agitate the ſoul with any ſort of affection, and transform it into any ſhape or poſture it thinks fit.' After ſpeaking of the deſign of *Tragedy*, *Comedy*, and *Lyric Poetry*, the ſentiments of the Ancients concerning them, and repreſenting all theſe kinds of poetry as intended to excite men to virtue, and to deter them from vice, he proceeds thus: ' But above all other kinds, *Epic Poetry*, as it is firſt in dignity, ſo it moſtly conduces to this end. In an Epic Poem, where characters of the firſt rank and dignity, illuſtrious for their birth or high employment, are introduced, the fable, the action, the particular epiſodes, are ſo contrived and conducted, or at leaſt ought to be, that either fortitude, wiſdom, piety, moderation, generoſity, ſome or other noble and princely virtues ſhould be recommended with the higheſt advantage, and their contrary vices made as odious. To give men right and juſt conceptions of religion and virtue, to aid their reaſon in reſtraining their exorbitant appetites and impetuous paſſions, and to bring their lives under the rules and guidance of true wiſdom, and thereby to promote the public good of mankind, is undoubtedly the end of all poetry.

' 'Tis true, indeed, that one end of poetry is to give men pleaſure and delight; but this is but a ſubordinate, ſubaltern end, which is in itſelf a means to the greater and ultimate one before mentioned. A poet ſhould employ all his judgment and wit, exhauſt all the riches of his fancy, and abound in beautiful and noble expreſſion, to divert and entertain others; but then it muſt be with this proſpect, that he may hereby engage their attention, inſinuate more eaſily into their minds, and more effectually convey to them wiſe inſtructions. 'Tis below the dignity of a true poet to take his aim at any inferior end. They are men of little genius, of mean and poor deſign, that employ their wit for no higher purpoſe, than to pleaſe the imagination of vain and wanton people.

' I think thoſe poets, if they muſt be called ſo, whoſe wit as they manage it, is altogether unuſeful, are juſtly reproached; but I am ſure thoſe others are highly to be condemned, who uſe all their wit in oppoſition to religion, and to the deſtruction of virtue and good manners in the world. There have been in all ages ſuch ill men that have perverted the right uſe of poetry, but never ſo many, or ſo bold and miſchievous, as in ours. Our poets ſeem engaged in a general confederacy to ruin the end of their own art, to expoſe religion and virtue, and bring vice and corruption of manners into eſteem and reputation. The poets that write for the ſtage (or at leaſt a great part of them), ſeem deeply concerned in this conſpiracy. Theſe are the champions that charge religion with ſuch deſperate reſolution, and have given it ſo many deep and ghaſtly wounds. The ſtage was an outwork or fort raiſed for the protection and ſecurity of the temple; but the poets that kept it, have revolted, and baſely betrayed it, and what is worſe, have turned all their force, and diſcharged all their artillery againſt the place their duty was to defend. If any man thinks this an unjuſt charge, I deſire him to read any of our modern comedies, and I believe he will ſoon be convinced of the truth of what I have ſaid.

' The *man of ſenſe*, and the *fine gentleman*, in the comedy, who as the chiefeſt perſon propoſed to the eſteem and imitation of the audience, is enriched with all the ſenſe and wit the poet can beſtow: this extraordinary perſon you will find to be a derider of religion, a great admirer of Lucretius, not ſo much for his learning as his irreligion; a perſon wholly idle, diſſolved in luxury, abandoned to his pleaſures, a great debaucher of women, profuſe and extravagant in his expences; and, in ſhort, this finiſhed gentleman will appear a finiſhed libertine.

' The young lady that muſt ſupport the character of a virtuous, well-mannered, ſenſible woman, the moſt perfect creature that can be, and the very flower of her ſex; this accompliſhed perſon entertains the audience with confident diſcourſes, immodeſt repartees, and profane raillery. She is thoroughly inſtructed in intrigues and aſſignations, a great ſcoffer at the prudent reſervedneſs and modeſty of the beſt of her ſex; ſhe deſpiſes the wiſe inſtructions of her parents or guardians, is diſobedient to their authority, and, at laſt, without their knowledge or conſent, marries herſelf to the fine gentleman above mentioned. And can any one imagine, but that our young ladies and gentlemen are admirably inſtructed by ſuch patterns of ſenſe and virtue? If a clergyman be introduced, as he often is, it is ſeldom for any other purpoſe but to abuſe him, to expoſe his very character and profeſſion. He muſt be a pimp, a blockhead, a hypocrite; ſome wretched figure he muſt make; and almoſt ever be ſo managed, as to bring his very order into contempt. This, indeed, is a very common, but yet ſo groſs an abuſe of wit, as was never endured on a Pagan theatre, at leaſt in the ancient primitive times of poetry, before its purity and ſimplicity became corrupted with the inventions of after ages.'——' And as theſe characters are ſet up on purpoſe to ruin all opinion and eſteem of virtue, ſo the conduct throughout, the language, the fable, and contrivance, ſeem evidently deſigned for the ſame noble end. There are few fine conceits, few ſtrains of wit, or extraordinary pieces of raillery, but are either immodeſt or irreligious, and very few ſcenes but have ſome ſpiteful and envious ſtroke at ſobriety and good manners, whence the youth of the nation have apparently received very bad impreſſions (7).' There is certainly too much truth in theſe obſervations of Sir Richard Blackmore, though they gave great offence to ſome of the dramatic writers of his own time. Mr. Collier ſoon after alſo attacked the ſtage on the ſame ground; and ſince that period our theatrical exhibitions have become leſs licentious and immoral.

Sir Richard appears to have been no enemy to the ſtage, when the pieces exhibited upon it were not of a licentious tendency; for in the preface to his *King Arthur* is the following paſſage: ' Since the writing of this, I have ſeen a tragedy called the *Mourning Bride*, which I think myſelf obliged to take notice of in this place. This poem has received, and in my opinion very juſtly, univerſal applauſe, being looked on as the moſt perfect tragedy that has been wrote in this age. The fable, as far as I can judge at firſt ſight, is a very artful and maſterly contrivance. The characters are well choſen, and well delineated. That of Zara is admirable. The paſſions are well touched, and ſkilfully wrought up. The diction is proper, clear, beautiful, noble, and diverſified agreeably to the variety of the ſubject. Vice, as it ought to be, is puniſhed, and oppreſſed innocence at laſt rewarded. Nature appears very happily imitated, excepting one or two doubtful inſtances, through the whole piece; in all which there are no immodeſt images or expreſſions, no wild, unnatural rants; but, ſome few exceptions being allowed, all things are chaſte, juſt, and decent. This tragedy, as I ſaid before, has mightily obtained; and that

(7) Pref. to Prince Arthur, p. 1—6.

deſign of his Poem, intitled, ‘A Satire upon Wit [*F*],’ which was firſt publiſhed in the year 1700 (*g*). But this piece was attacked and ridiculed by many different writers [*G*], and there ſeemed to be a kind of confederacy of the Wits againſt him [*H*]. On the 16th of November, 1713, he began a paper, printed three times a week, called

(*g*) It was reprinted in his collection of poems, publiſhed in 1718.

‘ without the unnatural and fooliſh mixture of farce ‘ and buffoonery, without ſo much as a ſong or ‘ dance to make it more agreeable. By this it appears, that as a ſufficient genius can recommend ‘ itſelf, and furniſh out abundant matter of pleaſure ‘ and admiration without the paltry helps above ‘ named, ſo likewiſe that the taſte of the nation is ‘ not ſo far depraved, but that a regular and chaſte ‘ play will not only be forgiven, but highly applauded (8).’

(8) Pref. to King Arthur, p. 7, 8.

[*F*] *A Satire upon Wit.*] Sir Richard ſeems not to have been very happy in the title of his piece; but it is evident, that it was not wit which he meant to cenſure, but the abuſe of it, and that diſpoſition which ſo much prevailed, of turning every thing ſerious into ridicule and banter. He ſpeaks of the wits of this claſs as having a particular inveteracy againſt Dr. Bentley.

‘ Againſt all ſprings of learning they declare,
‘ Againſt religion's nurſeries, and ſwear
‘ They'll of the ſchools not one ſupporter ſpare.
‘ But chief the crew affirm by all that's good,
‘ They'll ne'er diſperſe till they have Bentley's
‘ blood;
‘ For that ill-natur'd critic has undone
‘ The fineſt piece of wit (*) that has been ſhown;
‘ 'Till his rude ſtrokes had thraſh'd the empty ſheaf,
‘ We thought there had been ſomething elſe than
‘ chaff:
‘ Crown'd with applauſe this maſter-critic ſits,
‘ And round him lie the ſpoils of ruin'd wits:
‘ How great a man! what reverence were his due,
‘ Could he ſuppreſs the critic's *Faſtus* too?
‘ As certain words will lunatics enrage,
‘ Who did before appear ſedate and ſage,
‘ So do but Locke, or books, or Newton name,
‘ The wit's in clammy ſweats, or in a flame.’

(*) Boyle's piece againſt Bentley.

In another part of the ſame poem he ſays,

‘ Had not this merry ſickneſs of the head,
‘ This plague in faſhion o'er the nation ſpread,
‘ Proud of her ſons, Britannia might have ſeen
‘ Vaſt numbers more of great and generous men.
‘ She had not loſt a ſenator in Moyle,
‘ Nor a fine ſcholar in the hopeful Boyle:
‘ Now, ſince his fooliſh rhimes, both friends and
‘ foes
‘ Conclude they know, who did not write his
‘ proſe (9).’

(9) Satire againſt Wit, in his Collection of Poems, p. 84. 87.

In the preface to his *Creation*, Sir Richard Blackmore ſpeaks of the Reſtoration, as being the period wherein a great diſſoluteneſs of manners was introduced into the nation, and which was attended with a faſhionable diſpoſition to treat every thing ſerious with levity and ridicule. ‘Immediately after the ‘ Reſtoration,’ ſays he, ‘the people, intoxicated with ‘ the pleaſures of peace, and influenced by the example of a looſe court, as well as from their great ‘ averſion to the former fanatical ſtrictneſs, and ſeverity of converſation, which they deteſted as hypocriſy, indulged themſelves in ſenſual liberties, ‘ and by degrees ſunk deep into luxury and vice. ‘ Then it was that ſome irreligious men, taking advantage of this growing diſſolution of manners, ‘ began to propagate their deteſtable notions, and ‘ ſow the ſeeds of profaneneſs and impiety, which ‘ ſprung up apace, and flouriſhed in proportion to ‘ the growth of immorality. Thus vice and irreligion, mutually aſſiſting each other, extended their ‘ power by daily encroachments; and the ſolid temper and firmneſs of mind, which the people once ‘ poſſeſſed, being ſlackened and diſſolved by the ‘ power of riot and forbidden pleaſure, their judgment ſoon became vitiated; which corruption of ‘ taſte has ever ſince gradually increaſed, as the confederate powers of vice and profaneneſs have ſpread ‘ their infection, and gained upon religion. While ‘ looſe principles and impious opinions pervert the ‘ judgment, a petulant humour that inclines men to ‘ give an air of levity and ridicule to all their diſcourſes, and turn every thing to mirth and raillery, ‘ does in proportion get ground; this being eſteemed ‘ the moſt ſucceſsful method to weaken the power ‘ and authority of religion in the minds of men.

‘ I would not here be underſtood, as if I condemned the qualifications of wit and pleaſantry, ‘ but only the miſapplication of them. I ſhall always ‘ retain a great value for ingenious men, provided ‘ they do not abuſe and proſtitute their talents to the ‘ worſt purpoſes, I mean the deriding all ſobriety of ‘ manners, and turning into jeſt the principles which ‘ conſtitute our duty here, and aſſure our happineſs ‘ hereafter. But can any man who reveres a God, ‘ and loves his country, ſtand by unconcerned, while ‘ looſe and profane wits ſhew ſo much zeal and diligence in propagating maxims, which tend ſo directly to the diſhonour of the one, and the ruin of ‘ the other (10)?’

(10) Pref. to the *Creation*, fourth edit. p. 26, 27, 28.

[*G*] *This piece was attacked and ridiculed by many different writers.*] In T. Brown's Works (11) are upwards of twenty different ſatirical pieces in verſe againſt Blackmore, ſaid to be written by Colonel Codrington, Sir Charles Sedley, Colonel Blount, Sir Samuel Garth, Sir Richard Steele, Dr. Smith, Mr. William Burnaby, the Earl of Angleſea, the Counteſs of Sandwich, Mr. Manning, Mr. Mildmay, Dr. Drake, Colonel Johnſon, Mr. Richard Norton, &c. and moſt of theſe pieces are particularly levelled at our Author's *Satire upon Wit*. One topic of abuſe againſt Blackmore was, that he lived in Cheapſide. He was ſometimes called the *Cheapſide Knight*, and the *City Bard*; and Garth's verſes, in the Collection juſt cited, are addreſſed “to the merry Poetaſter at ‘ Sadlers Hall in Cheapſide.’

(11) Vol. iv. p. 67—80.

In ſome of the lampoons againſt him he was joined with Bentley; as in the following lines:

‘ A monument of dulneſs to erect,
‘ Bentley ſhould write, and Blackmore ſhould correct.
‘ Like which no other piece can e'er be wrought,
‘ For decency of ſtyle and life of thought,
‘ But that where Bentley ſhall in judgment ſit,
‘ To pare excreſcences from Blackmore's wit (12).’

(12) T. Brown's Works, Vol. iv. p. 70.

[*H*] *There ſeemed to be a kind of confederacy of the Wits againſt him.*] This appears in part from the preceding note; and it is obſerved in T. Cibber's Lives of the Poets (13), that ‘Sir Richard had, by the ‘ freedom of his cenſures on the libertine writers of ‘ his age, incurred the heavy diſpleaſure of Dryden, ‘ who takes all opportunities to ridicule him, and ‘ ſomewhere ſays, that he *wrote to the rumbling of his* ‘ *chariot wheels*. And as if to be at enmity with ‘ Blackmore had been hereditary to our greateſt ‘ poets, we find Mr. Pope taking up the quarrel ‘ where Dryden left it, and perſecuting this worthy ‘ man with yet a ſeverer degree of ſatire. Blackmore had been informed by Curl, that Mr. Pope ‘ was the author of a Traveſtie on the firſt Pſalm, ‘ which he takes occaſion to reprehend in his Eſſay ‘ on Polite Learning, vol. ii. p. 270. He ever conſidered it as the diſgrace of genius, that it ſhould ‘ be employed to burleſque any of the ſacred compoſitions, which, as they ſpeak the language of inſpiration, tend to awaken the ſoul to virtue, and ‘ inſpire it with a ſublime devotion.’

(13) Vol. v. p. 179.

Pope ſatirizes Blackmore in the Dunciad in the following lines:

‘ But far o'er all, ſonorous Blackmore's ſtrain;
‘ Walls, ſteeples, ſkies, bray back to him again.
‘ In Tot'nam fields, the brethren, with amaze,
‘ Prick all their ears up, and forget to graze;
‘ Long Chanc'ry-lane retentive rolls the ſound,
‘ And courts to courts return it round and round;
‘ Thames wafts it thence to Rufus' roaring hall,
‘ And Hungerford re-echoes bawl for bawl.
‘ All hail him victor in both gifts of ſong,
‘ Who ſings ſo loudly, and who ſings ſo long (14).’

(14) Dunciad, Book ii. ver. 259—268.

In the notes to this paſſage in the Dunciad is added a ludicrous enumeration of Blackmore's works, with other ſatirical remarks.

the *Lay Monk.* Only forty numbers of it were publiſhed, which, in 1714, were collected into a volume, under the title of the Lay Monaſtery. The Friday's papers in this collection were written by the ingenious Mr. John Hughes, and the reſt by Sir Richard. In a letter to Mr. Hughes, he declared, that he was not determined to the undertaking by a deſire of fame or profit, but from a regard to the public good (*). In 1716, he publiſhed, in two volumes, *8vo*, ‘Eſſays upon ſeveral ſubjects [*I*];’ and in 1718,

(*) Mr. Duncombe's Collection of Letters of eminent Perſons deceaſed, Vol. i. p. 123—125.

[*I*] *Eſſays upon ſeveral Subjects.*] Theſe Eſſays are upon Epic Poetry, Wit, Falſe Virtue, the Immortality of the Soul, the Laws of Nature, the Origin of Civil Power, the Spleen, Writing and Polite Literature, Future Felicity, and Divine Love.

In the preface he makes the following obſervations on Eſſay-writing: ‘An Eſſay is an inſtructive writing, either in proſe or verſe, diſtinguiſhed from complete treatiſes and voluminous works, by its ſhorter extent and leſs accurate method. It is natural for men to deſire the acquiſition of knowledge by the moſt eaſy and expeditious ways, and therefore few perſons have been ſo patient of labour and application, as to be delighted with prolix compoſitions, in which, the main deſign of the author being long ſuſpended, the diſcourſe grows ſo tedious to many, that they imagine it will never be finiſhed. But the diſreliſh of ſuch diffuſive pieces in theſe times is more univerſal, and carried ſo far that great books are looked upon as oppreſſive, and by their bulk, concluded to be dull and ſpiritleſs; while thoſe in which the principal end, as well as the ſentiments of the author, are contracted into a narrower compaſs, if well writ, meet with general approbation. And if it happens that a large volume is well received in the preſent age, it muſt be adorned with variety of matter, as well as pure diction, and wrought up to a great degree of perfection, otherwiſe the reader is diſcouraged, and throws it by as too painful a taſk to be undertaken.

‘Whether this delicacy proceeds from a more refined and elegant taſte, or an indolent and unactive temper of mind, I ſhall not here examine: but in fact, the obſervation is ſo juſt, that not only long and methodical ſyſtems of divinity, natural philoſophy, morals and medicine are grown diſagreeable, but likewiſe voluminous romances, the delight of the paſt age, are no longer demanded, but lie by as neglected lumber in the ſhops, while ſhort novels and tales are become the common entertainment of thoſe who are pleaſed with fictions of that nature. And ſhould it be granted, that this ariſes from a greater and more univerſal reliſh of polite literature, I am afraid that the principal intereſts of learning, and the advancement of ſolid knowledge will ſuffer by it. There is that connexion, dependence, and beautiful order of the parts in a perfect body of ſcience, that it is impoſſible to contemplate the whole ſtructure but in a lame and imperfect view, when the members of it are ſevered and diſunited, as they are in ſmall diſcourſes. If the relation of one propoſition to another, and the coherent train of concluſions are not diſcerned by the mind, there muſt follow a great confuſion and obſcurity of ideas; and at beſt thoſe men, for want of full and comprehenſive conceptions of things, will only perceive ſome ſcatter'd branches of truth, and form but a dim and defective ſketch of any art or ſyſtem of knowledge.

‘Should a barbarous Indian, who had never ſeen a palace or a ſhip, view their ſeparate and disjointed parts drawn by the pen or pencil, and obſerve the pillars, doors, corniſhes, and turrets of one, and the prow, ſtern, ribs, and maſts of the other, he would be able to form but a very lame and dark idea of either of thoſe inventions. In like manner thoſe, who contemplate only the fragments or pieces broken off from any ſcience, diſperſed in ſhort unconnected diſcourſes, and do not diſcern their relation to each other, and how they may be adapted, and by their union procure the delightful ſymmetry of a regular ſcheme, can never ſurvey an entire body of truth, but muſt view it as deformed and diſmembered; while their ideas, which muſt be always indiſtinct and often repugnant, will lie in the brain unſorted, and thrown together without order and coherence. But ſince the taſte of the times is ſo nice and delicate, and their temper ſo impatient of long application, thoſe who would convey inſtruction to their minds, muſt accommodate their writings to this prevailing inclination, muſt poſſeſs themſelves of thoſe avenues that lie open and lead with eaſe to their underſtanding, and change their method of addreſs when it grows diſagreeable, for another that meets with a better reception. He muſt be a very moroſe phyſician, that when the form of his medicines begins to grow ungrateful and nauſeous, will not alter it, or direct a new vehicle, by which they may be taken down with leſs reluctance.

‘And ſince diſcourſes contracted into a narrow room, if they are wrote with ſtrength and perſpicuity, and contain variety of good ſenſe, are more acceptable to readers, by not putting them to too much labour and attention; it muſt for that reaſon be acknowledged, that their uſefulneſs is more diffuſive than that of long and elaborate volumes; and though they do not exhibit truth in ſuch a clear and perfect ſcheme, nor ſet it in ſo full a light, as it appears in a large and methodical ſyſtem, they are, however, very beneficial, and promote the intereſts of literature and virtue (15).’

(15) Preface to the Eſſays, p. 3—9.

In his *Eſſay upon Writing* are the following obſervations on the age at which men are generally beſt qualified to become writers: ‘Though it is true that young men of forward parts and ingenuity may be very capable of works of invention and imagination, for proſe-exerciſes of wit and humour, ſports of fancy and declamatory eloquence; as alſo for ſonnets, papers of verſes, and all the lower ſpecies of poetry, where no ſtrength of judgment is required to contrive a plan, or carry on any great and important deſign; yet if ſome extraordinary perſons, prodigies of ſenſe and genius, of whom, perhaps, not above three or four fall to the ſhare of any one nation in half a century, are excepted, men are not qualified to write well upon great ſubjects, where acute and ſolid reaſon, deep penetration, and great learning are required, till they approach to their thirtieth year: they are therefore unfit, not only to engage in difficult and important controverſies of theology, philoſophy, and politics, but likewiſe to attempt the ſuperior poetry, whether of the epic, lyric, or tragic kind. The reaſon that ſupports this obſervation is, that before men are advanced to ſuch a period of life, as they have not by ſtudy, reading, and converſation acquired a ſufficient maturity of taſte, nor enough digeſted their notions, ſo have they not ſtocked their underſtandings with ſuch plenty of ideas, as ſhould enable them to ſucceed in ſuch great undertakings. And if young men, who are unequal to polemical diſcourſes and the ſublime poetry, could reſtrain their paſſion, deny themſelves the pleaſure of appearing in print, and withſtand the temptation of being called Authors; could they forbear to graſp the pen, and be contented to continue diligent and modeſt learners, and endeavour to enrich their minds by reflection, books, and thoughtful obſervation, till they had reached the ſtage of life that I have mentioned, they would ſet out from the preſs with greater advantage, and the world would not be oppreſſed with ſo many jejune pieces, and ſuch abundance of crude and abortive productions.

‘It muſt be remarked, that particular perſons, by their peculiar complexion, come early to their parts, and like ſummer fruit thrive and ripen apace, while others of a leſs ſprightly and volatile conſtitution, advance ſlowly to maturity: the firſt make a fine bloom and quickly bring forth, but the laſt are moſt capable of ſtrong and durable productions. Some of a rich genius, like a fat and generous ſoil, that is mown twice a-year, are never impoveriſhed; while others muſt often lie fallow, like hilly and barren lands, that want reſt, and require the genial nitre of the air, to recruit their prolific power; ſome by hard ſtudy and application have furniſhed their

1718, ‘A Collection of Poems [*K*],’ in one volume, 8*vo*. But the work which procured him the greateſt reputation, was his ‘Creation, a philoſophical Poem, demonſtrating ‘the Exiſtence and Providence of a God', in ſeven books [*L*].’ This paſſed through ſeveral editions (*b*), and was greatly applauded by Mr. Addiſon [*M*]. Mr. Locke alſo formed

(*b*) The fourth edition was publiſhed in 1718, 12*mo*.

‘their minds with an immenſe ſtock of ideas, and are not therefore ſo eaſily exhauſted, as thoſe who have taken little care to hoard up ſuch plentiful ſtores and enrich their minds with treaſures of ſcience.

‘I know it will be allowed by all, that perſons advanced in years are moſt capable of writings which require judgment, learning, and long obſervation; but ſome will not grant that they are fit for works of invention and fancy; for that endowment they look upon as peculiar to youth; but this opinion is founded on a miſtake: our famous Milton wrote his Paradiſe Loſt, at leaſt a great part of it, and his Sampſon Agoniſtes, in the laſt ſtages of his life; and yet his admirable genius ſhines forth in thoſe poetical works more than in all his former performances. It is allowed by the beſt judges, that Mr. Dryden's laſt poems excelled thoſe he had writ before, and that his grey hairs, which ripened his judgment and improved his reaſon, had not in the leaſt abated, and much leſs extinguiſhed, his poetical fire.

‘The ſame thing may be affirmed of many others in this and the neighbouring nations. It is true, that judgment is juſtly allowed to be generally the poſſeſſion and ornament of men in years; but it is as true, that thoſe who were ever in their paſt life endowed with an inventive genius, fine ſpirit, and lively imagination, always preſerved thoſe qualities as long as they preſerved their other intellectual abilities; and it is no wonder that men of an advanced age ſhould not be maſters of a ſtrong and ſprightly fancy, which was never their talent in their youth; for how can it be expected that thoſe, who had only a plain underſtanding and a ſolid capacity from their cradle, ſhould have it flowered and enriched with all the ornaments and ſplendor produced by a ſpiritful imagination, which Nature never gave them?

‘If a perſon becomes an excellent writer by forty, it is certain he will continue ſo till fifty, and by the improvement of practice and experience, will yet acquire a maturer judgment and a more accompliſhed pen, provided his conſtitution remains hail and vigorous; and the parity of reaſon will be extended to ſixty years, and ſo forwards, if the health of the Author does not decay by the weak and valetudinary ſtate of his body, nor is diminiſhed or broken by the infirmities of age, derived from the immoralities of youth. And as this is in theory clear, ſo it is evident in fact, as will preſently appear: and it is my opinion, that it will be difficult to produce any examples of men, who ever loſt the force of their imagination (for what they never had they cannot be ſaid to have loſt), till by a general decay of body, their reaſon, memory, and judgment were as much impaired as their lighter faculties.

‘And if we examine the hiſtory of the ancient poets, how many inſtances will occur that confirm my obſervation. Sophocles, the Prince of Tragic Writers, among his numerous pieces, wrote one of his Tragedies at fourſcore years of age, which he produced before the judges, as an evidence of his ſound mind and unimpaired faculties, when he was repreſented by his ſon as broken with age, and uncapable of the management of his eſtate and buſineſs. Homer, Euripides, Pindar, and many others, retained their vigour and extent of fancy through the whole courſe of a long life: nor did the eloquent Cicero diſcover any loſs of ſpirits and imagination in his laſt writings, as appears by his admirable works, particularly his book *de Senectute* writ with the judgment of an old, and the vivacity of a young man (16).’

(16) Eſſays, Vol. ii. p. 279—284.

[*K*] *A Collection of Poems.*] Among theſe poems are, the Kit-Cats; Cremes, a Satire; the Nature of Man, in three books; a deſcriptive Poem on the Cartoons at Hampton-court; Advice to the Poets on the Succeſs of the arms of Queen Anne, under the Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough, &c.

[*L*] *Creation, a philoſophical Poem.*] ‘The deſign of this work is to demonſtrate the exiſtence of a Divine Eternal Mind. The arguments uſed for this end, are taken from the various marks of wiſdom and artful contrivance, which are evident to our obſervation in the ſeveral parts of the material world, and in the faculties of the human ſoul. The firſt book contains the proof of a Deity, from the inſtances of deſign and choice, which occur in the ſtructure and qualities of the earth and ſea. The ſecond purſues the proof of the ſame propoſition, *there is a God*, from the celeſtial motions, and more fully from the appearances in the ſolar ſyſtem and the air. In the third, the objections which are brought by atheiſtical philoſophers againſt the hypotheſis eſtabliſhed in the two preceding books are anſwered. In the fourth, is laid down the hypotheſis of the Atomiſts, or Epicureans, and other irreligious philoſophers, and confuted. In the fifth, the doctrine of the Fataliſts, or Ariſtotelians, who make the world to be eternal, is conſidered and ſubverted. In the ſixth, the argument of the two firſt books is reſumed, and the exiſtence of God demonſtrated, from the prudence and art diſcovered in the ſeveral parts of the body of man. In the ſeventh, the ſame demonſtration is carried on from the contemplation of the inſtincts in brute animals, and the faculties and operations of the ſoul of man. The book concludes with a recapitulation of what has been treated of, and a hymn to the Creator of the world (17).’

(17) Summary Account of the deſign of the Poem on Creation, prefixed to the work.

As a ſpecimen of our Author's verſification in this poem, we ſhall inſert the following lines:

‘See how ſublime th' uplifted mountains riſe,
‘And with their pointed heads invade the ſkies.
‘How the high cliffs their craggy arms extend,
‘Diſtinguiſh ſtates, and ſever'd realms defend;
‘How ambient ſhores confine the reſtleſs deep,
‘And in their ancient bounds the billows keep;
‘The hollow vales their ſmiling pride unfold;
‘What rich abundance do their boſoms hold?
‘Regard their lovely verdure, raviſh'd view
‘The ſpring flow'rs of various ſcent and hue.
‘Not eaſtern monarchs, on their nuptial day
‘In dazzling gold and purple ſhine ſo gay,
‘As the bright natives of th' unlabour'd field,
‘Unvers'd in ſpinning, and in looms unſkill'd.
‘See, how the rip'ning fruits the gardens crown,
‘Imbibe the ſun, and make his light their own.
‘See the ſweet brooks in ſilver mazes creep,
‘Enrich the meadows, and ſupply the deep;
‘While from their weeping urns the fountains flow,
‘And vital moiſture, where they paſs, beſtow.
‘Admire the narrow ſtream, and ſpreading lake,
‘The proud aſpiring grove, and humble brake:
‘How do the foreſts and the woods delight?
‘How the ſweet glades and openings charm the ſight?
‘Obſerve the pleaſant lawn and airy plain,
‘The fertile furrows rich with various grain;
‘How uſeful all? how all conſpire to grace
‘Th' extended earth, and beautify her face (18)?’

(18) Creation, p. 20, 21. b. i. edit. 1718.

[*M*] *Greatly applauded by Mr. Addiſon.*] This was in the Spectator, Number 339, in which Mr. Addiſon ſpeaks of our Author's poem on Creation in the following terms: This ‘work was undertaken with ſo good an intention, and executed with ſo great a maſtery, that it deſerves to be looked upon as one of the moſt uſeful and noble productions in our Engliſh verſe. The reader cannot but be pleaſed to find the depths of philoſophy, enlivened with all the charms of poetry, and to ſee ſo great a ſtrength of reaſon amidſt ſo beautiful a redundancy of the imagination. The Author has ſhewn us that deſign in all the works of nature, which neceſſarily leads us to the knowledge of its firſt cauſe. In ſhort, he has illuſtrated, by numberleſs and unconteſtable inſtances, that divine wiſdom which the ſon of Sirach has ſo nobly aſcribed to the Supreme Being in his formation of the world, when he tells us, that he *created her, and ſaw her, and numbered her, and poured her out upon all his works.*’

formed a very favourable opinion of Sir Richard Blackmore [*N*]; and, indeed, appears to have eſtimated his poetical talents too highly. In 1721, our Author publiſhed, in 12*mo*, ‘ A new Verſion of the Pſalms of David, fitted to the Tunes uſed in Churches.’ This was recommended by public authority, as proper to be uſed in the churches and chapels of England [*O*]. Towards the cloſe of his life, his practice as a Phyſician is ſaid to have declined [*P*]; which might probably ariſe from the numerous attempts which were made to leſſen his reputation (*i*). He died on the 8th of October,

In the 6th number of the Spectator, Sir Richard Blackmore is alſo commended for ſome obſervations relative to the guilt of employing excellent faculties in ſuch a manner as to humour and pleaſe men in their vices and follies, in which he is ſaid to have written ‘ with as much good ſenſe as virtue.’

[*N*] *Mr. Locke formed a very favourable opinion of Sir Richard Blackmore.*] This appears from his letters to his ingenious and learned friend Mr. William Molyneux of Ireland; and that Gentleman had an equal, or ſuperior eſteem for the writings of Blackmore; and from the terms in which they both expreſs themſelves concerning them, they will probably be thought in the preſent age to have over-rated them. At leaſt, this was certainly the caſe with reſpect to Mr. Molyneux.

In a letter to Mr. Locke, dated Dublin, May 15, 1697, is the following paſſage: ‘ Mr. Churchill favoured me with the preſent of Sir Richard Blackmore's *King Arthur*. I had *Prince Arthur* before, and read it with admiration, which is not at all leſſened by this ſecond piece. All our Engliſh poets (except Milton) have been mere ballad-makers, in compariſon to him. Upon the publication of his firſt poem, I intimated to him, through Mr. Churchill's hands, how excellently I thought he might perform a philoſophic poem, from many touches he gave in his Prince Arthur, particularly from Mopas's ſong. And I perceive by his preface to King Arthur, he has had the like intimations from others, but rejects them, as being an enemy to all philoſophical hypotheſes. Were I acquainted with Sir Richard Blackmore, I could aſſure him (and if you be ſo, I beſeech you to tell him), that I am as little an admirer of hypotheſes as any man, and never propoſed that thought to him, with a deſign that a philoſophical poem ſhould run on ſuch a ſtrain. *A natural Hiſtory of the great and admirable Phænomena of the Univerſe*, is a ſubject, I think, may afford ſublime thoughts in a poem (19); and ſo far, and no farther, would I deſire a poem to extend (20).’

In his anſwer to this letter, Mr. Locke ſays, ‘ I ſhall, when I ſee Sir Richard Blackmore, diſcourſe him as you deſire. There is, I with pleaſure find, a ſtrange harmony throughout, between your thoughts and mine. I have always thought, that laying down and building upon hypotheſes, has been one of the great hinderances of natural knowledge; and I ſee your notions agree with mine in it. And though I have a great value for Sir Richard Blackmore, on ſeveral accounts, yet there is nothing has given me a greater eſteem of him, than what he ſays about hypotheſes in medicine, in his preface to King Arthur, which is an argument to me, that he underſtands the right method of practiſing phyſic; and it gives me great hopes he will improve it, ſince he keeps in the only way it is capable to be improved in; and has ſo publicly declared againſt the more eaſy, faſhionable, and pleaſing way of an hypotheſis, which I think has done more to hinder the true art of phyſic, which is the curing of diſeaſes, than all other things put together; by making it learned, ſpecious, and talkative, but ineffective to its great end, the health of mankind (21).’

In another letter, Mr. Molyneux ſays, ‘ I perceive you are ſo happy as to be acquainted with Sir Richard Blackmore: he is an extraordinary perſon, and I admire his two prefaces as much as I do any parts of his books. The firſt, wherein he expoſes the licentiouſneſs and immorality of our late poetry, is incomparable; and the ſecond, wherein he proſecutes the ſame ſubject, and delivers his thoughts concerning hypotheſes, is no leſs judicious. And I am wholly of his opinion, relating to the latter. However, the Hiſtory and Phænomena of Nature we may venture at; and this is what I propoſe to be the ſubject of a philoſophic poem. Sir Richard Blackmore has exquiſite touches of this kind, diſperſed in many places of his books. To paſs over Mopas's ſong, I will inſtance one particular, in the moſt profound ſpeculations of Mr. Newton's philoſophy, thus curiouſly touched in King Arthur, book ix. p. 243.

The conſtellations ſhine at his command,
He formed their radiant orbs, and with his hand
He weigh'd, and put them off with ſuch a force,
As might preſerve an everlaſting courſe.

I doubt not but Sir Richard Blackmore, in theſe lines, had a regard to the proportionment of the projective motion to the *vis centripeta*, that keeps the planets in their continued courſes.

‘ I have by me ſome obſervations made by a judicious friend of mine, on both Sir Richard Blackmore's poems: if they may be any ways acceptable to Sir Richard, I ſhall ſend them to you: they are in the compaſs of a ſheet of paper. And were it proper, I ſhould humbly deſire you to procure for me, from Sir Richard, the key to the perſons names in both his poems; moſt of the firſt I have already, and a great many in the ſecond, but many I alſo want, which I ſhould be very glad to underſtand. But if herein I deſire any thing diſagreeable, I beg Sir Richard's pardon, and deſiſt (22).’

In a letter written in anſwer to this, and dated Sept. 11, 1697, Mr. Locke ſays, ‘ I was not a little pleaſed to find what thoughts you had concerning hypotheſes in phyſic. Though Sir Richard Blackmore's vein in poetry be what every body muſt allow him to have an extraordinary talent in, and though with you I exceedingly value his firſt preface, yet I muſt own to you, there was nothing that I ſo much admired him for, as for what he ſays of hypotheſes in his laſt. It ſeems to me ſo right, and is yet ſo much out of the way of the ordinary writers, and practitioners in that faculty, that it ſhews as great a ſtrength and penetration of judgment as his poetry has ſhewed flights of fancy (23).’

[*O*] *Recommended by public authority*, &c.] A paper addreſſed to the King, and ſigned by the Archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, the Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Worceſter, Ely, Chicheſter, Landaff, Hereford, Norwich, St. Aſaph, Bangor, Peterborough, Oxford, Litchfield and Coventry, Rocheſter, and St. David's, was preſented to his Majeſty, in which they certified to him, that they had peruſed and conſidered Sir Richard Blackmore's New Verſion of the Pſalms; and expreſſed their ſentiments of it in the following terms: ‘ We conceive it has ſuch an agreement with the original Hebrew, ſuch clearneſs and purity of Engliſh ſtyle, and is ſo well adapted to the capacity and affections of the common people, that in our judgment it may well be received into the public congregations within the churches and chapels in this part of your Majeſty's dominions.’ In conſequence of this recommendation, an order of Council was made, on the 22d of October, 1720, that this Verſion ſhould be allowed to be uſed in all churches, chapels, and congregations, which ſhould think fit to receive the ſame (24).

[*P*] *His practice as a phyſician is ſaid to have declined.*] ‘ Towards the cloſe of his life, his buſineſs as a phyſician declined; but as he was a man of prudent conduct, it is not to be ſuppoſed that he was ſubjected to any want by that accident; for in his earlier years he was conſidered among the firſt in his profeſſion, and his practice was conſequently very extenſive. The decay of his employment might be partly owing to old age and infirmities, which rendered him leſs active than before, and partly to the diminution his character might ſuffer by the eternal war, which the wits waged againſt him, who ſpared neither bitterneſs nor calumny (25).’

(*i*) Cibber, *ubi ſupra*, p. 184.

(19) It may be conjectured from this paſſage, that Sir Richard Blackmore probably formed the deſign of his Poem on Creation from this hint of Mr. Molyneux.

(20) Locke's Works, Vol. iii. p. 568, 569, edit. 1714.

(21) Locke's Works, *ubi ſupra*, p. 570.

(22) Locke's Works, *ubi ſupra*, p. 572.

(23) Locke's Works, *ubi ſupra*, p. 573.

(24) The certificate of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and the order of Council, is prefixed to the verſion.

(25) Cibber, *ubi ſupra*, p. 184.

1729, in an advanced age; and manifeſted in his laſt illneſs the ſame fervent piety, which had diſtinguiſhed him in his life (*k*). He was certainly a man of conſiderable learning and abilities; and a moſt zealous advocate for the intereſts of religion and virtue. He wrote, indeed, too much, and was deficient in point of taſte; nor did he take ſufficient time to poliſh his compoſitions. But he was far from being deſtitute of genius; and it is ſufficiently manifeſt, that it was not his dulneſs which excited ſo much animoſity againſt him. Hardly any Author has ever been more ſatirized than Sir Richard Blackmore; and yet, ſo far as we can judge from his writings, there have been few, perhaps none, who have had better intentions. He had very juſt ideas of the true ends of writing [*Q*]; and it would have been happy for the world, if ſuch ideas had been adopted by, and really influenced, Authors of more brilliant genius. And though his long and tedious hiſtorical and epic Poems, which can now ſcarcely be read, juſtly expoſed him to ſome degree of ridicule, yet he was far from being a proper object of the extreme contempt with which he was treated [*R*]. The merit of his

(*k*) Cibber, *ubi ſupra*, p. 184, 185.

[*Q*] *He had very juſt ideas of the true ends of writing.*] This appears from his *Eſſay upon Writing*, in which are the following obſervations: 'The unconteſted end of man is the perfection and felicity of 'his nature in the fruition of the greateſt good, the 'Author of his being; and thoſe, who with a ſuperior eſteem and prevalent deſire, direct their aims 'to any other object of happineſs, whether it be to 'gratify their ambition, avarice, voluptuous appetites or thirſt of glory, by alienating their inclinations and diverting their purſuits from the fountain of goodneſs, ſet up another final cauſe inſtead 'of the Divine Being, whom they reject and depoſe, 'and by ſo doing break the ſubordination between 'an intelligent creature and his Creator.

'The intention therefore of mankind in all ranks 'and conditions, of the ſtateſman, the magiſtrate, 'the warrior, and all other ſubordinate claſſes, ſhould 'terminate in this end; and all their undertakings 'and ſchemes of life ought to be ſo choſen and 'formed, that they may be ſubſervient to this ſupreme and laſt deſign. Hence there is no doubt 'but that the end of writing likewiſe is to promote 'the honour of the Divine Being, and the writer's 'own happineſs: which he purſues, as often as his 'pen is employed in conveying intellectual or moral 'inſtruction to others, in filling their minds with 'great and uſeful ideas, and raiſing generous and 'worthy paſſions, in oppoſing vice and looſeneſs of 'manners, and exciting the reader to engage or continue ſtedfaſt in the practice of virtue; and in order to this, he ought to give his reader all the pleaſure and entertainment that his genius will afford or 'his ſubject admit.

'The immediate aim of writers ſhould be to improve and adorn the underſtanding, and inſpire laudable paſſions and reſolutions, by propagating divine, natural and moral ſcience; as their ultimate 'end, to which the former is ſubordinate, is their 'endleſs felicity in the fruition of the Supreme 'Being (26).'

(26) Eſſays, Vol. ii p. 171, 172.

(27) P. 19, 20.

In the preface to the firſt volume of his Eſſays (27), he alſo ſays, 'To communicate to the minds of 'others noble and elevated ideas, to inſpire them 'with pious ardour and divine paſſions, and puſh 'them on to a vigorous reſolution of engaging and 'perſevering in a ſeries of virtuous actions, becoming 'the dignity of their nature, and the precepts of their 'religion, is a praiſe-worthy province; for this is to 'be employed about the moſt excellent objects for the 'attainment of the moſt important ends; and I 'would chuſe rather in this ſenſe to be the author of 'good, though but to ten perſons, than by the happieſt ſtrains of wit, and the moſt pleaſant humour, 'to divert and recreate ten thouſand; notwithſtanding I were ſure to make many enemies by the firſt, 'and by the laſt to gain univerſal applauſe.'—— He afterwards adds, 'The more I advance in years, and 'the more the future ſtate is preſented to my view, 'the more I am pleaſed with reflecting on what I 'have written on divine and moral ſubjects; and 'whatever appellation of reproach men of pleaſantry 'think fit to give to this diſpoſition of mind, they 'cannot enjoy ſo great ſatiſfaction in deriding it, as 'the poſſeſſion of it gives to me (28).'

(28) Pref. to Vol. i. p. 22, 23.

[*R*] *He was far from being a proper object of the extreme contempt with which he was treated.*] It has been obſerved, That Sir Richard Blackmore was the 'Author of more original poems, of a conſiderable 'length, beſides a variety of other works, than can 'well be conceived could have been compoſed by one 'man, during the longeſt period of human life. He 'was a chaſte writer; he ſtruggled in the cauſe of 'virtue, even in thoſe times, when vice had the 'countenance of the great, and when an almoſt univerſal degeneracy prevailed. He was not afraid to 'appear the advocate of virtue, in oppoſition to the 'higheſt authority, and no luſtre of abilities in his 'opponents could deter him from ſtripping vice of 'thoſe gaudy colours, with which poets of the firſt 'eminence had clothed her (29).'

(29) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. v. p. 178.

In the Life of Mr. Kettlewell, Sir Richard Blackmore is mentioned among that Gentleman's acquaintance; and he is there ſpoken of as 'an eminent Phyſician, and a Gentleman who, in his zeal for the 'ſervices of religion, and for reformation of manners 'and principles, hath not been ſurpaſſed by any of 'his profeſſion (30).'

(30) Life of Kettlewell, p. 28.

The Author of the Companion to the Playhouſe (Vol. I.), ſpeaking of the comedy of the Pilgrim, and taking notice of the revival of it in the year 1700, adds, 'The prologue is pointed with great ſeverity 'againſt Sir Richard Blackmore, who, though by no 'means a firſt-rate Poet, yet I cannot help thinking 'more deſerving of immortality, than either the 'envy or ill-nature of his brother wits have by their 'ridicule on his works, permitted the prejudices of 'mankind, ever eaſily led aſide by what they imagine a ſuperior judgment, to grant him.'

Dr. Watts appears to have held our Author's works in conſiderable eſteem; for in his preface to his *Horæ Lyricæ*, after ſpeaking of the immoral and licentious uſe which had been made of poetical abilities, he has the following paſſage: 'This the incomparable Mr. 'Cowley, in the latter end of his preface, and the 'ingenious Sir Richard Blackmore, in the beginning 'of his, have ſo pathetically deſcribed and lamented; and I rather refer the reader to mourn with 'them, than detain and tire him here. Theſe Gentlemen, in their large and laboured works of poeſy, 'have given the world happy examples of what they 'wiſh and encourage in proſe; the one in a rich variety of thought and fancy; the other in all the 'ſhining colours of profuſe and florid diction (31).'

(31) Pref. p. 23. 4th edit.

Mr. Duncombe, ſpeaking of Sir Richard Blackmore, ſays, 'This Writer, though the butt of the 'witts, eſpecially of Dryden and Pope, was treated 'with more contempt than he deſerved. In particular, his Poem on the Creation has much merit. 'And let it be remembered, that the reſentment of 'thoſe wits was excited by Sir Richard's zeal for religion and virtue; by cenſuring the libertiniſm of 'Dryden, and the (ſuppoſed) profaneneſs of Pope.'

Mr. Addiſon appears to have had a great perſonal regard for Sir Richard Blackmore, and even Mr. Pope and our poetical Knight were upon terms of friendſhip ſo late as in the year 1714. This friendſhip was firſt broken by Sir Richard's accuſing Mr. Pope of profaneneſs and immorality, on a report from Curl, that he was Author of a 'Traveſtie on the 'firſt Pſalm.' Had it not been for this, all the Knight's bad poetry would ſcarcely have procured him a place in the Dunciad (*). Perhaps Sir Richard was blameable in taking the fact for granted on ſo poor an authority as that of Curl. Whoever reads his cenſure of Mr. Pope, will not wonder at the ſeverity of that eminent Poet's reſentment. It was as follows: 'I cannot but here take notice, that one of theſe champions

(*) Duncombe's Collection of Letters, Vol. i. p. 121, 122. 127, 128.

his Poem on Creation, and the excellency of his life, ſhould have procured him better uſage. And whatever might be the defects of his compoſitions, he was juſtly intitled to commendation for the morality of their tendency. He who labours to reform mankind is more deſerving of our eſteem, than he who would corrupt them, whatever may be the powers of genius poſſeſſed by the latter, or whatever reputation his wit may have procured him. The faſhion of the times, or the mutual jealouſies and animoſities of contemporary Wits and Authors, may occaſion great injuſtice to be done to worthy men and uſeful writers. But time will generally, in a great degree, remove ſuch prejudices: and thoſe who form an impartial eſtimate of the character and various productions of Blackmore, will acknowledge, that as a Writer, with all his faults, he had conſiderable merit; that as a man, he was juſtly intitled to great applauſe. For numerous as his enemies and opponents were, they ſeem to have been incapable of fixing the leaſt imputation upon his character; and thoſe who perſonally knew him ſpoke highly of his virtues. We think it an act of juſtice to endeavour to remove from a worthy man ſome part of that load of obloquy with which his memory has been overwhelmed. A liſt of ſuch of his works as have not been already mentioned, will be found in the note [*S*].]

T.

'champions in vice is the reputed author of a deteſtable paper, that has lately been handed about in manuſcript, and now appears in print, in which the godleſs author has burleſqued the *firſt Pſalm of David* in ſo obſcene and profane a manner, that perhaps no age ever ſaw ſuch an inſolent affront offered to the eſtabliſhed religion of their country, and this, good Heaven! with impunity. A ſad demonſtration this, of the low ebb to which the Britiſh virtue is reduced in theſe degenerate times (*).'

(*) Sir Richard Blackmore's Eſſays, Vol. ii. p. 270.

[*S*] *A liſt of ſuch of his works as have not been already mentioned.*] They are the following:

'Eliza, a Poem, in ten books, folio, 1705.'

'The Redeemer, a Poem, in ſix books, 8vo, 1721.'

'King Alfred, in twelve books, 8vo, 1723.'

'Hiſtory of the Conſpiracy againſt King William the Third, 8vo, 1723.'

'A Diſcourſe on the Plague, with a preparatory Account of malignant Fevers, in two parts; containing an Explication of the Nature of thoſe Diſeaſes, and the Methods of Cure, 8vo, 1720.'

'A Treatiſe on the Small-pox, in two parts; and a Diſſertation upon the modern Practice of Inoculation, 8vo, 1722.'

'A Treatiſe on Conſumptions, and other Diſtempers belonging to the Breaſt and Lungs, 8vo, 1724.'

'A Treatiſe on the Spleen and Vapours, or hypochondriacal and hyſterical Affections; with three Diſcourſes on the Nature and Cure of the Cholic, Melancholy, and Palſy, 8vo, 1725.'

'A Critical Diſſertation upon the Spleen, 1725.'

'Diſcourſes on the Gout, Rheumatiſm, and the King's Evil, 8vo, 1726.'

'Diſſertations on a Dropſy, a Tympany, the Jaundice, the Stone, and the Diabetes, 8vo, 1727.'

'Juſt Prejudices againſt the Arian Hypotheſis, 8vo, 1725.'

'Modern Arians unmaſked, 8vo, 1721.'

'Natural Theology; or moral Duties conſidered apart from poſitive: With ſome Obſervations on the Deſirableneſs and Neceſſity of a ſupernatural Revelation, 8vo, 1728.'

'The accompliſhed Preacher; or, An Eſſay upon Divine Eloquence, 8vo, 1731.' This laſt piece was publiſhed after the author's death, in purſuance of his expreſs order, by the Rev. Mr. John White, of Nayland, in Eſſex; who attended Sir Richard during his laſt illneſs, and bore teſtimony to the elevated piety with which he prepared for his approaching diſſolution (32).]

(32) Cibber, *ubi ſupra*, p. 185.

⁂[BLACKWELL (THOMAS)*, an ingenious and very learned writer of the preſent century, was born on the 4th of Auguſt, 1701, in the city of Aberdeen. His father, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Blackwell, was then one of the Miniſters of that place [*A*]. His mother's name was Johnſton, of a good family near Glaſgow, and ſiſter to Dr. Johnſton, who was many years Profeſſor of Medicine in the univerſity of Glaſgow. Our author received his grammatical education at the Grammar-ſchool of Aberdeen, ſtudied Greek and Philoſophy in the Mariſchal college there, and took the degree of Maſter of Arts in 1718; which, as he was, at that time, only ſeventeen years of age, muſt be regarded as a conſiderable teſtimony of his early proficiency in literature. A farther proof of it was his being preſented, on the 28th of November 1723, by his Majeſty King George the Firſt, to the Profeſſorſhip of Greek, in the College in which he had been educated. He was admitted into this office on the 13th of December, in the ſame year; and from thence forward continued to teach the Greek language with great applauſe. His knowledge of that language was accurate and extenſive, and his manner of communicating it perſpicuous and engaging. He had a dignity of addreſs which commanded the attention of the ſtudents, a ſteadineſs in exacting the preſcribed exerciſes which enforced application, and an enthuſiaſm for the beauties of the ancients, and utility of claſſical learning, which excited an ardor of ſtudy, and contributed much to diffuſe a ſpirit for Grecian erudition far ſuperior to what had taken place before he was called to the Profeſſorſhip. Together with his leſſons in the Greek tongue, he gave, likewiſe, leſſons on ſome of the Latin claſſics, chiefly with a view to infuſe a reliſh for their beauties. To his zeal and diligence in diſcharging the duties of his ſtation, it is probable that the world is, in part, indebted for ſuch men as Campbell, Gerard, Reid, Beattie, Duncan, and the Fordyces, who have appeared with ſo much eminence in the Republic of Letters.

* For the facts, in the text of this article, we are almoſt entirely indebted to the obliging communications of the Rev. Dr. Gerard, Profeſſor of Divinity, in the King's College, Aberdeen.

[*A*] *His father, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Blackwell.*] Mr. Thomas Blackwell was firſt the Miniſter of the pariſh of Paiſley, in Renfrewſhire, from whence he was removed, in the year 1700, to be one of the Miniſters of Aberdeen. He was afterwards elected Profeſſor of Divinity in the Mariſchal college of that city, and, in 1717, was preſented by his Majeſty to be Principal of the college. In both theſe offices he continued to his death, which happened in 1728.

When

When the celebrated Dr. Berkeley was engaged in the ſcheme of eſtabliſhing an American univerſity in the Summer Iſlands, Mr. Blackwell was in treaty with him for going out as one of his young profeſſors; but the negociation did not take effect (*a*). In 1735, was publiſhed, at London in octavo, without the name of the bookſeller, and without his own name, our author's ' Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer [*B*];' a work the great ingenuity and learning of which will be acknowledged by all who

[*B*] *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer.*] We cannot, perhaps, give ſo good an account of the general deſign of this work as the author himſelf hath done, in the ſixth of his Letters concerning Mythology; and which, therefore, we ſhall lay before our readers. It ſhould be remembered, in peruſing Dr. Blackwell's delineation of his plan, that he does not ſpeak in his own name. ' Some time before the Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer was publiſhed, a detached advertiſement appeared in ſeveral public places, containing, beſides the title of the book, the *ſubjects* of the twelve ſections of which it conſiſts, and likewiſe ſome ſhort account of their contents. One of theſe advertiſements I procured, after the piece came from the preſs, and found it aſſiſted me not a little to comprehend the deſign and original plan of the whole. It runs thus:

" An Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer. In twelve ſections.

" The book is properly an anſwer to this queſtion: By what fate, or diſpoſition of things it has happened, that no poet has equalled him for upwards of two thouſand ſeven hundred years; nor any, that we know, ever ſurpaſſed him before."

" Sect. I. An enquiry into Homer's country; and the Climate of that Country.

" II. Into the public Manners of his Nation.

" III. Into his Language: Origin of Languages; their Progreſs, and its Cauſes.

" IV. Into his Religion: Origin of the Grecian Rites

" V. Into the Manners of the Times: ancient and modern Manners compared.

" VI. Into the Influence of ſuch a Conjuncture.

" VII. Into Homer's Education and Learning: Hiſtory of Learning, and preceding Writers.

" VIII. Into his Character, Employment, and Manner of Life.

" IX. His Journey to Egypt: His Allegories.

" X. His viſiting Delphi: Riſe of Oracles and Theology.

" XI. His Converſe with the Phenicians: His Miracles.

" XII. His Subject: The Trojan War, and Wanderings of Ulyſſes.

' With a new head of Homer, and ſixteen copperplates done by the greateſt maſters: As alſo a new map of Greece, and of the countries known to the ancient Greeks about the time of the Trojan war; their ancient names, and firſt inhabitants, with a draught of the voyages of Menelaus and Ulyſſes.

' The whole book therefore is an attempt to reſolve this ſingle queſtion, *By what means did* Homer *become a greater poet, than either any one, known to us, ever was before him, or than any who has appeared ſince his time?* Or in other words, *Why no poem either formerly heard of, or now extant, was or is comparable to the* Iliad *and* Odyſſey?

' In order to reſolve it, you muſt either aſcribe his ſuperiority to a ſupernatural divine aſſiſtance, which many of the Ancients firmly believed, though *we* do not; or, allowing him to have been an ordinary man, you muſt inquire into every *cauſe*, natural or accidental, that can poſſibly have influence upon the human mind, towards forming it to poetry and verſe. You muſt conſider the influence of education, of example, of fortune public and private upon the ſoul of man, and as you go along you muſt always compare their different kinds, and apply them to the various correſponding branches of poetry. You muſt trace that art from its earlieſt beginnings; ſeparate its conſtituent parts, *language*, *manners*, *religion*, *fable*, *hiſtory*, *characters*, *rythmus*, *meaſure*, and proper *mythology*. You muſt view and aſcertain the abſtract nature of each of theſe parts, then trace its progreſs, and compare that again with the age of Homer, and inquire how *he* came to excel in it, and in what reſpects he does ſo. To bring all theſe together, and make them bear upon a *ſingle point*, was a taſk inſeparable from the *anſwer* of the queſtion. A queſtion which you ſee muſt neceſſarily include a ſurprizing number of different reſearches into the nature and origin of *fiction*, and its connexion with the various, indeed almoſt infinite turns of life and learning.

' Now, my lively friend! you have the clew of the book in your power; give me leave to inſinuate, that it will prove uſeful only in proportion to the care and attention with which you uſe it. If you conſider it merely as an amuſing, curious ſpeculation, it will juſt ſerve to amuſe you a little, for the preſent, and then evaniſh: But if after fully comprehending the plan, you will ſit down and compare it attentively with the ſeveral ſections of the Enquiry, and ſtrictly examine whether each ſection makes out the particular point it was meant to prove, and how that point ſtands connected with the general deſign, in that caſe the plan will effectually rid you of that *fleeting notion* of the ſubject of which you formerly complained. I experienced the ſame thing the firſt time I peruſed the book. While impatience and curioſity hurried me on through the various ſcenes of antiquity from the firſt barbarous ſtate of wretched mortals, to their gradual improvement by arts and laws and learning, I quickly loſt the idea of the preceding ſection, and would have found it very difficult to have recollected the thread of the ſubjects when I had done. But after I had read the book over and over, and had conſidered the order and ſtrictneſs of the inveſtigation, I began to attribute that ſlippery eluſive quality to two cauſes. Firſt I ſuſpected the author had been at pains to *cover* the regularity of his model, and purpoſely effaced every appearance of form; avoiding thoſe diviſions, ſubdiviſions and repetitions which afford artificial helps to the memory, but ſtiffen a treatiſe like an old ſermon. This method leaves the work to your own judgment, and depends ſolely upon the ſenſe and capacity of the reader. The other is the careleſs familiar manner in which theſe abſtruſe ſubjects are treated. You find nothing to ſtop you, if you do not ſtop yourſelf; no uncouth terms or ſcholaſtic phraſes: A ſucceſſion of new ideas is ever paſſing before you, and ſome of the moſt rugged materials in learning are handled with that familiar eaſe and plainneſs of ſpeech, as makes you forget their nature, and glide over theſe thorny fields, where the critics have ſo often tore themſelves, with unſuſpected ſecurity. But, as I ſaid, in proportion to our negligence and haſte, muſt of neceſſity be the ſlipperineſs of our retention. The ſolideſt bodies, as they take the fineſt poliſh, are likewiſe the moſt ticklifh to handle: You muſt poiſe well and graſp firm, ere you have a ſure hold, and be careful how you ſhift hands, leſt they ſlip from between them. Moſt people read books as children viſit a flower-garden: They amuſe themſelves with this or t'other gaudy knot; the colour calls their eye from one border to another; the ſight of the preſent baniſhes the laſt. It is the man of real taſte, who takes in the flower and other gardens at one view, who conſiders the caſt of the grounds, the croſſing lines, the diſpoſition of the walks, the arrangement of the trees, and the conveniency of the ſhades and arbours, the propriety of the ſtatues, and perceives the ſymmetry reſulting from the whole (1)." In the above account, notice is taken of the reader's being likely, in peruſing the book, to loſe the idea of the preceding ſection, and to find a difficulty in recollecting the thread of the ſubject when he had done. This, we apprehend, was objected to the work, on its firſt appearance; and there is a traditional ſtory to that purpoſe

(*a*) Memoirs of the Court of Auguſtus, Vol. ii. p. 277.

(1) Letters concerning Mythology, p. 35—40.

who have peruſed it. It was embelliſhed with plates, deſigned by Gravelot, and executed by different engravers. This we apprehend to be the beſt eſteemed, and it is, in our opinion, the moſt valuable, of Mr. Blackwell's performances. The ſecond edition appeared in 1736; and, not long after, he publiſhed 'Proofs of the Enquiry into Homer's Life and Writings, tranſlated into Engliſh: being a Key to the Enquiry; with a curious Frontiſpiece.' This was a tranſlation of the numerous Greek, Latin, Spaniſh, Italian, and French notes which had been ſubjoined to the original work. In 1748, came out, in London, 'Letters concerning Mythology [C],' in a large octavo, but without

poſe concerning the author and Dr. Bentley. It is ſaid that Mr. Blackwell, ſoon after the publication of his Enquiry, being at Cambridge, paid a viſit to Dr. Bentley, and the diſcourſe turning upon the book, the Doctor, being aſked his opinion of it, anſwered; 'That, when he had gone through half of it, he had forgotten the beginning; and that, when he had finiſhed the reading of it, he had forgotten the whole.' From the very turn of language in the preceding extract, we are diſpoſed to think that there was ſome truth in this ſtory: It is certain, at leaſt, that a ſimilar objection had been ſtarted by others, if not by Dr. Bentley. But whatever force there may be in this objection; whether it be well founded, or there is only an *apparent* and not a real want of method, as the author hath endeavoured with conſiderable plauſibility and ſucceſs, to ſhew; there can be no doubt but that the work itſelf has great merit. It is a curious, ingenious, and very learned inveſtigation of the cauſes which contributed to Homer's unrivalled excellence; and, without being anſwerable for every particular ſentiment, we may venture to aſſert that it is a fine, a maſterly, and an uſeful piece of criticiſm.

[*C*] *Letters concerning Mythology.*] This is a work of much erudition and fancy, and contains many entertaining details. The author, in part of a letter prefixed to it, and addreſſed to Sir Everard Fawkener, thus expreſſes himſelf concerning his general deſign. 'But is it poſſible the hurry of a court, and the duty of two ſuch places, ſhould leave you a moment's leiſure to beſtow upon literature? If they do, may this come to your hands at the lucky hour, when, diſengaged and eaſy, you can afford to liſten to the old ſtory I am going to tell you; "That *fable* was the *firſt form* in which *religion, law* and *philoſophy* (united originally) appeared in the world; that the ancient fables, as we *now* read and underſtand them, convey no ſuch knowledge: that conſequently *they are not underſtood:* that therefore learned men have had recourſe to ſeveral ingenious but claſhing ſchemes to explain them; while ſome will have all the GODS of antiquity to be *deified heroes*, ſome to be *Jewiſh patriarchs*; others, to be the firſt *Egyptian Kings*; others, to be emblematical *figures*, like ſign-poſts, in the ſame country; and a late well-meaning writer has even diſcovered them to be *types* of our modern divinity." 'To decypher then theſe obſcure remains, and trace this loſt ſtream of ancient wiſdom to its real ſource, is the aim of the following letters.' As the work, though written with one principal view, is very miſcellaneous, not to ſay deſultory, it would be impoſſible to give a regular analyſis of it without running to a great length. Some of our readers, however, may, perhaps, not be diſpleaſed with ſeeing a ſketch of its intention, in the table of contents prefixed to the volume.

'Letter I. *EXTREMES* in admiring and deſpiſing the ANCIENTS.

'II. Birth and Picture of LOVE, from *Plato.*

'III. Head of HOMER—*Looks* of great Poets, ancient and modern.

'IV. Caricatures of *Faces*, and correſponding *Characters.*

'V. Foundation of *Phyſiognomy*, from *Ariſtotle*, *Polemo*, *Plotinus*, and the finer Arts.

'VI. View of the *Plan* of the ENQUIRY into *Homer*'s Life.

'VII. Explication of the *Plate* prefixed to the firſt Section of it. Added—The Speech of an *Egyptian* Prieſt concerning the CREATION of the WORLD.

'VIII. Explication of the *Plate* prefixed to the ſecond Section. Added—A Tranſlation of *Orpheus*'s Hymn to PAN, as a Proof that the ancient GODS were not *Perſons.*

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'IX. MYTHOLOGY, what? Her magic Robe, enchanted Chariot, and Retinue.

'X. COMPEND of *Heſiod*'s THEOGONY. Names of the Gods, *Phenician* or *Chaldean.* Dr. T. BURNET's Mythology. *Strabo*'s, *Hippocrates*'s, and the ARAB's.

'XI. *Ductility* of FABLE. More Pictures of *Cupid.* The *Orphic* EGG.

'XII. Veſtiges of *Divinity* in the Creation. Philoſophical Creed of PHERECYDES of *Syros.* *Janus* deſcribed by *Ovid.* *Jupiter* and *Juno*, by Dr. *Berkeley.*

'XIII. VIRTUE *Happineſs*, and VICE *Miſery.* Pleaſure and Pain when *only* ſeparable.

'XIV. *Appeal* from HOMER. *Orphic* Hymns genuine. Sources of Corruption in Mythology. Riſe of Religion from *Ariſtotle.* Regulation of it by *Plato.*

'XV. MYTHOLOGY ſignificant and intelligible. Character of *Porphyry* and *Jamblichus.* *Riſe* and *Loſs* of holy Rites. No *human* Inſtitutions permanent.

'XVI. EUHEMERUS's new Theology. Latter *Platoniſts.* Abbé *Banier* led aſtray by a *Greek* Word: by the Biſhop of *Meaux.* Inconſiſtency of the Biſhop. Reading the *Fathers* infectious. Zealous *Euhemeriſts.* *Mythology* irreducible to *one* Plan. Slippery Reaſoning from *Reſemblances.* *Moſes* and *Bacchus.* *Moſes* and *Romulus.* *Samſon*'s Feats *allegorized.* *Silenus* tortured by *Bochart* and *Fourmont.* Dr. *T. Burnet*'s typical Temples. The GODS ranged into *three* Claſſes. *Varro* and *Plutarch* but middling Divines. *Euthyphro*, a conceited Bigot; characterized by PLATO.

'XVII. ABUSE of MYTHOLOGY. Origin of *Idolatry.* Admiration of the heavenly Bodies. R. *Moſes* Ben *Maimon.* JOB. *Solar*-Worſhip, enticing. Over all the Earth. SUN's *oriental* Names. The CABIR or MIGHTY GODS in *Samothrace* and *Lemnos.* Their Origin traced from *Egypt*, and their myſtic Names AXIEROS, AXIOKERSOS, AXIOKERSA, KADMILUS, truly derived.

'USE of *FABLE.* Firſt *Garb* of Wiſdom: neceſſary in *Politics*; Triumphs in *Theology*; crept even into *Hiſtory.* *Poetry* ſplit from *Philoſophy* and *Legiſlation*; coaleſced with the *Prieſt:* His Speech of the *Uſe* of holy Rites: of Fable in *moral* Philoſophy: in *natural.* M. *Leibnitz*, and M. *Bernier* compared with a *Mythologiſt.*

'TRANSLATIONS always *lame.* Pleaſant Inſtance from the *CORAN.* A great King *melted* by hearing it read. Its ſublime Doctrine concerning the *Deity.* *Plato*'s of a Future State. No ſound Philoſophy without a *God* and his *Providence.*

'XVIII. REAL OPINIONS of the *Ancients* from *SANCHONIATHON.* *Jewiſh* Natural Philoſophy and Metaphyſics. Lord *Verulam*'s pious Advice: *Complied* with by great and good Men. TRANSLATION of *Sanchoniathon*'s Fragment, with Notes, and the *Phenician* Names explained. Records kept at *Memphis*, *Babylon*, *Jeruſalem* and *Tyre.* Whether it be advantageous to a pure Religion, to find many Reſemblances to it in a falſe one?

'XIX. A CIRCLE, or *Succeſſion* of Religion. Ancient *Purity.* ZABIANS. *Mohammed*, and the firſt *Khalifs.* *Zabian* Creed. *Melchizedec*, *Job* and his Friends, *Jethro*, and *Balaam*, worſhip *one* God. *Egyptians*, *Babylonians*, *Perſians.* *Oriental* Wiſdom. The Prophet *Iſaiah* explained. Star-Worſhip. Myſtic *Shrines.* Origin of our *Week*, and Names of the *Days:* of the Chymiſt's Names of *Metals.* Amazing Stupidity of the JEWS: their Idolatry: their General *Joſhua*'s Speech explained. Affinity of the *Zabian* and *Platonic* Doctrine. *Diotima*, *Socrates*'s Inſtructreſs. Origin of the Belief of Spirits. The famous POSTEL, a *catholic Apoſtle.*

without the bookſeller's name; though, we believe, Mr. Andrew Millar, of the Strand, was the publiſher of it, as Mr. James Oſwald, of the Poultry, had been of the Enquiry

‘ *PHILOSOPHY* evinces a FIRST CAUSE, and a PROVIDENCE.

‘ The *Creation* of the World by GOD from the *Timæus* of PLATO.

‘ Final Judgment concerning the *ancient* MYTHOLOGY.’

Still farther to explain our author's purpoſe, we ſhall add the concluſion of his laſt letter.

‘ The *CIRCLE, My Friend!* is drawn; my promiſe is fulfilled; the opinions of the *Ancients* concerning the riſe and government of the world, are faithfully ſet before you. You have, in the general plan of *Mythology*, firſt the *grand key*, “ That the powers producing, and parts compoſing the univerſe, were their greateſt Gods;” ‘ and then the *out-lines* directing to the peculiar nature of their ſeveral deities. Should we deſcend lower, and inquire into all their attributes, rites, and operations, the detail would be endleſs, and not very ſatisfactory. Who can pretend to aſcertain the particular *aſpect of things*, that *pleaſing proportion*, or *faſcinating ſpecies*, that every ſpeculative man, of a different country and character, took for a *view* of the divinity? Leſs ſtill can we be abſolutely ſure of their ſymbols and ceremonies, depending upon the deep-laid deſigns of a prieſt, or the heated imagination of a poet. The minute application muſt be therefore left, as *religion* was, of old, to every one's own particular turn and extent of capacity.

‘ *Nature* is full of wonders; —her operations are marvellous; her proportions divine; their effects are ſtriking and powerful; and the finer the genius, —the wider the underſtanding, the more lively are the ſenſations of her ſilent beauties. But according to the infinite varieties of the human mind, both as different in itſelf, and more diverſified by the various modes of *education, climate, accidents,* and *train of life*, ſo different are our conceptions of *nature*, and of the powers and connexions that influence mankind.

‘ Now, time was when each of theſe powers, and every type and reſemblance of them, was *deified*; when their mutual dependencies, ſympathies, antipathies, and chief operations, figured either as ſteps of a *pedigree* in the genealogy of the Gods; or as *war in heaven*,—plots and counter-plots among the jarring deities, which were ſometimes amicably adjuſted, and ſometimes ended in ſuch fatal cataſtrophes as caſtrations, uſurpations, and impriſonment;—not told alike in every nation;—but *differently*, as the cauſes above mentioned made them ſtrike differently upon the mind of the *patriarch*, *prieſt*, or *lawgiver*, that modelled the infant-ſtate: While above them all,

‘ *The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,*
‘ *Did glance from heaven to earth, from earth to*
‘ *heaven;*
‘ *And as imagination bodied forth*
‘ *The forms of things unknown, the* poet's *pen*
‘ *Turn'd them to ſhape, and gave to airy Nothing*
‘ *A local habitation and a name* (2).’

As an inſtance of the moral purpoſes to which Dr. Blackwell applies his ſpeculations, we ſhall tranſcribe part of his 13th letter. ‘ Inattentive people, eſpecially the miſcalled men of pleaſure (the meereſt drudges of the human race) by living ſome time in this way, come at laſt to think every thing decent and lawful that ſuits their inclinations: While they are in a career of diverſions, they really look upon honour, integrity, and virtue as empty inſignificant ſounds.

Virtutem Verba putant, ut Lucum Ligna—

‘ So indeed they are to thoſe who have no *feeling* of the things; ſuch perſons receive much the ſame benefit from all that can be ſaid in commendation of worth and wiſdom, as the late ſerene Dauphin of France did from all the elaborate editions of the claſſics publiſhed for his uſe. To them I would only recommend to go more *thorowly* to work, and if the joys they purſue be genuine, to devote themſelves wholly to them. They are but puny ſtarveling rakes in compariſon of ſome of their predeceſſors. I remember to have read of a celebrated debauchee among the ancients, the buſineſs of whoſe day it was, *to get drunk at night*. This wiſe and ingenious perſon (for ſo to be ſure he thought himſelf) prepared for the evening campaign with great addreſs and aſſiduity. He ſlept long, eat delicately, rubbed, bathed, aired and walked, juſt as much as would beſt befit him for the dear fatigue of *being drunk*. When that grand point was attained, like a man of ſpirit, who had acted his part with dignity, and fully reached the purpoſe of life, he ordered his ſervants every evening to lay him on a magnificent couch, and carry him in proceſſion with decent funeral-pomp from his ſalon through a ſuite of rooms to his bed-chamber, calling out triumphantly all the way, BEBIΩKE—BEBIΩKE, *He hath lived, he hath lived*; the form of funeral ſervice for the *dead*.

‘ Seriouſly, my friend, intemperance, or vice of any ſpecies is but a ſickly inconſiſtent thing; and we are obliged to make great allowances to be able to bear with it. You hate the whole, and you both hate and contemn the half-knave: a man who falſifies his word, who eludes his promiſes, ſhuffles in his anſwers, or ſwerves in his dealings, draws your averſion; and moſt juſtly. But why hate by halves?—why cenſure one vice ſeverely and connive at another? Be conſiſtent in your judgment and liking: Love not the private eaſy companion in the public mercenary traitor; nor approve the pretended patriot, be he ever ſo flaming, in the private immoral profligate. I do not ſay that what is good in a vicious character is not to be approved; nor deny but that the ſame character may in different reſpects be virtuous and vicious; much leſs do I embrace the ſtoical paradox, that all vices are equally pernicious and criminal: But I lay it down as a ſacred maxim, that every man is wretched in proportion to his vices; and affirm the nobleſt ornament of a young generous mind, and the ſureſt ſource of pleaſure, profit and reputation, in life, to be an unreſerved acceptance of virtue. Take the lovely gueſt but once into your boſom, reſolve ſtrictly and ſteadily to follow her dictates, ſhe will diffuſe a joy and ſerenity through your ſoul, a confidence and courage through your ſpeech and conduct, ſuch as no corrupt heart ever felt, or guilty hand put in execution. This reſpects the important parts of life; as to the *pleaſant*, they follow their betters. The ſweeteſt ingredient in mirth is innocence; it heightens and refines the humour, and doubles the reliſh of every enjoyment. I have ſeen many bad men brutally merry; but never one of them quite open, eaſy, and unchecked in his mirth. That abſolute ſerenity, that ſupreme eaſe is the ſole gift of virtue. To her choſen alone, ſhe gives to taſte gaiety and pleaſure *unmixed*; to drink of the pure ſtream that flows ſpontaneous from conſcious worth, and beneficence to men: To all others it is daſhed and imbittered in proportion to the crookedneſs of their minds, inhumanity of their tempers, and intemperance of their lives.

‘ Shall I wrong you in ſuppoſing you apprehenſive of ſuch a ſtrict reſolution, as if it would lead you into thorny paths, or confine you to a narrow track, full of ſcruples and peeviſhneſs? Truſt me, it will not. On the contrary, *Wiſdom's ways are ways of pleaſantneſs, and all her paths are peace*. The peculiar felicity of ſuch a temper of mind, owing beyond controverſy to our divine original frame, is the *ſimplicity* of its directory. You need no intricate ſyſtems, nor abſtruſe ambiguous rules to lead you the road of happineſs: *One* plain principle will prove an unerring guide in this flowery path, for ever ſtrewed with freſh contentment and unrepented pleaſure. Would you be exempt from uneaſineſs; *do no one thing you know, or but ſuſpect to be wrong*. Would you enjoy the pureſt pleaſure; *do every thing in your power you are convinced is right*. A little attention to the *inward monitor* we lamely call Conſcience, will diſcover him to be your beſt friend, faithful and true; fond and forward to do good, while he muſt be dragged reluctant even to doubtful evil: for to approve of it open and undiſguiſed, neither the ſongs of the Sirens could ever allure, nor the tortures of tyrants ever compel him. No ſooner

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(2) Letters concerning Mythology, p. 409—411.

quiry into the Life of Homer. On the ſeventh of October, in the ſame year, our author was appointed, by his late Majeſty, King George the Second, to be Principal of the Mariſchal

does the ſpecies of any conduct, or idea of any one action ſtrike upon the underſtanding, than it is immediately remitted to this incorrupt judge, who tranſmits it to the *will* brightened with his approbation or blackened with his diſlike; and if the inward œconomy be ſound, it is put in execution as good, or rejected as baſe, according to the mark of his ſovereign controul. Deceived he may be in particular inſtances, when falſehood is preſented to him in the garb of truth; but bribed or biaſſed he never can, from the general rectitude of his intention, ſingly to promote the welfare of men, by aſſuring them, nay by making them *feel* that their happineſs depends upon their acquitting themſelves fully and fairly of the duties of humanity. How often have you heard it ſaid of a private gentleman, *He would not do an ill thing for the world?* Glorious character! and I hope more frequent than is commonly believed——a character to be courted, or to ſay it better, *deſerved* by every man who wiſhes to live happily; and to taſte genuine pleaſure.

‘ Could my friend now take one other ſtep with me? I know he *can* and fain would, I aſſure myſelf *he will.* If the happineſs of our lives depend upon our obedience to this *home-cenſor* lodged in every man's breaſt, it muſt needs increaſe in proportion to our attention to his dictates, and diminiſh according to our negligence. What a thought is there? what a fund of uncloying pleaſure pointed out to a noble youth in the bloom of life, as yet untainted with vice and fond of real fame? To live without remorſe, in bliſsful ignorance of *inward pangs,* we muſt do no one thing we but ſuſpect to be wrong: to be truly happy, we muſt do whatever we believe to be right: But would you exalt and refine this happineſs, you muſt be *at pains* to examine what is right, and *at pains* to put it in execution. Startle not at the word; for in exact proportion to your pains will be your pleaſure. In the ordinary occurrences of life, ſuch a conduct will procure you peace and plenty at home, and reſpect and confidence abroad; but in public ſtations it leads to the higheſt pitch of human felicity, and puts the man who honeſtly aims at it in the direct road to heroiſm and immortality (3).’ How happy is it when eminent talents are converted to ſuch valuable ends? On the contrary, nothing can be more hateful than when ſimilar talents are rendered the inſtruments of ſeduction and vice. A ſtriking picture of this kind is given us by a late author, in a character which he hath drawn, in a ‘ dream concerning pleaſure.’

‘ The laſt figure whom I ſaw in my nocturnal viſion in the palace of *Pleaſure,* was a pretty ſingular one. It was a ſpruce lively old ſpark, who had withal ſomething ſtiff and formal in his mien, and affected a certain ſtatelineſs of aſpect and manner, which beſpoke no ordinary conceit of his own merit. He advanced to the Goddeſs with an air of confidence and ſelf-applauſe, and ſimpering to her with a courtly grin, with head and arm up-lifted, he opened his mouth, like one who had ſomething of importance to utter.

“ You ſee, Madam, a perſon who pretends to ſupport his title to your favour by no vulgar claims. For I always diſdained the route which the rabble take, and equally aſpire at pleaſure, and at glory, by ſingularity. I ſcorn to think, ſpeak, or even eat, like the vulgar, and conſidering how moſt things are murdered by the aukwardneſs of the generality, I give a luſtre and dignity to the moſt trite ſentiments and actions, by my manner of pronouncing or performing them. Therefore as ſoon as I became acquainted with your divinity, I liſted myſelf in your ſervice, and reſolved to ſacrifice the choiceſt victims on your altars. But then I ſtudied a more elegant kind of worſhip, and bowed not to the groſſer image under which you have been often repreſented, but to that auguſter form, under which you appear to your votaries of a correct and elaborate fancy. My early acquaintance with men and books, improved my natural ſagacity into the pretrieſt taſte, and taught me to extract the very flower and quinteſſence of pleaſure, which was wonderfully heightened by my delicate manner of enjoying it. I ſoon ſingled out the ladies as your prime favourites and miniſters, and made my court to *them,* merely to do homage to *you.* I did it, Madam, in an uncommon manner. For I was governed by *taſte,* not by *inſtinct,* and wanted to refine what was groſs, and quicken the inſipid in enjoyment, by the high ſeaſoning I prepared for it. And therefore, though I meant chiefly to enjoy the perſon, I ſought in the firſt place to engage the heart to be of the party, and to inflame the paſſions, that the tranſports might be mutual and ardent. To accompliſh this with the more refined policy, I covered my deſigns with the faireſt maſque of friendſhip, and profeſſed a fondneſs for their company and acquaintance, merely to form their taſte, and give a prettier poliſh to their manners.—I aggravated the merit of thoſe hours I ſpent with them, from the rareneſs of thoſe I beſtowed elſewhere,——ſent them now and then a few tender lines and billets-doux, chiefly in praiſe of their wit, their good taſte, and amiable deportment, with ſome ſlight glances only on their perſonal advantages. To beguile the more eaſily, I wore a perpetual ſmile, *and framed my face to all occaſions.* I knew how ungainly a ſight undiſguiſed love is, eſpecially to thoſe innocent ſcrupulous creatures; therefore I hid what was deformed from view, or elſe covered it over with the ſhew of ſome virtue. I talked much to them of honour, contempt of vulgar prejudices, unreſerved confidence, diſintereſted attachment—inſpired them with the higheſt notions of friendſhip between the ſexes, without any farther views, and as a thing quite diſtinct from love and courtſhip.—To make them ſwallow this tale the more eaſily, I profeſſed a regard to their perſons, merely as they were pictures of the lovely inhabitant within; and if I praiſed a particular feature or air, it was only becauſe in *them* ſhone out ſuch modeſty, gentleneſs, and ſenſibility to every ſoft and endearing impreſſion;—I told them that to brighten ſuch qualities was my higheſt ambition,—that I expected no other return for my ſervices, than the pleaſure of a more refined friendſhip.—Mean while, to ſupply the natural warmth of the ſex with proper fuel, I put books of gallantry, and of a free pleaſurable caſt, into their hands, ſuch as I thought the fitteſt to ſoften and inflame them;—I began now to uſe more freedom in commending their perſons, and uſed warm and tender deſcriptions of their ſhape, their mouth, the ſenſibility of their manners, from which one might form the moſt agreeable prejudices in their favour.—I taught them that Nature gave nothing in vain—that civil forms, and vulgar names and cuſtoms, were only ſolemn ceremonies to amuſe the formal, or check the licentious, but were never deſigned to give law to the mutual ardors of friendſhip.—I complimented them with the ſingular merit of having firſt ſubdued ſo inſenſible and ſtubborn an heart as *mine,* which uſed to *deſpiſe* ſubjection to female ſway; and began to talk to them in more paſſionate ſtrains.—Having thus taught them to meaſure friendſhip by the freer ſtandard of nature, and refined their taſte above vulgar prejudices, I wound them up to the higheſt pitch of paſſion; which paved the way for an eaſy conqueſt over the remaining ſcruples of modeſty and ſhame. For artfully dawbing what was criminal in the laſt indulgence, with the ſpecious names of heroic friendſhip, confidence in one's honour and conſtancy, and reciprocal tenderneſs, I choſe the tender minute, when the pretty creatures were ready to ſigh out their ſouls in fondneſs and paſſion, and rifled them of what they are pleaſed to call their honour. Now the fondlings were ſo deeply rivetted in paſſion, that they gloried more in the title of a *female friend,* than others do in the ſtale one of a *wife.*—However, I ſoon grew tired of the dull repetition of pleaſure with the ſame objects, and began to be diſturbed with their little jealouſies, paſſionate caprices and inquietudes;—but not daring to raiſe a devil which would not be eaſily laid, I retreated with great caution and reſerve,—and told them it was in vain to talk of marriage, ſince circumſtances

(3) Letters concerning Mythology, p. 157—162.

Mariſchal college in Aberdeen, and was admitted to the office on the 9th of November following. He continued, alſo, Profeſſor of Greek till his death. He is the only Layman who hath ever been appointed Principal of that college, ſince the patronage came to the Crown, by the forfeiture of the Mariſchal family, in 1716; all the other Principals having been Miniſters of the eſtabliſhed Church of Scotland. When Robert and Andrew Foulis, printers at Glaſgow, intended to publiſh an edition of Plato, Mr. Blackwell propoſed to furniſh them with ſeveral critical notes for it, together with an account of Plato's Life and Philoſophy: but the printers not acceding to the terms which he demanded for this aſſiſtance, he promiſed, by an advertiſement in 1751, himſelf to give an edition of Plato. His deſign, however, was not carried into execution; nor did it appear, from any thing found among his papers after his death, that he had made any conſiderable progreſs in the undertaking. On the third of March, 1752, he took the degree of Doctor of Laws. In the following year, appeared the firſt volume of his 'Memoirs of the Court of Auguſtus,' in quarto. The ſecond volume came out in 1755; and the third, which was poſthumous, and left incomplete by the author, was fitted for the preſs by John Mills, Eſq; and publiſhed in 1764. At the ſame time, was publiſhed the third edition of the two former volumes [*D*]. This is a proof of the good

“ would not permit us to live in that elegant pretty manner which we *both* wiſhed and were formed for, —that therefore prudence required greater diſtance and reſerve than formerly,—I wrote ſeldom,—my viſits were few, and I treated them with more coldneſs and freedom,—till *at length* I abandoned them to the ungovernable paſſions, jealouſy and deſpair. But while I was gradually retreating from them, I was meditating, Madam, and training up freſh victims for your altars; and being well accompliſhed in love-wiles, by long experience and practice, I became ſuch an adept in gallantry and polite diſſimulation, that few eſcaped the ſnare I laid for them. Thus unwearied have I been, Goddeſs, to ſatisfy my boundleſs paſſion for you; and though many may have added *more* votaries, yet none ever added *ſuch* faithful, ſighing, paſſionate ones to your train. In this triumphant courſe of indulgence I have ſpent now many years, and have (thanks to your divinity) got the better of all thoſe idle ſcruples which uſed to teaze me now and then in my cooler moods; ſo that there is not a ſtep of my paſt conduct, which I cannot juſtify by the ſtricteſt maxims of delicacy, and a fine taſte;—but alas! Madam, my arts are grown ſo ſtale, that all ſee through them, and moſt girls ſhun me as they would do the d—l (4).”

[*D*] *The third edition of the two former volumes.*] The firſt volume, which is addreſſed to the late right honourable Henry Pelham, Eſq; contains, I. The Riſe of Rome, or a Deduction of the Cauſes that raiſed her Citizens to be the Lords of the World. II. The Plan of the Conſular Government—compared with the Britiſh Conſtitution. III. The Fall of Rome, or the Steps traced by which ſhe firſt degenerated, and finally loſt her Liberty. IV. The firſt Part of the Life of Auguſtus, from his entering into Affairs after the Death of Julius Cæſar, until the Extinction of Liberty, and Settlement of the Triumvirate. The 2d volume contains, V. The State of the Empire after the Proſcription. The Reduction of Rhodes by Caius Caſſius. The Conqueſt of the Lycian Cantons by M. Brutus. VI. War in Afric: Phenician Antiquities: Cornifirius and Varro. Picture of Rome under the Triumvirs: Hortenſia and the Ladies: Cæſar defeated at Sea. VII. March from Aſia. Firſt Battle at Philippi: Death of Caſſius. Second Battle of Philippi: Death of Brutus: Extinction of Liberty. Killing of Cæſar canvaſſed. VIII. State of the Eaſt: Antony's Way of Life: Corporation of Players. State of Italy: Cæſar's Sickneſs: Veterans. Mutiny. Fulvia and L. Antony: Siege of Perugia: Maſſacres. Antony and Cleopatra at Tarſus: His Poet Boethus. Submiſſion of Domitian Enobarbus; Peace of Brindiſi. Love-Adventures—Marriages—Peace of Miſeno. Herod the Great's Story: Parthian Antiquities: Ventidius's Victories. Cæſar's Miniſtry: Virgil and Horace brought to Court: Arcius and Athenedore Philoſophers: their important Services. IX. Sicilian War—Shipwrecks—Sea-fights—Cæſar's Diſtreſs. Defeat and Death of Sextus Pompey. Lepidus diveſted: Change of Meaſures, and Beginning of Cæſar's mild Adminiſtration. Of the third volume, only 144 pages were printed off when Dr. Blackwell died. The papers which were left by him, and which contained, in general, little more than looſe leaves, detached notes, memorandums, and very often nothing but bare hints of things intended to be ſaid, being put into the hands of John Mills, Eſq; that gentleman completed the whole. The contents of the third volume are, X. State of 'the Eaſt. Story of Herod the Great continued. Parthian Expedition under M. Antony. Octavia's hard Fate.—Cleopatra's unbounded Sway. XI. Life of the ancient Romans. Roman Literature. Stage Plays.—Andronicus—Ennius—Nevius, &c. Poetry.——Horace—Perſius—Juvenal. Poetaſters.—Tigellius—Bavius—Mævius, &c. XII. Dalmatian War.—Siege of Metulo. Virgil's celebrated Birth-day Ode, Pollio.—Sybilline Prophecy. Campaign upon the Danube—The Dalmatians reduced—Segeſte, Metulo, Siſkia, Promona, taken.—The Tranſalpine Tribes reduced. Herod the Great, his Story continued. Antony and Cleopatra at Alexandria. War declared againſt Cleopatra.—Antony diveſted of all Employment under the Republic. Battle of Actium.—Flight of Cleopatra and Antony. XIII. Antony and Cleopatra engage to die together. Octavius in Aſia.—Continuation of the Story of Herod the Great. Treachery of Cleopatra.—Her Death, and that of Antony. Egypt conquered, and made a Roman Province.—Affairs of the Parthians. Octavius ſole Maſter of the Roman Empire.—Becomes a different Man.—Receives the Appellation of Auguſtus.——Studies the Happineſs of the People. End of the Republic. XIV. Octavius receives the Title of Auguſtus. Gaul ſettled.——Spain reduced. Marriage of Marcellus and Julia. Auguſtus dangerouſly ill.—Gives his Ring to Agrippa.—Diſcontent of Marcellus.——Agrippa removed from Court.—Death of Marcellus.——Grief of his Mother Octavia. Auguſtus becomes a moſt excellent Prince, and is deſervedly beloved.——But Conſpiracies are formed againſt him. Makes Agrippa his Son-in-Law; and Collegue in the Tribunician Power. Signal Virtues, and Greatneſs of Soul of Agrippa. Death of Virgil. Character of his and of Horace's Writings. The Senate reformed.——Salutary Laws enacted. Luxury of the Romans—Hortenſius—Apicius—P. Vedius Pollio. Birth of Caius and Lucius Cæſars—Campaigns and Death of Druſus. Victories and Riſe of Tiberius.—Gaul and Germany pacified.—The Temple of Janus cloſed. XV. Auguſtus tenderly and deſervedly beloved by the Romans.——Receives the noble Title of Father of his Country. Death of Octavia—of Mæcenas—of Horace.——Mæcenas juſtly immortalized by his Protection of Learning. Academies——Stoics——and Epicureans. Elevation of Caius and Lucius Cæſars——Diſcontent of Tiberius, who retires to Rhodes. Auguſtus's domeſtic Ills.—Debaucheries and Baniſhment of the two Julias. Loſes his Grandſons Caius and Lucius. Adopts Tiberius and Agrippa Poſthumus;—which laſt he ſoon baniſhes.—Nobly pardons Cinna.—Revolt and Reduction of the Pannonians and Dalmatians.——Dreadful Defeat of Varus.—Baniſhes his Grand-daughter Julia. Promotes Tiberius to the higheſt Honours.——Death and Character of Auguſtus.' Notwithſtanding what is ſaid in the text, concerning the affectation of Dr. Blackwell's ſtyle and manner, and however juſt the criticiſm

(4) Dialogues concerning Education, Vol. ii. p. 284—289.

good reception the work met with from the public; though it muſt be acknowledged that the parade with which it is written, and the peculiarity of its language, expoſed it to ſome ſeverity of cenſure [*E*]. It cannot be denied that there is a conſiderable degree of

criticiſm may be in the next note, our readers may be aſſured of finding a great fund of information and entertainment in the Memoirs of the Court of Auguſtus.

[*E*] *Expoſed it to ſome ſeverity of cenſure.*] The periodical writers of the time were not defective in pointing out the affectation of Dr. Blackwell's manner of compoſition: but this was no where done with ſo much acuteneſs as in the following paper, which is ſuppoſed to have been drawn up by one of our moſt eminent living authors. ‘ Review of Memoirs of the Court of Auguſtus. By Thomas Blackwell, J. U. D. Principal of Mariſhal-College, in the Univerſity of Aberdeen. The firſt effect which this book has upon the reader is that of diſguſting him with the author's vanity. He endeavours to perſuade the world, that here are ſome new treaſures of literature ſpread before his eyes; that ſomething is diſcovered, which to this happy day had been concealed in darkneſs; that by his diligence Time had been robbed of ſome valuable monument which he was on the point of devouring; and that names and facts doomed to oblivion are now reſtored to fame.

‘ How muſt the unlearned reader be ſurpriſed, when he ſhall be told that Mr. Blackwell has neither digged in the ruins of any demoliſhed city, nor found out the way to the library of Fez; nor had a ſingle book in his hands, that has not been in the poſſeſſion of every man that was inclined to read it, for years and ages; and that his book relates to a people who above all others have furniſhed employment to the ſtudious, and amuſements to the idle; who have ſcarcely left behind them a coin or a ſtone, which has not been examined and explained a thouſand times, and whoſe dreſs, and food, and houſehold-ſtuff it has been the pride of learning to underſtand.

‘ A man need not fear to incur the imputation of vicious diffidence or affected humility, who ſhould have forborn to promiſe many novelties, when he perceived ſuch multitudes of writers poſſeſſed of the ſame materials, and intent upon the ſame purpoſe. Mr. Blackwell knows well the opinion of Horace, concerning thoſe that open their undertakings with magnificent promiſes; and he knows likewiſe the dictates of common ſenſe and common honeſty, names of greater authority than that of Horace, who direct that no man ſhould promiſe what he cannot perform.

‘ I do not mean to declare that this volume has nothing new, or that the labours of thoſe who have gone before our author, have made his performance an uſeleſs addition to the burden of literature. New works may be conſtructed with old materials, the diſpoſition of the parts may ſhew contrivance, the ornaments interſperſed may diſcover elegance.

‘ It is not always without good effect that men of proper qualifications write in ſucceſſion on the ſame ſubject, even when the latter add nothing to the information given by the former; for the ſame ideas may be delivered more intelligibly or more delightfully by one than by another, or with attractions that may lure minds of a different form. No writer pleaſes all, and every writer may pleaſe ſome.

‘ But after all, to inherit is not to acquire; to decorate is not to make; and the man who had nothing to do but to read the ancient authors, who mention the Roman affairs, and reduce them to common-places, ought not to boaſt himſelf as a great benefactor to the ſtudious world.

‘ After a preface of boaſt, and a letter of flattery, in which he ſeems to imitate the addreſs of Horace in his *vile potabis modicis Sabinum* – he opens his book with telling us, that the “ Roman Republic, after the horrible proſcription, was no more at *bleeding Rome*. The regal power of her conſuls, the authority of her ſenate, and the majeſty of her people, were now trampled under foot; theſe [for thoſe] divine laws and hallowed cuſtoms, that had been the eſſence of her conſtitution—were ſet at nought, and her beſt friends were lying expoſed in their blood.”

‘ Theſe were ſurely very diſmal times to thoſe who ſuffered; but I know not why any one but a ſchoolboy in his declamation ſhould whine over the commonwealth of Rome, which grew great only by the miſery of the reſt of mankind. The Romans, like others, as ſoon as they grew rich grew corrupt, and, in their corruption, ſold the lives and freedoms of themſelves, and of one another.

“ About this time Brutus had his patience put to the *higheſt* trial: He had been married to Clodia; but whether the family did not pleaſe him, or whether he was diſſatisfied with the lady's behaviour during his abſence, he ſoon entertained thoughts of a ſeparation. *This raiſed a good deal of talk*, and the women of the Clodian family inveighed bitterly againſt Brutus—but he married Portia, who was worthy of ſuch a father as M. Cato, and ſuch a huſband as M. Brutus. She had a ſoul capable of an *exalted paſſion*, and found a proper object to raiſe and give it a ſanction; ſhe did not only love but adored her huſband; his worth, his truth, his every ſhining and heroic quality, made her gaze on him like a God, while the endearing returns of eſteem and tenderneſs ſhe met with, brought her joy, her pride, her every wiſh to centre in her beloved Brutus.”

‘ When the reader has been awakened by this rapturous preparation, he hears the whole ſtory of Portia in the ſame luxuriant ſtyle, till ſhe breathed out her laſt, a little before the *bloody proſcription*, and “ Brutus complained heavily of his friends at Rome, as not having paid due attention to his *lady* in the declining ſtate of her health.”

‘ He is a great lover of modern terms. His ſenators and their wives are *gentlemen* and *ladies*. In this review of Brutus's army, who *was under the command of gallant men, not braver officers, than true patriots*, he tells us ‘ that Sextus the Queſtor *was* “ *Paymaſter, Secretary at War, and Commiſſary General*, and that the *ſacred diſcipline* of the Romans required the cloſeſt connection, like that of father and ſon, to ſubſiſt between the General of an army and his Queſtor. Cicero was *General of the Cavalry*, and the next *general officer* was Flavius, *Maſter of the Artillery*, the elder Lentulus was *Admiral*, and the younger *rode* in the *band of volunteers*; under theſe the tribunes, *with many others too tedious to name*.” Lentulus, however, was but a ſubordinate officer; for we are informed afterwards, that the Romans had made Sextus Pompeius *Lord High Admiral in all the ſeas of their dominions*.

‘ Among other affectations of this writer is a furious and unneceſſary zeal for liberty, or rather for one form of government as preferable to another. This indeed might be ſuffered, becauſe political inſtitution is a ſubject in which men have always differed, and if they continue to obey their lawful governors, and attempt not to make innovations for the ſake of their favourite ſchemes, they may differ for ever without any juſt reproach from one another. But who can bear the hardy champion who ventures nothing? Who in full ſecurity undertakes the defence of the aſſaſſination of Cæſar, and declares his reſolution *to ſpeak plain?* Yet let not juſt ſentiments be overlooked: He has juſtly obſerved, that the greater part of mankind will be naturally prejudiced againſt Brutus, for all feel the benefits of private friendſhip; but few can diſcern the advantages of a well conſtituted government.

‘ We know not whether ſome apology may not be neceſſary for the diſtance between the firſt account of this book and its continuation. The truth is, that this work not being forced upon our attention by much public applauſe or cenſure, was ſometimes neglected, and ſometimes forgotten; nor would it, perhaps, have been now reſumed, but that we might avoid to diſappoint our readers by an abrupt deſertion of any ſubject.

‘ It is not our deſign to criticiſe the facts of this hiſtory, but the ſtyle; not the veracity, but the addreſs of the writer; for, an account of the ancient of affectation in Dr. Blackwell's ſtyle and manner of compoſition : and, unhappily, this affectation increaſed in him as he advanced in years. His Enquiry into the Life of Homer was not free from it : it was ſtill more diſcernible in his Letters concerning Mythology ; and was moſt of all apparent in his Memoirs of the Court of Auguſtus. We perceive in his various productions a mixture of pedantry: but it is not the ſober dull pedantry of the merely recluſe ſcholar. In Dr. Blackwell it aſſumes a higher

‘ Romans as it cannot nearly intereſt any preſent reader, and muſt be drawn from writings that have been long known, can owe its value only to the language in which it is delivered, and the reflections with which it is accompanied. Dr. Blackwell, however, ſeems to have heated his imagination ſo as to be much affected with every event, and to believe that he can affect others. Enthuſiaſm is indeed ſufficiently contagious ; but I never found any of his readers much enamoured of the *glorious* Pompey, *the patriot approved*, or much incenſed againſt the *lawleſs* Cæſar, whom this author probably ſtabs every day and night in his ſleeping or waking dreams.

‘ He is come too late into the world with his fury for freedom, with his Brutus and Caſſius. We have all on this ſide of the Tweed long ſince ſettled our opinions: His zeal for Roman liberty and declamations againſt the violators of the Republican conſtitution, only ſtand now in the reader's way, who wiſhes to proceed in the narrative without the interruption of epithets and exclamations. It is not eaſy to forbear laughter at a man ſo bold in fighting ſhadows, ſo buſy in a diſpute two thouſand years paſt, and ſo zealous for the honour of a people who while they were poor robbed mankind, and as ſoon as they became rich robbed one another. Of theſe robberies our author ſeems to have no very quick ſenſe, except when they are committed by Cæſar's party, for every act is ſanctified by the name of a patriot.

‘ If this author's ſkill in ancient literature were leſs generally acknowledged, one might ſometimes ſuſpect that he had too frequently conſulted the French writers. He tells us that Archelaus the Rhodian made a ſpeech to Caſſius, and *in ſo ſaying* dropt ſome tears, and that Caſſius after the reduction of Rhodes was *covered with glory*.—Deiotarus was a keen and happy ſpirit.—The ingrate Caſtor kept his court.

‘ His great delight is to ſhew his univerſal acquaintance with terms of art, with words that every other polite writer has avoided and deſpiſed. When Pompey conquered the pirates he deſtroyed fifteen hundred ſhips of the line.—The Xanthian parapets were tore down.—Brutus, ſuſpecting that his troops were plundering, commanded the trumpets to ſound to their colours.—Moſt people underſtood the act of attainder paſſed by the ſenate.—The Numidian troopers were unlikely in their appearance.—The Numidians beat up one quarter after another.—Salvidienus reſolved to paſs his men over in boats of leather, and he gave orders for equipping a ſufficient number of that ſort of ſmall craft. Pompey had light agile frigates, and fought in a ſtrait where the current and caverns occaſion ſwirls and a roll.—A ſharp out-look was kept by the admiral.—It is a run of about fifty Roman miles.—Brutus broke Lipella in the ſight of the army.—Mark Antony garbled the ſenate.—He was a brave man, well qualified for a commodore.

‘ In his choice of phraſes he frequently uſes words with great ſolemnity, which every other mouth and pen has appropriated to jocularity and levity! The Rhodians gave up the conteſt, and in poor plight fled back to Rhodes.—Boys and girls were eaſily kidnapped.—Deiotarus was a mighty believer of augury.—Deiotarus deſtroyed his ungracious progeny.—The regularity of the Romans was their mortal averſion.—They deſired the Conſuls to curb ſuch heinous doings.—He had ſuch a ſhrewd invention that no ſide of a queſtion came amiſs to him.—Brutus found his miſtreſs a coquettiſh creature.

‘ He ſometimes, with moſt unlucky dexterity, mixes the grand and the burleſque together; *the violation of faith, Sir*, ſays Caſſius, *lies at the door of the Rhodians by reiterated acts of perfidy*.—The iron grate fell down, cruſhed thoſe under it to death, and catched the reſt as in a trap.—When the Xanthians heard the military ſhout, and ſaw the flame mount, they concluded there would be no mercy. It was now about ſun-ſet, and they had been at hot work ſince noon.

‘ He has often words or phraſes with which our language has hitherto had no knowledge.—One was a heart-friend to the Republic. A deed was expeded. The Numidians begun to reel, and were in hazard of falling into confuſion.—The tutor embraced his pupil cloſe in his arms.—Four hundred women were taxed who have no doubt been the wives of the beſt Roman citizens.—Men not born to action are inconſequential in government—collectitious troops.—The foot by their violent attack began the fatal break in the Pharſaliac field. He and his brother, with a politic common to other countries, had taken oppoſite ſides.

‘ His epithets are of the gaudy or hyperbolical kind. The glorious news.—Eager hopes and diſmal fears. Bleeding Rome—divine laws and hallowed cuſtoms—Mercileſs war—intenſe anxiety.

‘ Sometimes the reader is ſuddenly raviſhed with a ſonorous ſentence, of which when the noiſe is paſt the meaning does not long remain. When Brutus ſet his legions to fill a moat, inſtead of heavy dragging and ſlow toil, they ſet about it with huzzas and racing, as if they had been ſtriving at the Olympic games. They hurled impetuous down the huge trees and ſtones, and with ſhouts forced them into the water; ſo that the work, expected to continue half the campaign, was with rapid toil completed in a few days. Brutus's ſoldiers fell to the gate with reſiſtleſs fury, it gave way at laſt with hideous craſh.—This great and good man, doing his duty to his country, received a mortal wound, and glorious fell in the cauſe of Rome; may his memory be ever dear to all lovers of liberty, learning, and humanity!—This promiſe ought ever to embalm his memory.—The queen of nations was torn by no foreign invader. Rome fell a ſacrifice to her own ſons, and was ravaged by her unnatural offspring: All the great men of the ſtate, all the good, all the holy, were openly murdered by the wickedeſt and worſt.—Little iſlands cover the harbour of Brindiſi, and form the narrow outlet from the numerous creeks that compoſe its capacious port. At the appearance of Brutus and Caſſius a ſhout of joy rent the heavens from the ſurrounding multitudes.

‘ Such are the flowers which may be gathered by every hand in every part of this garden of eloquence. But having thus freely mentioned our author's faults, it remains that we acknowledge his merit; and confeſs that this book is the work of a man of letters, that it is full of events diſplayed with accuracy, and related with vivacity; and though it is ſufficiently defective to cruſh the vanity of its author, it is ſufficiently entertaining to invite readers (5).’ The preceding remarks are undoubtedly, in many reſpects, as juſt as they are ſevere. But yet the ſeverity is, perhaps, carried too far in the ridicule which is thrown upon Dr. Blackwell, for his ardour in the cauſe of Roman liberty. This ardour, indeed, leads him into exceſs and affectation; but the principle itſelf ought not to be condemned. We ſhould be ſorry to have the Britiſh youth read the tranſactions of ancient Greece and Rome with perfect indifference. The characters and events, deſcribed in the Hiſtories of theſe great republics, have formerly contributed to inſpire a zeal for freedom and the civil rights of mankind; and we hope that they will continue to promote the ſame happy effect.

In the firſt volume of the Archæologia of the Society of Antiquaries, is a letter, written in 1748, by Dr. Blackwell, to Mr. Ames, containing an explanation of a Greek inſcription, on a white marble, found in the iſle of Taſſo, near the coaſt of Romania, by Captain Joſeph Hales, in 1728 (6).

(5) Davies's Collection of miſcellaneous and fugitive Pieces, Vol. iii. p. 1—9.

(6) Archæologia, Vol. i. p. 333, 334.

form. Together with the diſplay of his erudition, he is ambitious of talking like a man who is not a little acquainted with the world. He is often ſpeaking of life and action, of men and manners; and aims at writing with the freedom and politeneſs of one who has been much converſant with the public. But in this he is unſucceſsful: for though he was not deſtitute of genius, or fancy, and had a high reliſh for the beauties of the ancient authors, he never attained that ſimplicity of taſte, which leads to the true eaſe and elegance of compoſition. It is probable, alſo, that, like many others at that time, he might be ſeduced by an injudicious imitation of Lord Shafteſbury; a writer, whoſe faults have been found more eaſily attainable than his excellencies.

Soon after Dr. Blackwell became Principal of his college, he married Barbara Black, the daughter of a merchant of Aberdeen, by whom he had no children, and who is ſtill living. Several years before his death, his health began to decline; ſo that he was obliged to employ an aſſiſtant for teaching his Greek claſs. His diſorder was of the conſumptive kind, and it was thought to be increaſed by the exceſs of abſtemiouſneſs which he impoſed on himſelf; and, in which, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of his phyſicians, he obſtinately perſiſted, from an opinion of his own knowledge of his conſtitution, and of what he found by experience to ſuit it beſt. His diſeaſe increaſing, he was adviſed to travel; and accordingly, in February, 1757, he ſet out from Aberdeen, with that purpoſe. However he was able to go no farther than Edinburgh, in which city he died, on the eighth of March following (*b*), in the 56th year of his age. Dr. Blackwell enjoyed an equable flow of temper, in which his intimate friends ſcarcely ever obſerved any variation. This he maintained during his whole illneſs. The day before he ſet out from Aberdeen, he deſired to meet with all the Profeſſors of the college, and ſpent two hours with them with his uſual vivacity. In Edinburgh he was viſited, at his own deſire, by Dr. Wallace (*), one of the Miniſters of that city, whoſe ingenuity and learning are well known. Dr. Blackwell, on the very day in which he died, wrote letters to ſeveral of his friends, and took leave of them with the greateſt chearfulneſs (†). In the April following our author's deceaſe, it being Dr. Gerard's buſineſs, as (at that time) Profeſſor of moral philoſophy and logic in the Mariſchal college, to preſide at conferring the degree of Maſter of Arts on thoſe whoſe ſtanding entitled them to it, the Doctor took that occaſion to pronounce publicly, on the late Principal, ſuch an encomium as his literature deſerved. It was a fault in Dr. Blackwell, that he too much aſſumed the appearance of univerſal knowledge; the conſequence of which was that he ſometimes laid himſelf open, by entering on ſubjects of philoſophy and mathematics, without a ſufficient acquaintance with them. With all the ancient, and with moſt of the modern languages, he was really acquainted; and his reading, in the line of hiſtory and the belles lettres, was very extenſive. He had a ready and lively manner of introducing his knowledge of this kind, which made his converſation both inſtructive and entertaining; and it was rendered ſtill more ſo by being accompanied with great good humour, and an entire command of his paſſions, even when he was provoked. Though he had ſomething of the ſtiffneſs of the recluſe, he joined with it much of the confidence and good breeding that are found in men who converſe much in the world. His life was private and ſtudious: He did not wholly decline mixed companies, though it was but ſeldom that he came into them; and at home he choſe only the converſation of the learned, or that of perſons of ſuperior rank or fortune. At London he was known to ſeveral men of eminence. The late Duke of Newcaſtle, and Mr. Henry Pelham, were his patrons, and procured for him the office of Principal of the Mariſchal college. It is confidently ſaid that they had intended him an eſtabliſhment at Cambridge, and that the Profeſſorſhip of modern hiſtory was fixed upon for him, if he had not died a ſhort time before it became vacant. A man of Dr. Blackwell's abilities and reputation could not fail of having ſome valuable literary connections and correſpondents; among whom he had the honour of numbering the late celebrated Dr. Mead, and the no leſs celebrated Dr. Warburton, the preſent Biſhop of Glouceſter.] K.

(*b*) Gent. Mag. Vol. xxvii. p. 142.

(*) Author of a curious Diſſertation on the Numbers of Mankind among the ancient Nations, in oppoſition to Mr. Hume; and of a book entitled 'Proſpects of Mankind, Nature, and Providence.'

(†) A letter which he wrote to a friend in London, was much ſpoken of at that time.

BLAGRAVE (John), a very eminent Engliſh Mathematician, who flouriſhed in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. He deſcended from an ancient and honourable family in Berkſhire, and was ſecond ſon to John Blagrave, of Bulmarſh Court, near the town of Sunning, in that county, by Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Hungerford, of Down-Ampney in Glouceſterſhire, Knight; but when he was born is uncertain (*a*). His family having been long ſettled near Reading, and having a good eſtate in that neighbourhood, where it ſtill flouriſhes (*b*) [*A*], he was bred to the firſt rudiments of learning

(*a*) See the Genealogy of this family in Aſhmole's Berkſhire, Vol. iii. p. 329.

(*b*) Willis's *Notitia Parliamentaria*, Vol. i. p. 43—48.

[*A*] *A good eſtate in that neighbourhood, where it ſtill flouriſhes.*] This family, according to a very ancient pedigree, ſeems to have been originally from Staffordſhire: at leaſt Ralph Blagrave was of that county, and removed from thence into Berkſhire, where he ſettled at Bulmarſh, or, as it is written in ſome authors, Bulnaſhe; but the time is not very certain (1). He had two ſons, Richard and Robert: the latter fixed in London, and married Anne, the daughter of Mr. Pyke of Surry, by whom he had John Blagrave; to whom, leaving a conſiderable eſtate, he alſo thought fit to follow the eldeſt branch of his family, and to ſettle near Reading (2). This gentleman married Anne, daughter to Sir Anthony Hungerford, by whom he had four ſons and one daughter. The name of the eldeſt ſon was Anthony; of

(1) See the Genealogy of this family in Aſhmole's Berkſhire, Vol. iii. p. 329.

(2) From private information.

learning in the ſchool there, and afterwards removed to St. John's-college in Oxford, then very lately founded by his countryman Sir Thomas White (c). It does not appear that he was ſo ſolicitous about the fame of learning, as about the thing itſelf; for having acquired this, he ſoon quitted the univerſity, without ſo much as taking a degree, and retired to his own patrimonial ſeat, at Southcote-Lodge, within the pariſh of St. Mary at Reading, where he enjoyed a learned privacy, but not inglorious eaſe (d). His bent was towards the Mathematics, which he ſtudied with much aſſiduity while at Oxford, and for the ſake of ſtudying which without interruption, he addicted himſelf to a retired life (e): but in doing this he had a due regard for the public, and employed himſelf in compiling ſuch laborious and uſeful works, as might ſerve to render ſpeculative Mathematics accurate, and practical parts of them eaſy (f). As theſe are things which uſually require the whole man, and are not to be accompliſhed without ſtrict and conſtant application; ſo our author, being conſcious of his genius for ſuch inquiries, and deſirous of aſſiſting others to the utmoſt of his power, ſpent ſeveral years in this way, and finiſhed ſome large, learned, and inſtructive volumes, for the times in which they were written, and ſuch as were juſtly admired and commended by poſterity (g). Their titles may be ſeen in the notes, with ſome account of them [B]. He was alſo a perſon of much virtue, candour, and beneficence in private life. Having a very ſincere affection for his family, and foreſeeing it would be numerous, though he thought proper not to enter into the married ſtate, he took provident care of them, as far as was in his power (h). His father had beſtowed upon him the leaſe of the lands of Southcote for ninety-nine years, commencing in 1591, and he left all the poſterity of his three brothers the ſum of fifty pounds each, payable at the age of twenty-ſix; and he calculated this donation ſo well, that very near fourſcore of his nephews, and their deſcendants, were the better for his legacy (i), which was always regularly paid. Beſides this proviſion for futurity, he was very liberal towards thoſe in his lifetime with whom he was acquainted. His tenderneſs for his relations did not, however, exceed his charity for the poor; and as he provided for his kindred to the utmoſt verge of his leaſehold eſtate, ſo he ſettled certain lands he had at Swallowfield, in the ſame county, for the proviſion of the poor for ever; and this too was a charity which ſhewed the prudence as well as piety of the donor (k) [C]. We have no farther particulars of this

(c) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 370.

(d) See his character in Aſhmole's Berkſhire, Vol. iii. p. 371.

(e) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 370.

(f) See the titles of his books in note [B].

(g) See the monumental inſcription in note [D].

(h) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 370.

(i) Aſhmole's Berkſhire, Vol. iii. p. 372.

(k) See the inſcription in note [D].

of the ſecond, John, of whom we are now ſpeaking; of the third Edward; of the fourth, Alexander; and the daughter's name was Dorothy (3). Our author's eldeſt brother, Anthony, was High-Sheriff of Berkſhire in the ſecond year of King James I. (4), and had ſerved as Burgeſs for Reading in the laſt Parliament of Queen Elizabeth (5). I cannot preciſely ſay in what degree of relation Sir John Blagrave ſtood to our author, who was Sheriff of Berkſhire in the 22d of King James I. (6), and who I believe was a Lawyer, but it is very probable he was very nearly allied to him. The family have continued ever ſince in that neighbourhood, and one or other of them have frequently been Repreſentatives of the Borough of Reading.

[B] *Their titles may be ſeen in the notes, with ſome account of them.*] The worthy end which this learned and ingenious gentleman propoſed in all his writings, was to render thoſe ſciences familiar to his countrymen, which hitherto had been but in a few hands, and were rather ſuperſtitiouſly admired than thoroughly underſtood. That he might effect this the more eaſily, he made it his buſineſs to ſhew the general uſefulneſs of ſuch ſtudies, and to convince his readers, that inſtead of being amuſements only fit for ſcholars and ſpeculative perſons, they were of general advantage, and in truth of indiſpenſible neceſſity for providing the conveniencies of common life. He likewiſe ſhewed, that they were very far from being ſo hard and difficult to be acquired, or ſo much exalted above ordinary underſtandings, as was commonly imagined; and that moderare abilities, and a reaſonable ſhare of application, would enable men to conquer thoſe difficulties which vulgar prejudices had repreſented as inſuperable. Amongſt theſe practical treatiſes were thoſe that follow.

I. A *Mathematical Jewel*, ſhewing the making and moſt excellent uſe of an Inſtrument ſo called; the uſe of which Jewel is ſo abundant, that it leadeth the direct path-way through the whole art of Aſtronomy, Coſmography, Geography, &c. London, 1585, fol.

II. Of the making and uſe of the *Familiar Staff*; ſo called, for that it may be made uſeful and familiarly to walk with, as for that it performeth the Geometrical menſuration of all Altitudes. London, 1590, 4to.

III. *Aſtrolabium Uranicum generale*; A neceſſary and pleaſant ſolace and recreation for Navigators in their long journeying; containing the uſe of an Inſtrument, or Aſtrolabe, &c. London, 1596, in quarto.

IV. *The Art of Dialling*, in two parts. London, 1609, in quarto. Mr. Wood ſeems to intimate, that he alſo wrote ſeveral other things (7), which may very poſſibly be true; but I have never met with any of them, or ſo much as their titles; and conſidering he did not ſurvive above two years after publiſhing the book laſt mentioned, the fact may admit of ſome doubt, unleſs the reader ſhould be of opinion, that what is contained in the ſucceeding note [D], amounts to an argument of the truth of Mr. Wood's conjecture, ſince the Inſtruments therein mentioned might very well refer to other works than thoſe of which we have ſet down the titles.

[C] *A charity which ſhewed the prudence, as well as piety of the donor.*] As he was born in, and had ſpent moſt of his days near, the town of Reading in Berks, he was very deſirous of leaving therein ſome laſting monuments of his beneficent diſpoſition, which might have equal reference to each of the three pariſhes in their town, viz. St. Mary's, ſuppoſed to be built where the nunnery ſtood in the Saxon times; St. Lawrence, which ſtands beyond the river Kennet; and that of St. Giles, at the fartheſt end of the town (8). The legacies he bequeathed were equally calculated for the benefit of thoſe who were to receive them, and of the inhabitants of that ancient Borough in general. The beſt account we have, is that preſerved by Mr. Aſhmole, in the following words (9):

'You are to note, that he doth deviſe that each 'Church-warden ſhould ſend on Good-Friday one 'virtuous maid that has lived five years with her 'maſter. All three maids appear at the Town-hall 'before the Mayor and Aldermen, and caſt dice. She 'that throws moſt has ten pounds put in a purſe, and 'ſhe is to be attended with the other two that loſt the 'throw. The next year come again the two maids, 'and one more added to them. He orders in his 'Will, that each maid ſhould have three throws be'fore ſhe loſes it; and if ſhe has no luck in the three 'years, he orders that ſtill new faces may come and 'be preſented. On the ſame Good-Friday he gives 'eighty

(3) See the Genealogy above referred to.

(4) Fuller's Worthies, Berkſhire, p. 110.

(5) Willis's *Notitia Parliamentaria*, Vol. i. p. 47.

(6) Fuller's Worthies, *ubi ſupra.*

(7) Wood's Ath Oxon. Vol. i. col. 370.

(8) Willis's *Notitia Parliamentaria*, Vol. i. p. 43.

(9) Aſhmole's Berkſhire, Vol. iii. p. 372.

this gentleman's life worth mentioning: only it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that he is omitted by Fuller in his Worthies, though a more conſiderable and remarkable perſon than many he has mentioned. Our author deceaſed at his own houſe near Reading, Auguſt 9, 1611, and lies interred near his mother in the church of St. Lawrence there, with a fine monument to his memory, and an inſcription (*l*) which is not exactly copied by Anthony Wood, and therefore is preſerved in the notes [*D*]. There was a learned Lawyer of both our author's names, viz. Sir John Blagrave, who read upon the Statute of 32 Hen. VIII. cap. x. concerning Jointures, which work was publiſhed, and very probably he was of the ſame family (*m*). There was alſo one Joſeph Blagrave, who publiſhed the *Aſtrological Practice of Phyſic* (*n*), but him I take to have been beholden to our author's books for his knowledge, though not for his opinions. I cannot tell whether we ought to attribute to him, or to ſome other perſon of his name, a Diſcourſe upon the ſame ſubject, which was never printed, but had been in the hands of ſome very learned perſons, who have borrowed from it largely in their writings on this topic; and I mention it the rather, becauſe, if it be ſtill in being, the poſſeſſor may be encouraged to make it public, as it contains abundance of very curious, and ſome very uſeful remarks, on things which were formerly the objects of ſuperſtition, as they are now of contempt [*E*].

'eighty widows money to attend, and orders ten 'ſhillings for a good ſermon, and ſo he wiſhes well 'to all his countrymen. It is lucky money, for 'I never heard but the maid that had the ten pounds 'ſuddenly had a good huſband.'

[*D*] *Therefore is preſerved in the notes.*] The following account is taken from the indefatigable Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; who had it from his own inſpection of the monuments and inſcriptions in the pariſh church of St. Lawrence in Reading; and from the circumſtances before related, the whole is rendered perfectly clear and perſpicuous; whereas in Wood it is ſo mangled, as to be ſcarcely intelligible, eſpecially as he has no diſtinct relation of the charity left to the maids, upon which the verſe part of the inſcription chiefly turns (10).

'On the north ſide againſt the wall is a noble monument, repreſenting a man under an arch to the 'middle, holding one hand on a globe, the other on 'a quadrant. He is habited in a ſhort cloak, a caſſock and a ruff, ſurrounded with books on each 'ſide of him. On one ſide of him is the figure of a 'woman to the breaſts, naked, holding an inſtrument in her hand, as offering it to him, and under 'her feet the word CUBUS. On the other ſide is 'another woman, ſomewhat naked, though with a 'ſcarf thrown cloſely round her, and offering in like 'manner, under her feet, ΤΗΤΡΑΕΔΡΟΝ. On 'the top are two women leaning on their arms, inſcribed ΟΚΤΑΗΔΡΟΝ—ΛΟΔΙΚΑΔΡΟΝ. In 'the middle of them a perſon armed, cap-a-pee, intitled ΙΚΟΤΗΔΡΟΝ. And under the firſt figure 'mentioned, this inſcription following in an oval.

JOHANNES BLAGRAVE,
totus Mathematicus,
cum matre ſepultus.

Here lies his corps, which living had a ſpirit,
Wherein much worthy knowledge did inherit;
By which with zeal our GOD *he did adore,*
Left for maid-ſervants, and to feed the poor.
His virtuous mother came of worthy race,
A Hungerford, *and buried near this place.*
When GOD *ſent Death their lives away to call,*
They liv'd beloved, and died bewail'd of all.

⁂ ['John Blagrave, ſays Mr. Granger, was a 'man of a ſtrong head and a benevolent heart, and 'had the honour of being an inventive genius. 'This excellent mathematician did not purſue phantoms, like Dee and Kelly, but reduced his ſpeculations to practice: his friends, his neighbours, 'and the public reaped the fruits of his ſtudies.—— 'In his Diſcourſe to the Reader, before his "Mathematical Jewel," he expreſſes himſelf thus: "Never give over at the firſt, though any thing "ſeeme hard; rather aſk a little helpe: and if you "deſire to be excellent perfite in your Inſtrument, "abridge my whole worke, and you ſhall finde it "will ſtand you more ſteede than twenty times reading. I have always done ſo with any booke I "liked (11)."]

[*E*] *Formerly the objects of ſuperſtition, as they are now of contempt.*] This treatiſe I formerly ſaw in the hands of a perſon who bought it at the ſale of the library of an eminent Phyſician near Covent-Garden; and read it over with great ſatisfaction. In the firſt leaf it was ſaid to be written by Mr. J. Blagrave, and is addreſſed to Mr. B. of Swallowfield. The title was, *A Remonſtrance in favour of* Ancient Learning *againſt the proud pretenſions of* the Moderns, *more eſpecially in reſpect to the* Doctrine *of the* STARS. The ſize of the book was a middling quarto, the character ſmall, but very fair; and from the mentioning more than once the Royal Society, and ſome of its members, it appeared to have been written about 1669, or 1670. It was divided into five chapters, and thoſe chapters into ſeveral ſections, the ſubſtance of which are as follows:

I. *Of the different* Objects *of ancient and modern learning.* Under this head he endeavours to maintain, that the Ancients were rather given to practical and uſeful, than refined and ſpeculative ſciences. He inſtances in Architecture, of which they wrote but few books, and thoſe too very conciſe; but they left behind them buildings, which are allowed to be maſter-pieces in their kind, and which the greateſt of modern artiſts boaſt of imitating. He next mentions Phyſic, in regard to which he confeſſes they did not cultivate Anatomy, Pharmacy, or Chemiſtry, ſo aſſiduouſly as thoſe that came after them; but for the art of curing diſeaſes, he thinks it was never carried much farther than by Hippocrates. He inſtances laſtly in Tactics, or the art of ranging armies in the field; in reſpect to which he obſerves, that though there are no ſyſtems left of this art, yet hiſtory ſhews us the Ancients were perfectly acquainted with it. He then proceeds to the Doctrine of the Stars, and labours to prove that the Ancients did not think an inquiry into the motions of the heavenly bodies of ſo great uſe to mankind as the diſquiſition of their influences; and in this he defends them by many ingenious arguments.

II. *Of the* Aſtrology *of the* Ancients *conſidered as a* Science. He obſerves, that the true meaning of the word is no more than the Doctrine of the Stars, and that the confining it to the ſignification of their aſpects is a late diſtinction, and ought not therefore to prejudice the notions of thoſe great men, who meant to ſignify thereby the entire knowledge of the heavenly bodies, ſo far as it was attainable by the human underſtanding. He farther takes notice, that the obſervation of the motions of the heavenly bodies conſidered abſtractedly, is a ſcience of far leſs uſe to mankind, than the application of it for the perfecting other branches of knowledge. He gives an inſtance of this in the art of Navigation, to which it hath been applied both by the Ancients and Moderns; from whence he concludes, that the application of this kind of ſcience to Phyſical purpoſes is equally rational, and that there is no abſurdity in ſuppoſing, that by due attention it may be improved to equal advantage. He concludes this chapter with ſeveral curious comparative inſtances drawn partly from the writings of other men, but chiefly from his own obſervations and experience.

III. *Of the* diſadvantages *the* Ancients *were under in their* writings. In reference to this the author lays it down, that the wiſe men among the Ancients laboured under great difficulties, particularly from the

(*l*) Aſhmole's Berkſhire, Vol. ii. p. 359.

(*m*) Hyde's Catal. libror. impreſſ. Bibliothec. Bodleian. edit. 1674, p. 92.

(*n*) Catalogue of Books printed from 1636 to 1673, by B. C.

(10) Aſhmole's Berkſhire, Vol. ii. p. 359.

(11) Granger's Biog. Hiſt. Vol. i. p. 274.

prevailing of falſe religion, which obliged them to accommodate their thoughts to the prevailing ſuperſtitions of their reſpective countries, from the conſtant practice of concealing all kind of ſublime ſcience from the knowledge of the vulgar, which induced them to make uſe of fables, allegories, and other ſuch like kind of writings, as always diſguiſed, and too often irretrievably darkened the truth; from the ſubjection, that they laboured under to the Civil powers, who either from views of their own, or to gratify the univerſal ſuperſtition of their ſubjects, diſcouraged all ſuch as were inclined to ſpeak plainly, or to write clearly. On each of theſe points he juſtifies his own ſentiments by thoſe of the learned in all ages, and produces a vaſt variety of inſtances, as proofs of what he has advanced. He concludes upon the whole, that the greateſt advantage the Moderns have over the Ancients, is their embracing the Chriſtian religion, which allows them to think, argue, and write freely. But notwithſtanding all this he is of opinion, that great uſe may be made of what was delivered by the Ancients, when the hidden ſenſe of their works can be extracted; and of this alſo he gives many curious and inſtructive examples, after the manner in which the famous Lord Bacon has explained the fables, and thereby juſtified the wiſdom of the Ancients.

IV. *Of the* Hypotheſes *in uſe amongſt the* Ancients. He obſerves with reſpect to theſe, that the Moderns have not ſo great advantages as is generally imagined; ſince the old ſyſtems of Democritus and Ptolemy contain in every reſpect all that has been ſince advanced, as to the diſtribution of the univerſe, or rather of the ſeveral bodies of which it is compoſed; ſo that the later writers are rather revivers than inventors, if we except Tycho Brahe, whoſe ſyſtem however never met with general approbation. He then ſhews, that the Aſtrological *ſcheme* of *the twelve houſes*, is as much an hypotheſis as any of the reſt, and that if it has faults or imperfections, they ought rather to be inquired into and amended, than exploded and rejected with ſcorn and contempt. He takes care however to qualify this, by ſhewing that thoſe abſurdities which have brought the Phyſical Doctrine of the Stars into deriſion, are not juſtly chargeable upon the Ancients, but were introduced in later times by men of far leſs capacity, and who had recourſe to notion and fancy inſtead of reaſon and experiment. He gives various inſtances in ſupport of his opinion, and with great judgment and diſcretion, diſtinguiſhes between the follies of Judicial Aſtrology and the true knowledge of Aſtral Influences, without which, as he remarks, no juſt account can be given of the variations of ſeaſons, of the difference of the tides, of periods in diſeaſes, and of many other things; with reſpect to which, the doctrines of the Ancients, however perplexed and obſcure, are to the full as reaſonable and intelligible as thoſe of the Moderns, who, by endeavouring to reject them, have been frequently obliged to diſpute againſt, and ſometimes abſolutely to deny certain and evident truths. In proof of this alſo he brings many inſtances, which ſhew a very unuſual extent of learning.

V. *Of the* true Method *of proſecuting* uſeful Science. In this chapter he takes a great deal of pains to prove, that it is not agreeable either to the dictates of reaſon, or the lights of experience, to deſtroy, without reſerve, thoſe edifices that have been erected in ancient times, and have been preſerved and repaired through a long courſe of ages. And he labours to prove, that the Phyſical Doctrine of the Stars ought to be conſidered in this light. He ſhews, that the celebrated Roger Bacon, whom he honours with the title of the Parent of Modern Learning, was of this opinion, and that he has written upon the ſubject with much learning and good ſenſe. He obſerves, that Tycho Brahe concurred likewiſe in this ſentiment; as did alſo the famous Kepler, whom he calls the Father of Modern Aſtronomy; and he produces alſo ſeveral paſſages from the writings of the learned Verulam to the ſame purpoſe. From all which he concludes, that inſtead of decrying Aſtrology as falſe and fallacious, we ought to ſtudy how to render it reaſonable and intelligible, by eſtabliſhing right principles, and reaſoning upon them in a proper manner; for want of which, he ſays, one of the nobleſt and moſt elevated branches of human knowledge is in danger of being loſt, and laughed out of doors.

As the matter and the manner of this learned work ſeem both of them to render it worthy of public notice, and as the very memory of it, as well as the piece itſelf, was in danger of being loſt, if this ſhort extract of it had not been accidentally made ſeveral years ago, we judged the inſerting it here could not fail of being agreeable to our readers in general, at the ſame time that it will ſerve to ſecure to the real author the honour of his performance, in caſe at any time hereafter it ſhould ſee the light. C.

BLAKE (Robert), one of our moſt famous Admirals in the laſt century, was deſcended from the ancient family of Blakes, of Plansfield, in the pariſh of Spaxton, in the county of Somerſet (*a*). His father's name was Humphrey, and his occupation that of a Merchant, being ſettled at Bridgwater, in the neighbourhood of which he had purchaſed an eſtate, having, by the Spaniſh trade, raiſed a conſiderable fortune for thoſe times (*b*). He had ſeveral children, of whom the eldeſt, Robert, was born in the month of Auguſt, 1589, and educated, during his father's lifetime, at a free-ſchool in Bridgwater. He removed himſelf to Oxford, where he was matriculated, in Lent term 1615, as a Member of St. Alban's Hall (*c*). Some time after he ſtood for a Scholarſhip of Chriſt-Church, but loſt it. From Alban-Hall he tranſlated himſelf to Wadham-college, in which many of his countrymen ſtudied. On the tenth of February, 1617, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*d*). In 1619, being then about twenty-one years of age, he was candidate for a Fellowſhip in Merton-college, but miſſed again of his hopes, as ſome thought, on account of his low ſtature; for Sir Henry Savile, who was then Warden of that college, had great reſpect to the comelineſs of ſtudents perſons (*e*). A ſtrange foible in ſo great a man! In 1623, Mr. Blake wrote a copy of verſes on the death of Mr. Camden (*f*), and ſome time after left the univerſity [*A*]. While he continued there, he was taken notice of as an early riſer and a very

(*a*) Lives Britiſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 75, Lond. 1704, 8*vo*.

(*b*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 203.

(*c*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*.

(*d*) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 204.

(*e*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 75.

(*f*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 204.

[*A*] *Some time after left the univerſity.*] It is a little ſtrange, and much to be regretted, that no better account is to be had of Mr. Blake's family; and I think it ſo much the more ſo, conſidering it as a proof of the little care taken by our anceſtors to preſerve the memory of worthy men, when they had it ſo much in their power, as it muſt have been in this caſe, though now, by the particular accidents which have befallen this family, it is become a thing not eaſy to be rectified. Mr. Wood, in his account of our author (1), ſays, that he was deſcended from the Blakes of Blanchfield in Somerſetſhire; and I confeſs that I have not been able to find any ſuch place in that county, whence I am inclined to think another author more in the right, who calls it Plansfield, and ſays it is in the pariſh of Spaxton (2), for ſuch a place there is, and at no great diſtance from Bridgwater (3). The author of his life ſays expreſsly, that his father ſent him to the univerſity (4); but I am inclined to think that he was dead before that time, and this from the following paſſage in Lord Clarendon's character of our Admiral. *He was*, ſays his Lordſhip, *a man of a private extraction, yet had enough* left *him by his father to give him a good education, which his* own inclination *diſpoſed him to receive in the univerſity of Oxford* (5). The reader will determine how far this paſſage will

(1) Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 203.

(2) Lives Engliſh and Foreign Vol. ii. p. 75.

(3) Speed's Map and Table of Somerſetſhire.

(4) *Ubi ſupra*.

(5) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. iii. p. 601.

a very ſtudious young man; yet he was not ſo much given up to his books, but that he took a great deal of exerciſe, delighted in fiſhing, and fowling, with other ſuch like ſports, and if the ſcandal of thoſe times might be credited, would now and then ſteal ſwans (*g*). He could not be leſs than five and twenty when he left Oxford, which would incline one to credit, what we are told by ſeveral authors, that he was Maſter of Arts, if Wood did not poſitively aſſert the contrary (*h*). Mr. Blake lived at Bridgwater in a private manner, and was diſtinguiſhed among the good fellows in his neighbourhood, as a plain dealer. He was naturally of a grave, ſevere temper, but would readily unbend in an evening, when he diſcovered a humorous bluntneſs in his converſation, which was very agreeable and entertaining (*i*). He was tinctured pretty early with Republican principles, and diſliking that ſeverity with which Dr. Laud, then Biſhop of Bath and Wells preſſed Uniformity in his dioceſe, he began to fall into thoſe opinions which were ſtyled Puritanical. His innate roughneſs and ſincerity led him to ſpeak freely upon all occaſions, inſomuch that his ſentiments were generally known; which inclined the Puritan party to procure his being elected Member for Bridgwater, in that Parliament which ſat in April 1640 (*k*). It was diſſolved too early for him to make any figure, and in the next, which was the Long Parliament, he loſt his election. When the war broke out between the King and Parliament, he declared, according to his principles, for the latter, and entered very early into their ſervice, though it does not appear exactly when, or in what quality; but he was ſoon made Captain of dragoons (*l*). In 1643, however, we find him at Briſtol, under the command of Col. Fiennes, who intruſted him with a little fort on the line, in which he firſt gave the world a proof of his military virtues; for on the twenty-ſixth of July, when Prince Rupert attacked that important place, and the Governor had agreed to ſurrender it upon articles, Mr. Blake ſtill held out his fort, and killed ſeveral of the King's forces, which exaſperated Prince Rupert to ſuch a degree, that he talked of hanging him, had not ſome friends interpoſed, and excuſed him on account of his want of experience in war, at whoſe requeſt, though not without much difficulty, he was at laſt prevailed upon to give up the fort (*m*). After this he ſerved in Somerſetſhire under the command of Popham, who was Governor of Lyme, to whoſe regiment Blake was Lieutenant-Colonel. As he was much beloved in his country, and as the greateſt part of the regiment were Somerſetſhire men, he had ſo good an intelligence in thoſe parts, that he, in conjunction with Sir Robert Pye, ſurpriſed Taunton for the Parliament (*n*), where he found ten pieces of cannon, and a great deal of ammunition. In 1644, he was conſtituted Governor of that place, which was of the utmoſt importance, being the only garriſon the Parliament had in the Weſt. The works about it were far from being ſtrong, he had no very numerous garriſon, yet by maintaining a ſtrict diſcipline, and treating the townſmen well, he made a ſhift to keep it, though no great care was taken to furniſh him with ſupplies, and notwithſtanding he was ſometimes beſieged, and often blocked up by the King's forces. At length, Goring came before the place with near ten thouſand men, and preſſed Blake ſo cloſe, that in ſpight of a vigorous reſiſtance he made a breach, and actually took from him a part of the town: however, he held out the reſt of it, and the caſtle, with wonderful obſtinacy till relief came. For this extraordinary ſervice, the Parliament gave the garriſon a bounty of two thouſand pounds, and Col. Blake a preſent of five hundred. All who have written of that unhappy war, allow this to have been a very gallant and ſoldier-like action [*B*]. In April 1646, Col. Blake,

(*g*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 75. Wood, *ubi ſupra*.

(*h*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Oxford, 1717, 8*vo*, Vol. iii. P. ii. p. 601. Bates, Elench. Mot. p. 228. Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 203.

(*i*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. iii. p. 602.

(*k*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 204. Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 76.

(*l*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*.

(*m*) Clarendon's Hiſtory, Vol. iii. p. 602.

(*n*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. v. p. 685.

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will ſupport what is advanced in the text. With reſpect to his ſcholarſhip, Mr. Wood delivers himſelf pretty oddly; he was put aſide, he ſays, from his ſcholarſhip, whether for want of merit or friends, he could not tell. And when he ſpeaks of his diſappointment as to a fellowſhip, he adds, whether it was want of ſcholarſhip, or that his perſon was not handſome, he could not ſay (6). The noble Hiſtorian, with greater freedom and dignity, tells us, *that* Blake *was enough verſed in books for a man who intended not to be of any profeſſion, having ſufficient of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected, and having then no appearance of ambition to be a greater man than he was* (7). His own verſes on the death of Mr. Camden may poſſibly clear up this diſpute.

[*B*] *A very gallant and ſoldier-like action.*] We have a very diſtinct account of this matter in the life of Blake, out of which we will take ſome particulars which are perſonal. The Parliament having notice of the ill condition Blake was in, ordered relief to be immediately ſent him, who, though he was in great want of ammunition and proviſions, yet held out both town and caſtle to admiration. Colonel Windham, Governor of Bridgwater for the King, was then in the Royal army, and knowing Colonel Blake, he undertook to manage the buſineſs with him: he firſt ſent a threatening ſummons to ſurrender on pain of fire and ſword; and by a ſecond trumpeter he mildly endeavoured to perſuade him to it, for that the works were inconſiderable, the place indefenſible, and to prevent the effuſion of Chriſtian blood. Blake returned this anſwer: 'Theſe are to let you know, 'that as we neither fear your menaces, nor accept 'your proffers, ſo we wiſh you for time to come to 'deſiſt from all overtures of the like nature to us, 'who are reſolved to the laſt drop of our blood to 'maintain the quarrel we have undertaken, and 'doubt not but the ſame God, who has hitherto protected us, will, e'er long, bleſs us with an iſſue 'anſwerable to the juſtice of our cauſe: However, to 'him alone we ſhall ſtand or fall.' Soon after the receipt of this letter the beſiegers were charged by a body of the Parliament's forces, who broke through the King's, and ſupplied the town with proviſions, and what other neceſſaries they wanted. However, the Parliament's main army could not advance ſo faſt as Colonel Blake's neceſſities required: the ſelf-denying ordinance had newly paſt, Eſſex was out, and Sir Thomas Fairfax made General, all Colonels and other officers, who were Members of Parliament, were obliged to lay down their commiſſions, and attend the ſervice of the Houſe. The army was modelled, and all this took up ſo much time, that Blake was hard put to it to defend the caſtle of Taunton. The beſiegers had deſtroyed the ſuburbs and half the town; Sir Richard Greenvill had taken Colonel Popham's

(6) Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 204.

(7) Clarendon's Hiſtory, Vol. iii. p. 601.

prevailing of falſe religion, which obliged them to accommodate their thoughts to the prevailing ſuperſtitions of their reſpective countries, from the conſtant practice of concealing all kind of ſublime ſcience from the knowledge of the vulgar, which induced them to make uſe of fables, allegories, and other ſuch like kind of writings, as always diſguiſed, and too often irretrievably darkened the truth; from the ſubjection, that they laboured under to the Civil powers, who either from views of their own, or to gratify the univerſal ſuperſtition of their ſubjects, diſcouraged all ſuch as were inclined to ſpeak plainly, or to write clearly. On each of theſe points he juſtifies his own ſentiments by thoſe of the learned in all ages, and produces a vaſt variety of inſtances, as proofs of what he has advanced. He concludes upon the whole, that the greateſt advantage the Moderns have over the Ancients, is their embracing the Chriſtian religion, which allows them to think, argue, and write freely. But notwithſtanding all this he is of opinion, that great uſe may be made of what was delivered by the Ancients, when the hidden ſenſe of their works can be extracted; and of this alſo he gives many curious and inſtructive examples, after the manner in which the famous Lord Bacon has explained the fables, and thereby juſtified the wiſdom of the Ancients.

IV. *Of the* Hypotheſes *in uſe amongſt the* Ancients. He obſerves with reſpect to theſe, that the Moderns have not ſo great advantages as is generally imagined; ſince the old ſyſtems of Democritus and Ptolemy contain in every reſpect all that has been ſince advanced, as to the diſtribution of the univerſe, or rather of the ſeveral bodies of which it is compoſed; ſo that the later writers are rather revivers than inventors, if we except Tycho Brahe, whoſe ſyſtem however never met with general approbation. He then ſhews, that the Aſtrological *ſcheme* of *the twelve houſes*, is as much an hypotheſis as any of the reſt, and that if it has faults or imperfections, they ought rather to be inquired into and amended, than exploded and rejected with ſcorn and contempt. He takes care however to qualify this, by ſhewing that thoſe abſurdities which have brought the Phyſical Doctrine of the Stars into deriſion, are not juſtly chargeable upon the Ancients, but were introduced in later times by men of far leſs capacity, and who had recourſe to notion and fancy inſtead of reaſon and experiment. He gives various inſtances in ſupport of his opinion, and with great judgment and diſcretion, diſtinguiſhes between the follies of Judicial Aſtrology and the true knowledge of Aſtral Influences, without which, as he remarks, no juſt account can be given of the variations of ſeaſons, of the difference of the tides, of periods in diſeaſes, and of many other things; with reſpect to which, the doctrines of the Ancients, however perplexed and obſcure, are to the full as reaſonable and intelligible as thoſe of the Moderns, who, by endeavouring to reject them, have been frequently obliged to diſpute againſt, and ſometimes abſolutely to deny certain and evident truths. In proof of this alſo he brings many inſtances, which ſhew a very unuſual extent of learning.

V. *Of the* true Method *of proſecuting* uſeful Science. In this chapter he takes a great deal of pains to prove, that it is not agreeable either to the dictates of reaſon, or the lights of experience, to deſtroy, without reſerve, thoſe edifices that have been erected in ancient times, and have been preſerved and repaired through a long courſe of ages. And he labours to prove, that the Phyſical Doctrine of the Stars ought to be conſidered in this light. He ſhews, that the celebrated Roger Bacon, whom he honours with the title of the Parent of Modern Learning, was of this opinion, and that he has written upon the ſubject with much learning and good ſenſe. He obſerves, that Tycho Brahe concurred likewiſe in this ſentiment; as did alſo the famous Kepler, whom he calls the Father of Modern Aſtronomy; and he produces alſo ſeveral paſſages from the writings of the learned Verulam to the ſame purpoſe. From all which he concludes, that inſtead of decrying Aſtrology as falſe and fallacious, we ought to ſtudy how to render it reaſonable and intelligible, by eſtabliſhing right principles, and reaſoning upon them in a proper manner; for want of which, he ſays, one of the nobleſt and moſt elevated branches of human knowledge is in danger of being loſt, and laughed out of doors.

As the matter and the manner of this learned work ſeem both of them to render it worthy of public notice, and as the very memory of it, as well as the piece itſelf, was in danger of being loſt, if this ſhort extract of it had not been accidentally made ſeveral years ago, we judged the inſerting it here could not fail of being agreeable to our readers in general, at the ſame time that it will ſerve to ſecure to the real author the honour of his performance, in caſe at any time hereafter it ſhould ſee the light. C.

BLAKE (Robert), one of our moſt famous Admirals in the laſt century, was deſcended from the ancient family of Blakes, of Plansfield, in the pariſh of Spaxton, in the county of Somerſet (*a*). His father's name was Humphrey, and his occupation that of a Merchant, being ſettled at Bridgwater, in the neighbourhood of which he had purchaſed an eſtate, having, by the Spaniſh trade, raiſed a conſiderable fortune for thoſe times (*b*). He had ſeveral children, of whom the eldeſt, Robert, was born in the month of Auguſt, 1589, and educated, during his father's lifetime, at a free-ſchool in Bridgwater. He removed himſelf to Oxford, where he was matriculated, in Lent term 1615, as a Member of St. Alban's Hall (*c*). Some time after he ſtood for a Scholarſhip of Chriſt-Church, but loſt it. From Alban-Hall he tranſlated himſelf to Wadham-college, in which many of his countrymen ſtudied. On the tenth of February, 1617, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*d*). In 1619, being then about twenty-one years of age, he was candidate for a Fellowſhip in Merton-college, but miſſed again of his hopes, as ſome thought, on account of his low ſtature; for Sir Henry Savile, who was then Warden of that college, had great reſpect to the comelineſs of ſtudents perſons (*e*). A ſtrange foible in ſo great a man! In 1623, Mr. Blake wrote a copy of verſes on the death of Mr. Camden (*f*), and ſome time after left the univerſity [*A*]. While he continued there, he was taken notice of as an early riſer and a very

(*a*) Lives Britiſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 75, Lond. 1704, 8vo.

(*b*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 203.

(*c*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 204.

(*e*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 75.

(*f*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 204.

[*A*] *Some time after left the univerſity.*] It is a little ſtrange, and much to be regretted, that no better account is to be had of Mr. Blake's family; and I think it ſo much the more ſo, conſidering it as a proof of the little care taken by our anceſtors to preſerve the memory of worthy men, when they had it ſo much in their power, as it muſt have been in this caſe, though now, by the particular accidents which have befallen this family, it is become a thing not eaſy to be rectified. Mr. Wood, in his account of our author (1), ſays, that he was deſcended from the Blakes of Blanchfield in Somerſetſhire; and I confeſs that I have not been able to find any ſuch place in that county, whence I am inclined to think another author more in the right, who calls it Plansfield, and ſays it is in the pariſh of Spaxton (2), for ſuch a place there is, and at no great diſtance from Bridgwater (3). The author of his life ſays expreſly, that his father ſent him to the univerſity (4); but I am inclined to think that he was dead before that time, and this from the following paſſage in Lord Clarendon's character of our Admiral. *He was*, ſays his Lordſhip, *a man of a private extraction, yet had enough* left *him by his father to give him a good education, which his* own inclination *diſpoſed him to receive in the univerſity of Oxford* (5). The reader will determine how far this paſſage will

(1) Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 203.

(2) Lives Engliſh and Foreign Vol. ii. p. 75.

(3) Speed's Map and Table of Somerſetſhire.

(4) *Ubi ſupra.*

(5) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. iii. p. 601.

a very ſtudious young man; yet he was not ſo much given up to his books, but that he took a great deal of exerciſe, delighted in fiſhing, and fowling, with other ſuch like ſports, and if the ſcandal of thoſe times might be credited, would now and then ſteal ſwans (*g*). He could not be leſs than five and twenty when he left Oxford, which would incline one to credit, what we are told by ſeveral authors, that he was Maſter of Arts, if Wood did not poſitively aſſert the contrary (*h*). Mr. Blake lived at Bridgwater in a private manner, and was diſtinguiſhed among the good fellows in his neighbourhood, as a plain dealer. He was naturally of a grave, ſevere temper, but would readily unbend in an evening, when he diſcovered a humorous bluntneſs in his converſation, which was very agreeable and entertaining (*i*). He was tinctured pretty early with Republican principles, and diſliking that ſeverity with which Dr. Laud, then Biſhop of Bath and Wells preſſed Uniformity in his dioceſe, he began to fall into thoſe opinions which were ſtyled Puritanical. His innate roughneſs and ſincerity led him to ſpeak freely upon all occaſions, inſomuch that his ſentiments were generally known; which inclined the Puritan party to procure his being elected Member for Bridgwater, in that Parliament which ſat in April 1640 (*k*). It was diſſolved too early for him to make any figure, and in the next, which was the Long Parliament, he loſt his election. When the war broke out between the King and Parliament, he declared, according to his principles, for the latter, and entered very early into their ſervice, though it does not appear exactly when, or in what quality; but he was ſoon made Captain of dragoons (*l*). In 1643, however, we find him at Briſtol, under the command of Col. Fiennes, who intruſted him with a little fort on the line, in which he firſt gave the world a proof of his military virtues; for on the twenty-ſixth of July, when Prince Rupert attacked that important place, and the Governor had agreed to ſurrender it upon articles, Mr. Blake ſtill held out his fort, and killed ſeveral of the King's forces, which exaſperated Prince Rupert to ſuch a degree, that he talked of hanging him, had not ſome friends interpoſed, and excuſed him on account of his want of experience in war, at whoſe requeſt, though not without much difficulty, he was at laſt prevailed upon to give up the fort (*m*). After this he ſerved in Somerſetſhire under the command of Popham, who was Governor of Lyme, to whoſe regiment Blake was Lieutenant-Colonel. As he was much beloved in his country, and as the greateſt part of the regiment were Somerſetſhire men, he had ſo good an intelligence in thoſe parts, that he, in conjunction with Sir Robert Pye, ſurpriſed Taunton for the Parliament (*n*), where he found ten pieces of cannon, and a great deal of ammunition. In 1644, he was conſtituted Governor of that place, which was of the utmoſt importance, being the only garriſon the Parliament had in the Weſt. The works about it were far from being ſtrong, he had no very numerous garriſon, yet by maintaining a ſtrict diſcipline, and treating the townſmen well, he made a ſhift to keep it, though no great care was taken to furniſh him with ſupplies, and notwithſtanding he was ſometimes beſieged, and often blocked up by the King's forces. At length, Goring came before the place with near ten thouſand men, and preſſed Blake ſo cloſe, that in ſpight of a vigorous reſiſtance he made a breach, and actually took from him a part of the town: however, he held out the reſt of it, and the caſtle, with wonderful obſtinacy till relief came. For this extraordinary ſervice, the Parliament gave the garriſon a bounty of two thouſand pounds, and Col. Blake a preſent of five hundred. All who have written of that unhappy war, allow this to have been a very gallant and ſoldier-like action [*B*]. In April 1646, Col. Blake,

(*g*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 75. Wood, *ubi ſupra*.

(*h*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Oxford, 1717, 8*vo*, Vol. iii. P. ii. p. 601. Bates, Elench. Mot. p. 228. Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 203.

(*i*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. iii. p. 602.

(*k*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 204. Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 76.

(*l*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*.

(*m*) Clarendon's Hiſtory, Vol. iii. p. 602.

(*n*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. v. p. 685.

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will ſupport what is advanced in the text. With reſpect to his ſcholarſhip, Mr. Wood delivers himſelf pretty oddly; he was put aſide, he ſays, from his ſcholarſhip, whether for want of merit or friends, he could not tell. And when he ſpeaks of his diſappointment as to a fellowſhip, he adds, whether it was want of ſcholarſhip, or that his perſon was not handſome, he could not ſay (6). The noble Hiſtorian, with greater freedom and dignity, tells us, *that* Blake *was enough verſed in books for a man who intended not to be of any profeſſion, having ſufficient of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected, and having then no appearance of ambition to be a greater man than he was* (7). His own verſes on the death of Mr. Camden may poſſibly clear up this diſpute.

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Blake, with part of his garriſon, reduced Dunſter caſtle, an ancient ſeat belonging to the family of Luttrel, after which he returned in triumph to Taunton. This was one of the laſt actions in the war (*o*). Some time after this, when the Parliament had voted that no farther addreſſes ſhould be made to the King, Col. Blake joined in an addreſs from the borough of Taunton, expreſſing their gratefulneſs for this ſtep taken by the Houſe of Commons (*p*). Yet the writer of his Life tells us, that when the King came to be tried, Blake diſapproved that meaſure as illegal, and was frequently heard to ſay, that he would as freely venture his life to ſave the King's, as ever he did to ſerve the Parliament (*q*). But this muſt be entirely imputed to the generoſity of his temper; for after the King was murdered, he fell in roundly with the Republican party, and indeed, next to Cromwell, he was the ableſt and moſt ſucceſsful officer the Parliament had. He ſatisfied himſelf in all the changes of thoſe times, with adhering, as far as he was able, to his country's intereſt, and doing all he could to exalt her glory, of which he was paſſionately fond, a circumſtance which gave men of leſs honour and more cunning, an opportunity of uſing his great abilities and undaunted courage to ſerve their own purpoſes [*C*]. Feb. 12, 1648-9, he was appointed, in conjunction with Col. Deane and Col.

(*o*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 85.

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 87.

(*q*) *Ibid.*

Popham's houſe at Wellington, which was ſome ſmall help to Blake while it was in the Parliament's hands. Theſe things being repreſented to the Houſe, they ordered Major-General Skippon to join Sir Thomas Fairfax, and haſten to the relief of Taunton with 8000 men, horſe and foot: money, proviſions, and a train of artillery, were ſent after them. In the mean while Colonel Blake was in great ſtreights, and the beſiegers knowing his diſtreſs, ſummoned him again to ſurrender; but he anſwered, *he would eat his boots firſt*; and though the Royaliſts had poſted themſelves in part of the town, he hindered their penetrating farther. He barricaded that part of it, which he ſtill held, with all ſorts of lumber, and made the Cavaliers pay dearly for every inch of ground they got. Prince Rupert and Goring having left the ſiege with a conſiderable body of troops, General Fairfax thought that Colonel Weldon and Colonel Greaves, with three thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, might be able to relieve Taunton. They accordingly performed it on the 11th of May, 1645, ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the inhabitants, that they appointed a kind of anniverſary thankſgiving for this deliverance (8). The Royaliſts loſt a thouſand men before the place, beſides which they carried off twelve waggons full of the wounded. This, however, did not hinder a ſecond ſiege of that place, wherein not only Blake, but Weldon was now beſieged. The latter being at the head of five thouſand men, ſcorned to be cooped up, and therefore attempted to break through the Royaliſts, which however he could not effect. Blake being informed of his diſtreſs, and that he was retiring precipitately towards Taunton, ſallied from thence at the head of two troops of horſe; vigorouſly charged the purſuers, and thereby gave Colonel Weldon's men time to retire into the town; after which he made good his own retreat, but was preſſed cloſely by the beſiegers. The Common-Council, and many eminent citizens of London, on news of the ſecond diſtreſs of Taunton, voluntarily raiſed 4000 l. to mount a thouſand horſe to join Major-General Maſſey, whom the Houſe ordered to attempt the relief of the place. The Committee of Kent raiſed two troops of horſe and dragoons for the ſame ſervice; and all was not enough, conſidering the danger Blake and Weldon were in. The Governor wrote to the Parliament, that he ſhould be put to great ſtreights if ſuccour came not ſpeedily; he aſſured them he would never hear of a parley with the enemy: That the garriſon had ſome ammunition, and reſolved to feed upon their horſes. He deſired the Houſe to take their ſtate into conſideration, and left all to God and them. The Parliament anſwered, that he ſhould be ſpeedily relieved; that they would pay what money he took up. They deſired him and his men to go on in their vigilance and valour, and they ſhould never want encouragement. Accordingly a regiment of dragoons was ordered to be raiſed, and to march with Maſſey towards Taunton. In the mean while their affairs went ill in the Weſt; Colonel Blake could get no intelligence of the progreſs made by the two Houſes for his relief: at laſt Colonel Ciely, Governor of Lyme, found a way to inform him of Maſſey's advancing weſtward, and at the ſame time conveyed a ſmall ſupply of powder into the town. On this, Blake commanded a party of the garriſon to ſally out on the beſiegers; theſe, with the loſs of one hundred men, killed four hundred of Goring's, drove the enemy back, and enlarged their quarters five or ſix miles in compaſs. In another ſkirmiſh he had yet greater ſucceſs, and ſoon after he was entirely relieved, the King's affairs being totally ruined (9). It may not be amiſs to obſerve, for the ſake of truth, that Blake's obſtinate defence of this town was one great cauſe, if not the principal cauſe, of the Parliament's ſucceſs in this war. It was upon a report of the great diſtreſs of the place, and the moral certainty there was that it could not hold out above a few days, that his Majeſty detached a conſiderable body of troops into Somerſetſhire, which proved the loſs of the deciſive battle of Naſeby, which in all probability Sir Thomas Fairfax would never have hazarded, if the King's army had been entire (10). The Parliament therefore had reaſon to ſtyle this gentleman, as Wood ſays they did, their *ineſtimable Commander* (11); and this circumſtance conſidered, few readers will think this note tedious, though it is a long one.

(8) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 81, 82.

(9) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 84, 85. Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. vi. p. 28.

(10) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 85.

(11) Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 204.

[*C*] *His undaunted courage, to ſerve their own purpoſes.*] We ſhall take occaſion in this note to examine a little into Mr. Blake's political principles, as far as facts and good authority can lead us. Wood tells us roundly, that before the civil war he was obſerved to be puritanically inclined, that afterwards he ſided with the Preſbyterians, and took arms for the Parliament (12). The Earl of Clarendon tells us, that they who knew him inwardly diſcovered that he had an antimonarchical ſpirit, when few men thought the Government in any danger (13). As to his being puritanically inclined, we need the leſs wonder at it, ſince there was always a ſtrong party of that ſort of people in his native town of Bridgwater. It is poſſible he might receive ſome tincture from his countrymen in the univerſity; for I find many of his ſtanding among the Nonconformiſts, who were ejected after the Reſtoration (14). It is not impoſſible that he might be ſoured by the treatment he met with, when he ſought academical preferment. It appears from many of his own declarations, that he loved his country and hated arbitrary power, which ſeemed to have been the governing maxims in all his conduct. There were many of his ſentiments at this time in the nation, and one of the wiſeſt things Cromwell ever did, was his providing proper employments for ſuch ſpirits. Thus he early diſpoſed of Monk into Scotland, and of Blake to Sea: I ſay diſpoſed of them, for though he had not as yet aſſumed the ſupreme power, yet by his arts he chiefly directed all the public Councils, and pointed out ſuch as he thought proper for all public employments. Had it been otherwiſe, Blake in all probability had not been ſent to ſea, ſince it is certain the Parliament had ſome diffidence of him at the time of the King's execution, when they ſent him five hundred pounds, with directions to diſband part of his forces (15). Yet after the thing was done, and a Commonwealth eſtabliſhed, there is no great wonder that Blake fell in with this new Government, ſince it was agreeable to his own way of thinking, influenced probably by obſerving to what high reputation republics anciently roſe. This is Mr. Hobbes's ſentiment, who thinks it was one great ſource of our public troubles, that men were bred

(12) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(13) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. iii. p. 601.

(14) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. ii. p. 137. 151. 263.

(15) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 87.

Col. Popham, to command the fleet (r). Soon after, he was ordered to ſail, with a ſquadron of men of war, in purſuit of Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, who were in the Iriſh ſeas to aſſiſt the Marquis of Ormond, then in arms for King Charles II. in Ireland (s). Blake arrived, in June 1649, before Kingſale, where the two Princes lay in harbour: Deane cruiſed off Plymouth, Popham between the Downs and Portſmouth, and Sir George Ayſcue lay in Dublin-Road: thus were the Parliament maſters of the ſea, and their enemies ſhips either blocked up, or flying every where before them. Prince Rupert's men deſerted daily, and came over to Admiral Blake. The Prince, to hinder their deſertion, hung up ten of his men for offering to run away. Blake kept him in the harbour till the beginning of October, when the Prince deſpairing of relief by ſea, and Cromwell being ready to take the town by land, proviſions of all ſorts falling ſhort, he reſolved to force his way through Blake's ſquadron: Blake ſunk three of his ſhips as he bore out of the harbour, but the Prince's little fleet, making all the ſail they could, got clear of the Parliament's, and ſteered their courſe to Liſbon, where his Highneſs was protected and careſſed by the King of Portugal (t). The Parliament declared war with that King for receiving their enemies, and Blake followed the two Princes to Portugal. From before the river of Liſbon, he ſent to the King for leave to enter, and coming near with his ſhips, the caſtle ſhot at him. Blake dropped anchor, and ſent a boat to know the reaſon of this hoſtility; the Captain of the caſtle anſwered, he had no orders from the King to let his ſhips paſs. However, the King commanded one of the Lords of the Court to compliment Blake: the Portugueſe Lord deſired him not to come in except the weather proved bad; for he ſaid, his maſter feared, leſt ſome quarrel might happen between him and Prince Rupert in his harbour; the King ſent him, at the ſame time, a large preſent of freſh proviſions. The weather proving bad, Blake went up the river into the Bay of Wyers, but two miles from the place where Prince Rupert's ſhips lay, and thence he ſent Capt. Moulton, to inform the King of the falſities in the Prince's declaration. The King refuſing ſtill to admit the Admiral to fall on Prince Rupert's ſhips, Blake took five of the Brazil fleet richly laden, and gave the King to underſtand, that unleſs he would command the Prince's ſhips out from his river, he would endeavour to ſeize the reſt of the Portugueſe fleet from America (u). In September 1650, the Prince endeavoured to get out of the harbour, but was ſoon driven in again by Blake, who ſent home nine ſhips outward bound to Brazil, which he had taken; and in October following, Blake and Popham met with a fleet of twenty-three ſail from Brazil, bound for Liſbon, of whom they ſunk the Admiral, took the Vice-Admiral, and eleven other ſhips, having ten thouſand cheſts of ſugar aboard, and burnt three more: the reſt were ſmall ſhips, and during the action got into the river (w). In his return home, he met with two ſhips laden with proviſions for his fleet, which determined him to ſail back in ſearch of the Prince, whom he followed up the Streights. In this cruize, he, in his own ſhip the Phœnix, took a French man of war, the Captain of which had committed hoſtilities; and this prize was reputed of immenſe value (x). He proceeded next to Carthagena, where the Prince lay; and as ſoon as he came to an anchor before the fort, he acquainted the Spaniſh Governor by a meſſage, That an enemy to the State of England was in his port, that the Parliament commanded him to purſue him, and the King of Spain being in amity with the Parliament, he deſired leave to take all advantages againſt their enemy. The Governor replied, he could not take any notice of the difference of any nations or perſons amongſt themſelves, only ſuch as were declared enemies to the King his maſter; that they came in thither for ſafety, and therefore he could not refuſe them protection, and that he would do the like for the Admiral. Blake ſtill preſſed the Governor to permit him to attack the Prince, and the Spaniard put him off till he could have orders from Madrid (y). While the Admiral was cruizing in the Mediterranean, Prince Rupert got out of Carthagena, and ſailed to Malaga. General Blake having notice of his deſtroying many Engliſh ſhips there, followed him with all the expedition poſſible, and finding him in the port, attacked him, without the ceremony of aſking leave of the Spaniſh Governor, and burnt and deſtroyed his whole fleet, two ſhips only excepted, the Reformation, in which Prince Rupert himſelf was, and the Swallow, commanded by his brother

(r) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 204. Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 87.

(s) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil Wars, p. 256.

(t) Bates, Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 72.

(u) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 89.

(w) Bates, *ubi ſupra.*

(x) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 91.

(y) Bates, *ubi ſupra.*

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bred in ſuch high opinions of the heroes of Greece and Rome, at the ſame time that the conſtitution of their country differed ſo much from the Governments under which thoſe great men flouriſhed (16). If this remark could be applied to any man, it might certainly to Blake, of whom Dr. Bates ſays, that *there was nothing blameable in his conduct, but that he joined with the parricides* (17). His anxiety for the glory of his country determined him to ſerve her under what Government ſoever prevailed; and this maxim he always ſtuck to, behaving bravely wherever he was truſted, never canvaſſing for any employment, much leſs diſturbing the State by his intrigues. This made him beloved by all parties, and even by the Royaliſts, to whom he was alſo recommended by the tenderneſs he ſhewed for them upon all occaſions, granting them better articles than any other officer either would or durſt (18), excepting Sir George Ayſcue, who ſuffered for his generoſity towards the Lord Willoughby, the King's Governor of Barbadoes (19). As theſe were Blake's own notions, ſo he endeavoured to inculcate them into his officers, adviſing them to wiſh their country always well, and to ſerve the public aſſiduouſly without diſturbing it; which doctrine very probably diſpoſed them to act as occaſion required, when after Blake's death his colleagues, Monk and Montague, brought about the King's reſtoration (20). In ſhort, our Admiral was a man, who with all the courage and conduct of a great Commander, never affected the character of a Politician, but contented himſelf with doing his utmoſt to execute whatever orders were ſent him, whence he was ſuſpected by none of the parties among his contemporaries, and at the ſame time was revered by all.

(16) Behemoth, or Account of the late Civil War, Lond. 1679, 8vo, p. 2, 3.

(17) Bates Elenc. Motuum, Lond. 1672, p. 223.

(18) See the original articles to Sir John Greenville in the Library of the Society for promoting Chriſtian Knowledge, and propagating the Goſpel.

(19) Heath's Chronicle, p. 323. Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. iii. p. 466.

(20) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 330.

Prince Maurice (z). This was in January 1651. In February, General Blake took a French man of war of forty guns, and ſent it, with four other prizes, before him into England. Not long after, he came with his ſquadron to Plymouth, where he received the thanks of the Parliament, and was by them made Warden of the Cinque Ports (a). On the fourth of March following, an Act paſſed, whereby Col. Blake, Col. Popham, and Col. Deane, or any two of them, were appointed Admirals and Generals of the fleet for the year enſuing (b). The firſt ſervice he was put upon was the reducing the iſles of Scilly, which were ſtill held for King Charles II. The matter was of great importance; for beſides that ſome privateers from thence did a great deal of miſchief, by diſturbing trade and taking ſhips, it was alſo known, that the Dutch had a view upon thoſe iſlands, and had actually ſent Van Trump, with a ſquadron of twelve men of war, whoſe inſtructions were, either to purchaſe or reduce them (c). General Blake ſailed in May, with a body of eight hundred land troops on board. Sir John Greenville, who commanded there for the King, after ſome ſmall reſiſtance, ſubmitted, knowing well that a longer diſpute would have been to no purpoſe (d). The General then ſailed for Guernſey, which was held for the King by Sir George Carteret. He arrived there in the month of October, and though the ſea was very rough, landed what forces he had on board the very next day, and did all that could be expected of him, in order to make a ſpeedy conqueſt of the iſland, which, however, could not be completed that year. In the beginning of the next, however, the brave Governor, finding all hopes of relief vain, thought proper to make the beſt terms he could; and to the honour of Blake we may affirm, that though no man proceeded more briſkly while the ſword was drawn, yet in all treaties he was remarkably condeſcending, deteſting to be made an inſtrument of oppreſſion, though ready to hazard his life at any time to do his country juſtice (e). For this ſignal and important ſervice he had, as he well deſerved, thanks from the Parliament: he was alſo elected one of the Council of State, and much courted by Cromwell, who began now to think of ſetting up for himſelf (f). March 25, 1652, Blake was conſtituted ſole Admiral for nine months, on a proſpect of a Dutch war. It is generally conceived, that this was ſought by the States rather than by the Parliament; for they were very confident of their force at ſea, and vexed at the firmneſs of the new Commonwealth of England, which inclined them to attempt, by ſome ſudden blow, to ſupport their own, and leſſen the reputation of their rival (g). With this view they ſent Van Trump with forty-five ſail of men of war into the Downs, to inſult the Engliſh Admiral, and, in the mean time, laboured hard to equip another fleet of 150 ſail, which they thought would be more than ſufficient to cruſh the whole naval power of England. It is certain they could not have choſe a more improper man to have practiſed upon in this manner than Blake, who though he had but twenty-three ſhips, and could expect no ſuccour but from Major Bourne, who commanded eight more, yet being attacked by Van Trump, he fought him bravely, notwithſtanding this great inequality, and forced him to retreat (h). This was on the nineteenth of May 1652, and as it was a very remarkable action, the reader will find ſome authentic particulars in the notes [D]. After this diſpute at ſea, the States grew more tractable, and ſeemed very well

(z) Life of Prince Rupert. Heath's Chron. of the Civil Wars, p. 275.

(a) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 92. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 204.

(b) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 93.

(c) Bates, Elench. Mot. P. ii. p. 77. Heath's Chron. of the Civil War, p. 288.

(d) Original Articles, agreed on this xxiiid day of May, 1651, between Admiral Blake and Col. Clerke, Commanders in Chief of all the forces by ſea or land, in or about the Iſlands of Friſcoe and Briar, on the one part; and Sir John Greenville, Knt. Governor of the Iſlands of St. Maries and Agnes in Scilley, on the behalf of his Majeſty on the other part; touching the Rendition of thoſe Iſlands, together with all the Caſtles, &c. to the Parliament of England. MS. in the Library of the Society for propagating the Goſpel, &c.

(e) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. iii. p. 465. See note [C]. Heath's Chron. of the Civil Wars, p. 306.

(f) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 98.

(g) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. iii. p. 458. Heath's Chron. of the Civil Wars, p. 314.

(h) The Anſwer of the Parliament of England to the Embaſſadors of the States General; as alſo, A Narrative of the late Engagement between Gen. Blake and Admiral Trump, &c. London, printed by John Field, Printer to the Parliament of England, 1652, 4to.

[D] *Some authentic particulars in the notes.*] We cannot better diſcharge this promiſe than by giving the reader an extract from the narrative of this engagement, printed by order of the Parliament of England. Upon Tueſday the 18th of May, 1652, in the morning, General Blake being gone to the weſtward as far as Rye Bay eight days before with twelve or thirteen ſhips, leaving Major Bourne in the Downs with eight ſhips only, there appeared upon the back-ſide of the Godwin a Holland fleet of men of war, conſiſting of two and forty ſhips, one whereof had a flag on the main-top-maſt-head, the reſt jacks and ancients; and being come to the South Sand's head, two of them bore up towards the Engliſh ſhips in the Downs; whereupon Major Bourne ſent out the Greyhound to examine them, and to know the reaſon of their ſo near approach; who anſwering that they had a meſſage to the Commander in chief in the Downs, were permitted to come in; and having ſaluted the flag, the two Captains, named Tyſon and Aldred, came aboard Major Bourne, and acquainted him that they were ſent by Van Trump, to let him know that he had been riding about Dunkirk with his fleet, where, by reaſon of foul weather, they had loſt many of their cables and anchors, and the wind being northerly, were driven farther to the ſouthward than they intended, which Van Trump thought fit to ſignify, to prevent any miſapprehenſions or jealouſies. And having ſaid this, and received for anſwer, that the reality of what they ſaid would beſt appear by their ſpeedy drawing off from this coaſt, they departed to their fleet, and immediately, upon their arrival with them, the whole fleet ſtood up to Dover, and came to an anchor, within little more than gunſhot of the caſtle, the ſame day in the afternoon. Upon their coming before Dover-Caſtle, and riding there with a flag in the main-top, without ſaluting the caſtle, the caſtle made three ſhot at them; notwithſtanding which the Dutch Admiral kept up his flag, and rode there at anchor until the next day at noon, and exerciſed his muſqueteers by diſcharging volleys of ſmall ſhot many hours together. Upon Wedneſday, about twelve o'clock, the Dutch fleet weighed anchor, and ſtood off towards Calais ſome few leagues unto the ſouth-eaſt. About the ſame time the Engliſh fleet under General Blake, coming from the weſt towards the Downs, diſcovered them, and ſuppoſed by their courſe that they had been going back. Major Bourne likewiſe was in ſight, coming from the Downs to join with General Blake. About an hour or two after, the Holland fleet altered their courſe, came back again, made all the ſail they could, and bore directly with General Blake. Van Trump, the headmoſt with his flag in the main-top, and being come within ſhot, the General ſhot a gun at his main-top, and then two ſingle ſhot more; whereupon Trump ſhot a ſingle ſhot through the General's flag, and then immediately gave the firſt broadſide, and took in his pendants, and hung out his red flag under the Holland colours, which was the ſignal on their part for the whole fleet to engage: and ſo the fight began, which happened between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, and continued until nine o'clock. In the fight the Engliſh took two of the Holland fleet, one whereof, having ſix foot water in the hold, they left, taking the Captain and officers aboard:

well inclined to peace; but the new Commonwealth of England ſtood upon ſuch high terms as were not to be complied with, and therefore both ſides prepared to carry on the war, which had been thus haſtily begun, without much reaſon on either, and perhaps out of mere emulation on both ſides (*i*). Blake, while he continued in the Downs, reinforced his fleet, and prepared for another engagement, holding, in the month of June, a ſolemn faſt, or day of humiliation (*k*). After this, finding that a general engagement was not likely to enſue, he reſolved to proſecute the war by taking the enemy's merchant ſhips, in which he had ſurpriſing ſucceſs; for on the tenth of that month, a detachment from his fleet fell upon ſix and twenty ſail of Dutch merchant-men, and took them every one; ſo that by the end of June, the Admiral ſent up forty good prizes, and had ſo effectually cleared the ſeas, that, on the ſecond of July, he was at liberty to ſail with a ſtrong ſquadron northwards (*l*). In his courſe he took a Dutch man of war, and by the latter end of the month, he took the whole Dutch fiſhing convoy, conſiſting of twelve men of war, one hundred of their herring buſſes, and diſperſed the reſt (*m*). By the twelfth of Auguſt he returned into the Downs, with ſix of the Dutch men of war he had taken, and nine hundred priſoners. Thence he ſtood over to their own coaſt, having for ſome time upwards of a hundred men of war under his

(*i*) Le Vie de Cromwel, par Greg. Leti, Vol. ii. p. 249. Heath's Chron. p. 314. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. i. p. 406.

(*k*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 100.

(*l*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. iii. p. 461.

(*m*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 322.

aboard: the other was a ſhip of thirty guns. General Blake lay all night where the fight began, or near thereabouts; and the Holland fleet was eſpied about four leagues diſtant towards the coaſt of France next morning (21). To this let us ſubjoin the letter written by the Admiral himſelf, on account not only of ſeveral curious circumſtances contained therein, but alſo becauſe it may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the plain blunt temper of this illuſtrious Hero. It was addreſſed to the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Eſq; Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and conceived in the following terms (22).

‘ Right Honourable,

‘ I Have diſpatched away this expreſs to your Honours, to give you an account of what paſſed yeſterday between us and the Dutch fleet. Being in Rye Bay, I received intelligence from Major Bourn, that Van Trump, with forty ſail, was off the South Sand Head; whereupon I made all poſſible ſpeed to ply up towards them, and yeſterday in the morning we ſaw them at anchor in and near Dover road. Being come within three leagues of them, they weighed, and ſtood away by a wind to the eaſtward; we ſuppoſing their intention was to leave us, to avoid the diſpute of the flag. About two hours after they altered their courſe, and bore directly with us, Van Trump the headmoſt; whereupon we lay by, and put ourſelves into a fighting poſture, judging they had a reſolution to engage. Being come within muſquet-ſhot, I gave order to fire at his flag, which was done thrice; after the third ſhot he let fly a broadſide at us. Major Bourn, with thoſe ſhips that came from the Downs, being eight, was then making towards us. We continued fighting till night; then our ſhip being unable to ſail, by reaſon that all our rigging and ſails were extremely ſhattered, our mizenmaſt ſhot off, we came, with advice of the Captains, to an anchor, about three or four leagues off the Neſs, to refit our ſhip, at which we laboured all the night. This morning we eſpied the Dutch fleet about four leagues diſtance from ours, towards the coaſt of France; and, by advice of a Council of war, it was reſolved to ply to windward to keep the weather-gage, and we are now ready to let fall our anchors this tide. What courſe the Dutch fleet ſteers we do not well know, nor can we tell what harm we have done them; but we ſuppoſe one of them to be ſunk, and another of thirty guns we have taken, with the Captains of both; the mainmaſt of the firſt being ſhot by the board, and much water in the hold, made Captain Lawſon's men to forſake her. We have ſix men of ours ſlain, and nine or ten deſperately wounded, and twenty-five more not without danger; amongſt them our Maſter and one of his mates, and other officers. We have received about ſeventy great ſhot in our hull and maſts, in our ſails and rigging without number, being engaged with the whole body of the fleet for the ſpace of four hours; being the mark at which they aimed. We muſt needs acknowledge it a great mercy that we had no more harm, and our hope is, the righteous God will continue the ſame unto us, if there do ariſe a war between us, they being firſt in the breach, and ſeeking an occaſion to quarrel, and watching as it ſeems an advantage to brave us upon our own coaſt, &c.

From aboard the James,
three leagues off the
Hydes, *the* 20*th of*
May, 1652.

‘ Your humble Servant,

‘ ROBERT BLAKE.’

It would be to no great purpoſe to take notice of the different accounts given of this matter by later authors, becauſe it cannot be ſuppoſed that they have any better authorities than thoſe which have been already produced. As to what is aſſerted by the Dutch writers, it differs ſo little from the account already given, excepting in one circumſtance, that it need not be taken notice of. This circumſtance is, the firing of the firſt broadſide, which they aſſert was done by Blake, and ſo I find it in Admiral Trump's letter to the States. In this letter, which is dated the 30th of May, 1652, N. S. he aſſerts that Bourne's ſquadron conſiſted of twelve ſhips, though Bourne himſelf ſays he had but nine, and names them. He alſo ſays that Admiral Blake, being within cannon-ſhot, fired once over them, and they not anſwering, fired a ſecond time; being anſwered by another ſhot, he fired a broadſide upon Trump. He owns the loſs of two ſhips, and does not ſeem to diſpute that the Engliſh had the better (23). There is indeed a more particular account, with reſpect to the perſonal conduct of Blake, which deſerves notice. When Blake came into the Downs, ſays this author, Van Trump bore up to his fleet, which conſiſted of no more than twenty-three ſail, nearer than he had any occaſion to do. Upon this, Blake ſaluted him with two guns without ball, to require him to ſtrike ſail; Trump, in contempt, ſhot on the contrary ſide; Blake fired a ſecond and a third gun, which Van Trump anſwered with a broadſide. The Engliſh Admiral perceiving it was his intention to fight, ſingled out himſelf from the reſt of the fleet to treat with Van Trump about that point of honour, and to prevent the effuſion of blood and a national quarrel. When Blake approached nearer to Van Trump, he and the reſt of his fleet, contrary to the law of nations, the Engliſh Admiral coming with a deſign to treat, fired on Blake with whole broadſides. The Admiral was in his cabbin drinking with ſome of his officers, little expecting to be ſo ſaluted, when the ſhot broke the windows of his ſhip, and ſhattered the ſtern, which put him into a vehement paſſion, and curling his whiſkers, as he uſed to do when he was angry, he commanded his men to anſwer the Dutch in their kind, ſaying, when his heat was ſomewhat over, *he took it very ill of* Van Trump *that he ſhould take his ſhip for a bawdy-houſe, and break his windows*. Blake ſingly ſuſtained the ſhock of the Dutch fleet for ſome time, 'till his own ſhips and Major Bourne's could join him, and then the engagement grew hot and bloody on the enemy's ſide, till night put an end to it (24). General Ludlow, in his memoirs, gives us a very clear and diſtinct account of this action; and when he has ſo done, he tells us, that on a report from the Council of State, the Parliament juſtified Blake's conduct, reſolved to demand ſatisfaction of the States, put their Embaſſadors who lodged at Chelſea under a guard, and ſent Cromwell and Dennis Bond to Dover, to encourage the

(21) The Anſwer of the Parliament of England, &c.

(22) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 316. Appendix to the Anſwer of the Parliament, &c.

(23) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 319.

(24) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 99.

his command. Towards the latter end of the ſame month of Auguſt, part of his fleet fell upon a ſquadron of French men of war, going to the relief of Dunkirk, took them, and carried them into Dover (*n*). At laſt, on the twenty-eighth of September, the fleet being under a freſh gale, Admiral Blake diſcovered the Dutch about noon, and though he had only three of his own ſquadron with him, Vice-Admiral Pen with his ſquadron at ſome diſtance, and the reſt a league or two a-ſtern, he bore in among them, and was bravely ſeconded by Pen and Bourne: the fight began warmly on both ſides: Blake ſailing to the windward of their Admiral, was aground; the Sovereign ſtruck ſeveral times, ſo did the Reſolution, the St. Andrew, and Pen's ſhip, but they got off again without any harm: three of the enemy's ſhips were wholly diſabled at the firſt brunt, and another as ſhe was towing off. The Rear-Admiral was taken by Capt. Mildmay; the victory was entirely on the Engliſh ſide, and had not night prevented them, it was thought that ſcarcely a ſhip of the Dutch fleet would have got off. On the twenty-ninth, as day broke, the Engliſh ſpied the Dutch N. E. two leagues off: the General bore up to them, but the Dutch having the wind of him, he could not reach them. He commanded his light frigates to ply as near as they could, and keep firing while the reſt bore up after them: ſome ſhot was ſpent between the Engliſh and Dutch, who ſoon hoiſted their ſails and ran for it. On the thirtieth, the enemy were almoſt out of ſight, the Engliſh ſtill purſuing them, till they ſaw them run into the Goree: the General then called a Council of War, and ſeeing the ſhips were ſo near the ſhallows, and that ſome of them wanted proviſions, it was reſolved to return to the Downs. The Engliſh loſt few men, not one ſhip; the enemy had their Rear-Admiral taken, two ſunk, and one blown up. Two thouſand wounded men were landed out of the Dutch fleet, and Admiral Witte Wittens laid the fault on the cowardice of ſome of his Captains, and on the numbers of the Engliſh. General Blake, after the fight, ordered ſeveral ſhips to the coaſt of Holland, and ſent others on a cruize, which not only ſecured the Engliſh merchants in their trade, but wonderfully annoyed the ſubjects of the States-General, and made them heartily weary of the war (*o*) [*E*]. Some preſſing occaſions having obliged General Blake to make large detachments from his fleet, Van Trump, who had once again the command of the Dutch navy, then conſiſting of fourſcore men of war, reſolved to take this opportunity of attacking Blake in the Downs, who, he knew, had not above half his number of ſhips (*p*). Accordingly, he ſailed away to the back of the Godwin, near the place where he had fought before, of which Blake having notice, he called a Council of War, wherein it was reſolved to fight, though at ſo great a diſadvantage. The battle began on the twenty-ninth of November about two in the morning, and laſted till near ſix in the evening. The General was in the Triumph, and always in the hotteſt of the action: his ſhip, the Victory, and the Van-guard, did, and ſuffered, moſt, engaging

(*n*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. iii. p. 463. Heath's Chron. p. 375. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. i. p. 421.

(*o*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 104.

(*p*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 329, 330.

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the ſailors, and to promiſe them that nothing ſhould be wanting on the ſide of Parliament to reward their vigilance and valour, in caſe they continued to do their duty as bravely as they had done (25). The Earl of Clarendon has preſerved a very extraordinary circumſtance not to be met with elſewhere, viz. that Trump received an expreſs ketch with inſtructions from the States immediately before he fired his broadſide (26).

[*E*] *Made them heartily weary of the war.*] We have ſeveral accounts of this engagement, out of which we have ſelected the ſubſtance of the cleareſt, and inſerted it in the text. There is particularly a pretty long one in Whitlock's Memorials (27); as alſo another in Ludlow's Memoirs, attended with ſome circumſtances that are not to be found elſewhere: he ſays, that when the Dutch fleet arrived at Goree, the Captains were not permitted to go aſhore till an enquiry was made into their conduct. In the mean time the Dutch were ſo much provoked againſt the Engliſh, that in order to encourage their own countrymen to ſerve againſt them, they exhibited the death of the late King in the moſt tragical manner upon the ſtage; and the faction of the Prince of Orange entertained hopes, that the people would rather ſacrifice their liberties, than not be revenged of the Engliſh Commonwealth (28). This, however, ſeems to be his own conjecture; for another writer tells us, that the States, out of mere apprehenſion of the Prince's becoming Stadtholder, ſent ſoon after the engagement to the Parliament of England to deſire a peace, but with very indifferent ſucceſs; for the Parliament ſtill ſtood upon their old demands of ſatisfaction and of reparation. The ſame author tells us, that De Wit, when he ſailed on this expedition, was obſtructed by a mutiny, the ſeamen refuſing to go on board till they received their wages; for which two of them were executed at Amſterdam, and ſome of the Burghers of that city ſhot, on a ſudden ſurmiſe of a reſcue. On his return there was another tumult at Fluſhing, occaſioned partly through his want of ſucceſs, and partly out of hatred to him as an enemy to the Houſe of Orange; which croſs accidents made De Ruyter deſirous of reſigning his commiſſion, and ſo vexed De Wit that he fell ſick. The States, however, appointed Commiſſioners to enquire into the conduct of the Captains who were charged with miſbehaviour, and took a great deal of pains to repair and to recruit their fleet (29). On the other hand, the Parliament of England paſſed an Act, whereby they required all ſeamen, who were on board any foreign ſhips in Europe, to return home in forty days, and ſuch as were in the Indies in twelve months; directing that all ſuch Carpenters, Shipwrights, &c. that were found on board the enemy's ſhips, ſhould be thrown overboard without mercy (30). It was at the latter end of the year that Admiral Blake had orders to ſend Captain Ball with a ſquadron of eighteen men of war into the Sound, in order to ſerve as a convoy for two and twenty merchantmen, whom the King of Denmark had ſtopped in his port of Copenhagen, under pretence that he was apprehenſive of their being taken by the Dutch, in caſe they attempted to return. The Captain, on his arrival at Elſinore, eaſily diſcovered that double-dealing of the Daniſh King, who now abſolutely refuſed to deliver up the ſhips, pretending that he kept them for certain ſums of money due to him from the late King Charles I.; whereupon Ball returned with his ſquadron into England, but by the way took fourteen Dutch ſhips, and brought them with a man of war, which he likewiſe took, to Yarmouth (31). This was the largeſt of thoſe detachments ſpoken of in the text, whereby Blake weakened himſelf ſo much as to encourage the Dutch to run the hazard of another battle, notwithſtanding their late defeat. This, however, muſt not be underſtood as any overſight in Blake, who acted only in obedience to the orders he received, and cannot therefore be made anſwerable for their conſequences.

(25) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. i. p. 426.

(26) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. iii. p. 459.

(27) Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs, p. 526.

(28) Vol. i. p. 428.

(29) Heath's Chron. p. 326.

(30) *Ibid.* p. 327.

(31) *Ibid.* p. 328.

at one time with twenty of the enemy's beſt ſhips. Blake finding the Dutch had two ſhips to his one, that the Engliſh were very much diſabled, and that the Dutch had alſo the advantage of the wind, drew off his fleet in the night into the River Thames, having loſt the Garland, and the Bonadventure taken by the Dutch, a ſmall frigate burnt, and three ſunk; his remaining ſhips were ſhattered and diſabled. Trump bought this victory dear: one of his flag-ſhips was blown up, all the men drowned; his own ſhip and De Ruyter's were both incapable of ſervice till they were repaired (*q*) [*F*]. This advantage, for ſuch it really was, puffed up the Dutch exceedingly, inſomuch that Van Trump ſailed through the Channel with a broom at his main-top-maſt, to ſignify that he had ſwept thoſe ſeas of Engliſh ſhips (*r*). They likewiſe made ballads, wherein they ſpoke with great triumph of their having taken the Engliſh Garland, and began to threaten taking from us all our plantations in the Weſt-Indies (*s*). But, in the mean time, Blake repaired and recruited his fleet, Monk and Deane being now joined in commiſſion with him; and ſo diligent they were, that on the eighth of February, 1653, they ſailed from Queenſborough with ſixty men of war, and were preſently joined by twenty more from Portſmouth. On the eighteenth of the ſame month, they diſcovered Van Trump with a fleet of ſeventy ſail, and no leſs than three hundred merchant ſhips under his convoy. Blake, with twelve ſhips, came up with, and engaged, the Dutch fleet; and was very ſeverely handled. Himſelf, in the Triumph, had like to have been loſt, had he not been timely relieved by Lawſon in the Fairfax. In this warm ſervice, Blake loſt the Captain of his own ſhip whoſe name was Ball, a brave active officer, and Mr. Sparrow his Secretary: himſelf was grievouſly wounded in the thigh, yet he continued the fight till night, by the advantage of which, the Dutch, who had ſix men of war ſunk and taken, retired. Having ſet his wounded men on ſhore at Portſmouth, Blake followed the enemy, and came up with them the next day, about three in the afternoon, when the fight was renewed with very great loſs to the Dutch, who continued retreating towards Bulloign. All the night following Blake continued the purſuit, and in the morning of the twentieth of February, the two fleets fought again with incredible fury till four in the afternoon, when the wind blowing favourably for the Dutch, they reached the Sands of Calais, anchored there, and thence tided it home. In theſe three

(*q*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 104.

(*r*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 381.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 334.

[*F*] *Incapable of ſervice till they were repaired.*] There is a large and curious account of this obſtinate battle in Heath, which will give the reader full ſatiſfaction as to all the material circumſtances relating to it. Intelligence was now, ſays he, given to Van Trump, as there had been before to the States, that the Engliſh fleet was no way recruited, that moſt of the ſhips with which De Ruyter engaged were gone into port, and that now Blake might be eaſily beaten in the Downs, and ſo the mouth of the river ſtopped, the war come to a period, and the Dutch have ſatiſfaction for the damage done them, and ſea-towns in England put into their hands for future ſecurity; for nothing leſs would content *Hans* in this top-gallant humour. On the 29th of November Trump preſented himſelf with eighty men of war and ten fireſhips on the back-ſide of the Godwin again, and according to expectation found General Blake, attended with no more than forty odd ſail, as if he had been ignorant how to uſe his late victory, which came now to the diſpute, and to be an undecided controverſy again: yet Blake generouſly diſdaining to be affronted again in the Downs, having called a Council of War, it was concluded he ſhould fight, though at ſo unequal diſadvantage. But the wind riſing, the engagement was hindered till the next day, and anchoring the night before a little above Dover road, fair by the enemy, near morning both fleets plyed weſtward, we having the weather-gage, and about eleven or twelve o'clock engaged near the ſame place, where the firſt encounter was, but not with the ſame ſucceſs, for half the fleet did not engage. The Victory, Vanguard, and the Triumph, the Admiral's ſhip, bore moſt of the ſtreſs of the fight, being at one time engaged with twenty Dutchmen, and were ſorely torn in their rigging, ſails, yards, and hulls; yet they fought till after it was dark, a little before which the Garland (whoſe venturous Captain, out of a noble reſolution, boarding Van Trump himſelf, was ſlain in the fight, and overpowered with his reſerves) a Navy ſhip of the third rate with forty guns, was boarded by two Dutch flags, and taken; as likewiſe the Bonadventure, attempting to relieve them, its Captain, Hookſton, being ſlain before the Triumph could ſuccour them; and this was not done without great hazard; for Blake was boarded twice, and had his topmaſt ſhot by the board; and had not the Vanguard and Saphire ſtood reſolutely by him, might have gone near to be loſt: the Hercules was likewiſe run on ſhore, and all the whole fleet that engaged was miſerably rent and torn, and had it not been for the night would hardly have come off, whereas now they retreated to Dover, and ſo into the river againſt Leigh to ſave themſelves. The Dutch triumphantly continued where they were, reſolving to fall upon Blake with their whole fleet and fireſhips the next day at two o'clock; but miſſing of them, ſent their ſcouts to Harwich and Yarmouth to ſee if they were there, purpoſing to purſue the ſame reſolution. In the mean time ſome of their ſeamen went aſhore into Rumney Marſh to ſteal ſheep, but the troopers were in readineſs, and killed ſix of them, and took eight more. Trump ſtill continued with his fleet plying between the Iſle of Wight and the Northforeland, ſomewhat betwixt Calais and Dungeneſs, having put aſhore the Lieutenant of the Garland and other ſeamen, who informed that one Dutch ſhip was blown up, and but two men ſaved; and that Trump, and another flag ſhip, and De Ruyter, had received damage. Amidſt all this fray, a rich Streights Engliſh ſhip, called the Employment, valued at 200,000 *l.* got ſafe into Harbour at Portſmouth, being purſued by ſeven Dutch ſail of frigates (32). Whitelock gives pretty nearly the ſame account (33); but writing from his memory, places this action in the beginning of December. Rapin, who throughout the whole account of this war is extremely tender of the Dutch, ſays (34), that Admiral Blake having received a wound, it threw his fleet into ſuch diſorder, as rendered it impoſſible for him to hinder Van Trump from purſuing his courſe: yet our own writers ſay nothing of Blake's being wounded, and therefore I ſuppoſe that he confounds this with the next engagement, wherein Blake was actually wounded in the thigh. The ſecret of this defeat is ſaid to lie in the little care taken by the Parliament's Committee for repairing ſuch ſhips as were damaged, and for ſending timely ſupplies to the fleet; neither have there been wanting writers honeſt enough to tell us why they did this. They were it ſeems grown extremely jealous of military men, and men of action, *fearing that they ſhould grow too high, and overtop them* (35). Theſe are the words of my author, and therefore I uſe them. Perhaps this conduct might pave the way to the treatment the Parliament ſoon after met with, viz. April 20, 1653, when they were turned out of their Houſe by Cromwell and his officers, to whom alſo the fleet unanimouſly adhered.

(32) Chronicle of the Civil Wars of England, &c. p. 329, 330.

(33) Memorials of Engliſh Affairs, p. 526.

(34) Hiſt. D'Angleterre, Vol. v. liv. xxii. p. 175.

(35) Life of Cromwell, by Carrington, p. 109.

engagements the Dutch loſt eleven men of war, thirty merchant ſhips, and had, according to their own accounts, fifteen hundred men ſlain. The Engliſh loſt only one ſhip, the Samſon, but not fewer men than the enemy (*t*) [*G*]. In the month of April, Cromwell turned out the Parliament, and ſhortly after aſſumed the ſupreme power. The States hoped great advantages from this, which, however, they did not immediately receive, Blake and his colleagues wiſely declaring, that whatever happened at home, they would not ſuffer their country to endure either injuries or inſults from abroad, and in this they were as good as their words (*u*) [*H*]. Towards the end of the month, Blake and his colleagues, with a grand fleet of a hundred ſail, ſtood over to the Dutch coaſt, and forced the Dutch fleet to fly for ſhelter into the Texel, where, for ſome time, they were kept by Monk and Deane, while Blake ſailed northward: at laſt Trump got out, and drew together a fleet of a hundred and twenty men of war. On the third of June, the Generals, Deane and Monk, engaged the enemy off the North-foreland with indifferent ſucceſs. On the fourth, General Blake came in to their aſſiſtance with eighteen freſh ſhips, and thereby gained a complete victory; inſomuch that if the Dutch had not once again ſaved themſelves on Calais Sands, their whole fleet had been ſunk or taken (*w*) [*I*]. In the mean time, Cromwell had called, or rather appointed, a ſort of Parliament, called the *Little Parliament*, in which Mr. Blake had a ſeat, as one of the Commiſſioners from Somerſetſhire (*x*), and was by the ſame Parliament continued one of the Generals of the fleet. However, his health was ſo impaired, that he could not poſſibly go to ſea, and therefore had no ſhare, but by his advice, in the laſt great victory gained over the Dutch, on the twenty-ninth of July, for which, however, the Parliament ordered him a gold chain, as well as the reſt of the Admirals, who actually ſerved there (*y*). On the tenth of October he came to London, and took his ſeat in the Houſe, where he received their ſolemn thanks for his many and faithful ſervices (*z*). The Protector Oliver, having called a new Parliament, conſiſting of four hundred, Mr. Blake ſat therein as Member for his native town of Bridgwater (*a*). On the ſixth of December, he was conſtituted one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty for ſix months, and as he was treated with great reſpect by Cromwell, ſo he behaved towards him with much fidelity, though perhaps no great affection, ſince he was naturally

(*t*) Bates, Elench. Mot. P. ii. p. 174. Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. iii. p. 438.

(*u*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 109. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 204.

(*w*) A true Relation of the late great Sea Fight, in a Letter to his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell, from General Blake and General Monk, dated from on board the Reſolution off Oſtend, July 4, 1653, Lond. printed for H. Hills, *4to.*

(*x*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 331.

(*y*) Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 555. Heath's Chron. p. 349.

(*z*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 112.

(*a*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 463. Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 113.

[*G*] *But not fewer men than the enemy.*] It is needleſs to trouble the reader with ſeveral accounts of the battle mentioned in the text; I ſhall therefore only take notice of ſome little particulars which are not there inſerted. General Blake, the better to man his fleet, had put on board ſome regiments of ſoldiers, who behaved extremely well, and to whom, according to ſome accounts, the honour of the day was chiefly due (36). We muſt not from hence imagine, that land forces are always equally proper at ſea, but conſider the circumſtances which diſtinguiſh this from other caſes. The troops had been but a few days on board, the fleet was only employed on a cruize, and therefore there was no danger of their being weakened by ſickneſs, or other accidents at ſea. Rapin extenuates as much as poſſible the defeat of the Dutch, and indeed their own writers have not been ſparing in their pains to cover it, but with very little ſucceſs.

[*H*] *They were as good as their words.*] The author of Blake's life hath given a very candid and ſuccinct account of this affair. He tells us, that when Cromwell turned the Rump out of the government, and took it upon himſelf and his council of officers; Blake, Deane, and Monk, and the reſt of the admirals and ſea officers, publiſhed a declaration of their reſolution, notwithſtanding the late change, to proceed in the performance of their duties and the truſt repoſed in them, againſt the enemies of this Commonwealth. And the General was of opinion, on the revolution which happened afterwards, that 'twas his and his men's duty, to act faithfully abroad in their ſtations, ſo as might conduce moſt to the public peace and welfare, whatever irregularity there was in the councils at home; ſaying to his officers, *It is not for us to mind ſtate affairs, but to keep Foreigners from fooling us* (37). This conduct induced even Anthony Wood to ſay, that ever after Blake continued a fortunate vindicator of his country's privileges from the encroachments of inſulting neighbours, a victorious enemy of the Spaniards, and was highly valued by all, even the Royaliſts (38). To ſay the truth, it is hard to conceive how Admiral Blake could have acted any other part than he did, conſiſtently with his regard to his country; ſince it is certain that the Parliament began to be ſuſpected of intending to perpetuate themſelves, which would have been little better than enſlaving the reſt of the nation. Beſides, the officers on board the fleet were very little ſatisfied with the conduct of the Committee, who, by virtue of the powers given them by Parliament, were a ſort of Lords of the Admiralty; and as we have ſpoken twice of theſe, it may not be amiſs to name them; they were Sir Henry Vane, junior, Mr. Saloway, Colonel Thompſon, and Mr. John Carew (39).

[*I*] *Their whole fleet had been ſunk or taken.*] We are told by Rapin, that the two fleets met the ſecond of June and came to an engagement, which was renewed the next day, in which ſecond battle, Trump fighting with great diſadvantage, was obliged to retire in diſorder, having loſt many ſhips, which were ſunk or taken by the Engliſh (40). This is a very blind account of ſo remarkable an action, eſpecially when he might ſo eaſily have had a better. Beſides the date is falſe, for it was not the ſecond but the third of June. As to the loſs on both ſides, the moſt particular account I have met with is as follows (41). On the ſide of the Dutch, there were without doubt a great number ſlain, but how many is uncertain, perhaps it may be gueſſed at by the ſubſequent articles. Priſoners, there were one thouſand three hundred and fifty, and of theſe, ſix were Captains. Ships ſunk, ſix. Men of war taken, eleven. Of the Engliſh there were ſlain General Deane, and one Captain. Of private men, one hundred and twenty. Wounded, two hundred thirty-ſix; but not ſo much as one ſhip was either ſunk or diſabled. But the importance of this victory will be beſt declared by the conſequences of it, which are thus repreſented by Heath, who wrote at the very time (42). The Engliſh, ſays he, after their victory ſtill lay upon the coaſts of Holland, into whoſe ports and harbours upon the purſuit, as far as the Texel, they had driven and ſcattered the Dutch fleet, which had ſo brought down the ſtomachs of the Hollander, that that Province having as before ſent away a boat with a white flag, with a meſſenger for a paſſport, and a ſafe-conduct for two Embaſſadors; and having obtained it, ſent away the Lords Youngſtall and Vande Peere, to follow two others newly gone before. Theſe arrived the twentieth of June, and had audience the twenty-ſecond: Their meſſage being of ſuch importance, for every day their merchant ſhips were taken coming home, and there was no ſtirring out for any, ſo that there was an abſolute ceſſation there of trade, no leſs than thirty ſhips richly laden having been taken by our fleet riding in the mouths of their havens.

(36) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 335.

(37) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 109.

(38) Faſt. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 204.

(39) Heath's Chronicle, p. 331.

(40) Hiſtoire D'Angleterre, liv. xxii.

(41) The Perfect Politician, or the Life of Cromwell, p. 178.

(42) Chronicle of the Civil Wars of England, p. 346.

inclined to a Commonwealth (*b*). In the month of November, 1654, Cromwell thought fit to ſend him, with a ſtrong fleet, into the Mediterranean, with inſtructions which he knew would pleaſe him, *viz.* to ſupport the honour of the Engliſh Flag, and to procure ſatisfaction for any injuries that might have been done to our merchants (*c*). In the beginning of December, Blake came into the road of Cadiz, where he was treated with all imaginable reſpect: a Dutch Admiral would not hoiſt his flag while he was there. A French ſquadron having ſtopped one of his tenders, which had been ſeparated from Blake in a ſtorm, the Admiral, as ſoon as he knew to whom he belonged, ſent for the Captain on board, drank the General's health before him with great ceremony, under a diſcharge of five guns, and then diſmiſſed him (*d*). The Algerines were ſo much afraid of him, that they ſtopped the Sallee Rovers, obliged them to deliver up what Engliſh priſoners they had on board, and then ſent them freely to Blake in order to merit his favour. All this, however, did not hinder his coming on the tenth of March before Algiers, ſending an officer on ſhore to the Dey, with a meſſage, importing, that he had orders to demand ſatisfaction for the piracies committed on the Engliſh, as alſo the releaſe of all ſuch Engliſh captives as were then in the place. To this the Dey anſwered, That the ſhips and captives taken belonged to particular men, and therefore he could not reſtore them without diſcontenting all his ſubjects; yet he might if he pleaſed redeem what Engliſh captives were there, at a reaſonable price ſet on their heads, and, if he thought good, they would conclude a peace with him, and, for the future, offer no acts of hoſtility to thoſe of his nation. He accompanied this anſwer with a very large preſent of freſh proviſions, and it ſeems at that time to have ſatisfied Blake, who, leaving Algiers, ſailed to Tunis on the ſame errand (*e*). The Dey of Tunis, who was a very brave man, but a little obſtinate, refuſed to give him any anſwer, or even to ſuffer him to take in freſh water, ſuppoſing that the extraordinary pains he had taken to fortify the place were ſufficient to defend it: but he was extremely miſtaken, for Blake forced him to an humble ſubmiſſion, and to a peace extremely advantageous for his country, after he had demoliſhed his caſtles, and burnt all the ſhipping in the haven of Tunis (*f*) [*K*]. He in like manner terrified the pyratical ſtate of Tripoli into making peace with England, and alſo brought the Knights of Malta to a compoſition for the injuries they had done to this nation (*g*). Theſe laſt exploits were performed in the ſpring of the year 1655, and raiſed the glory of the Engliſh name ſo high, that moſt of the Princes and States in Italy, thought fit to pay their compliments to the Protector; particularly the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, and the free State of Venice, who ſent magnificent embaſſies for that purpoſe (*h*). The war, in the mean time, was grown pretty hot with Spain; and Blake, in purſuance of the Protector's orders, did all that lay in his power to ruin their maritime force in Europe, as Penn had done in the Weſt Indies (*i*). But theſe extraordinary and continual cares, falling on a conſtitution already not a little impaired, brought General Blake into ſo bad a ſtate of health, that fearing the ill conſequences that might happen, in caſe he ſhould die without having any colleague, who in ſuch a caſe might take charge of the fleet, he wrote letters into England, ſuggeſting the expediency of joining ſome proper perſon in commiſſion with him; upon which General Montague was ſent with a ſtrong ſquadron to aſſiſt him, and was made Joint-Admiral with him according to his deſire (*k*). Soon after Montague's arrival in the Mediterranean, Blake and he ſailed with their whole fleet, to block up a Spaniſh ſquadron in the bay of Cadiz, which they accordingly did for ſeveral months. At laſt, in September, finding they were in want of water, Blake and Montague ſtood away for the coaſt of Portugal, leaving Capt. Stayner, with ſeven ſhips under his command, to look after the enemy. While they were gone the Spaniſh plate fleet appeared, ſteering for Cadiz, but were intercepted by Stayner, who took the Vice-Admiral, and another galleon, which was afterwards burnt by accident, the Rear-Admiral with two millions of plate on board, and another ſhip richly laden. Theſe prizes, together with all the priſoners, were, on the return of the fleet, ſent into England under General Montague, and Blake alone remained in the Mediterranean (*l*). Notwithſtanding his diſtempers, which now appeared to be the dropſy and ſcurvy, grew upon him daily, yet he kept up his ſpirits to the laſt, and being informed that another plate fleet had put into Santa Cruz, in the iſland of Teneriff, he, in the month of April, 1657, ſailed thither with a fleet of twenty-five men of war. On the twentieth of that month, he came into the road of Santa Cruz, and notwithſtanding the Spaniſh Governor had timely notice, was a

(*b*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. iii. p. 487.

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 577. Bates, Elenchus Mot. P. ii. p. 205.

(*d*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 114.

(*e*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 366.

(*f*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. iii. p. 580.

(*g*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 366.

(*h*) Le Vie de Cromwell, par Greg. Leti, Vol. ii. p. 347.

(*i*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. iii. p. 580.

(*k*) *Ibid.* Vol. iii. p. 586.

(*l*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 383. Waller's Poems, Lond. 1730, 12*mo*, p. 121.

[*K*] *Burnt all the ſhipping in the bay of Tunis.*] The anſwer ſent by the Dey to General Blake was haughty and full of contempt. *Here,* ſaid he, *are our caſtles of* Goletta, *and* Porto Ferino, *do your worſt, do you think we fear your fleet?* On the hearing this, Blake, as his cuſtom was, when in a paſſion, began to curl his whiſkers, and after a ſhort conſultation with his officers, bore into the bay of Porto Ferino, with his great ſhips and their ſeconds, and coming within muſket-ſhot of the caſtle and the line, he fired on both ſo warmly, that in two hours the caſtle was rendered defenceleſs, and the guns on the works along the ſhore were diſmounted, though ſixty of them played at a time on the Engliſh. The General found nine ſhips in the road, and ordered every Captain, even of his own ſhip, to man his long-boat with choice men, and theſe to enter the harbour, and fire the Tuniſeens, while he and his fleet covered them from the caſtle, by playing continually on it with their cannon. The ſeamen in their boats boldly aſſaulted the pirates, and burnt all their ſhips with the loſs of twenty-five men killed, and forty-eight wounded. This daring action ſpread the terror of his name through Africa and Aſia, which had for a long time before been formidable in Europe (43).

(43) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 115.

man

man of great courage and conduct, and had diſpoſed all things in the propereſt manner poſſible, for the preſervation both of the ſhips and the place, and from a view of the proviſion he had made, looked upon an attack, as a thing no wiſe Admiral would think practicable; yet Blake, having once ſummoned him and received a ſhort anſwer, determined to force the place, and to do his utmoſt to burn the fleet that was therein, which he performed in ſuch a manner, as aſtoniſhed the ableſt ſeamen of thoſe times, and appears next to incredible in theſe (*m*). It is allowed to be one of the moſt remarkable actions that ever happened at ſea, and therefore we have given a particular account of it in the notes [*L*]. In this bloody engagement it ſo fell out, that Capt. Benjamin Blake, the Admiral's brother, was guilty of ſome miſtake in his conduct, for which the Admiral cauſed him inſtantly to be removed, his regard for his country obliging him to prefer ſtrict juſtice to any ties of natural affection (*n*). As ſoon as the news arrived in England of this extraordinary action, the Protector ſent his Secretary to acquaint his ſecond Parliament, then ſitting, therewith, whereupon they ordered a public thankſgiving, and directed a diamond ring, worth five hundred pounds, to be ſent to Blake. One hundred pounds were given to the Captain who brought the news, and the thanks of the Houſe was ordered to all the officers and ſeamen, and to be given them by their General (*o*). Theſe, as they were the laſt honours, ſo the receipt of them was the laſt news this brave officer received from his dearly-beloved country. For, returning into the Mediterranean, and cruizing ſome time before Cadiz, he found his end draw on ſo faſt, that it determined him, if poſſible, to return home. Accordingly he ſailed for England, and in his laſt ſickneſs often enquired for land, which, however, he never lived to ſee, dying as the fleet was entering Plymouth-Sound, on board his ſhip the St. George, the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, 1657, being about fifty-nine years of age (*p*). His body was the next day embalmed and wrapped up in lead. his bowels were buried in the great church at Plymouth, and his corps conveyed by ſea to Greenwich-Houſe, where it lay in ſtate for ſome time; from thence, on the fourth of September, it was carried by water in a barge of ſtate, covered with velvet, adorned with eſcutcheons and pencils, accompanied by his brother, relations, and ſervants, in mourning; by Oliver's Privy-Council, the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty and Navy, the Lord Mayor and

(*m*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. iii. p. 600. Bates, Elenchus Mot. P. ii. p. 227. Heath's Chron. p. 391. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 383. Life of Cromwell, by Carrington, p. 199. La Vie de Cromwell, par Greg. Leti, Vol. ii. p. 446.

(*n*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 121.

(*o*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 392.

(*p*) Mercurius Politicus, No. 375. Whitelock's Memorials, p. 664. Heath's Chron. p. 402.

[*L*] *A particular account of it in the notes.*] On the twentieth of April 1657, the Engliſh fleet under the command of Admiral Blake, were fair in the offing of Sancta Cruz, where they diſcovered how bravely the Spaniſh ſhips, ſixteen in number, were barricadoed in this bay, where they lay in a manner ſemicircular. Near in the mouth of this haven ſtands a caſtle, ſufficiently furniſhed with great ordnance, which threatened deſtruction to any that durſt enter without its leave into the harbour; beſides this, there ſtood ſeven forts more round about the bay, with ſix, four, and three great guns a-piece, and united together by a line of communication from one fort to another, which was manned with muſqueteers. To make all ſafe, Don Diego Diagues, General of the Spaniſh fleet, was not idle, in making proviſion for the beſt defence of his armado: he cauſed all the ſmaller ſhips to be moored cloſe along the ſhore, and the ſix great galleons ſtood further out at anchor, with their broadſides towards the ſea. It happened at this time, there was a Dutch merchant ſhip in the bay, the maſter thereof ſeeing the Engliſh ready to enter, and that a combat would preſently be commenced, it made him fear, that among all the blows that would be given, he could not avoid ſome knocks: therefore to ſave himſelf, he went to Don Diego, and deſired his leave to depart the harbour, for, ſaid he, I am very ſure Blake will preſently be amongſt you. To this the reſolute Don made no other reply, but get you gone if you will, and let Blake come if he dares. They that knew Blake's courage, could not but know it needleſs to dare him to an engagement. All things being ordered for fight, a ſquadron of ſhips was drawn out of the whole fleet to make the firſt onſet. Theſe were commanded by Captain Stayner in the Speaker frigate, who no ſooner had received orders, but immediately he flew into the bay with his canvaſs wings, and by eight in the morning fell pell-mell upon the Spaniſh fleet, without the leaſt regard to the forts, that ſpent their ſhot prodigally upon him. No ſooner were theſe entered into the bay, but Blake following after, placed certain ſhips to pour broadſides into the caſtle and forts. Theſe played their parts ſo well, that after ſome time the Spaniards found their forts too hot to be held. In the mean time, Blake ſtrikes in with Stayner, and bravely fought the Spaniſh ſhips, which were not much inferior in number to the Engliſh, but in men they were far ſuperior. Here we ſee a reſolute bravery many times may carry the day, and make numbers lie by the lee: this was manifeſt, for by two of the clock in the afternoon, the Engliſh had beaten the enemies out of their ſhips. Now Blake, ſeeing an impoſſibility of carrying them away, he ordered his men to fire their prizes; which was done ſo effectually, that all the Spaniſh fleet were reduced to aſhes, except two ſhips that ſunk downright, nothing remaining of them above water, but ſome part of their maſts. The Engliſh having now got a complete victory, were put to another difficulty by the wind, which blew ſo ſtrong into the bay, that many deſpaired of getting out of it again. But God's providence was miraculouſly ſeen, in cauſing the wind on a ſudden to veer about to the South-Weſt (a thing not known in many years before) which brought Blake and his fleet ſafe to ſea again, notwithſtanding the Spaniards from the caſtle played their great guns perpetually upon him as they paſſed by. The wind, as it proved a friend to bring the Engliſh forth, ſo it continued to carry them back again to their former ſtation near Cadiz (44).——The Earl of Clarendon's reflexions on this extraordinary exploit are extremely worthy of notice. The whole action, ſays he, was ſo miraculous, that all men who knew the place, wondered that any ſober men, with what courage ſoever endued, would ever have undertaken it; and they could hardly perſuade themſelves to believe what they had done; whilſt the Spaniards comforted themſelves with the belief, that they were devils and not men, who had deſtroyed them in ſuch a manner. So much a ſtrong reſolution of bold and courageous men can bring to paſs, that no reſiſtance and advantage of ground can diſappoint them. And it can hardly be imagined, how ſmall loſs the Engliſh ſuſtained in this unparalleled action, no one ſhip being left behind, and the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred men, when the ſlaughter on board the Spaniſh ſhips and on the ſhore was incredible (45).——Sir Philip Warwick ſeems to have looked upon this action in another light, for thus he ſpeaks of it: Blake's raſh and daring attempt proved very fortunate and glorious upon the Spaniſh ſhips in Sancta Cruz; where, if the wind had not almoſt to a miracle veered about to bring him off, the conqueror muſt have neceſſarily been conquered. For as he was not able to bring off his prize, and therefore burnt it, ſo he had not been able to bring off himſelf, unleſs the wind had been thus favourable to him (46).

(44) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 391.

(45) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. iii. p. 601.

(46) Memoirs of Affairs after the King's Murder, p. 383.

Aldermen

Aldermen of London, the Field Officers of the army, and many other perſons of honour and quality, in a great number of barges and wherries covered with mourning, marſhalled and ordered by the Heralds at Arms, who directed and attended the ſolemnity. Thus they paſſed to Weſtminſter-bridge, and at their landing, proceeded in the ſame manner through a guard of ſeveral regiments of foot to the Abbey, his dear friend General Lambert (*q*), though then in diſgrace with the Protector, attending on his horſe. The proceſſion being over, the body was interred in a vault, built on purpoſe, in the chapel of King Henry VII. (*r*), whence it was removed on the twelfth of September, 1661, and re-interred in St. Margaret's church-yard (*s*). He was a man but of a low ſtature; however, of a quick, lively eye, and of a good ſoldier-like countenance. He was, in his perſon, brave beyond example, yet cool in action, and ſhewed a great deal of military conduct in the diſpoſition of thoſe deſperate attacks, which men of a cooler compoſition have judged rather fortunate than expedient. He certainly loved his country with extraordinary ardour, and as he never meddled with intrigues of State, ſo whatever Government he ſerved, he was ſolicitous to do his duty. He was upright to a ſupreme degree, for notwithſtanding the vaſt ſums which paſſed through his hands, he ſcarcely left five hundred pounds behind him of his own acquiring. In fine, he was altogether diſintereſted and unambitious, expoſing himſelf on all occaſions for the benefit of the public and the glory of the nation, and not with any view to his own private profit or fame. In reſpect to his perſonal character, he was pious without affectation, ſtrictly juſt, and liberal to the utmoſt extent of his fortune. His officers he treated with the familiarity of friends, and to his ſailors he was truly a parent. The State buried him as it was fit: at the public expence a grave was given him, but no tomb; and though he ſtill wants an epitaph, writers of all parties have ſhewn an eagerneſs to do his memory juſtice (*t*) [*M*]. We find it very poſitively aſſerted, that Captain

(*q*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 205. Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 578. Heath's Chron. p. 402.

(*r*) Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, p. 536. Perfect Politician, or Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 247.

(*s*) Kennet's Regiſter, *ubi ſupra.* Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 205. Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 123, 124.

(*t*) See the note [*M*].

[*M*] *To do his memory juſtice.*] We will begin with the writer neareſt his own time, the author of the State Paper, or Gazette of thoſe days, who gave the public the news of his death in theſe words. 'Auguſt 20, 1657. This morning came the unwelcome news of the death of that gallant General, Blake, a man of great honour, that had wholly devoted himſelf to the ſervice of his country, and who gave many proofs of an extraordinary courage and conduct in actions both by ſea and land. He had been a long time a decaying, and in his return, being come to the Lizard Point, finding himſelf to fail, he called ſeveral of the Commanders of the other ſhips aboard his own to confer with them; afterwards, drawing on towards his laſt, he willed them to bear up with all ſpeed to Plymouth, hoping to have reached land before his death, but in the very entrance into the Sound of Plymouth he expired. His body being embowelled, and cloſed in a ſheet of lead, the bowels were interred there in the cathedral church, and his corpſe was ſent along with the ſhips towards the Downs (47).'——Dr. Bates, who was Phyſician to King Charles I., the Protector Oliver, and to King Charles II., ſpeaks thus of Blake. He became famous by many actions abroad; for he humbled the pride of France, reduced the Portugueſe to ſubmiſſion, broke the ſtrength of the Dutch, and drove their fleets out of the ſea, ſubdued the Pirates in the Mediterranean, and twice triumphed over the Spaniards, blameable only in this, that he joined himſelf with the Parricides. At the beginning of this character, he tells us, Blake was a man *ab Hoſte laudandus*, deſerving praiſe though an enemy, which makes it the more remarkable (48).——Clarendon having run through the ſeries of Blake's employments, to the time of his firſt going on board the fleet, concludes thus. He then betook himſelf wholly to the ſea, and quickly made himſelf ſignal there. He was the firſt man that declined the old track, and made it manifeſt that the ſcience might be attained in leſs time than was imagined, and deſpiſed thoſe rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ſhip and his men out of danger; which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumſpection, as if the principal art requiſite in the Captain of a ſhip had been to be ſure to come home ſafe again. He was the firſt man who brought the ſhips to contemn caſtles on ſhore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were diſcovered by him to make a noiſe only, and to fright thoſe who could be rarely hurt by them. He was the firſt that infuſed that proportion of courage into the ſeamen, by making them ſee by experience what mighty things they could do if they were reſolved, and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water; and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the firſt that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and reſolute atchievements (49).——Biſhop Burnet hath preſerved a paſſage very honourable to his memory, which I inſert here, becauſe I do not exactly know where it ought to have been placed in order of time. While Blake lay in the road of Malaga, before the war broke out with Spain, ſome of his ſeamen going aſhore, met the Hoſt carrying about, and not only paid no reſpect to it, but laughed at thoſe who did. One of the Spaniſh prieſts put the people upon reſenting this indignity, and they fell upon them and beat them ſeverely. When they returned to their ſhips, they complained of this uſage; upon which Blake ſent a trumpet to the Viceroy to demand the prieſt, who was the chief inſtrument in that ill-uſage. The Viceroy anſwered, that he had no authority over the prieſts, and ſo could not diſpoſe of them. General Blake upon that ſent him word, that he would not enquire who had the power to ſend the prieſt to him, but if he were not ſent within three hours, he would burn their town. The Spaniards hearing this, obliged the Viceroy to ſend the prieſt to Blake, and he juſtified himſelf upon the petulant behaviour of the ſeamen. Blake anſwered, that if he had ſent a complaint to him of it, he would have puniſhed them ſeverely, ſince he would not ſuffer his men to affront the eſtabliſhed religion of any place, at which he touched: but he took it ill that he had ſet on the Spaniards to do it, for he would have all the world to know, that an Engliſhman was only to be puniſhed by an Engliſhman; ſo he treated the prieſt civilly, and ſent him back, being ſatisfied that he had him in his power. Cromwell was much delighted with this, and read the letters in Council with great ſatisfaction, ſaying that he hoped he ſhould make the name of an Engliſhman as great as ever that of a Roman had been (50).——An author, who was contemporary with Blake, wrote the following verſes upon his death:

Here lies a man made Spain and Holland ſhake,
Made France to tremble, and the Turks to quake:
Thus he tam'd men, but if a lady ſtood
In's ſight, it rais'd a palſy in his blood;
Cupid's antagoniſt, who in his life
Had fortune as familiar as a wife.
A ſtiff, hard, iron ſoldier; for he
It ſeems had more of Mars than Mercury;
At ſea he thundered, calm'd each raging wave,
And now he's dead, ſent thund'ring to his grave (51).

From theſe verſes it looks as if the Admiral had been little addicted to the fair ſex; and indeed the author of

(47) Mercurius Politicus, No. 375.

(48) Elenchus Motuum, Lond. 1676, p. 323. In the Engliſh edition, Part ii. p. 228.

(49) Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. iii. p. 602.

(50) Hiſt. of his own Times, Lond. 1724, fol. Vol. i. p. 80, 81.

(51) Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 571.

tain Benjamin Blake, brother to the General, ſuffered ſo many hardſhips for being a Diſſenter, in the latter end of the reign of King Charles II., that he found himſelf under a neceſſity of ſelling his patrimony, and tranſporting himſelf and his family to Carolina (*u*). Another author (though ſome indeed think it is the ſame) relates this ſtory of Mr. Humphry Blake, the General's brother, and tells us, that the family eſtate was worth two hundred pounds a year, which he was obliged to diſpoſe of, to pay the fines laid upon him for his Nonconformity (*w*). It is, however, ſtrange, that every one of the General's nephews and nieces, by his ſiſter Suſannah, who married a gentleman at Minehead in Somerſetſhire, ſhould be totally unacquainted with this tranſaction, and that none of the family ſtill living, ſhould be able to give any account of that matter, which, however, is ſaid to be the caſe (*x*); and therefore it ſeems to be juſtly doubted, whether there be any truth in the ſtory, or whether it is only grounded on there being a conſiderable family of his name ſettled in that province, one of whom, when it was in private hands, was a Lord Proprietor.

(*u*) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 125.

(*w*) Hiſt. of England during the Reign of the Royal Houſe of Stuarts, Vol. i. p. 421.

(*x*) General Dict. Vol. iii. p. 371.

of his life, who lived ſome time in his brother's family, informs us, that he died a bachelor, not five hundred pounds richer than his father left him, the eſtate of the family deſcending to his brother Benjamin Blake mentioned in the text (52). There has been a grievous complaint made, that after the Reſtoration the bones of this true patriot, and victorious Admiral, were taken out of his grave and ignominiouſly thrown into a ditch (53). But this, not to call it a falſity, is a violent exaggeration (54). After the Reſtoration there was an order to remove the dead bodies of the rebels that had been buried in the Abbey, amongſt the reſt Cromwell, Ireton, &c. whoſe remains were ignominiouſly treated; but as for thoſe of Blake, they were with great decency re-interred in St. Margaret's Church-yard (55). C.

⁂ [The character and actions of Blake are ſo well known, as to ſtand in no need of farther encomiums. And yet there is ſo much pleaſure in dwelling upon the memory of a man who was ſuch a diſtinguiſhed ornament to his country, that we cannot help reciting a few obſervations concerning him, from two or three modern writers. In a life of him, given in the Gentleman's Magazine, there is a circumſtance recorded that we have not found elſewhere, nor do we know the authority on which it is grounded. It is ſaid, that while Blake was cruiſing in the Mediterranean, in February 1650-51, he met with a French ſhip of conſiderable force, and commanded the Captain to come on board, there being then no war declared between the two nations. The Captain, when he came, was aſked whether 'he was willing to lay down his ſword and yield.' This he gallantly refuſed, though in his enemy's power. Blake, ſcorning to take the advange of an artifice, and deteſting the appearance of treachery, told him, 'That he was at liberty to go back to his ſhip, and defend it as long as he could.' The Captain willingly accepted the offer, and after a fight of two hours, confeſſed himſelf conquered, kiſſed his ſword, and ſurrendered it (56).

In the ſame author, there are ſome remarks concerning Blake's conduct, in the battle which he fought with the Dutch, on the 29th of November, 1652, that appear worthy of attention. 'There are, ſays he, ſometimes obſervations and enquiries, which all hiſtorians ſeem to decline by agreement, of which this action may afford us an example. Nothing appears at the firſt view more to demand our curioſity, or afford matter for examination, than this wild encounter of twenty-two ſhips, with a force, according to their accounts who favour the Dutch, three times ſuperior. Nothing can juſtify a commander in fighting under ſuch diſadvantages, but the impoſſibility of retreating. But what hindered Blake from retiring as well before the fight as after it? To ſay he was ignorant of the ſtrength of the Dutch Fleet, is to impute to him a very criminal degree of negligence; and, at leaſt, it muſt be confeſſed, that, from the time he ſaw them, he could not but know that they were too powerful to be oppoſed by him, and even then there was time for retreat. To urge the ardour of his ſailors, is to diveſt him of the authority of a Commander, and to charge him with the moſt reproachful weakneſs that can enter into the character of a general. To mention the impetuoſity of his own courage, is to make the blame of his temerity equal to the praiſe of his valour; which ſeems, indeed, to be the moſt gentle cenſure that the truth of hiſtory will allow. We muſt then admit, amidſt our eulogies and applauſes, that the great, the wiſe, and the valiant Blake, was once betrayed to an inconſiderate and deſperate enterprize, by the reſiſtleſs ardour of his own ſpirit, and a noble jealouſy of the honour of his country (57).'

Blake's behaviour to his brother Benjamin has been deſervedly celebrated as one of the nobleſt inſtances of juſtice to his country, and, at the ſame time, of tenderneſs to a friend and relation, that can be met with in ancient or modern hiſtory. When that brother betrayed cowardice in the firſt trial, he immediately broke and ſent him home, as unworthy of the nation's pay. Yet the want of military virtue did not leſſen the ties of fraternal affection, and he left his brother to enjoy that eſtate which he might be qualified to adorn in private life (58).

Mr. Granger, ſpeaking of Blake's being nearly fifty years of age before he took the command of a fleet, obſerves, that his want of experience ſeems to have been of great advantage to him: 'He followed the light of his own genius only, and was preſently ſeen to have all the courage, the conduct, and the precipitancy of a good Sea-officer.——The very temerity of his enterprizes ſtruck terror into his enemies, and contributed greatly to his ſucceſs. He not only improved the method of attack, but carried the naval power of Cromwell to a greater height than had been known in any age or nation (59).'

Mr. Hume's character of our great Admiral is drawn up with that hiſtorian's uſual elegance and ſpirit. 'Never man, ſo zealous for a faction, was ſo much reſpected and eſteemed even by the oppoſite factions. He was, by principle, an inflexible republican; and the late uſurpations, amidſt all the truſt and careſſes which he received from the ruling powers, were thought to be very little grateful to him. *It is ſtill our duty*, he ſaid to the ſeamen, *to fight for our country, into whatever hands the government may fall.* Diſintereſted, generous, liberal; ambitious only of true glory, dreadful only to his avowed enemies; he forms one of the moſt perfect characters of that age, and the leaſt ſtained with thoſe errors and violences, which were then ſo predominant. The Protector ordered him a pompous funeral at the public charge: but the tears of his countrymen were the moſt honourable panegyric on his memory (60).'

We ſhall add a few lines from Mr. Glover's Poem, entitled, 'London.'

——————— 'Thy name
'Was heard in thunder through the affrighted ſhores
'Of pale Iberia, of ſubmiſſive Gaul,
'And Tagus trembling to his utmoſt ſource.
'O! ever faithful, vigilant, and brave,
'Thou bold aſſertor of Britannia's fame,
'Unconquerable Blake! (61).] K.

(52) Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Vol. ii. p. 125.

(53) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of England, &c. Vol. i. p. 421. Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. iv. p. 174.

(54) Grey's Impartial Examination of Neal's Hiſtory, Vol. iii. p. 315.

(55) Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 536.

(56) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. x. p. 302.

(57) *Ibid.* p. 304.

(58) *Ibid.* Vol. xvi. p. 256.

(59) Biogr. Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 80.

(60) Hiſt. of Great Britain, Vol. vii. p. 265, 266.

(61) Granger, *ubi ſupra.*

, [BLAKE (JOHN BRADBY), * a young perſon who was cut off early in life, but whoſe improvements in natural knowledge were ſo great, and his deſire to promote it ſo zealous and ſucceſsful, that he is juſtly entitled to an honourable place in this work, was the ſon of John Blake, Eſq; of Parliament-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, and was born in Great Marlborough-ſtreet, London, on the fourth of November, in the year 1745. His grammatical education he received at Weſtminſter School, then under the care of Dr. Markham, the preſent Archbiſhop of York; and Dr. Cooper was his private tutor. In mathematical learning he was inſtructed by Mr. John Canton of Spittal-ſquare, M. A. a diſtinguiſhed member of the Royal Society (*a*); and he acquired an acquaintance with chymiſtry from Mr. Read, Mr. More, hereafter mentioned, and the late ingenious Mr. Henry Baker (*b*). To render him complete in drawing, he was put under the beſt maſters; and his progreſs, in every reſpect, was equal to the hopes and wiſhes of his father and his friends. In botany, which was his favourite ſtudy, he obtained no ſmall degree of ſkill before he went abroad. With all theſe advantages of education, Mr. Blake ſtruck at once into life, being ſent out, in the latter end of the year 1766, when he was ſomething more than twenty-one years of age, as one of the Eaſt India Company's Supercargoes at Canton in China. No ſooner was he fixed in this place, than he reſolved to employ every moment of his time, which could be ſpared from the immediate duties of his ſtation, to the advancement of natural ſcience, and the benefit of his country. His plan was to procure the ſeeds of all the vegetables found in China, which are uſed in medicine, manufactures, or food; or are in any ſhape ſerviceable to mankind; and to ſend into Europe not only ſuch ſeeds, but the plants by which they were produced. His view in this was, that they might be propagated either in Great Britain and Ireland, or in thoſe colonies of America, the ſoil and climate of which might beſt ſuit them. As theſe colonies on the Continent, as well as the Weſt-India iſlands, lie in ſimilar latitudes with the reſpective provinces of China, *&c.* Mr. Blake had reaſon to hope, that the ſeeds and plants he ſent over would all ſucceed in one or other of them, if conveyed thither in a vegetable ſtate. Nor did he confine himſelf ſolely to the produce of the Chineſe Empire. He eſtabliſhed, likewiſe, (by means of the Junks) an intercourſe with Japan and Cochin China; and his endeavours were attended with ſucceſs. The ſeeds ſent by him to John Ellis, Eſq; of Gray's-Inn, of the fine Cochin China rice, which in that country grows on the hills and uplands, have been propagated in Jamaica, by Henry Ellis, Eſq; of that iſland, and on General Melvill's eſtate in Dominica. The ſame hath been done by Dr. Garden, of Charles Town, South Carolina; who informed his correſpondent in London, that the Cochin China rice not only flouriſhed in his own garden, but in thoſe of many Gentlemen beſides, to whom he diſtributed ſome of the ſeeds which were ſent him; and that, by getting into freſh ſeeds, it promiſed to be a valuable grain in the hilly parts of that province. The tallow-tree alſo, the ſeeds of which Mr. Blake tranſmitted to England, hath proſpered in Carolina, in Jamaica, and in ſeveral other of the American colonies. In ſhort, both theſe articles bid fair to be of much utility to the Coloniſts; and may, in time, become conſiderable objects of commerce [*A*]. All the plants mentioned in the note [*A*], with a variety of others from ſeeds ſent by Mr. Blake to England, and diſtributed with a liberal and impartial hand, are, likewiſe, in a flouriſhing ſtate, in his Majeſty's Garden at Kew; in Chelſea, at the Garden of the Apothecaries Company; as alſo at Dr. Fothergill's, near Stratford; Dr. Pitcairn's, near Iſlington; Mr. Malcombe's, at Kennington Common; Mr. Baſſington's, at Hoxton, and particularly at Mile-end, in the garden of that well-known practical botaniſt, Mr. Gordon. Moreover, Mr. Gordon took the care of the various plants which Mr. Blake tranſmitted, in pots, from China, to his father, and to his friend Mr. John Ellis of Gray's-Inn, to whoſe botanic knowledge and correſpondence he was, in ſome degree, indebted for his own ardour in

* For the materials of this Article, we are indebted to John Blake, Eſq; of Parliament-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, and to the Annual Regiſter for 1776, Vol. xviii. p. 30—35. Part. ii. The authenticity of the account in the Annual Regiſter is confirmed by Mr. Blake.

(*a*) See the Article CANTON.

(*b*) See the Article H. BAKER.

[*A*] *Become conſiderable objects of commerce.*] In the South Carolina and American General Gazette, No. 743, from Monday, Dec. 21. to Monday, Dec. 28, 1772, mention is made of both theſe articles in the following words. After taking notice of a Treatiſe on the Culture of different Kinds of Rice, entitled, *Travels of a Philoſopher, by Monſ. le Poivre*: 'We 'have the pleaſure to inform the public, that, by 'the indefatigable induſtry of a very curious Gentleman at Canton, a ſufficient quantity for experiment 'of the upland rice from Cochin China, mentioned 'above, ſo long wiſhed for, has been ſent by the 'Thames Indiaman, to his friend in Gray's-Inn, 'who will take proper care that it is diſtributed to 'ſuch perſons in our ſouthern Colonies as will make 'a fair trial of this moſt uſeful grain. We are further indebted to this curious Gentleman for a parcel of the ſeeds of the croton ſebiferum of Linnæus, 'or the tallow-tree of China, preſerved in a moſt 'excellent manner. This tree ſeems to afford a ſubſtance between wax and tallow, and which bids 'fair to be of as great uſe to our ſouthern American 'Colonies, as it is in China.' Dr. Garden, in a letter to his correſpondent, written in the year 1773, acquaints him of his having received from Mr. Blake, ſen. ſeeds of two ſorts of China indigo, the one of a deep, and the other of a ſky blue; the lacquer-tree; the oil-tree, uſed to mix up the lacquer for cabinets; the alcea, deſcribed in Kempfer's Hiſtory of Japan, which in China is an article of vegetable food; and many ſeeds beſides, from Pekin, and the more northerly provinces of China; particularly ſeveral from Corea, a country between China and Tartary, above three hundred leagues from Canton. The Doctor farther obſerves, that himſelf and others were ſenſible, how highly beneficial ſuch an intercourſe between the Eaſt Indies and America, as had for its object the propagation of the trees and plants which are uſeful either in medicine or commerce, would be to the colonies. His words are theſe: 'When Gentlemen of ſuch benevolent diſpoſitions, and public 'ſpirit, as Mr. Blake and his father, engage in ſuch 'attempts, much advantage muſt ſoon flow from a 'plan of this kind; at leaſt ought to flow from it, if 'as well ſeconded on this ſide the Atlantic (1)'

(1) Annual Regiſter, for 1775, Vol. xviii. Part ii. p. 32.

the ſame purſuit. Among theſe plants are the lichees, a very fine fruit of China, of ſeveral ſorts; as alſo the gardenia, of a beautiful yellow dye. Not to mention every vegetable production ſent over by Mr. Blake, two plants of the tea-tree, given by him to his father, and Mr. Ellis, were propagated and multiplied by Mr. Gordon, and ſtood the open air all the Winter of the latter end of 1773, and the beginning of 1774. The laſt circumſtance was owing to the advice of our ingenious young Gentleman; who wrote, from Canton, that this valuable ſhrub was under ſnow in ſome of the northern provinces of China, for many weeks together in the Winter ſeaſon; on which account he recommended it to be no longer treated in England as entirely a hot-houſe plant. It would extend this article too much to particularize the various ſeeds which Mr. Blake, from time to time, took care to get conveyed to England, during his reſidence in China; or to enumerate the plants tranſmitted by him that have flouriſhed in ſeveral botanic gardens near London, as, alſo, in ſome of the moſt ſoutherly counties in the weſtern parts of the kingdom. There is among them a variety of new ſpecies, the ſeeds of which were put up, by Mr. Blake's own hand, in ſo peculiar a manner, as to bring with them their vegetative qualities, not only to England, but likewiſe, for the ſecond ſeaſon of ſowing, to America. His contrivances for this purpoſe were ſingularly ingenious. He alſo ſent home, at various times, above one hundred drawings of choice plants, curiouſly delineated from nature, with all their parts of fructification, diſſected by himſelf, and coloured. Theſe drawings, which are in the poſſeſſion of his father, have been declared by Dr. Solander to be exquiſite performances; and that eminent botaniſt has claſſed and arranged ſome of the plants they repreſent, according to the Linnæan ſyſtem, from their parts of fructification: ſo accurately were theſe parts deſcribed in the drawings. Had Mr. Blake's life been continued, he had intended, in the ſame manner, to have gone through all the botanic productions of China. For this purpoſe, and to facilitate his undertaking, he had engaged to his aſſiſtance one of the moſt ingenious draughtſmen of China, who, under the direction of his able employer, followed nature as cloſely as pencil and paint could attain. This perſon, who was retained at no ſmall expence, was in Mr. Blake's apartments in the factory every day, from nine in the morning till ſix in the evening, for the three or four years previous to that Gentleman's lamented death. During the leiſure time afforded by the ſhipping's being diſpatched for Europe, Mr. Blake himſelf ſat at the ſame table with this and another aſſiſtant, laying out the ſeveral vegetable ſpecimens that had been gathered; diſſecting the parts of fructification, with which the Chineſe are not acquainted; and drawing the outlines for his aſſiſtants to colour and finiſh. Indeed, they are all ſo elegantly and ſcientifically diſpoſed, as to appear, to every one who has viewed them, like the natural plants themſelves.

It was not to botanic ſubjects alone, that Mr. Blake's genius was confined. He had begun to collect foſſils and ores, or rather to procure them; for the narrow limits within which the Europeans are, at Canton, confined, could not afford much ſcope for perſonal collection [B]. Indeed, when they retire to the iſland of Macao, during the abſence of the ſhipping, they have a range of larger extent. Though this country receſs is very deſirable, eſpecially in the greateſt heat of the weather, Mr. Blake, nevertheleſs, denied himſelf the ſatisfaction of it for one whole year, in order to view the progreſs of ſome particular plants through the various ſeaſons. In conſequence of his attention to mineralogy, he ſent to Mr. Ellis, a ſpecimen of lead ore, from a mine which the Chineſe had lately diſcovered in the interior parts of China. He tranſmitted, likewiſe, at another time, a ſpecimen of the ore *paaktong*, or *white copper*, from the mines in the province of Yunnan, together with zink, or ſpelter, and other materials; as alſo the proceſſes by which this beautiful metal is made in China into various utenſils, both for uſe and ornament. From theſe materials and proceſſes, his friend Mr. Samuel More (*c*), to whom they were conveyed, has produced a metal equally white and pure, but more ductile, than that which the Chineſe themſelves make; his ſpecimen having been flatted, in a mill, to the thinneſs of common paper. There is, moreover, reaſon to hope, from the appearances of the Chineſe copper ore, that a ſimilar one may be found in the mines of our own country; and that this ore, taken in its proper ſtate, may, by ſuch proceſſes as are uſed in China, whiten with zink, and the other materials which are obtainable in England. Mr. Blake ſent likewiſe to Mr. More, ſpecimens of the earths, clays, ſands, ſtones, and the reſt of the materials employed in making the true Nankin porcelaine; all of which were put by Mr. More into the hands of Mr. Wedgewood, the moſt celebrated potter in England [C]. Nay,

(*c*) Secretary to the Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.

[B] *Much ſcope for perſonal collection.*] One can ſcarcely help reflecting, on this occaſion, how mortifying it muſt have been, to a perſon of Mr. Blake's active genius, to be precluded, by the policy of China, from exploring, at large, an empire, which preſents ſo many objects of curioſity and obſervation.

[C] *The moſt celebrated potter in England.*] This ingenious artiſt hath produced, from theſe materials, ſome pieces of excellent porcelaine; and has declared that the earths, &c. were ſo complete, and yet ſo ſimple a ſet of ſpecimens, as beyond doubt to be the true porcelaine materials. He deſired nothing more than a larger quantity, to diſtribute it among the different counties of England, that a ſearch might be made for the like materials. He wiſhed, too, to be farther favoured, by Mr. Blake, with a deſcription of the nature of the land on which theſe materials were found in China, or what mines and minerals accompanied them; with plans and ſections of the kilns uſed by the Chineſe. All theſe Mr. Blake would undoubtedly have procured, had he not been prevented by his death.

ſo zealous was Mr. Blake that his native country might reap the benefit of the ingenuity and invention of the Chineſe, that he was endeavouring to collect models of the machines uſed in every art practiſed, and every manufacture carried on by that induſtrious people. The ſpecimens of wrought gold, ſilver, enamel, and ivory; the colours, paintings in glaſs, inſects, and moths, ſeveral of them *non deſcript*, which he forwarded to his father, are too numerous to be enlarged upon in this place. In fact, he ſacrificed his life to the induſtry and ardour of his purſuits. By denying himſelf the needful recreations, and by ſitting too cloſely to his drawing and ſtudies, he brought on a gravelly complaint; and this was followed by the ſtone, and a ſtone fever, which carried him off, at Canton, on the 16th of November, 1773, when he had but juſt entered the twenty-ninth year of his age. His death was ſincerely and deeply lamented, not only by the Gentlemen of our Factory, and the other Europeans in Canton, but by the Chineſe themſelves; who, as we are well informed, held him in the higheſt eſteem. He was buried with much ceremony at Uampo, and the Europeans of all nations united in accompanying his funeral, with every mark they could ſhew of their concern for ſo unhappy an event. The principal Chineſe merchants alſo, and others of that nation, teſtified the ſame concern, by attending the corpſe from the Factory to the water-ſide.

So ſenſible were Mr. Blake's friends in England of his ingenuity and merit, that they wiſhed to have him enrolled among the members of the Royal Society: accordingly, they had prepared a proper certificate for the purpoſe, at the very time when his father had but juſt received the diſtreſſing news of his ſon's deceaſe. This they were ignorant of, when the certificate was preſented; and they were filled with grief and ſurpriſe, when they were informed by the preſident, that the object of their kind offices was no more. It was, however, no ſmall conſolation to them, that Sir John Pringle ſeized this occaſion of lamenting, in the moſt pathetic terms, the death of Mr. Blake, as a public misfortune. The preſident inſiſted on the many marks of attention which this young Gentleman had already ſhewn to the ſciences in general, and to natural hiſtory in particular; and he declared, that, in the opinion of the beſt naturaliſts, there had never been, in that part of the world, where Mr. Blake had ſpent the laſt years of his life, a perſon of more real knowledge. Sir John concluded with obſerving, that he did not doubt but that every member of the Society would ſympathize with him in regretting ſo great and extenſive a loſs.

Mr. Blake's plan was ſo noble, his head and his heart were ſo deeply engaged in it, and the pains and expence he went through to carry it into execution were ſo extraordinary, that his deceaſe may be conſidered as an irreparable calamity; unleſs ſome other Gentleman, who may hereafter reſide in China, that great Empire of the Arts, ſhould have ſufficient abilities and courage to tread in his ſteps, and to continue what he had thus ſucceſsfully begun. But, perhaps, it may be a long time before a perſon be ſent into that part of the world, who ſhall have had an education equally complete, who ſhall poſſeſs the ſame qualifications, and be animated with as warm a zeal for the advancement of knowledge, and the benefit of his country.] K.

BLOOD (Thomas), generally called Colonel Blood, as extraordinary an adventurer as ever lived in this or any other country. He was, according to ſome accounts, the ſon of a blackſmith in Ireland (*a*); but, from other impartial evidences, I rather conclude his father to have been concerned in iron-works, and to have acquired an eaſy fortune in that kingdom, to the proſpect of which this man was born (*b*), and ſo might be ſaid to come into the world a gentleman [*A*]. It is alſo not a little uncertain when he was born; but, from a compariſon of circumſtances, it appears probable it was in 1628, or thereabouts (*c*). He came over into England while a very young man, and married, in Lancaſhire, the daughter of one Mr. Holcraft, a gentleman of good character in that county. This ſeems to have been in 1648, for he was in England when Col. Rainsford was ſurpriſed and killed at Pontefract (*d*). He returned afterwards into Ireland; and though his family owed the beſt part of what they had to the pure favour

(*a*) Sir Gilbert Talbot, in his Narrative and Remarks on Col. Blood's attempt on the Regalia.

(*b*) Remarks on Mr. Blood's Life, p. 1.

(*c*) He was made a Juſtice of the Peace in the time of the Troubles, when ſcarce of age.

(*d*) Remarks on Blood's Life, p. 1.

[*A*] *Might be ſaid to come into the world a gentleman.*] It is in the account drawn up by Mr. Edwards and his ſon (1), of the manner in which Blood took the crown out of the Tower, that he is ſaid to be the ſon of a Blackſmith. But this ſeems to be queſtioned by a very intelligent author (2), who informs us, that whatever his parents were, he had by letters-patent, dated June the 2th, in the 16th of King Charles I., a grant of the towns and lands of *Sarney*, *Beatowne*, and *Foyleſtowne*, in the barony of *Dunboyne* in the county of *Meath*, as alſo five hundred acres of unprofitable mountain in the territory of *Glanmabur*, alias *le Glims*, in the county of *Wicklowe*. Another author, who ſeems to be very well acquainted with all the remarkable paſſages of his life (3), ſpeaks thus of his parentage, which does not ſeem to agree with the report of his being the ſon of a Blackſmith, though it muſt be confeſſed that it is not very explicit. 'His birth was ſuch as gave him thoſe advantages 'that uſually diſtinguiſh a man from the vulgar; for 'though wit and parts, courage and ſtrength, are not 'hereditary to the gentility, yet it is a great felicity 'to be born of ſuch parents as are above thoſe wants 'that deprive them of beſtowing the benefits of education upon their children; and ſo far from the reproaches of poverty, that they are never ſpoken of 'by the world but with a decent and becoming character. Such were Mr. Blood's parentage, ſerious, 'honeſt, and of no inferior credit and poſſeſſion in 'the country where they lived, which made them 'take that care that their offſpring ſhould not be degenerate from the virtues and repute of his anceſtors, for forming and ſhaping his conditions according to the rules of ſtrict and ſober education, 'which had that influence upon him as to preſerve 'him from thoſe extravagancies that uſually attend 'upon metalled and active ſpirits.'

(1) Stowe's Survey of London, by Strype, Vol. i. B. i. p. 92.

(2) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 420.

(3) Remarks on the Life of the famed Mr. Blood, London, 1680, fol. p. 1.

of the Crown, yet he ſtruck in with the prevailing party, ſerved as a Lieutenant in the Parliament forces, and obtained a certain quantity of land aſſigned him for his pay; beſides which, Henry Cromwell, when he governed that country, had ſo good an opinion of him, as to put him into the commiſſion of the peace, though ſcarcely two and twenty years of age (*e*). Theſe favours, and the turn of his education, in all probability, gave him ſuch an inclination to the Republican party, as was not to be altered; and after the King's reſtoration there happened ſome accidents, which contributed to increaſe his diſaffection to the Government. The Act of Settlement in Ireland, and the proceedings thereupon, certainly affected him deeply in his fortune, and, he believed, unjuſtly, which eaſily drew him to turn his thoughts any way that promiſed redreſs (*f*). He knew there were multitudes in the ſame condition that had been old ſoldiers, and were equally capable of contriving, concealing, and carrying into execution a plot for altering or ſubverting any form of government, of which he had ſeen ſome examples. Upon aſſociating a little with the malecontents, he found his notions exactly juſtified; and that there was a deſign on foot for a general inſurrection, which was to be begun by ſurpriſing the caſtle of Dublin, and ſeizing the perſon of the Duke of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant (*g*). Into this he entered without any heſitation; and though many of the perſons involved in this dangerous undertaking were much his ſuperiors in rank, yet he very ſoon was at the head of the affair, preſided in all their councils, was the oracle in laying their projects, and depended on for conducting them in their execution. He ſhewed his dexterity in things of this nature, by laying ſuch a plan for ſurpriſing Dublin caſtle, and the Duke's perſon at the ſame time, as nothing but its being divulged could have prevented; and at the ſame time he penned a Declaration ſo accommodated to the humour and underſtanding of the ſoldiers, as would infallibly have drawn over the beſt part of the army (*h*). But, on the very eve of its execution, the whole conſpiracy, which had been long ſuſpected, was abſolutely diſcovered; and ſo Col. Blood had only the honour of the contrivance (*i*) [*B*]. His brother-in-law, one Lackie a Miniſter, who was embarked in the buſineſs, was, with many others, apprehended, tried, convicted, and executed: but Lieutenant Thomas Blood made his eſcape, and kept out of reach, notwithſtanding the Duke of Ormond, and the Earl of Orrery, both laboured to have him ſecured, and a proclamation was publiſhed by the former, with the promiſe of an ample reward for apprehending him (*k*). Nor was he only ſo lucky as to prevent confinement and puniſhment, but, by an audacity ſtill more ſingular, had almoſt frighted away the guards that attended Lackie's execution, and even alarmed the friends of the Lord Lieutenant on the ſcore of his ſafety (*l*); ſo high was Blood's fame for ſagacity and intrepidity at this time, and ſo capable he was held of undertaking any thing his paſſion or intereſt dictated, and of conducting ſkilfully whatever was by him undertaken, how deſperate or difficult ſoever [*C*].

He

(*e*) Remarks on Blood's Life, *ubi ſupra*.

(*f*) Kennet's Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 280.

(*g*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 420.

(*h*) See the Reſolution of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, in note [*B*].

(*i*) Remarks on the Life of Mr. Blood, p. 2.

(*k*) Orrery's Letters, p. 69, 70.

(*l*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 423.

[*B*] *So Col. Blood had only the honour of the contrivance.*] The reader is to obſerve, that there were two diſtinct deſigns on foot in 1663; the one a general inſurrection, the other the ſurpriſing the caſtle of Dublin. The latter was indeed only a branch of the former; but different perſons were concerned in them; only Blood embarked in both, and was of the council both in the country and at Dublin; and it was intended to have executed the ſcheme of ſurpriſing the Lord Lieutenant on the 9th or 10th of March: but one Mr. Philip Alden, who was of the council, gave intelligence to the Duke of Ormond, who thereupon took ſuch meaſures as might have diſcouraged men of leſs ſpirit and reſolution. But in reſpect to them, theſe ſteps only ſerved to quicken them; ſo that they determined to put their ſcheme in execution on the 5th of March, 1663 (4). The deſign was not ill laid: ſeveral perſons with petitions in their hands were to wait within the caſtle, as if they ſtaid to preſent them to the Lord Lieutenant, and about fourſcore of the old daring diſbanded ſoldiers were to ſtay on the outſide, dreſſed like carpenters, ſmiths, ſhoemakers, and other ordinary mechanics. As ſoon as the Lord Lieutenant went in, a baker was to paſs by the main-guard with a large baſket of white bread on his back, which, by making a falſe ſtep, he was to throw down, which might create a ſcramble among the ſoldiers, and offer the fourſcore men before mentioned an opportunity of diſarming them, while the others with petitions in their hands ſecured all within, and being once maſter of the caſtle and the Duke of Ormond's perſon, they were to publiſh their declaration (5). But the principal conſpirators were ſeized about twelve hours before the time appointed for the execution of the deſign, in which no leſs than ſeven Members of the Houſe of Commons (for the Parliament of Ireland was then ſitting) were concerned. This brought the matter to be examined before that Aſſembly, who, after giving their Members a day to be heard, which they declined, came, amongſt other reſolutions, to theſe that follow (6), *viz.*

I. That all and every the ſaid perſons were engaged in the ſaid deſperate and traiterous plot.

II. That the ſaid plot (had it not been prevented by the bleſſing of God upon the great wiſdom and vigilancy of his Grace the Lord Lieutenant) would probably have engaged the three kingdoms under dreadful and ſad conſequences.

III. That the paper being an intended declaration, written with the hand of Thomas Blood, late of Sarney, one of the ringleaders in the ſaid conſpiracy, and ſent by the Lord Lieutenant, with the other examinations, informations, and confeſſions, this day to the Houſe, and diſtinctly read, is ſcandalous, treaſonable, and falſe in every particular, and that upon the knowledge of this Houſe; and therefore that his Grace would be pleaſed, if he thinks fit, to command the ſaid paper, or copy thereof, to be burnt by the hand of the common hangman, at the moſt public place in this city.

[*C*] *Whatever was by him undertaken, how deſperate or difficult ſoever.*] His brother Mr. Lackie, the Miniſter, endeavoured to ſecure himſelf from puniſhment for the ſhare he had in this treaſonable deſign, by pretending madneſs; but that had no effect: he was tried and condemned, and, in purſuance of his ſentence, was brought to the place of execution, when a rumour was ſpread amongſt the populace, that Captain Blood was coming with a party to reſcue the priſoner; upon which every one, even to the hangman, ſhifted for himſelf, and left the priſoner with a halter about his neck alone under the gallows; but no body appearing, the ſheriffs officers recovered their ſpirits, returned to their poſts, and ſaw the poor man hanged (7). It was not long after this that the Lord Lieutenant took a journey into the country, either for

buſineſs

(4) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 420.

(5) State Letters of the Earl of Orrery, p. 69, 70.

(6) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. in the Appendix, p. 30.

(7) Remarks upon the Life of Mr. Blood, p. 2.

He ſtaid as long amongſt the ſectaries and remains of Oliver's forces as he found it practicable to conceal himſelf, and then had recourſe to the mountains, and the protection of the old native Iriſh: and the better to attach thoſe he converſed with to his intereſts, he became all things to all men; he was a Quaker to ſome, an Anabaptiſt to others, an Independent where that would beſt recommend him, and to beſpeak the favour of the poor ignorant natives, he took the character of a Prieſt (*m*). By theſe arts he ſhifted about from one place to another, making himſelf acquainted with all parties in the iſland, and with all their intereſts and connections at home and abroad (*n*). At laſt, finding all his haunts known, and that it was impoſſible to raiſe, at that juncture, any inſurrection, he found means to get over into Holland, where he was very well received, and admitted into great intimacy with ſome of the moſt conſiderable perſons in the Republic, particularly Admiral de Ruyter (*o*). He went from thence to England, with ſuch recommendations to the Fifth-monarchy-men, and other malecontents, that he was immediately admitted into all their councils, and had a large ſhare in all thoſe dark intrigues that were then carrying on, for throwing the nation again into confuſion (*p*). In this ſituation he gave another ſtrong inſtance of his bold enterpriſing genius, which almoſt exceeds belief [*D*]: But finding the Government apprized of their deſigns, and foreſeeing that the perſons principally concerned could not eſcape being apprehended, he reſolved to withdraw into Scotland, where he ſo wrought upon the diſcontents of the people, that he contributed not a little to the breaking out of the inſurrection there, and was preſent in the action of Pentland-Hills, Nov. 27, 1666, in which the inſurgents were routed, and about five hundred killed (*q*). He fled, after this defeat, back to England, and from thence to Ireland, where he landed within three miles of Carrickfergus; but Lord Dungannon purſued him ſo cloſely, that he was obliged to retire very ſpeedily into England (*r*). He had not been long in this kingdom before he performed a freſh exploit, which was as extraordinary, more ſucceſsful, and made much greater noiſe in the world, than any thing he had yet done. As the circumſtances attending it are very little known, we have given the only diſtinct narrative that remains of it a place in the notes [*E*]. Before he engaged himſelf in this affair,

buſineſs or pleaſure, with no other attendants than a few of his own ſervants: he was adviſed by the Lord Mount-Alexander to be more careful of his perſon, as he had information that Blood had been lately in that neighbourhood, where he laboured to ſtir up the people to ſedition, and frequently declared that the ſeizing the Duke of Ormond would have been a greater ſervice to their cauſe, than ſurpriſing the caſtle of Dublin (8). It appears from theſe two inſtances, that both the vulgar and the better ſort of people were alike frightened and alarmed, from the apprehenſion of this man's cunning and boldneſs. Indeed, conſidering the number of the diſaffected in that kingdom, and the temper of thoſe people, it was no great wonder; ſince, after the firſt plot on the caſtle of Dublin was detected, they went on with their general deſign, till that alſo was diſcovered, and the principal perſons concerned in it either ſeized or diſperſed (9).

[*D*] *Another ſtrong inſtance of his bold enterprizing genius, which almoſt exceeds belief.*] All the facts mentioned in the text are ſo well ſupported by authorities, that there is not the leaſt reaſon to doubt of the truth of them, though it is very difficult at this diſtance of time to fix the dates of his ſeveral enterpriſes. This, of which we are to ſpeak, ſeems to have happened in the year 1665, a little after the diſcovery of an inſurrection that was to have been raiſed in the North and in the Weſt, and which was a branch of the ſame general deſign wherein Mr. Blood was engaged in Ireland, and for which ſeveral had ſuffered in Yorkſhire, in the beginning of the year 1664 (10). All theſe diſcoveries and diſappointments could not deter theſe reſolute and diſcontented people from proſecuting their original deſign; and notwithſtanding it had been divulged in a court of juſtice, that they had a ſecret council conſtantly ſitting in London for the management of their intrigues, yet that council continued to ſit, and Mr. Blood was of it, and for their ſecurity they had about thirty ſtout fellows poſted about the place where they met, in the nature of a *Corps de Garde* (11). It fell out that two of the members of the council, to ſecure themſelves, and perhaps for the ſake of a reward, betrayed all their tranſactions to the Miniſtry, which Mr. Blood ſoon ſuſpected, and in a ſhort time got to the bottom of the whole affair. He appointed theſe people to meet him at a tavern in the city, where he had his guard ready, who ſecured them without any noiſe, and carried them to a private place provided for the purpoſe, where he called a kind of Court-martial, before whom theſe two perſons were tried, found guilty, and ſentenced to be ſhot two days after in the ſame place. When the time appointed came, they were brought out, and all the neceſſary preparations made for putting the ſentence in execution; and the poor men, ſeeing no hopes of eſcape, diſpoſed themſelves to ſuffer as well as they could. At this critical juncture Mr. Blood was graciouſly pleaſed to grant them his pardon, and at the ſame time adviſed them to go to their new maſter, tell him all that had happened, and requeſt him, in the name of their old confederates, to be as favourable to ſuch of them as ſhould at any time ſtand in need of his mercy (12). Whether theſe unfortunate people carried Mr. Blood's meſſage to the King or not, does not any where appear. It is however certain, that, not long after, the whole conſpiracy was diſcovered; in conſequence of which, on the 26th of April, 1666, Col. John Rathbone, and ſome other officers in the late diſbanded army, were tried and convicted at the Old Bailey for a plot to ſurpriſe the Tower, and to kill General Monk; and it appeared in evidence upon their trial, that to facilitate this deſign, the city of London was to have been ſet on fire, and that the 3d of September following was fixed upon from Lilly's Almanack as a lucky day for that purpoſe (13). Nor is it amiſs to obſerve, that though theſe people ſuffered according to their ſentence ſo long before, yet that dreadful fire, which conſumed ſo great a part of this metropolis, actually began upon the ſame fatal day theſe men had fixed for its deſtruction; which occaſioned Lilly's being examined before the Committee of the Houſe of Commons appointed to inquire how that fire began; to whom he declared it was his ſentiment, that it fell out merely by accident (14).

[*E*] *The only diſtinct narrative that remains of it a place in the notes.*] This occurs in the life of Mr. Blood, and runs thus: Among thoſe that were apprehended was one Captain Maſon, a perſon for whom Mr. Blood had a particular affection and friendſhip (15). This perſon was to be removed from London to one of the northern counties, in order to his trial at the aſſizes: and to that intent was ſent down with eight of the Duke's troop to guard him, being reckoned to be a perſon bold and courageous. Mr. Blood having notice of this journey, reſolves by the way to reſcue his friend. The priſoner and his guard went away in the morning, and Mr. Blood having made choice

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(*m*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 423.

(*n*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 420.

(*o*) Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood, p. 3.

(*p*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 420.

(*q*) Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 62.

(*r*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 420.

(8) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 423.

(9) A Letter to the Author, &c. at the cloſe of Sir Richard Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, p. 6.

(10) Kennet's Complete Hiſt. Vol. iii. p. 247.

(11) Hiſt. of Plots, p. 195.

(12) Remarks upon the Life of Mr. Blood, p. 4, 5.

(13) Kennet's Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 262, 263. But there is a miſtake as to the date of the Gazette, which was of the 26th, not 30th, of April, 1666.

(14) Lilly's Hiſt. of his own Life and Times, p. 98.

(15) Remarks upon the Life of Mr. Blood, p. 5.

affair, he had placed his wife and ſon in an Apothecary's ſhop, under the name of Weſton, and had lived himſelf at Rumford by the name of Ayliffe, and pretended to practiſe phyſic (*s*). After he was cured of his wounds, and heard that all that were concerned with him were ſafe, which was in about ſix weeks, he returned to Rumford,

choice of three more of his acquaintance, ſet forward the ſame day at night without boots upon ſmall horſes, and their piſtols in their trouſers, to prevent ſuſpicion. But opportunities are not ſo eaſily had, neither were all places convenient, ſo that the convoy and their priſoner were gone a good way beyond Newark before Mr. Blood and his friends had any ſcent of their priſoner. At one place they ſet a centinel to watch his coming by; but whether it was out of fear, or that the perſon was tired with a tedious expectation, the centinel brought them no tidings either of the priſoner or his guard, inſomuch that Mr. Blood and his companions began to think their friend ſo far before them upon the road, that it would be in vain to follow him; and yet not willing to give over an enterprize ſo generouſly undertaken, upon Mr. Blood's encouragement they rode on, though deſpairing of ſucceſs, till finding it grow towards evening, and meeting with a convenient inn upon the road in a ſmall village not far from Doncaſter, they reſolved to lie there all night, and return for London the next morning. In that inn they had not ſat long in a room next the ſtreet, condoling among themſelves the ill ſucceſs of ſuch a tedious journey, and the misfortune of their friend, before the convoy came thundering up to the door of the ſaid inn with their priſoner; Captain Maſon having made choice of that inn, as being beſt known to him, to give his guardians the refreſhment of a dozen of drink. There Mr. Blood, unſeen, had a full view of his friend, and the perſons he had to deal with. He had beſpoke a ſmall ſupper, which was at the fire, ſo that he had but very little time for conſultation, finding that Captain Maſon's party did not intend to alight; ſo that he only gave general directions to his aſſociates to follow his example in whatever they ſaw him do. In haſte therefore they called for their horſes, and threw down their money for their reckoning; telling the woman of the houſe, that ſince they had met with ſuch good company, they were reſolved to go forward. Captain Maſon went off firſt upon a ſorry beaſt, and with him the Commander of the party, and four more; the reſt ſtaid behind to make an end of their liquor. Then away marched one more ſingle, and in a very ſmall time after the laſt two. By this time Mr. Blood and one of his friends, being horſed, followed the two that were hindmoſt, and ſoon overtook them. Theſe four rode ſome little time together, Mr. Blood on the right-hand of the two ſoldiers, and his friend on the left. But upon a ſudden Mr. Blood laid hold of the reins of the horſe next him, while his friend, in obſervation to his directions, did the ſame on the other hand, and having preſently by ſurpriſe diſmounted the ſoldiers, pulled off their bridles, and ſent their horſes to pick their graſs where they pleaſed. Theſe two being thus made off, Mr. Blood purſues his game, intending to have reached the ſingle trooper; but he being got to the reſt of his fellows, now reduced to ſix, and a barber of York that travelled in their company, Mr. Blood made up, heads the whole party, and ſtops them; of which ſome of the foremoſt looking upon him to be either drunk or mad, thought the rebuke of a ſwitch to be a ſufficient chaſtiſement of ſuch a raſh preſumption, which they exerciſed with more contempt than fury, till by the rudeneſs of his compliments he gave them to underſtand he was not in jeſt, but in very good earneſt. He was ſoon ſeconded by his friend that was with him in his firſt exploit; but there had been ſeveral rough blows dealt between the unequal number of ſix to two, before Mr. Blood's two other friends came up to their aſſiſtance: nay, I may ſafely ſay ſix to two; for the barber of York, whether out of his natural propenſity to the ſport, or that his pot-valiantneſs had made him ſo generous as to help his fellow-travellers, would needs ſhew his valour at the beginning of the fray; but better had he been at the latter end of a feaſt: for though he ſhewed his prudence to take the ſtronger ſide, as he gueſſed by the number, yet becauſe he would take no warning, which was often given him, not to put himſelf to the hazard of loſing a guitar finger by meddling in a buſineſs that nothing concerned him, he loſt his life, as they were forced to diſpatch him in the firſt place for giving them a needleſs trouble. The barber being become an uſeleſs inſtrument, and the other of Mr. Blood's friends being come up, the ſkirmiſh began to be very ſmart, the four aſſailants having ſingled out their champions as fairly and equally as they could. All this while, Captain Maſon being rode before upon his thirty-ſhilling ſteed, wondering his guard came not with him, looked back, and obſerving a combuſtion, and that they were altogether by the ears, knew not what to think. He conjectured it at firſt to have been ſome intrigue upon him, as if the troopers had a deſign to tempt him to an eſcape, which might afterwards prove more to his prejudice; juſt like cats, that with regardleſs ſcorn ſeem to give the diſtreſſed mouſe all the liberty in the world to get away out of their paws, but ſoon recover their prey again at one jump. Thereupon, unwilling to undergo the hazard of ſuch a trial, he comes back, at which time Mr. Blood cried out to him, *Horſe, horſe, quickly!* an alarm ſo amazing at firſt, that he could not believe it to be his friend's voice when he heard it: but as the thoughts of military men are ſoon ſummoned together, and never hold Spaniſh councils, the Captain preſently ſettled his reſolution, mounts the next horſe that wanted a rider, and puts in for a ſhare of his own ſelf-preſervation. In this bloody conflict Mr. Blood was three times unhorſed, occaſioned by his forgetfulneſs, as having omitted to new-girt his ſaddle, which the oſtler had unlooſed upon the wadding his horſe at his firſt coming into the inn. Being then ſo often diſmounted, and not knowing the reaſon, which the occaſion would not give him leave to conſider, he reſolved to fight it out on foot; of which two of the ſoldiers taking the advantage, ſingled him out and drove him into a court-yard, where he made a ſtand with a full body, his ſword in one hand, and his piſtol in the other. One of the ſoldiers taking that advantage of his open body, ſhot him near the ſhoulder-blade of his piſtol-arm, at which time he had four other bullets in his body, that he had received before; which the ſoldier obſerving, flung his diſcharged piſtol at him with that good aim and violence, that he hit him a ſtunning blow juſt under the forehead upon the upper part of the noſe between the eyes, which for the preſent ſo amazed him, that he gave himſelf over for a dead man: yet reſolving to give one ſparring blow before he expired, ſuch is the ſtrange provocation and ſucceſs of deſpair, with one vigorous ſtroke of his ſword he brought his adverſary with a vengeance from his horſe, and laid him in a far worſe condition than himſelf at his horſe's feet. At that time, full of anger and revenge, he was juſt going to make an end of his conqueſt, by giving him the fatal ſtab, but that in the very nick of time Captain Maſon, having by the help of his friends done his buſineſs where they had fought, by the death of ſome, and the diſabling of others, that oppoſed them, came in, and bid him hold and ſpare the life of one that had been the civileſt perſon to him upon the road; a fortunate piece of kindneſs in the one, and of gratitude in the other; which Mr. Blood eaſily condeſcending to, by the joint aſſiſtance of the Captain, the other ſoldier was ſoon maſtered, and the victory, after a ſharp fight that laſted above two hours, was at length completed. You may be ſure the fight was well maintained on both ſides, while two of the ſoldiers, beſides the barber, were ſlain upon the place, three unhorſed, and the reſt wounded. And it was obſervable, that though the encounter happened in a village, where a great number of people were ſpectators of the combat, yet none would adventure the reſcue of either party, as not knowing which was in the wrong or which in the right, and were therefore wary of being arbitrators in ſuch a deſperate conteſt, where they ſaw the reward of aſſiſtance to be nothing but preſent death. After the combat was over, Mr. Blood and his friends divided themſelves, and parted ſeveral ways.

(*s*) Remarks on the Life of Mr. Blood, p. 5.

and lived there under the ſame diſguiſe for a conſiderable time, without being ſuſpected or moleſted, notwithſtanding a proclamation was publiſhed, with an offer of five hundred pounds reward, for apprehending the perſon concerned in this reſcue (*t*). It was impoſſible for one of his buſy, reſtleſs, and impatient temper, to continue long quiet; but whether his next enterpriſe was entirely his own contriving, or was intended purely to ſerve his own purpoſes, is a point, at preſent, not to be decided. However that might be, the undertaking was in every reſpect more ſingular, and more hazardous, than any he had hitherto attempted; and as it was altogether without example that he went upon it, ſo it is certain no ſuch thing was ever thought of ſince: it was the ſeizing the perſon of his old antagoniſt the Duke of Ormond in the ſtreets of London; but whether with a view to murder, or carry him off till he had anſwered their expectation, is not perfectly clear (*u*). He actually put his deſign in execution, Dec. 6, 1670, and was very near completing his purpoſe on his Grace, whatever that purpoſe might be. However, the Duke was fortunately reſcued out of his hands; but himſelf and his aſſociates all eſcaped, though cloſely purſued (*w*) [*F*]. An account of this amazing tranſaction was immediately publiſhed by authority, together with a Royal Proclamation, offering a reward of one thouſand pounds for apprehending any of the perſons concerned therein, but to no purpoſe, though ſome of their names were diſcovered: however, Blood was not ſo much as thought of or ſuſpected (*x*). The miſcarriage of this daring deſign, inſtead of daunting him, or creating the leaſt intention of flying out of the kingdom, put him on another more ſtrange and hazardous deſign, to repair his broken fortunes. He propoſed to thoſe deſperate perſons who aſſiſted him in his former attempt, to ſeize and divide amongſt them the royal enſigns of majeſty kept in the Tower of London; and as they were blindly devoted to his ſervice, they very readily accepted the propoſal, and left it to him to contrive the means of putting it into execution. He deviſed accordingly a ſcheme for that purpoſe, ſuitable to ſo bold and baſe an undertaking, which was ſo cunningly laid, and executed with ſuch an audacious ſpirit, May 9, 1671, that he ſo far carried his point, as to get the Regalia into his poſſeſſion, and was near carrying off his booty, when he was purſued and taken; by which

(*t*) Hiſtory of Plots, p. 295.

(*u*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 869.

(*w*) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. iii. p. 280.

(*x*) See the Gazette, December 8, 1670.

[*F*] *Himſelf and his aſſociates all eſcaped, though cloſely purſued.*] The cleareſt account that we have any where of this ſurpriſing tranſaction, is given us by Mr. Carte, to this effect (16): The Prince of Orange came this year into England, and being invited on December 6. to an entertainment in the city of London, his Grace attended him thither. As he was returning homewards, in a dark night, and going up St. James's-ſtreet, at the end of which, facing the palace, ſtood Clarendon-houſe, where he then lived, he was attacked by Blood and five of his accomplices. The Duke always uſed to go attended with ſix footmen; but as they were too heavy a load to ride upon a coach, he always had iron ſpikes behind it, to keep them from getting up, and continued this practice to his dying day, even after this attempt of aſſaſſination. Theſe ſix footmen uſed to walk on both ſides of the ſtreet, over-againſt the coach; but, by ſome contrivance or other, they were all ſtopped, and out of the way, when the Duke was taken out of his coach by Blood and his ſon, and mounted on horſeback behind one of the horſemen in his company. The coachman drove on to Clarendon-houſe, and told the porter the Duke had been ſeized by two men, who had carried him down Piccadilly. The porter immediately ran that way; and Mr. James Clark, chancing to be at that time in the court of the houſe, followed with all poſſible haſte, having firſt alarmed the family, and ordered the ſervants to come after him as faſt as they could. Blood, it ſeems, either to gratify the humour of his patron, who had ſet him upon this work, or to glut his own revenge, by putting his Grace to the ſame ignominious death which his accomplices in the treaſonable deſign upon Dublin-caſtle had ſuffered, had taken a ſtrong fancy into his head to hang the Duke at Tyburn. Nothing could have ſaved his Grace's life, but that extravagant imagination and paſſion of the villain, who leaving the Duke mounted and buckled to one of his comrades, rode on before, and (as is ſaid) actually tied a rope to the gallows, and then rode back to ſee what was become of his accomplices, whom he met riding off in a great hurry. The horſeman to whom the Duke was tied was a perſon of great ſtrength; but being embarraſſed by his Grace's ſtruggling, could not advance as faſt as he deſired. He was, however, got a good way beyond Berkeley (now Devonſhire) houſe, towards Knightſbridge; when the Duke having got his foot under the man's, unhorſed him, and they both fell down together in the mud, where they were ſtruggling when the porter and Mr. Clark came up. The villain then diſengaged himſelf, and ſeeing the neighbourhood alarmed, and numbers of people running towards them, got on horſeback; and having, with one of his comrades, fired their piſtols at the Duke (but miſſed him, as taking their aim in the dark, and in a hurry), rode off as faſt as they could to ſave themſelves. The Duke (now ſixty years of age) was quite ſpent with ſtruggling; ſo that when Mr. Clark and the porter came up, they knew him rather by feeling his ſtar, than by any ſound of voice he could utter; and they were forced to carry him home, and lay him on a bed to recover his ſpirits. He received ſome wounds and bruiſes in the ſtruggle, which confined him within doors for ſome days. We are told by Biſhop Kennet, that certain perſons, whom he names, were, with great probability, ſuſpected, *viz.* Richard Holloway, a tobacco-cutter in Frying-pan-alley, in Petticoat-lane; Thomas Allen, alias Ally, alias Ayliffe, a pretended ſurgeon or doctor; Thomas Hunt; and one Hurſt: but, continues the Prelate, the chief of them was Blood, a notorious traitor, outlawed in Ireland, who with his own hand pulled his Grace out of the coach. and, with the help of one Ralph Alexander, mounted him behind his eldeſt ſon (17). In this account there are ſeveral miſtakes; for, in the firſt place, Thomas Allen, the pretended Doctor, was really Mr. Blood, under that fictitious name. In the next place, his ſon was not at all concerned in the affair, being then but a boy of thirteen years of age; but the miſtake was occaſioned by Blood's calling one of them his ſon, who was Thomas Hunt, his ſon-in-law (18). The ſame reverend writer ſays, that Blood's pretence was, that he intended to keep the Duke in private on the other ſide of the water, till his Grace had ſigned ſome writings for reſtoring to him an eſtate which he had forfeited by rebellion in Ireland (19): Mr. Echard, on the other hand, aſſures us, that Blood intended to have hanged the Duke at Tyburn, and to have pinned a paper upon his breaſt, containing the reaſons which induced him and his aſſociates to perpetrate this fact. The reader will determine for himſelf which of theſe accounts appears to him the moſt probable; but Mr. Richard Baxter (20) agrees with Biſhop Kennet.

(16) Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 421.

(17) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. iii. p. 280, 281.

(18) Mr. Oldmixon follows him in this, and mentions Brigadier-General Blood by name, Hiſtory of England, &c. Vol. i. p. 454.

(19) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 211.

(20) *Hiſt. of his own Life and Times*, p. 88.

means the crown, and all the jewels belonging to it, were happily recovered *(y)* [G]. Upon this diſappointment his ſpirits failed him; and while he remained a priſoner in the

(y) See Sir Gilbert Talbot's Narrative, in Stowe's Survey of London, by Strype, Vol. i. p. 92.

[G] *All the jewels belonging to it were happily recovered.*] The beſt account of this affair is that of the Edwards's, given to Sir Gilbert Talbot to this effect (21): About three weeks before Blood made his attempt upon the crown, he came to the Tower in the habit of a clergyman, with a long cloak, caſſock, and canonical girdle, and brought a woman with him, which he called his wife, though his wife was then ſick in Lancaſhire. This pretended wife deſired to ſee the crown, and having ſeen it, pretended to have a qualm come upon her ſtomach, and deſired the keeper of the crown, old Mr. Edwards, to ſend for ſome ſpirits, who immediately cauſed his wife to fetch ſome. When ſhe had drank, Mrs. Edwards invited her to repoſe herſelf upon a bed, which ſhe accepted of, and ſoon recovered. At their departure they declared themſelves very thankful for this reſpect. About three days after, Blood came again to Mr. Edwards's, with a preſent of four pair of fine new gloves from his wife; and having thus begun the acquaintance, made frequent viſits to improve it, profeſſing that he ſhould never ſufficiently acknowledge their kindneſs. Having made ſome ſmall reſpite of his compliments, he returned again, and told Mrs. Edwards that his wife could diſcourſe of nothing but of the kindneſs of the good people in the Tower; that ſhe had long ſtudied, and at length bethought herſelf of a handſome way of requital. *You have*, ſaid he, *a pretty gentlewoman to your daughter, and I have a young nephew, who has two or three hundred pounds a year in land, and is at my diſpoſal; if your daughter be free, and you approve of it, I will bring him hither to ſee her, and we will endeavour to make it a match.* This was eaſily aſſented to by old Mr. Edwards, who invited the pretended parſon to dine with him that day, and he as readily accepted the invitation, who taking upon him to ſay grace, performed it with ſingular devotion, and lifting up of eyes; and alſo concluded his long-winded bleſſing with a hearty prayer for the King, Queen, and Royal Family. After dinner he went up to ſee the rooms, and diſcovering a handſome caſe of piſtols there, he expreſſed a great deſire to buy them, to preſent to a young Lord who was his neighbour, probably to diſarm the houſe againſt the time he intended to put his deſign in execution. At his departure, which was with a canonical benediction of the good company, he appointed a day and hour to bring his young nephew to his miſtreſs, which was that very day that he made his bold attempt, the 9th of May, about ſeven in the morning.

At that time the old man was got up ready to receive his gueſts; and the daughter had put herſelf into her beſt dreſs to receive her gallant; when, according to appointment, Parſon Blood, with three more, came to the jewel-houſe, all armed, with rapier-blades in their canes, and every one a dagger, and a pair of pocket-piſtols: two of his companions entered in with him, and the third ſtaid at the door, for a careful watch. The daughter thought it not modeſt for her to come down till ſhe was called, but ſent her maid to take a view of the company, and to bring her a deſcription of the perſon of her gallant. The maid imagined that he who ſtaid at the door was the intended bridegroom, becauſe he was the youngeſt of the company; and returned to her young miſtreſs with the character ſhe had formed of his perſon. In the interim, Blood told Mr. Edwards that they would not go up ſtairs till his wife came, and deſired him to ſhew his friends the crown, to paſs away the time till then. As ſoon as they were entered the room where the crown was kept, and the door as uſual was ſhut behind them, they threw a cloak over the old man's head, and clapped a gag into his mouth, which was a great plug of wood, with a ſmall hole to take breath at, that was tied on with a waxed leather, which went round his neck. At the ſame time they faſtened an iron hook to his noſe, that no ſound might paſs from him that way. Having thus ſecured him from crying out, they plainly told him, *That they were reſolved to have the crown, globe, and ſceptre; and if he would quietly ſubmit to it, they would ſpare his life, otherwiſe he was to expect no mercy.* He thereupon forced himſelf to make all the noiſe he poſſibly could to be heard above, upon which they knocked him down with a wooden mallet, and told him, that if he would be quiet, they would ſpare his life; but if not, upon the next attempt to diſcover them, they would kill him, and pointed three daggers at his breaſt. Still he ſtrained himſelf to make the greater noiſe, at which they gave him nine or ten ſtrokes more upon the head with the mallet, and ſtabbed him into the belly. The poor man, almoſt fourſcore years old, fell, and lay ſome time intranced, when one of them kneeling on the ground to try if he breathed, and not perceiving any breath from him, ſaid, *He's dead I'll warrant him.* Mr. Edwards recovering a little, heard his words, and conceiving it beſt for himſelf to be ſo thought, lay very quietly. Concluding him dead, they omitted to tie his hands behind him; and Parret, one of the companions, put the globe into his breeches; Blood kept the crown under his cloak; the third was deſigned to file the ſceptre in two, becauſe too long to carry conveniently, and then to put it into a bag, brought for that purpoſe. But before this could be done, young Mr. Edwards, ſon of the old gentleman, juſt come from Flanders, chanced to arrive at that very inſtant that this was acting, and coming to the door, the perſon who ſtood centinel for the reſt aſked him with whom he would ſpeak; he made anſwer, he belonged to the houſe; but perceiving by his queſtion that he himſelf was a ſtranger, told him, that if he had any buſineſs with his father, he would go and acquaint him with it, and went up ſtairs, where he was welcomed by his mother, wife, and ſiſter. In the mean time the centinel gave notice of the ſon's arrival, and they immediately haſted away with the crown and the globe, but left the ſceptre, not having time to file it. The old man returning to himſelf, got ſuddenly up, pulled off the gag, and cried out *Treaſon! murder!* The daughter hearing him, ran down, and ſeeing her father thus wounded, ruſhed out upon the Tower-hill, and cried, *Treaſon! the crown is ſtolen!* This gave the firſt alarm; and Blood and Parret making great haſte, were obſerved to jog each other with their elbows as they went, which cauſed them to be ſuſpected and purſued. By this time young Edwards, and one Captain Beckman, upon the cry of their ſiſter, were come down, and left their father likewiſe, to run after the villains; but they were advanced beyond the main-guard; and the alarm being given to the warder at the draw-bridge, he put himſelf in a poſture to ſtop them. Blood came up firſt, and diſcharged a piſtol at him; the bullet miſſed him, but the powder, or fear, made him fall to the ground, whereby they got ſafe to the Little Ward-houſe gate, where one Sill, one of Cromwell's ſoldiers, ſtood centinel; who, though he ſaw the other warder ſhot, made no reſiſtance; by which means the villains got over that draw-bridge, and through the outward gate upon the wharf, and made all poſſible haſte towards their horſes, which attended at St. Catharine's gate, called the Iron-gate, crying themſelves, as they ran, *Stop the rogues!* and the grave canonical habit made them thought innocent. Immediately after, Captain Beckman got up to them, at which Blood diſcharged his ſecond piſtol at the Captain's head; but he ſtooping down, avoided the ſhot, and ſeized upon him with the crown under his cloak. Yet Blood had the impudence, though he ſaw himſelf a priſoner, to ſtruggle a long while for the crown; and when it was wreſted from him, he ſaid, *It was a gallant attempt, though unſucceſsful, for it was for a crown.* A ſervant belonging to Captain Sherborne ſeized upon Parret before Blood was taken; and there was ſo much conſternation amongſt all men, and ſo much confuſion in the purſuit, that it was a miracle that ſeveral innocent perſons had not ſuffered; for young Edwards, overtaking one that was bloody in the ſcuffle, and ſuppoſing him to be one of his father's murderers, was going to run him through, had not Captain Beckman hindered him; and as this Captain himſelf made vaſt haſte in the purſuit, the guards were going to fire at him, thinking him to be one of the rogues; but one of them, who fortunately knew him,

(21) Stowe's Survey of London, publiſhed by Strype, Vol. i. B. i. p. 92. Kennet's Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. iii. p. 283. Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 876. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. i. p. 560. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 222.

the gaol of the Tower, he appeared not only ſilent and reſerved, but dogged and ſullen. He ſoon changed his temper, however, when, contrary to all reaſon, probability, and his own expectation, he was informed the KING intended to ſee and examine him himſelf. This was brought about by the Duke of Buckingham, then the great favourite and Firſt Miniſter, who infuſed into his Majeſty, over whom he had for ſome time a great aſcendancy, the curioſity of ſeeing ſo extraordinary a perſon, whoſe crime, great as it was, argued a prodigious force of mind, and made it probable, that, if ſo diſpoſed, he might be capable of making large diſcoveries (z). Theſe inſinuations had ſuch an effect upon the King, that he conſented to what the Duke deſired, which in the end proved diſadvantageous to them all (*a*); for it brought diſcredit on the royal character, an indelible load of infamy upon the Duke, and this afterwards produced Blood's ruin; ſuch are the conſequences of inconſiderate actions in perſons in high ſtations, who ought always to be jealous of their dignity, and of doing what may hazard the wounding public opinion, upon which that dignity is chiefly founded. Col. Blood was no ſooner acquainted that he was to be introduced to the Royal preſence, than he conceived immediately he ſtood indebted for this honour to the notion the King, or ſome about him, had of his intrepidity, and therefore was not at all at a loſs about the part he was to act, and on the acting of which well his life entirely depended. He is allowed on all hands to have performed admirably upon this occaſion: he anſwered whatever his Majeſty demanded of him, clearly, and without reſerve; he did not pretend to capitulate or make terms, but ſeemed rather pleaſed to throw his life into the King's hands, by an open and boundleſs confeſſion (*b*). He took care, however, to prepoſſeſs his Majeſty in his favour, by various, and thoſe very different, methods. At the ſame time he laid himſelf open to the law, he abſolutely refuſed to impeach others. While he magnified the ſpirit and reſolution of the party to which he adhered, and had always acted againſt monarchy, he inſinuated his own and their veneration for the perſon of the King; and though he omitted nothing that might create a belief of his contemning death, yet he expreſſed infinite awe and reſpect for a monarch who had condeſcended to treat him with ſuch unuſual indulgence (*c*). In ſhort, the particulars of this examination were curious, and highly worthy of the reader's notice [*H*]. It was foreſeen by the Duke of

(z) Baxter's Hiſt. of his Life and Times, p. 88.

(*a*) See this remark explained and juſtified in the ſubſequent notes [*H*] and [*L*].

(*b*) Remarks on the Life of Mr. Blood, p. 11.

(*c*) Baxter's Hiſt. of his own Life, p. 88, 89.

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him, cried out, *He is a friend!* Blood and Parret being both ſeized, Hunt, another of them, and ſon-in-law to Blood, leaped to horſe, with two more of the conſpirators, and rode far away; but a cart in the ſtreet chanced to turn ſhort, Hunt run his head againſt a pole that ſtuck out, which made him fall aſtoniſhed from his horſe; but recovering his legs, and putting his feet into the ſtirrup, a cobler running in, cried, *This is* Tom Hunt, *who was in the bloody buſineſs againſt the Duke of* Ormond; *let us ſecure him!* A conſtable being accidentally there, ſeized him upon this affirmation; and he was, with Blood and Parret, committed to ſafe cuſtody in the Tower. Parret was a ſilk-dyer in the Borough of Southwark; and in the rebellion had been Lieutenant to Major-General Harriſon. In the ſtruggle for the crown, the great pearl and fair diamond fell off, and were loſt for a while, with ſome other ſmaller ſtones; but the pearl was brought by a poor ſweeping-woman to one of the warders, and the diamond by a barber's apprentice, and both faithfully reſtored. Other ſmall ſtones were picked up by ſeveral perſons, and brought in. The fair ballas ruby belonging to the ſceptre was found in Parret's pocket, ſo that nothing conſiderable was wanting: the crown only was bruiſed, and ſent to be repaired.

[*H*] *The particulars of this examination were curious, and worthy the reader's notice.*] The firſt queſtion the King aſked (22), was in relation to the attempt upon the Duke of Ormond; for Hunt being known to have had a large ſhare in that affair, and being taken with Colonel Blood in this, rendered it highly probable that the ſame ſet of people were concerned in both villainies. Blood immediately, and without heſitation, confeſſed the fact. Being aſked who were his aſſociates, he anſwered, *that he would never betray a friend's life, nor deny a guilt in defence of his own.* He was aſked next, what provocation he had to make ſo bold an aſſault upon the Duke of Ormond: he ſaid, *the Duke had taken away his eſtate, and executed ſome of his friends; and that he and many others had engaged themſelves, by ſolemn oaths, to revenge it.* It was now more apparent, from his forward confeſſion of his conſpiracy againſt the caſtle of Dublin, that he aimed at great eſteem by the extravagancy and audacity of his atchievements; and left the concealment of any of his villainies ſhould leſſen the romance of his life, in his examination about the crown he voluntarily, though perhaps falſely, confeſſed to the King, ‘That he had been engaged in a deſign to kill his Majeſty with a carbine, from out of the reeds, by the Thames ſide, above Batterſey, where he often went to ſwim: That the cauſe of this reſolution, in himſelf and others, was his Majeſty's ſeverity over the conſciences of the GODLY, in ſuppreſſing the freedom of their religious aſſemblies: That when he had taken his ſtand in the reeds to that purpoſe, his heart was checked with an awe of majeſty; and he did not only relent himſelf, but diverted the reſt of his aſſociates from the deſign. He further told his Majeſty, that he had, by theſe his confeſſions, ſufficiently laid himſelf open to the law; and he might reaſonably expect the utmoſt rigour of it, for which he was, without much concern of his own, prepared. But withal, he declared that the matter would not be of that indifferency to his Majeſty, inaſmuch as there were hundreds of his friends yet undiſcovered, who were all bound together, by the indiſpenſible oath of conſpirators, to revenge the death of any of the fraternity upon thoſe who ſhould bring them to juſtice, which would expoſe his Majeſty, and all his Miniſters, to the daily fear and expectation of a maſſacre. But, on the other ſide, if his Majeſty would ſpare the lives of a few, he might oblige the hearts of many, who, as they had been ſeen to act daring miſchiefs, would be as bold, if received into pardon and favour, in performing eminent ſervices to the crown (23).’ We have ſome other particulars recorded by ſeveral writers, who perhaps were not ſo well informed. The famous Richard Baxter (24) magnifies his boldneſs, who ſays he ſpoke ſo to the King, that he was admired by all; to juſtify which, he gives us a very religious ſpeech of his, and adds farther, that he had been in the ſervice of King Charles I., which is likewiſe hinted by the author of his life. Mr. Oldmixon would have us believe he bullied the King (25). *The whole court,* ſays he, *was frighted, and thought it ſafer to bribe him than to hang him.* But there is a circumſtance relating to this examination, which better deſerves to be known than any of the conjectures made about it (26). After the King had, with great coolneſs and moderation, gone through the whole examination, he turned to Colonel Blood, and ſaid, *What if I ſhould give you your life?* To which the Colonel anſwered, *I ſhall endeavour to deſerve it.* There paſſed, at that time, nothing farther; but ſoon after the King directed Colonel Blood to write a letter of ſubmiſſion

(22) Sir Gilbert Talbot's Narrative, in Stowe's Survey of London, Vol. i. B. i. p. 94. Kennet's Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 284.

(23) Baxter's Hiſtory of his Life and Times, p. 88. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 877.

(24) Baxter's Hiſt. of his own Life and Times, p. 89.

(25) Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. i. p. 500.

(26) Remarks on the Life of Mr. Blood, p. 11.

of Ormond, as ſoon as he knew the King deſigned to examine him, that Blood had no cauſe to fear; and indeed ſuch an impreſſion his ſtory and behaviour made on the mind of his Sovereign, that he was not only pardoned, but ſet at liberty, and had a penſion given him to ſubſiſt on (d). This conduct of his Majeſty, towards ſo high and ſo notorious an offender, occaſioned much ſpeculation and many conjectures. Of theſe ſome are ſtill preſerved, amongſt which the ſentiments of Sir Gilbert Talbot are very ſenſible (e) [I]. He ſeems to think the King's apprehenſions determined him. Another writer (f) ſuggeſts, that the Duke of Buckingham having put him on the firſt deſign, to prevent its becoming public, was obliged to procure his pardon for the ſecond. But it is more probable, that he inſinuated his intereſt with ſome deſperate malecontents then in Holland, whom he could induce to come home and live peaceably. At leaſt

(d) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, p. 421.

(e) Stowe's Survey of London, by Strype, Vol. i. p. 94.

(f) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 424.

ſubmiſſion to the Duke of Ormond, to obtain his forgiveneſs, which he accordingly did, in terms of the deepeſt humility, and with the moſt fervent expreſſions of his ſorrow and concern for the injury and inſult which he had offered to his Grace (27). One may reaſonably conclude from hence, that the King believed what Blood told him with reſpect to his deſign upon the Duke, and did not apprehend that his intention was to murder him; for, otherwiſe, one can hardly think that he would have pardoned him, much leſs have ſuffered him about the Court, or admitted him, as he frequently did, into his preſence.

[I] *Sir Gilbert Talbot's reflections on this ſubject are ſenſible.*] Since, ſays he (28), this villain's crimes are viſible to all mankind, and his merits altogether incomprehenſible, every man will take the liberty to conjecture what conſideration could poſſibly beget his pardon: his crimes were without controverſy the higheſt breaches of human laws: murder acted upon a poor old gentleman for defending his truſt, and murder intended to be acted upon a great Peer, with all the circumſtances of contempt; a deſign laid to ſurpriſe the King's caſtle, a violent ſeizure made of his crown and ſceptre, and a confeſſed lying in wait to deſtroy his perſon.

It requires a great meaſure of mercy in a Prince (for it is not decent to attribute it to any thing elſe) to forgive ſuch injuries done to himſelf: but it is above his mercy to pardon the offence committed againſt another, becauſe Heaven, which is all-merciful, forgives not the treſpaſſes which we commit againſt our neighbours without reſtitution. Yet the Lord Arlington came in his Majeſty's name to the Duke of Ormond, to tell him that he would not have Blood proſecuted, for reaſons which he was commanded to give him. The Duke replied, that his Majeſty's command was the only reaſon that could be given, and that therefore he might ſpare the reſt. It was a gallant anſwer of his Grace, and ſuch as well became the loyalty of his family: but it is great pity in the mean time that the world ſhould want the knowledge of his Lordſhip's reaſons, which had weight enough with them to ſmother a matter of that high concernment, to the diſhonour of juſtice and the dignity of peerage.

How great a myſtery however it is to the world, Blood and his aſſociates were not only pardoned and ſet free, but the arch-villain himſelf had a conſiderable eſtate in land conferred upon him in Ireland, and that meritorious perſon admitted into all the privacy and intimacy of the Court, no man more aſſiduous than himſelf in both Secretaries offices. If any one had a buſineſs in Court that ſtuck, he made his application to Blood, as the moſt induſtrious and ſucceſsful ſolicitor: nay, many gentlemen courted his acquaintance as the Indians pray to the devils, that they may not hurt them.

Blood had nobody but his own black deeds to advocate for him, yet thus was he rewarded; and though many ſolicited for old Mr. Edwards, and had raiſed their arguments from his fidelity, courage, and wounds received, yet all that could be obtained for him was, a grant of two hundred pounds out of the Exchequer, and one hundred to his ſon who aſſiſted, the payment whereof was ſo long delayed, and ſurgeons calling upon him daily for ſatisfaction for their drugs and pains, that he was forced to ſell his order for one hundred pounds ready money, and the ſon his for fifty pounds, and lived not long to enjoy the remainder; for he died within a year and a month after the wounds received. But now to reflect a little, as I promiſed, not only upon the myſterious redemption of this rogue from the gallows, but upon the (never to be enough wondered) recompence for his villainies of five hundred pounds *per annum*, a reward which the moſt meritorious virtue had ſeldom met with. Let us therefore conſider him firſt as taken in ſo flagrant a crime, that no plea could poſſibly lie in favour of his life, nor no hopes could be ſo impudent as to expect it. Obſerve then what he doth; he maketh a voluntary confeſſion of three other rapping crimes. One, his attempt upon the Duke of Ormond; and his alleged provocation to that was by conſequence a confeſſion of his conſpiracy upon the caſtle of Dublin. Thus much he thought neceſſary to acknowledge, to ſhew his power and audacity, that in caſe he was brought to execution, he ſhould ſtand recorded in ſtory to have died like a daring ſinner, and not as a petty malefactor. Then he declareth freely, and of his own accord, his intention to aſſaſſinate his Majeſty in the river. I aſk any man of reaſon, what other conſideration could move him to that confeſſion, but to bring in this other part of his ſtory? He was to tell his Majeſty, that his heart relented, being ſurpriſed with awe and reverence of his perſon (he had none of his crown), and that he not only forbore the execution himſelf, but diſſuaded his aſſociates likewiſe from it.

There is ſo great a probability that this profeſſed tender forbearance of his tended only to diſpoſe his Majeſty (who of all mankind is captivated with good nature) to return the like mercy towards him, that with the good favour of Mr. Blood's check of conſcience, which delivered him from the execution, it is eaſy to be conjectured that there was never any ſuch deſign really laid, but that the ſtory was feigned to work upon his Majeſty's tenderneſs towards him.

But leſt that ſhould not prevail, Blood ſeemed not to be at all troubled with the apprehenſion of his own death, for which he ſtood prepared; but it grieved him forſooth to conſider the ſad conſequence of it, which would be an attempt of revenge upon the perſon of the King and his Miniſters, by the ſurviving conſpirators being bound by oath, &c. ſo that (if mercy were defective) he could try what fear could operate; and leſt both theſe ſhould fail, he hath another fetch in ſtore, which is to perſuade them to pardon him upon the ſcore of good politics, by ſhewing how uſeful an inſtrument he can be to quiet the minds of all the diſaffected party, and ſecure the government from popular inſurrections, if his life may be ſpared.

I cannot eaſily be perſuaded that this proffer of ſervice in Blood could much prevail upon his Majeſty's judgment; becauſe it is natural to conclude, that he who is able to quiet a party, is likewiſe able to irritate it; and that he who is bribed by five hundred pounds *per annum* to do the one, may be gained with a thouſand pounds *per annum* to do the contrary; and what ſecurity can there be that he will not, but the bare word of a villain?

In the mean time nothing can more betray the weakneſs of a government, than that it ſhall have recourſe to ſuch inſtruments to ſupport it. Nor can any thing make its authority more deſpiſable, than that it ſhould be terrified from the execution of juſtice upon the greateſt malefactor that hiſtory from the creation hitherto recordeth, for fear that Blood's ghoſt ſhould riſe, or his ſurviving confederates meditate revenge.

Beſides, it is as far from reaſon that a man of Blood's principles ſhould be truſted with the power and intereſt that muſt go to the managing of a party, as that thoſe who truſt him ſhould expect any good ſervices from the confeſſed author of ſo many black deeds, or Heaven give a bleſſing to the endeavours of ſuch an impious creature.

(27) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 225.

(28) See Stowe's Survey, Kennet and Echard's Hiſtories, as before.

this is certain, that on the breaking out of the war ſoon after, a proclamation was publiſhed, requiring ſuch perſons to come over; upon which Deſborough, Relſey, and many more, came, ſurrendered, and had pardons, very probably at Blood's requeſt; for with him they met almoſt every day, in a room kept on purpoſe for them, at White's Coffee-houſe near the Royal Exchange (*g*). His intereſt was, for ſome time, very great at Court, where he ſolicited the ſuits of many of the unfortunate people of his party with ſucceſs; but as this gave great offence to ſome very worthy perſons while it laſted, ſo, after the diſgrace and falling to pieces of the miniſtry ſtiled the CABAL, it began quickly to decline, and perhaps his penſion alſo was ill paid; for we find him again amongſt the malecontents, and acting in favour of popular meaſures, that were diſpleaſing to the Court. In the buſy time of plotting too, ſo active a perſon as Col. Blood could not but have ſome ſhare. He behaved, however, in a new manner, ſuitable to the great change of times, and inſtead of attempting on the perſons of great men, took up the character of a great man himſelf, and expreſſed an apprehenſion that attempts might be made upon his perſon (*h*) [*K*]. In this manner he ſpun out between nine and ten years, ſometimes about the Court, ſometimes excluded from it, always uneaſy, and in ſome ſcheme or other of an untoward kind, till at laſt he was met with in his own way, and either circumvented by ſome of his own inſtruments, or drawn within the vortex of a ſham plot, by ſome who were too cunning even for this maſter in his profeſſion. It ſeems there were certain people, who had formed a deſign of fixing an imputation of a moſt ſcandalous nature upon the Duke of Buckingham, who was then at the head of a vigorous oppoſition againſt the Court, and who, notwithſtanding he always courted and protected the fanatics, had not, in reſpect to his moral character, ſo fair a reputation as to render any charge of that kind incredible. But whether this was conducted by Col. Blood, whether a counter-plot was ſet on foot to defeat it and entrap Blood, or whether ſome whiſper thrown out to alarm the Duke, which he ſuſpected came from Blood, led his Grace to ſecure himſelf by a contrivance of the ſame ſtamp, better concerted, and more effectually executed; ſo it was, that his Grace, who was formerly ſuppoſed ſo much a patron to the Colonel, thought it requiſite, for his own ſafety, to contribute to his ruin (*i*). What notion Mr. Blood inclined the world ſhould entertain of this affair, may be diſcovered from the Caſe which he cauſed to be printed of it, and which, to prevent its being entirely loſt, is preſerved in the notes [*L*]. But it fell out, that the court of King's-Bench took the thing in ſo

(*g*) Remarks on the Life of Mr. Blood, p. 11.

(*h*) Examen, or an Enquiry into the Credit and Veracity of a pretended Complete Hiſtory, &c. by Roger North, Eſq; Lond. 1740, 4to, p. 311.

(*i*) Hiſtory of Plots, p. 131.

[*K*] *Apprehenſion that attempts might be made upon his perſon.*] If we conſider attentively the hiſtory of the times, from the breaking out of the Popiſh plot to the death of King Charles II., and reflect on the numerous company of conſpiracies and counter-conſpiracies, of true plots, ſham plots, and plots to charge innocent people with having a ſhare in both ſorts of plots, we muſt conclude there never was a ſeaſon when plain well-meaning people were in greater danger, or when buſy, bold, enterpriſing men had ſo fair a chance of making their fortunes at the expence of other men's, and the ſmall trivial addition of their own conſciences into the bargain. But, however, I muſt confeſs, that very little is to be met with in relation to Mr. Blood in thoſe days, except the following ſhort paſſage in North's Examen, which I give the reader in the author's own words, that he may ſee his judgment alſo of thoſe perilous times (29), when ſwearing was a trade, and perjury a ſort of venial tranſgreſſion.

'Nay, there was another *ſham plot* of one *Nettervile*, which allied itſelf to *Dangerfield*, by the pre-
'tence of ſteering the *Popiſh plot* upon the Preſbyte-
'rians. And here the good Colonel *Blood* (that ſtole
'the Duke of Ormond, and, if a timely reſcue had
'not come in, had hanged him at Tyburn, and af-
'terwards ſtole the crown, though he was not ſo
'happy to carry it off), no player at ſmall games;
'he, even he, the virtuous Colonel, as this *ſham plot*
'ſays, was to have been deſtroyed by the Papiſts.
'It ſeems theſe Papiſts would let no eminent Proteſ-
'tant be ſafe; but ſome amends were made the Co-
'lonel, by ſale of the narrative licenſed *Thomas*
'*Blood*. It had been ſtrange if ſo much miſchief had
'been ſtirring, and he not come in for a ſnack.'

It may not be amiſs to take notice here of a miſtake in the Index to the work above mentioned, but there is no miſtake in the work itſelf, where the author, ſpeaking of the impeachment of Fitz-Harris, takes notice of a motion made by one Colonel B. (30), that the thanks of the Houſe ſhould be given to Sir William Waller, for the ſervice he had done in that reſpect; with this addition, that it was great ſervice done the nation, and not the firſt that Sir William had done. In the Index this motion is ſaid to have been made by our Colonel Blood, which is a very great miſtake; for, in the firſt place, he never was a member; and in the next, he was dead before this affair happened. The Colonel B. mentioned in the book from the Journal of the Houſe of Commons, was Colonel Birch, a very active Member in that Parliament at Oxford, and eſpecially in Fitz-Harris's affair.

[*L*] *Which, to prevent its being entirely loſt, is preſerved in the notes.*] There are ſcarcely any traces to be met with in our hiſtories of this dark tranſaction about the Duke of Buckingham, and yet it muſt have made a great noiſe in thoſe days, and ſeems to have been drawn into a great length: for I find (31), that on the 5th of April, 1680, the Attorney-General had orders to proſecute ſeveral perſons upon this account, and a few days afterwards I find that Sir William Waller was ſtruck out of the commiſſion of the peace for Middleſex, who had been alſo very buſy in this affair: but it was not till the 25th of June, in the ſame year, that the great affair was brought on, when (32) Mr. Thomas Blood, Mr. Edward Chriſtian, Arthur Obrian, with others, were brought to their trial at the King's-Bench bar at Weſtminſter, for a conſpiracy againſt the ſaid Duke of Bucks, and were found guilty. The following paper was printed by itſelf in one ſheet, under the title of *The true ſtate of the Caſe of Lieutenant-Colonel* THOMAS BLOOD; and it is alſo taken into that account of his life which has been ſo often cited. The true deſign of the Caſe, as I apprehend, was to give ſuch a colour to the cauſe of Mr. Blood, as, with the aſſiſtance of the intereſt he ſtill had, might procure ſome alleviation in his ſentence; which however, from a compariſon of circumſtances, I am inclined to think he never received, but that the very apprehenſions of it broke his heart. Thus the reader ſees, that if the Duke of Bucks had any concerns with Colonel Blood in the affair of the Duke of Ormond, or if his pardon for ſtealing the crown was obtained by his Grace, he was but indifferently requited.

'That he was deſired by the woman that keeps the
'Saint John's Head, or Heaven tavern, to come and
'ſpeak with her at ſuch a time: That upon his
'coming to her, ſhe told him that two ſhabby fel-

(29) North's Examen, or an Enquiry into the Credit and Veracity of a pretended Complete Hiſtory, Lond. 1740, 4to, p. 311.

(30) *Id. ibid.* p. 284.

(31) Hiſtory of Plots, p. 135.

(32) The Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 124.

different a light, that he was convicted upon a criminal information for the conſpiracy, and committed to the King's-Bench priſon; and while in cuſtody there, he was charged with

‘lows had been with her ſome time before, to tell her that they had ſomething of great conſequence in reference to the welfare of the public to reveal, but that they wanted a diſcreet perſon to manage it: That thereupon Mr. Blood made anſwer, that if there were any thing fit to be taken notice of, he would bring them to thoſe that had ſufficient authority to take notice of it, and thereupon promiſed to meet the perſons.

‘That upon his ſecond coming to meet the diſcoverers, they refuſed to ſpeak with him; for that underſtanding he was the perſon with whom they were to diſcourſe, they averred they would have nothing to do with him, for that he was the Duke of Buckingham's friend: That thereupon the woman of the houſe, that Mr. Blood might ſee ſhe had not told him a lye, perſuaded one of the perſons to ſhew himſelf to Mr. Blood, who to that purpoſe, as he paſſed by, ſtepped into the room where Mr. Blood was, and going in, told, that he and his fellows had buſineſs of great concernment to diſcover, but could not then, by reaſon of another appointment, and ſo concluded upon another day: That Mrs. Bradley upon this came to him to his houſe, and told him ſhe believed the fellows were rogues and trepans, and adviſed him to ſeize them, and carry them before a magiſtrate: That Mr. Blood, weighing the conſequence of the woman's advice, and being informed by her of their lodgings, according to the directions of one Mr. Curtis, went to Dr. Chamberlain, one of the Juſtices of the Peace for the county of Middleſex, and told him the ſtory, who thereupon not only gave Mr. Blood his warrant, but accompanied him till the execution of this warrant.

‘That two perſons were by him apprehended, by name Philemon Codan, and Samuel Ryther: That upon their apprehenſion and firſt examination ſeverally before Dr. Chamberlain, they ſeemed to wonder what he meant, when he told them he heard they knew of a plot, and wanted a magiſtrate to reveal it to: That thereupon the Juſtice of the Peace told them all that Mr. Blood had told him, concerning their diſcourſe with Mrs. Bradley, and their appointment of meeting Mr. Blood.

‘That to this one of them, *viz.* Codan, replied, that it was about the Duke of Buckingham, who, he ſaid, owed them ſeveral hundreds of pounds upon account of wages, and that they wanted ſomebody that was able to cope with him; to whom, one Curtis ſtanding by, replied in theſe words:

‘How, did I not hear you ſay at ſuch a place, that you knew of a greater plot yet undiſcovered, than either Mr. Oats or Mr. Bedloe had hitherto made out; to which the ſaid Codan gave no ſatisfactory anſwer, and Ryther proteſted he knew nothing of a plot, or any thing like it: That to all this the Doctor urged, that it was not to be thought that any diſcreet perſon ſhould be ſo overſeen, as to interpoſe between maſter and ſervant about wages, eſpecially ſo great a perſon as the Duke, and therefore that could not be the reaſon of their meeting at Heaven. Thereupon one of them ſtarting up in a violent paſſion before the Juſtice of Peace, ſwore that he would be revenged upon the Duke of Buckingham, and that he would ſwear any thing that might tend to the doing him a prejudice, and that he himſelf would ſwear Sodomy againſt him.

‘That upon this the Juſtice of the Peace having told them that he neither did believe, nor would hear any thing relating to the Duke, aſked them jointly, why they ran away at the ſight of Mr. Blood at Mrs. Bradley's? To which they replied, that they were miſtruſtful of him, becauſe they had heard he was the Duke's friend.

‘That thereupon Dr. Chamberlain, taking them for impertinent fellows, diſmiſſed them, with directions to conſider what they had ſaid, and to attend him at ſuch a time at his houſe, where he would be ready to hear whatever they had to diſcover concerning any plot: That accordingly they came with one Whitaker and Jenks, where Mr. Blood likewiſe attended; at which time Dr. Chamberlain aſking them the meaning of their former ſhuffling ſtories, they replied, they had a farther deſign to carry on for the good of the public, but would come to no particulars; whereupon Dr. Chamberlain diſmiſſed them.

‘That ſoon after Sir W. W. ſent for Blood to a tavern in Weſtminſter, whither when he came, he found Ryther, Codan, Whitaker, and Jenks, in Sir William's company; and what more ſurpriſed him, he found Ryther and Codan in a genteel equipage and alamode accoutrements, whom he looked upon before as very mean fellows.

‘That preſently then Sir William told him he was very much troubled for the premunire he had brought himſelf into, for that Ryther and Codan were come to depoſe upon oath, that he had attempted ſeveral times to corrupt them with money and other rewards to ſwear Sodomy againſt the Duke of Buckingham: That upon Mr. Blood's making ſtrange of it, Codan ſtarted up and confirmed the ſame.

‘Thereupon Mr. Blood aſked them, how they could be ſo impudent as to invent ſuch a thing againſt him, whom they had never ſeen but once at Heaven, and another time with Dr. Chamberlain: That thereupon Mr. Whitaker and Jenks ſtood up, and bid Mr. Blood be honeſt and juſt, and confeſs; to whom Mr. Blood replied, You have been theſe two years laſt employed to aſperſe me, and could you find no better invention than this?

‘That after this, Mr. Blood directing his diſcourſe to Sir William Waller, deſired of him to know the meaning of the whole ſtory, which was a thing unknown to himſelf; upon which Mr. Whitaker and Mr. Jenks jointly affirmed Codan and Ryther to be honeſt men, and preſſed Sir William for juſtice: That thereupon Sir William deſired Mr. Blood very civilly to put in bail; to which Mr. Blood replied, that he would conſider of it, and ſo for that time went about his occaſions: That the next morning he went to Sir William's houſe for a copy of his mittimus, which at length was granted him: That the next day he was met by a conſtable, who told him he had a warrant againſt him from Sir William Waller, miſtaking a mittimus for a warrant, and thereupon he went away with the conſtable to a tavern, where he continued under reſtraint of the conſtable ſeveral hours: That while he was under cuſtody, Sir William, apprehenſive of ſome miſtake, as is pretended, ſent one of the witneſſes to the conſtable, to know how he had diſpoſed of Mr. Blood, and whether he had carried him to priſon; who made anſwer, that he had not ſufficient authority for ſo doing, and that Mr. Blood might bring him into trouble for ſo doing, as not having been carried before a Juſtice of Peace, as he ought to have been firſt of all. Thereupon the witneſs went back to Sir William, and not long after returned to the conſtable, and brought him a warrant to ſeize Mr. Blood, and for want of bail to carry him to the Gatehouſe: That upon that warrant, Mr. Blood gave in bail before Sir William Poultney to anſwer the accuſation; upon which accuſation Mr. Blood, with the reſt, were found guilty.’ C.

, [Another piece was publiſhed at the time relative to this tranſaction, and in vindication of Blood, conſiſting of 32 pages in folio, intitled, ‘The Narrative of Col. Tho. Blood, concerning the deſign reported to be lately laid againſt the life and honour of his Grace George Duke of Buckingham, *&c.*’ Lond. 1680. In this pamphlet is printed a copy of the information exhibited in the Crown-office againſt Blood, Hickey, Le Mar, Smith, Haley, Curtis, Chriſtian, *&c.* wherein they were charged with conſpiring, intending, and deſigning, ‘to deſpoil and deprive his Grace the Duke of Buckingham, one of the peers and grandees of the kingdom of England, not only of his honour, eſtimation, and reputation, but alſo to take his life away, and deſtroy his life and dignity of dukeſhip. And to cauſe the ſaid George Duke of Buckingham to be taken, arreſted, and condemned to death, for deteſtable crimes and offences of ſodomy and buggery,

with an action of *ſcandalum magnatum*, at the ſuit of the Duke of Buckingham (*k*), in which the damages were laid ſo high as ten thouſand pounds; but, notwithſtanding this, Col. Blood found bail, and was diſcharged from his impriſonment. He then retired to his houſe in the Bowling-alley in Weſtminſter, in order to take ſuch meaſures as were requiſite to deliver him out of theſe difficulties; but finding fewer friends than he expected, and meeting with other and more grievous diſappointments, he was ſo much affected thereby, as to fall into a diſtemper that ſpeedily threatened his life. He was attended in his ſickneſs by a clergyman, who found him ſenſible, but reſerved, declaring he was not at all afraid of death. In a few days he fell into a lethargy, and Wedneſday, Aug. 24, 1680, he departed this life (*l*). On the Friday following he was privately, but decently, interred, in the new chapel in Tothill-fields. Yet ſuch was the notion entertained by the generality of the world of this man's ſubtlety and reſtleſs ſpirit, that they could neither be perſuaded he would be quiet in his grave, nor would they permit him to remain ſo: For a ſtory being ſpread that this dying, and being buried, was only a new trick of Col. Blood's, preparative to ſome more extraordinary exploit than any he had been concerned in, it became in a few days ſo current, and ſo many circumſtances were added to render it credible, that the Coroner thought fit to interpoſe, ordered the body to be taken up again upon the Thurſday following, and appointed a jury to ſit upon it. But ſo ſtrongly were they prepoſſeſſed with the idle fancy of its being all an amuſement, that though they were his neighbours, knew him perſonally, and he had been ſo few days dead, they could not for a long time agree whether it was or was not his body (*m*). An intimate acquaintance of his, at laſt, put them on viewing the thumb of his left hand, which, by an accident that happened to it, grew to twice its natural ſize, which was commonly known to ſuch as converſed with him. By this, and the various depoſitions of perſons attending him in his laſt illneſs, they were at length convinced, and the Coroner cauſed him to be once more interred, and left in his vault in quiet (*n*). Such were the tranſactions of this man's life, whoſe real adventures exceed in ſtrangeneſs what would appear fictitious even in romance, and aſtoniſhed his contemporaries.

(*k*) Remarks on the Life of Mr. Blood, p. 12.

(*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) Poſtſcript to the Remarks on the Life of Mr. Blood.

(*n*) Hiſtory of Plots, p. 231.

' gery, by him ſuppoſed to be committed, with one ' Sarah Harwood, and divers other perſons, againſt ' the order of nature. And alſo for enticing or ' tranſporting of the ſaid Sarah Harwood beyond ſea, ' to ſuppreſs and take off their evidences of and concerning the crimes of ſodomy and buggery aforeſaid.'] T.

[Among the other extraordinary circumſtances of Blood's life, nothing is more ſurpriſing than the influence which he had, for a time, at Charles the Second's court. *Cauſa latet, res eſt notiſſima*. Dr. Pope, in his Life of Biſhop Ward, gives a ſtriking account of Blood's intereſt with the King. ' A little ' after,' ſays the Doctor, ' I know not upon what ' ground, the weather-cock of the court council ' turned to the contrary point, and one *Blood*, a perſon notorious for ſtealing the crown out of the ' Tower, and offering that barbarous violence to the ' Duke of Ormond, being of a ſudden become a *great ' favourite at Court*, and the chief agent for the Diſſenters: This Blood, I ſay, brought the Biſhop of ' Saliſbury (Ward) a verbal meſſage from the King, ' not to moleſt the Diſſenters; upon which he went ' to wait on his Majeſty, and humbly repreſented to ' him, that there were only two troubleſome Nonconformiſts in his dioceſe, whom he doubted not, ' with his Majeſty's permiſſion, but that he ſhould ' bring them to their duty, and then he named them. ' *Theſe are the very men*, replied the King, *you muſt ' not meddle with*; to which he obeyed, letting the ' proſecution againſt them fall (33).' If Charles the Second's timidity will account for his ſparing Blood's life, it will ſcarcely account for his receiving him ſo greatly into favour.

The Earl of Rocheſter, in his ' Hiſtory of Inſipids,' has the following lines on this circumſtance:

' Blood, that wears treaſon in his face,
  ' Villain complete *in parſon's gown* †,
' How much is he at court in grace,
  ' For ſtealing Ormond and the crown!
' Since loyalty does no man good,
' Let's ſteal the King, and outdo Blood (34).] K.

(33) Communicated by a valuable Correſpondent.

† Alluding to his diſguiſe when he ſtole the crown.

(34) Granger's Biogr. Hiſt. Vol. iv. p. 214.

BLOUNT, a very ancient, once noble, and ſtill honourable, family. Of this houſe there have been three diſtinct races of Peers, of whom we ſhall give ſome account [*A*]. Thence alſo have ſprung perſons rendered illuſtrious by almoſt all the

[*A*] *Of whom we ſhall give ſome account.*] They were originally Normans, and derived their name of le Blound from their having yellow hair (1). Two young Lords of this name, coming over with William ſirnamed the Conqueror, he made the elder, Robert, Baron of Ixworth in Suffolk (2). Of his ſon and heir Gilbert, Mr. Camden having occaſion to ſpeak, he ſtiles him *Vir magnæ Nobilitatis*, a man of high nobility. This line ended in William le Blound, who was killed at the battle of Lewes in the reign of King Henry III., leaving behind him two ſiſters. Beſides theſe, there were other Barons, ſummoned to parliament in the reigns of Edward II. and Edward III.: but the firſt Baron of Mountjoy was Sir Walter Blount of Elwaſton in Derbyſhire, ſo created by Edward IV. Of this noble Lord and his family I have a curious pedigree, whence I ſhall give their deſcents (3). Sir Walter Blount, the firſt Baron of Mountjoy, married Helena, daughter of John Biron, Eſq;: by her he had three ſons, Sir William Blount, who married Margaret, daughter and heireſs of Thomas Lord Itchingham, who died in the lifetime of his father; Sir John Blount, and Sir James Blount. William Blount left iſſue John Blount, Lord Mountjoy, who died childleſs; Edward Blount, Lord Mountjoy, who alſo died without children; Elizabeth, wife of Andrew Lord Windſor; Alice, firſt married to Sir Thomas Uxenbridge, Knight, afterwards to Sir David Owen of Midhurſt in the county of Suſſex. Sir John Blount, ſecond ſon of Walter Lord Mountjoy, married Lora, daughter of Sir Edward Barkley of Beverſton, by whom he had Sir William Blount, afterwards Lord Mountjoy, who married firſt Elizabeth, daughter and coheireſs of Sir William Say, by whom he had two daughters; Gertrude, who married Henry Courtney, Marquis of Exeter; and Catherine, firſt married to Mr. Chamburn, then to Sir Maurice Barkley. The ſecond wife of this William Lord Mountjoy was Dorothy, daughter of Sir Henry Keeble of London, Knight, by whom he had Charles Blount. His third wife was another Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Gray, Mar-

(1) Camd. Britan. in Suffolk.

(2) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. i. p. 519. Camden. Britan. *ubi ſupra*.

(3) Communicated to me by the Reverend Mr. Knipe, in a curious MS. of ſeveral ancient families.

titles of honour which this nation can boaſt, allied more than once by marriage to the Royal Family, and employed in the firſt offices almoſt in every reign ſince the conqueſt, of which it may not be amiſs to give ſome inſtances. John Blount was Cuſtos of the city of London from the year 1301 to the year 1307; that is, from the twenty-ninth of Edward I. to the firſt of Edward II. (*a*). Thomas le Blount was Steward of the King's Houſehold the twentieth of Edward II. (*b*). Sir Thomas le Blount was Treaſurer of Normandy the firſt of Henry V. (*c*). Walter Blount was Lord High Treaſurer of England in the fourth of Edward IV. (*d*). Sir Thomas Blount a Knight Banneret the fifth of Henry VIII. (*e*). Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland the forty-ſecond of Elizabeth; and continued, and made a Privy-Counſellor, by King James (*f*). There have been likewiſe, of this family, four Knights of the Garter [*B*]; and Mary, late Dutcheſs of Norfolk, the firſt Dutcheſs in this kingdom, was the daughter of Edward Blount, of Blagdon, near Torbay in the county of Devon, Eſq; and was married to Edward Howard, Duke of Norfolk, in 1727 (*g*). There have been ſeveral flouriſhing families, two of Baronets, and others, perſons of ample fortune, of this illuſtrious line.

(*a*) Stowe's Survey of London, fol. 1720, Vol. i. p. 107.

(*b*) Dugdale's Baronage of England, 1675, fol. Vol. i. p. 519.

(*c*) *Idem, ibid.*

(*d*) *Idem, ibid.*

(*e*) Peacham's Complete Gentleman.

(*f*) Camden's Annals, Vol. iii. p. 805. Chauncy's Hertfordſhire.

(*g*) Collins's Peerage of England, edit. 1741, 8*vo*, Vol. i p. 21.

⁂ [The chief of this family, at preſent, is Sir Walter Blount of Sodington in Worceſterſhire, and Mawly in Shropſhire. He is lineally deſcended from the original Norman founder of the name, before mentioned, and is the twenty-firſt in ſucceſſion. The ſecond family of Baronets of this line began in Sir Thomas Pope Blount, of whom hereafter. The title in this branch is now extinct]. K.

quis of Dorcheſter, widow of Robert Willoughby, Lord Brooke, by whom he had John Blount, and two daughters, Dorothy and Mary. His ſon and heir, Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, married Anne, daughter of Robert Lord Willoughby of Brooke, by whom he had two ſons, James and Francis. James Lord Mountjoy married Catherine, daughter of Thomas Leigh of St. Oſwald in the county of Devon, Eſq; by whom he had iſſue William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, who died childleſs in 1594; and Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, afterwards Earl of Devonſhire. In him, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in a diſtinct article, this line failed, he leaving no lawful iſſue: but his natural ſon, Mountjoy Blount, was created Baron Mountjoy in Ireland by King James I., and Baron Mountjoy of Thurveſton in Derbyſhire, and Earl of Newport in the Iſle of Wight by King Charles I.

[*B*] *Four Knights of the Garter.*] The firſt of theſe was Sir John Blount, who flouriſhed in the reigns of Henry IV. and Henry V., becoming a Knight of the Order ſome time between the years 1416 and 1420 (4). Walter Blount, Lord Mountjoy, who was a great favourite of Edward IV., was the ſecond Knight of the Garter of this family, and received that honour 1472 (5). The third was William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, who became a Knight of the Garter in the reign of Henry VIII., in the year 1526 (6). The fourth was Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, afterwards Earl of Devonſhire, on whom Queen Elizabeth conferred the Order 1597 (7). C.

(4) Aſhmole's Hiſtory of the Garter, p. 610.

(5) *Id. ibid.* p. 712.

(6) *Id. ibid.*

(7) Mills's Catalogue of Honour, p. 493.

BLOUNT (JOHN),

called in Latin *Blondus*, or *Blundus*, a very eminent Divine in the XIIIth century. He received the firſt tincture of learning in the univerſity of Oxford, and went afterwards for his improvement to Paris, where he quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, among many of his learned contemporaries, by the vivacity of his wit (*a*). On his return into England, he again ſettled himſelf at Oxford, and read Divinity Lectures there with univerſal applauſe. The reputation of his learning obtained him alſo ſeveral other preferments, particularly thoſe of Prebend and Chancellor in the church of York (*b*). In 1232, the archiepiſcopal See of Canterbury being vacant by the death of Richard Wetherſhed, and the rejection of two of his ſucceſſors, Ralph Nevil, Biſhop of Chicheſter and Chancellor of England, and John, Sub-Prior of Canterbury, by the Pope, our Dr. Blount was, by the Chapter of Canterbury, elected Archbiſhop (*c*). He did not, however, enjoy that dignity; for the Pope immediately objected to him, and after a ſummary inquiry into the validity of his election, declared it void, for ſeveral reaſons, of which our Hiſtorians take notice (*d*), though very probably Bale has hit upon the true cauſe, which, however, was never alleged (*e*) [*A*]. Many

(*a*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. Vol. ii. p. 276. Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol i. p. 354. 377.

(*b*) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. i. p. 755.

(*c*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. edit. 1616, 4*to*, p. 127.

(*d*) M. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. i. p. 385.

(*e*) Script. Britan. edit. 1559, fol. p. 280.

[*A*] *Which however was never alleged.*] The whole of this tranſaction has hitherto been very darkly treated. We will endeavour to clear it up in this note, as far as the authorities which remain at this diſtance of time will permit. The reader muſt obſerve, that during the reign of Henry III. the Popes aſſumed greater authority than at any other time, excepting in the days of his father, in the realm of England, and were eſpecially buſy in the confirmations of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury (1). Richard Wetherſhed, who had ſucceeded Stephen Langton in the archiepiſcopal See of Canterbury, deceaſed in 1231 (2); whereupon Ralph Nevil, Biſhop of Chicheſter, was elected his ſucceſſor. But the Pope knowing the great parts of this Prelate, and his affection to the Crown, abſolutely refuſed to confirm him, for fear he ſhould withdraw the King from that ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion he had hitherto paid to the See of Rome. However, his Holineſs gave leave to the Monks of Canterbury to proceed to a new election, with an admonition to be careful in their choice, that the new Archbiſhop ſhould be ſincerely attached to the See of Rome (3). Upon this they elected John their Sub-Prior, who went in perſon to Rome in order to his confirmation. The Pope thereupon directed that he ſhould be examined by the Cardinals as to his abilities; but notwithſtanding they reported in his favour, his Holineſs declared him infirm, and therefore incapable, directing the Chapter of Canterbury to make a new choice (4). They did ſo, and then fixed on our Dr. Blount, to whom the Pope objected a ſimoniacal contract with Peter, Biſhop of Wincheſter; and alſo alleged, that Blount having held two benefices with cure of ſouls, without a diſpenſation, he was to be conſidered as a reprobate, and conſequently incapable of ſo high preferment: and this judgment he pronounced, notwithſtanding Blount pleaded that he held ſuch benefices before the decree of that General Council whereon this ſentence was founded. Thus, ſays Matth. Paris, the Church of Canterbury was in the ſame ſtate with Sarah the daughter of Raguel, and wife of Tobias, as being thrice

(1) Hiſt. des Papes, Vol. iii. p. 155—236.

(2) M. Paris, Vol i. p. 370. Nich. Trivet. Annals Vol. i. p. 184.

(3) M. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. i. p. 370.

(4) Hiſt. Prior. Cant. apud Wharton, Angl. Sac. Vol. i. p. 140. M. Paris, Vol. i. p. 370.

Many of our modern writers, and particularly Biſhop Godwin, fall into frequent inaccuracies concerning this Prelate, ſometimes miſtaking his ſirname, and ſometimes confounding him with Richard Blount, Biſhop of Lincoln *(f)*. After his return from Rome, and being deprived of his high dignity, he retired once again to Oxford, and, as Leland tells us, conſoled himſelf under his misfortunes, by an ardent application to his ſtudies *(g)*. In this manner he ſpent ſixteen years, during which time he compoſed ſeveral learned works, and amongſt them various Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures *(h)*. He was celebrated by his contemporaries for the elegance of his ſtyle, and for the extenſiveneſs of his learning *(i)*. John Roſs of Warwick, no contemptible hiſtorian, and who did not live above a century after his time, ſpeaks of him as a prodigy of ſcience *(k)*. Yet Pits very confidently tells us, that his writings did by no means ſpeak him worthy of ſuch commendations *(l)*; a cenſure in itſelf of little authority, and, all circumſtances conſidered, of none at all, as will be ſhewn in the notes [*B*]. This very learned, though unfortunate perſon, having attained to a good old age, and to a high reputation for his knowledge, prudence, and piety, deceaſed in 1248 *(m)*, having always ſhewn an equality of mind, which demonſtrated him worthy of the higheſt ſtation, by enabling him to bear with fortitude his fall from thence.

(f) De Præſul. Angl. p. 127.

(g) Comment. de Script. Vol. ii. p. 276.

(h) Bale, Script. Britan. p. 280.

(i) M. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. i. p. 385.

(k) De Academ. Britan.

(l) De Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 319.

(m) M. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol i. p. 755.

thrice a widow in ſo ſhort a ſpace; for this fell out in the ſpring of the year 1233 (5). Perhaps, ſays Bale, Blount was more learned than the Court of Rome deſired an Archbiſhop ſhould be (6). In truth, whoever conſiders the character of Gregory IX., one of the warmeſt and boldeſt men that ever ſat in the papal chair, and reflects upon his rejecting the Biſhop of Chicheſter on account of his loyalty, and the Sub-Prior of Canterbury for inſufficiency, after he had ſtood an examination of three days on nineteen ſeveral articles, and came off with applauſe; whoever, I ſay, attentively reflects on this, and on our Blount's being ſupported by the Emperor's intereſt (7), will not think that Bale's heat did in this caſe carry him too far, but rather that there is juſt reaſon to ſuppoſe his abilities rendered him obnoxious to the Court of Rome, more than his having had two livings, which, whatever crime it might have been in thoſe days, would have been thought a ſmall fault in ſucceeding times.

[*B*] *As will be ſhewn in the notes.*] Leland, in his life of this learned perſon, owns ingenuouſly, that he was ſo unlucky as never to have met with any of thoſe elegant writings which rendered our author's memory famous, adding a doubt whether any of them were extant (8). Bale, in the firſt edition of his work, omitted this life; and when he added it afterwards, he only copied Leland, adding that Blount had written *Summarium Sacræ Facultatis*, lib. 1. *Diſceptationes aliquot*, lib. 1. and ſeveral Commentaries on the Scriptures (9). Then comes Pits and tranſcribes Bale, adding the cenſure mentioned in the text (10); yet takes no notice of any other works than thoſe which Bale had before noted, and, which is very remarkable, does not give us the beginning of any of them, as his cuſtom always is, wherever he had ſeen ſuch books, or could meet with any accounts from other people who had ſeen them. It is therefore more than probable, that he boldly publiſhed this calumny, in order to ſupport the credit of the See of Rome, by leſſening the reputation of a perſon whom it had ſo vehemently perſecuted. C.

(5) Hiſt. Angl. Vol. i. p. 385.

(6) Script. Britan. p. 280.

(7) M Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. i. p. 370—385.

(8) Comment. de Script. Brit. Vol. ii. p. 277.

(9) Script. Brit. p. 280.

(10) De Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 319.

BLOUNT (RICHARD), called alſo in Latin *Blundus*, or *Blondus*, an eminent Divine in the XIIIth century. He became firſt Chancellor, and then Biſhop, of Exeter, in 1245, being the twenty-ninth of Henry III. *(a)*, and is ſaid to have been a perſon of a very ſweet and gentle diſpoſition, which inclined him to truſt others too much in the management of his own affairs, and in thoſe of the Church *(b)*. In conſequence of this, his dependants entered into a conſpiracy for defrauding the church of Exeter of a great part of its revenues, by forging certain grants, to be by them produced after his deceaſe. The names of theſe perſons were, Lodeſwel, his Chancellor; Sutton, his Regiſter; Fitzherbert, his Official; and Ermeſton, the Keeper of his Seal *(c)*. The good Biſhop died in 1257 *(d)* [*A*]. Not long after this, they put in practice their baſe deſign, which ſucceeded as ſuch deſigns generally do; that is to ſay, it created ſome ſtir and diſpute at firſt, but at laſt appeared in its true colours, a baſe and black forgery, for which all the conſpirators were compelled to do public penance in the cathedral church on the 19th of March, 1267 *(e)*.

(a) Trivet. Ann. Vol. i. p. 198. M. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. i. p. 686.

(b) Wharton, Angl. Sacr.

(c) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. p. 460, 461.

(d) Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 208. M. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. i. p. 944.

(e) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. p. 460, 461.

[*A*] *The good Biſhop died, &c.*] According to the character given us of this Prelate by Biſhop Godwin, one could ſcarcely have ſaid ſo much for him as is ſaid in the text: to juſtify this, therefore, we muſt obſerve, that we have the authority of Matth. Paris, who was his contemporary, to ſupport us: for he, ſpeaking of his acceſſion to the epiſcopal dignity, ſays, that he was a man ſuperior to cenſure, and in his life and learning equally commendable. *Vir ſine querela, moribus et literis omnibus commendabilis* (1). C.

(1) Hiſt. Angl. Vol. i. p. 686.

BLOUNT (CHARLES), the eighth Lord Montjoy, created afterwards Earl of Devonſhire, was born in the year 1563 [*A*], being the ſecond ſon of James, Lord Mountjoy *(a)*. He had his education at Oxford, and the Inner Temple *(b)*. When he was at this laſt place, ‘ being about twenty years of age, of a brown hair, a ſweet ‘ face, a moſt neat compoſure, and tall in his perſon *(c)*,’ he made his firſt appearance at Court, where he was diſtinguiſhed by Queen Elizabeth [*B*]. His fortune at that time

(a) See Baronage of England, by Sir Will. Dugdale, Vol. i. p. 521.

(b) Wood, Faſti, Vol. i. col. 138, Lond. 1731. Fragmenta Regalia, by Sir Rob. Naunton, Lond. 1653, 12*mo*, p. 73.

(c) Naunton, *ibid.*

[*A*] *Was born in the year* 1563.] He was in the forty-third year of his age in 1606 when he died (1), and conſequently muſt have been born in the year 1563.

[*B*] *He made his firſt appearance at Court, where he was diſtinguiſhed by Queen Elizabeth.*] Sir Robert Naunton gives the following account of it (2). ‘ As ‘ he came from Oxford, he took the Inner-Temple ‘ in his way to Court, whither he no ſooner came, ‘ but (without aſking) he had a pretty ſtrange kind of ‘ admiſſion, which I have heard from a diſcreet man ‘ of his own, and much more of the ſecrets of thoſe ‘ times. The Queen was then at Whitehall, and at ‘ dinner, whither he came to ſee the faſhion of the

(1) W. Imhoff, Reg. Pariumq; Mag. Britan. Hiſt. Genealog. Norimb. 1690.

(2) Fragmenta Regalia, edit. 1653, 12*mo*, p. 73.

time was very ſmall (*d*): however, ſo good was his intereſt, that he was choſen one of the Burgeſſes for the borough of St. Ives in Cornwall, in the parliament which met at Weſtminſter in 1585, being then not above two and twenty years of age (*e*). The next year he was returned one of the Burgeſſes for Berealſton in Devonſhire (*f*), and the ſame year was knighted (*g*). In 1588, he was one of thoſe young noblemen and gentlemen who hired ſhips at their own charge to go and join the Engliſh fleet, when it was in purſuit of the Spaniſh armada (*h*). On the 16th of June, 1589, he was created Maſter of Arts at Oxford (*i*); and, a ſecond time, was choſen one of the Burgeſſes for Berealſton, in the parliament which met at Weſtminſter in February 1592-3 (*k*). Upon the death of Henry, Earl of Suſſex, in 1594, he was made Governor of Portſmouth (*l*); and the ſame year ſucceeded to his elder brother's title of Lord Mountjoy (*m*), and inheritance of one thouſand marks [*C*]. With this he lived, as Sir Robert Naunton expreſſes it (*n*), ‘in a fine way and garb, and without any great ſupport, during all Queen Elizabeth's times. And, as there was in his nature a kind of backwardneſs, which did not befriend him, nor ſuit with the motion of the court, ſo there was in him an inclination to arms, with a humour of travelling; which, had not ſome wiſe men about him laboured to remove, and the Queen herſelf laid in her commands, he would, out of his natural inclination, have ſpoiled his own fortune: For, as he was grown by reading (whereunto he was much addicted) to the theory of a ſoldier, ſo he was ſtrongly invited by his genius to the acquaintance of the practical part of the war, which were the cauſes of his excurſions: For he had a company in the Low Countries, from whence he came over with a noble acceptance of the Queen; but, ſomewhat reſtleſs in honourable thoughts, he expoſed himſelf again and again, and would preſs the Queen with the pretences of viſiting his company ſo often, that at length he had a flat denial. And yet he ſtole over with Sir John Norris into Bretagne, where was then a hot and active war; till at laſt the Queen took his deceſſions for contempts, and confined his reſidence to the Court, and her own preſence.’ In 1597 he was made Knight of the Garter (*o*), and employed in the expedition to the Azores iſlands, being Lieutenant-General of the land-forces under the Earl of Eſſex (*p*), and Commander of the ſhip Defiance (*q*). The ſame year, there being an univerſal Iriſh rebellion intended, with the aſſiſtance of Spain, in order to ſhake off the Engliſh government (*r*), the Lord Mountjoy was conſtituted Lieutenant, under the Earl of Eſſex, of the forces appointed for the defence of that kingdom (*s*). In 1598, he was deſigned for the Lieutenancy of Ireland, but durſt not ſtand in competition with the great favourite of his time, the Earl of Eſſex; who coveting this great authority and ſtation [*D*], at once gratified his own ambition, and his enemies malicious deſigns, which deſired nothing more than his abſence from Court (*t*). However, upon this Earl's diſgrace, he was inveſted with that honour towards the end of the year 1599 (*u*). So great was the opinion the Queen had of his worth and conduct, that ſhe would have him, and none other, to finiſh and bring the Iriſh war to a propitious end, as Sir Robert Naunton obſerves (*w*): For it was a prophetical ſpeech of her own, That it would be his fortune and his honour to cut the thread of the fatal Iriſh rebellion, and to bring her in peace to the grave; wherein ſhe was not miſtaken.

‘Court: the Queen had ſoon found him out,’ [he being a very handſome man, as is related above in the text] ‘and with a kind of an affected frown aſked the Lady-Carver what he was? She anſwered, ſhe knew him not; inſomuch as enquiry was made from one to another who he might be, till at length it was told the Queen he was brother to the Lord William Mountjoy. This inquiſition, with the eye of Majeſty fixed upon *him* (as ſhe was wont to do, and to daunt men ſhe knew not), ſtirred the blood of this young gentleman, inſomuch as his colour came and went; which the Queen obſerving, called him unto her, and gave him her hand to kiſs, encouraging him with gracious words and new looks; and ſo diverting her ſpeech to the Lords and Ladies, ſhe ſaid, that ſhe no ſooner obſerved him, but that ſhe knew there was in him ſome noble blood, with ſome other expreſſions of pity towards his houſe; and then again demanding his name, ſhe ſaid, Fail you not to come to the Court, and I will bethink myſelf how to do you good. And this was his inlet, and the beginnings of his grace. Where it falls into conſideration, that though he wanted not wit and courage (for he had very fine attractions, and being a good piece of a ſcholar), yet were they accompanied with baſhfulneſs and a natural modeſty, which (as the tone of his houſe, and the ebbe of his fortune, then ſtood) might have hindered his progreſſion, had they not been reinforced by the infuſion of Sovereign favour, and the Queen's gracious invitation.’

[*C*] *Inheritance of one thouſand marks.*] As the Blounts were a very ancient, honourable, and numerous family (3), their eſtate was originally very conſiderable (4). But the Lord Montjoy's patrimony was very much reduced, through his grandfather's exorbitant expences in the wars in France, his father's vanity in the ſearch of the Philoſopher's ſtone, and his brother's untimely prodigalities; all which ſeemed to conſpire to ruin the houſe, and altogether to bring it to nothing (5).

[*D*] *But durſt not ſtand in competition with —— the Earl of Eſſex*, &c.] The Earl of Eſſex might oppoſe his advancement to that high ſtation, both out of jealouſy and a private pique; for the Lord Montjoy (when he was but Sir Charles Blount) having one day had the good fortune to run very well a tilt, the Queen was ſo well pleaſed with it, that, in token of her favour, ſhe ſent him a queen at cheſs of gold, richly enamelled, which his ſervants faſtened the next day to his arm with a crimſon ribband. My Lord Eſſex, as he paſſed through the privy-chamber, eſpying it, with Sir Charles's cloak caſt under his arm, the better to commend it to view, inquired what it was, and for what cauſe there fixed? Sir Fulk Grevil told him, it was the Queen's favour, which the day before, and after the tilting, ſhe had ſent him. Whereupon my Lord Eſſex, in a kind of emulation, and as though he would have limited her favour, ſaid, ‘Now I perceive every fool muſt have a favour.’ This bitter and public affront coming to Sir Charles Blount's ear, he ſent him a challenge, which was accepted by my Lord, and they met near Marybone-Park, where my Lord was hurt in the thigh, and diſarmed (6).

(*d*) Naunton, p. 75.

(*e*) Notitia Parliamentaria, by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. ii. p. 129. Lond. 1716, 8*vo*.

(*f*) *Ibid* p. 276. His brother was Lord of the Manors of St. Ives and Berealſton. *Ibid*. p. 125. 374.

(*g*) Morgan, Sphere of Gentry, p. 88.

(*h*) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, ad ann. 1588, in Complete Hiſtory of England, edit. Lond. 1706, Vol. ii. p. 547.

(*i*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 138.

(*k*) Willis, *ubi ſupra*, p. 376.

(*l*) Camden, *ubi ſupra*, p. 594. Dugdale, Vol. i. p. 521; and Vol. ii. p. 287.

(*m*) Dugdale, Vol. i. p. 251.

(*n*) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 75.

(*o*) Milles's Catalogue of Honour. Stow (Annales, edit. 1631, fol. p. 783.) calls him Knight of the Order, when he was appointed Lieutenant-General; ſo that he was *moſt* likely ſo before this expedition.

(*p*) Stow, Annales, *ubi ſupra*. Camden, p. 597.

(*q*) Naval Hiſt. by T. Lediard, p. 353.

(*r*) R. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Lond. 1689, Part i. p. 414.

(*s*) Dugdale, *ubi ſupra*, p. 521.

(*t*) Dugdale, *ib*. Camden, *ubi ſupra*, p. 613. R. Cox, *ubi ſupra*, p. 416.

(*u*) Camden, Annales, p. 619. Pacata Hibernia, p. 2.

(*w*) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 77.

(3) Camden's Britannia, col. 649.

(4) See Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. i. p. 519, 520.

(5) Naunton, Fragmenta, *ubi ſupra*, p. 73.

(6) Naunton, *ubi ſupra*, p. 66.

He embarked at Beaumaris, February the 23d, 1599-1600, and landed the next day in Ireland (*x*); where he ſhewed himſelf the beſt ſoldier that kingdom had ſeen in many years, becauſe he found out the true way of making war with the Iriſh: for being well ſupplied with neceſſaries from England, he plainly ſaw, that if he could attack them at a time when they wanted all conveniencies to keep the field, he ſhould meet with very little or no reſiſtance; and therefore he ſupplied his frontier garriſons with men and proviſions; and they, by their frequent excurſions, did ſuch execution on the perſons and eſtates of the Iriſh, that by one winter's war he reduced them to the neceſſity of eating one another (*y*). On the 24th of December, 1601, he gained a complete victory, near Kinſale, over the Iriſh and ſix thouſand five hundred Spaniards, newly come over to their aſſiſtance; wherein twelve hundred of the enemy were ſlain, and about eight hundred wounded; whereas leſs than twenty of the Engliſh were killed or wounded (*z*). This was a deciſive blow; for, ſoon after, a total end was put to the Iriſh wars, by the voluntary ſubmiſſion of the arch-rebel Hugh O Neal, Earl of Tiroen, to the Lord Mountjoy, who brought him over along with him to England, in the beginning of the year 1603 (*a*). But, before his coming to England, that brave Lord was, on the 25th of April, conſtituted Lieutenant of Ireland (*b*) by King James I.; and the next month appointed one of the King's Privy-Council (*c*). The 21ſt of July enſuing, he was advanced to the title of Earl of Devonſhire (*d*). Moreover, in reward of his great ſervices, his Majeſty made him Maſter of the Ordnance in England; gave him Kingſton-hall in Dorſetſhire (*e*), two hundred pounds a year, old rent of aſſize out of the Exchequer, and as much more out of the Dutchy, for him and his heirs for ever; beſides the county of Lecal in Ireland, together with other lands in the Pale there, which were to fall to the Crown upon the death of the Counteſs of Kildare, for want of heirs-male of her body (*f*). He was, in 1603, one of the Lords preſent at the arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh (*g*). In 1604, he was one of the Commiſſioners to negociate a treaty of peace between England and Spain (*h*); and, in 1605, was alſo one of the Commiſſioners for the arraignment of the traitors concerned in the Gun-powder-plot (*i*). Beſides the places and offices above mentioned which he enjoyed, he had a company of horſe in Ireland (*k*), and was Warden of the New Foreſt (*l*). He died at the Savoy in the Strand, the 3d of April, 1606, after eight or ten days illneſs, of a burning fever and putrefaction of the lungs (*m*), and was buried with great pomp in St. Paul's chapel in Weſtminſter-abbey (*n*). Mr. Camden ſtiles him a perſon famous for conduct; and ſo eminent for courage and learning, that in thoſe reſpects he had no ſuperior, and but few equals (*o*). And his Secretary Moryſon informs us, that he was beautiful in his perſon as well as valiant, and learned as well as wiſe (*p*). His greateſt blemiſh was, that he took another man's wife, namely Penelope, daughter of Walter Devereux, Earl of Eſſex (*q*), who had been married ſeveral years to Robert, Lord Rich, and had brought him three ſons and four daughters [*E*]. The Earl of Devonſhire left this Lady fifteen hundred pounds a year, and moſt of his moveables;

(*x*) Pacata Hibernia, by Tho. Stafford, Lond. 1633, fol. p. 2.

(*y*) R. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Part ii. Epiſtle to the Reader, p. 2.

(*z*) Pacata Hibernia, as above, p. 232, *&c.*

(*a*) R. Cox, Part ii. p. 8. Life of James I. by Ar. Wilſon, in Complete Hiſt. Vol. ii. p. 664. Stow's Annals, p. 835.

(*b*) Pat. 1 Jac. I. p. 14.

(*c*) Camden's Annals of King James I. in Complete Hiſt. Vol. ii. p. 641.

(*d*) Orig. 1 Jacob. p. 5. Rot. 24. Dugdale, *ubi ſupra*, p. 521. Stow, p. 826.

(*e*) Camden, Britannia, edit. 1722, col. 63.

(*f*) Fines, Moryſon's Travels, Part ii. This Moryſon was Secretary to Lord Montjoy in Ireland. Wood's Faſti, Vol. i. col. 141.

(*g*) Sir Walter Raleigh's Arraignment by Sir T. Overbury.

(*h*) Stow, Annales, p. 846.

(*i*) *Idem*, p. 881.

(*k*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. ii. edit. Lond. 1725, fol. p. 173.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 206.

(*m*) *Ibid.* and Dugdale, Vol. ii. p. 521.

(*n*) *Ibid.* and Brooke's Catalogue, *&c.* edit. Lond. 1619, p. 64.

(*o*) Britannia, edit. Lond. 1722, col. 49. 589.

(*p*) Travels, Part ii.

(*q*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 178 and 388.

[*E*] *He took another man's wife, namely Penelope, &c.*] It was, undoubtedly, upon account of this diſhonourable action, that the author of a letter to Mr. Winwood made uſe of theſe harſh expreſſions (7). 'The Earle of Devonſhire left this life—ſoon and 'early for his years, but late enough for himſelf; 'and happy had he been if he had gone two or three 'years ſince, before the world was weary of him, or 'that he had left *that Scandall* behind him.'—The perſon it ſeems who married them was W. Laud, then Chaplain to the Earl of Devonſhire, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for which he was ſeverely reflected upon by Archbiſhop Abbot, in the following words. 'It was an obſervation what a ſweet 'man this was like to be, that the firſt obſervable act 'he did, was the marrying of the Earl of D* to the 'Lady R†, when it was notorious to the world that 'ſhe had another huſband, and the ſame a Noble-'man, who had divers children then living by her. 'King James did for many years take this ſo ill, that 'he would never hear of any great preferment of 'him (8).'—Mr. Laud knew not, as he pretended, that ſhe was then the wife of the Lord Rich, and therefore looked upon that action as one of the greateſt misfortunes of his life, and ſet down the day into the catalogue of days of ſpecial obſervance to him, both in his diary and the manuſcript book of his private devotions. The day in which they were married was December 26, 1605 (9).

*** [For a more full account of the tranſactions of Lord Montjoy in Ireland, recourſe may be had to Dr. Leland's Hiſtory of that country, vol. ii. p. 371—417. It appears that his Lordſhip, in his conteſts with the Iriſh rebels, could, upon occaſion, diſplay his learning, as well as his valour. When, in the beginning of James the Firſt's reign, a ſeditious ſpirit was diffuſed through the cities of the ſouth of Ireland, and Lord Montjoy marched into Munſter at the head of the Royal Army, he found, at Waterford, the gates ſhut againſt him; and the citizens pleaded, that by a charter of King John, they were exempt from quartering ſoldiers. Two Eccleſiaſtics, in the habits of their order, and with the croſs erected, preſented themſelves before the Lord Deputy in his camp, and inſolently declared, that the citizens of Waterford could not in conſcience obey any Prince that perſecuted the Catholic Faith. 'Dr. White, one of 'theſe Eccleſiaſtics, was bold,' ſays Moryſon, 'to 'maintain erroneous and dangerous poſitions, for 'maintenance of that which the citizens had done, 'in the reforming of religion without public autho-'rity, *all which his Lordſhip did* (as no layman I 'think could better do) *moſt learnedly confute.* And 'when White cited a place of Saint Auſtin for his 'proof, his Lordſhip, *having the book in his tent,* 'ſhewed all the company that he had falſely cited, 'that father: for howſoever his very words were 'found there, yet were they ſet down by way of an 'aſſertion, which St. Auſtin confuted in the diſcourſe 'following. At this ſurpriſal White was ſomewhat 'out of countenance, and the citizens aſhamed (10).' But though Lord Montjoy condeſcended ſo far to liſten to Dr. White, as to detect his falſe quotations from the fathers, yet his Lordſhip treated the citizens with the ſeverity of an offended Governor. He threatened to *draw King James's ſword, and cut the charter of King John to pieces,* to level their city with the ground, and ſtrew it with ſalt. His menaces were effectual: He was immediately admitted; the inhabitants ſwore allegiance, and renounced all foreign juriſdiction (11)].

K.

(7) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. ii. p. 206.

(*) Devonſhire.

(†) Rich.

(8) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. i. p. 440.

(9) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 55.

(10) Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 415, note.

(11) *Ibid.* p. 414, 415.

and of five children, that ſhe fathered upon him at the parting from her former huſband, he provided for no more than three; leaving the eldeſt ſon, Montjoy Blount, between three and four thouſand pounds a year, and to a daughter ſix thouſand pounds in money (r). This Montjoy Blount, was, by King James I., created Lord Montjoy of Montjoy-fort in Ireland; and by King Charles I. (s), Lord Montjoy of Thurveſton in Derbyſhire; and finally (t), Earl of Newport in the Iſle of Wight. He died at Oxford the 12th of February 1665, and was buried in Chriſt-Church cathedral (u); being ſucceeded in his honours by his ſon and heir George Blount; and he, by Henry his brother (w). M.

(r) Winwood's Memor. Vol. ii. p. 206.

(s) Pat. 3 Car. I. p. 24.

(t) Pat. 4 Car. I. p. 11.

(u) Wood, Faſti, Vol. i. col. 138.

(w) Camden, Britannia, col. 153.

BLOUNT (Sir Henry), a great Wit, a remarkable Patriot, and a conſiderable Writer in the laſt century. He was deſcended from a very ancient and honourable family [A], and born December 15, 1602, at his father's ſeat at Tittenhanger in Hertfordſhire (a). He received the firſt tincture of letters in the free-ſchool of St. Alban's, where he manifeſted an unuſual quickneſs of parts, and having qualified himſelf for the univerſity, was removed to Trinity-college in Oxford, and entered a Gentleman Commoner there in 1616, before he was full fourteen years of age (b). Some years he ſpent in that learned ſociety, with great reputation and univerſal reſpect, not ſo much on account of his family, by which he was nearly related to the founder, Sir Thomas Pope, as by reaſon of his perſonal merit. For in his youth he was of ſo cheerful a diſpoſition, had ſo juſt a reliſh for the Ancients, ſo ſprightly a wit, ſo eaſy an addreſs, and ſo frank and entertaining a converſation, that he charmed all who were of his acquaintance, and was juſtly eſteemed as promiſing a genius as any in the univerſity. In the year 1618 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and ſoon after left Oxford (c). Thence he went to Gray's-Inn, where for ſome time he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Law, and having perfected himſelf in all parts of a genteel education, he reſolved to travel, which he did accordingly in the ſpring of the year 1634, being then lately become of age (d). He made firſt the tour of France, part of Spain and Italy, and then paſſing to Venice, he there contracted an acquaintance with a Janizary, with whom he reſolved to paſs into the Turkiſh dominions (e). With this view he embarked, on the ſeventh of May 1634, on board a Venetian galley, in which he ſailed to Spalatro, and thence continued his journey by land to Conſtantinople. There he was very kindly received by Sir Peter Wich, then our Embaſſador at the Port. His ſtay at Conſtantinople was ſhort, becauſe, having an earneſt deſire to ſee Grand Cairo, and meeting with a ſudden opportunity, he readily embraced it (f), and after a peregrination of near two years, returned ſafely into England, where, in 1636 (g), he printed an account of his travels [B]. This book made

(a) Chauncy's Hertfordſhire, p. 24. See the Regiſter at Ridge. Wood's Athen. Oxon. edit. 1721. Vol. ii. col. 712.

(b) Idem, ibid.

(c) Idem. ibid.

(d) Voyage to the Levant, p. 2, 3.

(e) Ibid. p. 7, 8.

(f) Ibid. p. 35.

(g) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 713.

[A] *Of a very ancient and honourable family.*] He was the third ſon of Sir Thomas Pope Blount of Tittenhanger in the county of Hertford, Knight, by Frances his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Pigott of Dodderſhall in the county of Bucks, Knight, and widow of Sir Thomas Nevil of Leiceſterſhire, Knight (1). The father of Sir Thomas Pope Blount was William Blount of Blounts-hall in Staffordſhire, Eſq; who was deſcended of Sir Thomas Blount, a younger brother of the ancient houſe of Blounts of Sodington in Worceſterſhire (2).

[B] *Printed an account of his travels.*] In theſe travels there are a great many paſſages relating to the perſonal hiſtory of the author, of which it may not be amiſs to give ſome inſtances, as agreeable to the deſign of this life, and which cannot prove unentertaining to the reader. When he came into Egypt, and found that thoſe who had been hitherto the companions of his travels, intended to make no ſtay there, but to paſs immediately to Jeruſalem, he reſolved to remain behind. 'I, not ſo impatient of the climate, ſays 'he, nor loving company of Chriſtians in Turkey, 'and but reaſonably affected to relicks, left them, 'and preſumed to receive a longer entertainment; 'whereto I found an invital freely noble of itſelf, 'and with much regard to an honourable recommen'dation of me, ſent by his Excellence the Lord Em'baſſador of Holland at Conſtantinople, Sir Cornelius 'Haga, who having known my kinſman Sir James 'Blount, and ſome others of our name, was pleaſed 'in me to honour their memory. Here my abode in 'a family, which had there been reſident twenty-five 'years, informed me of many things with much cer'tainty. Firſt, I muſt remember things upon record 'conſtantly renewed in office, as the multitude of the 'meſchectoes, that is, churches and chapels five and 'thirty thouſand; then the noted ſtreets, four and 'twenty thouſand, beſides petty turnings and divi'ſions; ſome of thoſe ſtreets I have found two miles 'in length, ſome not a quarter ſo long; every one 'of them is locked up in the night, with a door at 'each end, and guarded by a muſqueteer, whereby 'fire, robberies, tumults, and other diſorders are pre'vented (3).' As to the Turkiſh doctrine of Predeſtination he gives us two notable inſtances of it, which in his own words run thus. 'One was at 'Rhodes, where, juſt as we entered the port, a 'French lacquey of our company died with a great 'plague ſore, which he had taken of the gunner's 'mate, who with one running upon him converſed 'and ſlept among us; the reſt were ſo far from fear 'at his death, as they ſat preſently eating and drink'ing with him, and within half an hour after his re'moval ſlept on his blanket, with his clothes inſtead 'of a pillow, which when I adviſed them not to do, 'they pointed upon their foreheads, telling me, it 'was written there at their birth when they ſhould 'die; they eſcaped, yet divers of the paſſengers died 'thereof before we got to Egypt. The other was at 'my paſſage to Adrianople in Thrace; myſelf, the 'Jannizary, and one more, being in a coach, we 'paſſed by a man of good quality, and a ſoldier who 'lying along with his horſe by, could hardly ſpeak 'ſo much as to intreat us to take him into our coach: 'The Jannizary made our companion ride his horſe, 'taking the man in, whoſe breaſt being open and full 'of plague tokens, I would not have had him re'ceived; but he in like manner pointing to his own 'forehead and mine, told me, we could not take 'hurt, unleſs it were written there, and that then 'we could not avoid it. The fellow died in the 'night by our ſides, and in our indemnity approved 'this confidence to be ſometimes fortunate, how wiſe 'ſoever (4).' His return from Egypt was by ſea, firſt to Sicily, from whence he paſſed to Naples, the rarities of which entertained him ſome days; thence he went to Rome, afterwards to Florence and Bologna, and ſo to Venice, where he arrived in April 1635; having in that time, as he ſays, according to the moſt received diviſions of Turkey, been in nine kingdoms, and paſſed ſix thouſand miles and upwards, moſt part of it by land (5); a thing very unuſual at that time, and

(1) From the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount.

(2) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 712. The Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. ii. p. 665, & *ſeq.*

(3) Voyage to the Levant, 12mo, the 8th edit. 1671, p. 49, 50.

(4) Ibid. p. 112.

(5) Ibid. p. 79.

made him known to the world, and much taken notice of; ſo that ſhortly after, King Charles I., who deſired to fill his Court with men of parts, appointed him one of the band of Penſioners, then compoſed of gentlemen of the firſt families in the kingdom (*b*). In 1638, his father, Sir Thomas Pope Blount, died, and left him the ancient ſeat of Blount's Hall in Staffordſhire, and a very conſiderable fortune (*i*). On the twenty-firſt of March, in the ſucceeding year, the King conferred on him the honour of Knighthood (*k*). At the firſt breaking out of the Civil War, he, following the example of the elder branches of his illuſtrious family, who were eminently loyal, attended the King at York, at Oxford, and other places, was preſent at the battle of Edgehill, and had there (according to a tradition in the family) the honour of taking care of the young Princes (*l*). Afterwards he quitted his Majeſty's ſervice, and returned to London, where he was quickly queſtioned for his adhering to the King; but he being now grown a very wary and dexterous ſpeaker, ſo well excuſed himſelf, by alleging his duty on account of his poſt, that he eſcaped all cenſure, and was thenceforward well received (*m*). Falling in with the times, he, in 1651, was named on a Committee of twenty perſons, for inſpecting the practice of the Law, and remedying its abuſes (*n*). He declared himſelf very warmly againſt tythes, and would willingly have reduced the income of pariſh miniſters to one hundred pounds a year. He alſo ſat with Dr. Richard Zouch, Dr. William Clarke, Dr. William Turner, Civilians, and with ſeveral other eminent perſons in the Court of King's (then called the Upper) Bench, in Weſtminſter Hall, on the fifth of July 1654, by virtue of a commiſſion from Oliver Cromwell, for trying Don Pantalion Saa, brother to the Portugueſe Embaſſador, for murder, of which being found guilty, he was, much to the honour of the juſtice of this nation, by ſentence of that court, adjudged to ſuffer death, and was executed accordingly (*o*). In the ſame year, by the death of his elder brother Thomas Pope Blount, Eſq; the eſtate of Tittenhanger deſcended to Sir Henry (*p*). His great reputation for general knowledge and uncommon ſagacity was the reaſon that his name was inſerted in the liſt of twenty-one Commiſſioners, appointed, November 1, 1655, to conſider of the trade and navigation of the Commonwealth, and how it might be beſt encouraged and promoted, in which ſtation he did his country eminent ſervice (*q*). It does indeed appear, that this was his ſole view in complying with the forms of government ſet up between 1650 and 1660; and therefore we need not wonder that he was received into favour and confidence on the King's Reſtoration, as it appears he was, by his being appointed High-Sheriff of the county of Hertford, in 1661 (*r*). He lived thenceforward as an Engliſh gentleman, ſatisfied with the honours he had acquired, and the large eſtate he poſſeſſed, and having paſſed upwards of twenty years in this independent ſtate, he died on the ninth of October, 1682, when he wanted but four months of four-ſcore, and was two days afterwards interred in the vault of his family, at Ridge in Hertfordſhire, where a foreign writer, but erroneouſly (unleſs he meant the pariſh), affirms he was born (*s*). As to the character of Sir Henry Blount, the reader will find it drawn by different hands in the notes [*C*]. As to what appears from his writings, he ſeems to have had ſtrong parts,

(*b*) The Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. iii. p. 668.

(*i*) From the Information of Sir Harry Pope Blount, great grandſon to our author.

(*k*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. *ubi ſupra.*

(*l*) From the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount.

(*m*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*n*) The Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. iii. p. 668.

(*o*) See an account of theſe proceedings in the firſt Volume of State Trials.

(*p*) From the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount.

(*q*) Cook's Detection of the four laſt Reigns.

(*r*) Chauncey's Hertfordſhire, p. 502.

(*s*) Niceron's Memoires des Hommes Illuſt. Vol. xxiii. p. 398.

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and which procured him, by way of diſtinction, the name of the Great Traveller. This book was publiſhed at London in 1636, in quarto, and ſoon after came to a ſecond edition, and in 1638 to a third in the ſame ſize (6). It was then printed in 12mo, and reached many editions; the title of the eighth runs thus. *A Voyage into the Levant, being a brief Relation of a Journey lately performed from England by the way of Venice, into Dalmatia, Sclavonia, Boſnia, Hungary, Macedonia, Theſſaly, Thrace, Rhodes, and Egypt, unto Grand Cairo; with particular obſervations concerning the modern condition of the Turks, and other people under that Empire. By Sir* Henry Blount, *Knight.* Of this work there have been ſeveral characters, and very different ones given, of which we ſhall mention but two. *It is ſo well eſteemed abroad,* ſays Mr. Wood, *that (as I have been informed) it has been tranſlated into* French *and* Dutch (7). The author of an introductory diſcourſe, containing a character of moſt books of Travels, prefixed to that great collection of Voyages, commonly called Churchill's collection, aſcribed by ſome to Mr. Locke, ſpeaks thus of Sir Henry's book. ‘ Blount's Travels to the Levant is a ‘ very ſhort account of a journey through Dalmatia, ‘ &c. the whole very conciſe, and without any curi‘ous obſervations, or any notable deſcriptions. His ‘ account of the religions and cuſtoms of thoſe peo‘ple, only a brief collection of ſome other travellers; ‘ the language mean, and not all of it to be relied ‘ on, if we credit others who have writ better (8).’

[*C*] *The reader will find his character by different hands in the notes.*] Anthony Wood tells us he was eſteemed by thoſe that knew him, a gentleman of a very clear judgment, great experience, much contemplation (though not of much reading), and of great foreſight into Government. He was alſo a perſon of admirable converſation, and in his younger years was a great banterer, which in his elder he diſuſed (9). In a looſe leaf of his Travels I once met with theſe remarks written, which, as they are founded on ſeveral paſſages in the book, I thought deſerved to be tranſcribed. ‘ The author of this book, Sir H. B. ap‘pears to have been one of the Wits of that age, ‘ wherein it was faſhionable to make a diſplay of pro‘found thinking, and quick penetration. He ſeems ‘ to have wrote this book, as the celebrated Oſborne ‘ did another, on the ſame ſubject, purely to inſinu‘ate ſome notions of his own, which could not other‘wiſe have been ſo ſafely publiſhed. Thus compar‘ing the Turkiſh ſeverity, which, in the beginning ‘ of wars, he ſays, makes uſe of colourable puniſh‘ments, where juſt ones are wanting; with that ten‘derneſs ſhewn to light offenders in this part of the ‘ world, he adds, that it has more effect upon a bad ‘ age, than our Chriſtian compaſſion, which is ſo ‘ eaſily abuſed, as we cannot raiſe two or three com‘panies of ſoldiers, but they pilfer and rifle where‘ſoever they paſs: Wherein our want of cruelty ‘ upon delinquents cauſes much more oppreſſion of ‘ the innocent, which is the greateſt cruelty of all ‘ (10). In another place, ſpeaking of the Iſland of ‘ Patmos, and the cave wherein St. John wrote his ‘ Revelation, he obſerves, that the privacy and aſpect ‘ of thoſe retreats being gloomy, ſtill, and ſolemn, ‘ ſettle and contract the mind into profound ſpecula‘tions; but eſpecially the quality of the air, a thing ‘ of main importance to diſpoſe the wit. The air of ‘ thoſe rocky caverns is not ſo damp and earthy as ‘ that of dungeons; nor ſo immaterial or waſting, to ‘ unſettle and tranſport the phantaſy, as that above

(6) Kennet's American Library, p. 83.

(7) Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 712.

(8) A Collection of Voyages and Travels, in ſix Volumes, folio, edit. 1732, Vol. i. p. xcii.

(9) Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 712.

(10) Voyage to the Levant, p. 18.

parts, a lively imagination, and, in conſequence of theſe, ſome very ſingular opinions. His ſtyle was manly, flowing, and leſs affected than could be expected, conſidering the times in, and the ſubjects on, which he wrote [*D*]. A Latin fragment, publiſhed by his ſon, better explains his ſentiments than all the reſt of his works, and demonſtrates that he was a man of a deep, though irregular way of thinking, and had a capacity of colouring the moſt paradoxical opinions, ſo as to give them a great likeneſs unto truth [*E*]. For the firſt forty years of his life he was a boon companion, and much given to raillery; but in the other forty, of a ſerious temper, and a water drinker (*t*). He married in 1647, Dame Heſter Manwaring, relict of Sir William Manwaring of Cheſhire, Knight, daughter and coheireſs of Chriſtopher Waſe, of Upper Holloway in the county of Middleſex, Eſq; by whom he left three ſons and one daughter (*u*). His arms were, Barry Nebule of 6, Or and Sable. Creſt, a Wolf paſſant, Sable, between two Cornuts, Or, out of a ducal Coronet, proper (*w*).

(*t*) From the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount.

(*u*) The Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. ii. p. 669.

(*w*) From the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount.

‘ ground; but of a middle temper, wherewith it affects the brain, in ſuch a ſort as is fitteſt to exerciſe ‘ its intellectual faculty, to the heighth of what its ‘ compoſition bears (11). Having told us how a ‘ Turk, to avoid being taken, tied his feet, and one ‘ of his hands together, and threw himſelf headlong ‘ into the ſea, he adds, in this reſolute end, he ‘ ſhewed by what a ſhort paſſage many a years miſery ‘ may be prevented, where other reaſons, or fear ‘ maſked in them, enthral not (12). Theſe ſtrokes ‘ ſufficiently ſhew the ſpirit of the man, and the ſcope ‘ of his book.’

[*D*] *Conſidering the times in, and the ſubjects on, which he wrote.*] The reſt of the works he publiſhed were theſe (13), 1. Six comedies, written by John Lilly, under the title of Court Comedies, by the care of Mr. Henry Blount, London 1632, *8vo* (14). 2. A ſatire, intituled, The Exchange Walk, in 1647. This, Mr. Wood ſays, *ſome of his relations* informed him, fell from the pen of Sir Henry Blount, though his ſons knew nothing of it. 3. An epiſtle in praiſe of tobacco and coffee, prefixed to a little treatiſe, intituled, Organon Salutis, written by Walter Rumſey, Eſq; and printed in 1657, *8vo* (15).

[*E*] *So as to give them a great likeneſs unto truth.*] This Latin fragment is to be found in a Letter, addreſſed to the Right Honourable and moſt ingenious Strephon, (ſuppoſed to be the Earl of Rocheſter), by Charles Blount, Eſq; ſon to our author, dated Ludgate-Hill, February 8, 1679, and is printed in the Oracles of Reaſon, and in Mr. Blount's works (16), and therefore thither we ſhall refer our readers. Wood obſerves (17), that the Anima Mundi was ſuppoſed to have been, in a great meaſure, written by Sir Henry Blount, though publiſhed, as probably it was put into order, by his ſon; and this fragment makes the opinion ſo much the more probable, ſince it may be truly ſtyled the key to this performance, as containing in a narrow compaſs, the ſyſtem that treatiſe ſeems to recommend, and a much better account of that ſort of Philoſophy than is to be found in all Spinoſa's writings, who, with a darker head, had leſs depth of thought, than our ingenious author Sir Henry Blount. C.

(11) Voyage to the Levant, p. 39, 40.

(12) *Ibid.* p. 77.

(13) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. *col.* 296.

(14) *Ibid.* Vol. ii. col. 713. Niceron, Memoir. des Hommes Illuſtres, Vol. xxiii. p. 398.

(15) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 255.

(16) Vol. i p. 154, 155, 156.

(17) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 713.

BLOUNT (Sir Thomas Pope), an eminent writer towards the cloſe of the XVIIth century. He was the eldeſt ſon of Sir Henry Blount before mentioned, and was born at Upper Holloway in the county of Middleſex, Sept. 12, 1649 (*a*). He was carefully educated under the eye of his father, who took care to acquaint him with the ſeveral branches of polite literature, moſt worthy the notice of a perſon of his rank; and ſo great was the improvement he made under ſo able an inſtructor, that, even in his junior years, he was conſidered both as a judicious and learned man, and on this account, as well as for other marks of worth and genius, he was, by King Charles II., advanced to the degree of a Baronet (*b*), by a patent dated Jan. 27, 1679, in the thirtieth year of his Majeſty's reign, and in the lifetime of Sir Henry Blount his father. He was elected Burgeſs for St. Alban's in Hertfordſhire, in the Parliaments in the thirtieth and thirty-firſt of King Charles II. (*c*), and was Knight of the ſhire in three Parliaments after the Revolution (*d*), having alſo the honour to be elected Commiſſioner of Accounts for the three laſt years of his life by the Houſe of Commons (*e*). He always diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a lover of liberty, a ſincere friend to his country, and a true patron of learning. His ſtrong affection for literature, and his perfect acquaintance with the beſt writers in all ages and ſciences, appeared fully in the great work he compoſed, firſt for his own uſe and ſatisfaction, and then publiſhed in the univerſal language for the benefit of others [*A*]. His capacity for writing in another manner, and on a great variety

(*a*) From a MS. of Sir Henry Blount, now in the poſſeſſion of Sir Harry Pope Blount, his grandſon.

(*b*) The Baronetage of England, Vol. iii. p. 672.

(*c*) Account of the Borough of St. Alban's, MS. p. 195.

(*d*) Chauncy's Hertfordſhire, p. 502.

(*e*) Liſt of the Commiſſioners of Accounts, in the State Tracts.

[*A*] *For the benefit of others.*] The entire title of this moſt learned work, ſtands thus in the original edition, which was printed at London, in 1690, folio. ‘ *Cenſura celebriorum authorum*, ſive tractatus in ‘ quo varia virorum doctorum de clariſſimis, cujuſ‘ que, ſeculi ſcriptoribus judicia traduntur. Unde ‘ facillimo negotio lector dignoſcere queat, quid in ‘ ſingulis quibuſque iſtorum authorum maximè memo‘ rabile ſit, & quonam in pretio apud eruditos ſemper ‘ habiti fuerint. Omnia in ſtudioſorum gratiam ‘ collegit, & in ordinem digeſſit ſecundum ſeriem ‘ temporis quo ipſi authores floruerunt Thomas Pope ‘ Blount, Anglo-Britannus Baronettus.’ *i. e.* A critique on the moſt celebrated writers, *or a treatiſe in which the various opinions of the moſt learned men, as to the merit of the moſt famous authors in every age, are delivered. Whereby the reader may, with great eaſe, diſcern what is moſt memorable with reſpect to each of thoſe authors, and in what eſteem they have always been among the learned. The whole for the uſe of the Studious; collected, and digeſted according to the order of time in which the authors flouriſhed, by* Thomas Pope Blount, *an Engliſh Baronet.* In 1694, a ſecond edition was printed in 4to, at Geneva, in which all the paſſages which Sir Thomas had preſerved in the modern languages, wherein they were written, are tranſlated into Latin, in order to render the whole more uniform. It was printed a third time at the ſame place, in 1710, in 4to. What the true deſign of Sir Thomas was, will beſt appear from his epiſtle to the reader, which, as it is ſhort, curious, and what never appeared before in the Engliſh Tongue, may not diſpleaſe the intelligent reader. ‘ The province ‘ I have undertaken was not the effects of any ambi‘ tion; for a life retired, and free from noiſe, was ‘ always my ſupreme delight. This then was my ſole ‘ motive, that, as far as in me lay, I might promote ‘ letters. When I firſt began the work, it was ſcarce‘ ly in my thoughts to communicate it to the learned ‘ world: for my own uſe, I drew it together; and ‘ now at the requeſt of perſons of diſtinguiſhed learn‘ ing, give it to the Public. The rather becauſe ‘ having obſerved with what eagerneſs the *Acta Eruditorum*, and other books of the ſame nature, are ‘ caught variety of important and entertaining ſubjects, appears from his Eſſays, which, in point of learning, judgment, and freedom of thought, are certainly no way inferior to thoſe of the famous Montaigne [*B*]. His extenſive knowledge, and his great modeſty, are equally conſpicuous, in another learned piece of his, wherein he preſents the public with the fruits of his reading, as to Natural Hiſtory, without depriving thoſe from whom he drew his knowledge, of any part of their reputation, a conduct which few have imitated, and which we can ſcarcely enough commend [*C*]. What he has written on Poetry is in the

‘caught up, not only by men of ſlender reading, but even ſuch as are in the firſt forms of learning, I could not but hope, that even this collection of mine, ſuch as it is, would not diſpleaſe them. Learning is not without much ſtudy and pains to be acquired. It is Fanaticiſm for a man to think of becoming learned by inſpiration: even a Poet by nature will do little, if his genius, however bright, be not aſſiſted by induſtry. Hence it is, that ſo few are truly learned (whatever ſmatterers may boaſt), becauſe they will not beſtow the neceſſary pains and labour. That therefore you may receive the utmoſt fruits of reading, I have ſet before you a choice of authors, with the various ſentiments of the moſt learned men, as to their merits, which if you diligently compare, you may both heighten and ſtrengthen your own judgment, and avoid the loſs of time and trouble in turning over works of little value. As to the utility of this work, this is its principal commendation, that it will aſſiſt you in compiling a library, by affording uſeful and neceſſary notices concerning authors; and for the want of theſe, it often happens, that men, in collecting books, are defrauded both of their time and money. To remedy this inconvenience, I have taken on me the labour of compiling this book: For therein you have, as it were, the picture of every author; thence you may learn when he flouriſhed, and, generally ſpeaking, when he died, what pieces were written by him, or at leaſt, which were moſt eſteemed, what his credit in the learned world, whether he was a Plagiary, and from what coffer he drew his ſtores, if put in the Index Expurgatorius, and, finally, of each author's works which is the beſt edition. All theſe you have at one view, if you deign to conſult this book. It was not my intention to ſpeak of all authors, that would have been too prolix a labour, but of thoſe only which are in moſt eſteem with the learned. I begin with Hermes Triſmegiſtus, not the fictitious writer, whoſe works are common, but the true and genuine author of that name, who is thought to have been coæval with Moſes, and from him I deſcend to our own times. The authors of whom I treat are nearly ſix hundred, each of which ſtands according to the time in which he wrote. This method pleaſed me beſt, becauſe I thought it would be more grateful to the reader to obſerve the flux and reflux of learning, than to run over things in alphabetical order, which ſeems fitter for a Dictionary than a literary Hiſtory. You will perhaps admire, that conſidering the many excellent writers our country hath produced, you find ſo few touched by me; yet if you weigh this matter impartially, you will hold me excuſed; for the greateſt part of theſe writers wrote in their own language, whence it has fallen out, that amongſt learned foreigners who are not acquainted with our tongue, they are but little known, though of their country they deſerved well, and are in juſt and high reputation at home. This is the cauſe that of Engliſh writers, the cenſures and obſervations of the learned, eſpecially foreigners, are not eaſily found. Thus I have explained to you the method of this work. If our diligence in ſearching and collecting teſtimonies ſhall merit your eſteem, it will give me great ſatisfaction, if otherwiſe, pardon me for this time, I ſhall hardly again run the hazard of your cenſure. *Thomas Pope Blount*.’ We are told by certain foreign critics, that our author had in view the ſame deſign which was undertaken by Tobias Magirus in his *Eponymologium Criticum*, which was publiſhed in 1644, and by Chriſtian Eybenius, who republiſhed that work in a more exact and extenſive manner in 1687 (1). Niceron compares Sir Thomas's book (2) with the *Jugemens des Savans* by Baillet, but there is this eſſential difference between them, that Baillet reports other men's opinions in his own words, whereas our author tranſcribes theirs; ſo that the former is a work wherein boldneſs and vanity have a large ſhare, and of the latter it is hard to ſay, whether the author's pains or his modeſty be moſt conſpicuous. This we may be the rather allowed to ſay, having often conſulted Sir Thomas's book in order to enrich our own.

[*B*] *No way inferior to thoſe of the famous Montaigne.*] The Eſſays are in number ſeven (3), and their ſubjects follow. I. That Intereſt governs the world, and that Popery is nothing but Prieſtcraft, or an invention of the Prieſts to get Money. II. The great Miſchief and Prejudice of Learning, and that a Wiſe Man ought to be preferred before a Man of Learning. III. Of Education and Cuſtom; the great Influence it hath upon moſt men; but that a good Education is not always effectual. IV. Of the Ancients, and the reſpect that is due unto them; that we ſhould not too much enſlave ourſelves to their Opinions. V. Whether the men of this preſent Age are any way inferior to thoſe of former Ages, either in reſpect of Virtue, Learning, or long Life. VI. Of Paſſion, and whether the Paſſions are an Advantage or Diſadvantage to Men. VII. The Variety of Opinions, whence it proceeds; the Uncertainty of Human Knowledge. As to the author's deſign in this work, it is beſt learnt from his own words. ‘It is, ſays he, as impoſſible for an author to pleaſe all mens fancies, as it is for a cook to gratify every man's palate; for the minds of men are of different frames and tempers, and therefore thoſe notions that are pleaſing to one man, do often prove nauſeous to another. This then is the reaſon that authors are either doomed or approved, not according to their own merits or demerits, but even as the reader ſtands inclined, who generally frames his judgment from his own ſettled humour or opinion, and as the book agrees or diſagrees with that, ſo is the author to receive his fate; and thus is verified that known ſaying, *Quicquid recipitur, recipitur ad modum recipientis*. What kind of reception this little treatiſe may find in the world, I neither know nor value: I wrote it in my idle hours for my own entertainment; and therefore if it reliſhes not thy guſto, the only way to be even with me is for thee to turn author, and then (poſſibly) I may have occaſion to return the compliment. The age we now live in is both critical and cenſorious; and therefore, if there be any part of a book which (either through the unhappy ſtile of the author, or the ill nature of the reader) ſeems to admit of a double conſtruction, the author may aſſure himſelf it ſhall be taken in the worſt; upon which conſideration I think it proper to acquaint thee, that whatſoever opinion the Clergy may pleaſe to have of this book, or its author, I unfeignedly declare myſelf to be a true honourer of them, I mean of ſuch of them as live up to the honour of that holy profeſſion; and for thoſe that do not, I as little court their favour, as I value their cenſure.’ If the learned and judicious Niceron had ever ſeen this work, he would not have called our author, as he does, on the authority of Anthony Wood, *a mere compiler*.

[*C*] *Which we can ſcarcely enough commend.*] The entire title of this book runs thus (4). ‘A NATURAL HISTORY, containing many, not common, Obſervations, extracted out of the beſt modern writers. By Sir *Thomas Pope Blount*, Baronet.’ It is dedicated to Henry Lord Capel, and in the laſt paragraph of the dedication there is a very juſt account of the book. ‘My Lord, ſays our author, what I now (with all deference) preſent to your Lordſhip, is not any ſuperficial ſlight notion of my own, but that which is here tendered is a Natural Hiſtory, drawn from the writings of the Beaux Eſprits, or the greateſt wits of the preſent age upon these

(1) Acta Eruditor. Menſ. Jan. 1691, p. 24.

(2) Memoires pour ſervir à la Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtres, tom. xxiii. p. 399.

(3) Eſſays on ſeveral Subjects, by Sir Thomas Pope Blount, Bart. London, 8*vo*.

(4) London: Printed for R. Bentley in Covent Garden, 1693, 12*mo*.

the ſame manner, and with the ſame modeſty, at firſt probably drawn together for his own information, and in that reſpect a mark of his induſtry and judgment, afterwards ſent abroad for public uſe, which demonſtrates his beneficence and ingenuous temper, as ready to communicate, as incapable of aſſuming to himſelf the merits of others [*D*]. Having thus ſatisfied, in his riper years, the great expectations which his friends had of him in his youth, having been ſteady to one party, without violence towards others, after acquiring honour in his ſeveral public characters, eſteem in private converſation, and affection in domeſtic life, he quietly ended his days at his ſeat at Tittenhanger, June 30, 1697, in the forty-eighth year of his age, and was buried the eighth of July following, in the vault of his family, at Ridge in Hertfordſhire *(f)*. He married Jane, daughter of Sir Henry Cæſar, of Benington Place in the county of Hertford, Knight, and by her left iſſue five ſons and nine daughters.

(f) The Baronetage of England, Vol. iii. p. 673.

'these ſeveral ſubjects; ſo that I queſtion not but 'your Lordſhip will meet with ſome remarks that 'may be entertaining, uſeful, and not common. 'And if upon any account it be acceptable to your 'Lordſhip, I have then fully attained my end; ſince 'the utmoſt I can pretend to is but a pepper-corn ac'knowledgment from, &c.' The whole of this piece is a judicious common-place book of what the beſt authors have written on the moſt curious ſubjects, and will be always admired by good judges, though it may poſſibly be undervalued by mean ones.

[*D*] *Aſſuming to himſelf, the merits of others.*] The title of this work of his on Poetry ſufficiently explains his deſign. Thus it ſtands (5). '*De Re Poëtica*; 'or, Remarks upon Poetry. With Characters and 'Cenſures of the moſt conſiderable Poets, whether 'ancient or modern. Extracted out of the beſt and 'choiceſt Critics. By Sir Thomas Pope Blount.' It is dedicated to John Earl of Mulgrave, ſo well known to the world, and to poſterity afterwards, by the title of Buckinghamſhire. In this dedication he tells him; 'My Lord, had I nothing at all of inclination 'to this addreſs, as I hope your Lordſhip will eaſily 'believe I have a great deal, yet I do not know whe'ther I ought not to have made it out of mere policy. 'It is certain, my Lord, you are a very dangerous 'reader; a writer therefore who has but too much 'reaſon to apprehend your judgment, is bound in 'prudence to take you off if poſſible. It is not that 'I look upon a dedication as a bribe; but I find that 'ſometimes, when we have an idle preſent made us, 'which it is impoſſible to conceal, we are apt to be 'very favourable, and counterfeit a value of the thing 'we perhaps ſecretly deſpiſe, rather than own to the 'world that any has been ſo hardy to make us an of'fering of what we ſhould think little. But how'ever this be, your Lordſhip has been beforehand 'with me, and ſo much to my advantage, as to ren'der ſuch a conſideration wholly needleſs: Already 'you have indulged this piece, and allowing it for 'uſeful, have given it the great character deſired to 'ſatisfy the author's ambition. For as it is entirely 'a collection, wherein I have nothing to anſwer for, 'or hope any thing from, but the choice and diſtribu'tion of the matter, if I have but made a profitable 'one, and employed my pains beneficially for the 'world, it is all I had to pretend to. After this, 'my Lord, I ſhall make you no excuſes for the ho'nour I do myſelf in this dedication; and if in it I 'ſeem any thing vain or preſuming, I am contented 'ſo to do, provided I may find the juſtice to have 'it thought at the ſame time, that it is the good opi'nion not of myſelf, but of your Lordſhip that has 'made me ſo.' We cannot have a clearer or better view of this treatiſe than that which the author has here given us; nor could he have aſſigned a better reaſon for its being eſteemed than that which he has told us, that it was commended by the Nobleman to whom he inſcribed it. This treatiſe is divided into two parts: the firſt contains remarks on Poetry, *i. e.* the ſenſe of the beſt authors on all its parts; the ſecond contains the characters or cenſures of Poets, ſixty-ſeven in all, digeſted in an alphabetical order, beginning with Æſchylus the Greek tragic Poet, and ending with the Engliſh Waller. One may juſtly ſay of this piece, that though it will hardly entertain an ignorant reader, it will greatly inſtruct a wiſe one, as containing in a narrow compaſs a vaſt variety of curious obſervations, and all perhaps that in the time its author flouriſhed had been written with ſtrength or elegance, either of the ſubjects or poets therein treated. C.

(5) London: Printed for R. Bentley in Covent Garden, 1694, 4*to*.

⁂ [Dr. Harwood, in the preface to his 'View of 'the various editions of the Greek and Roman 'Claſſics,' ſpeaking of his own deſign, ſays (6), 'With regard to the order of time, in which the va'rious authors are here arranged, I have principally 'conſulted Dr. Prieſtley's Chart of Biography, Dr. 'Blair's Chronological Tables, Hankius de Roma'manis Scriptoribus, Du Freſnoy's Tables of Hi'ſtory; but, *above all, that moſt uſeful book*, pub'liſhed by Sir Thomas Pope Blount, entitled Cen'ſura Authorum celebriorum.'] K.

(6) P. xxi.

BLOUNT (CHARLES), younger ſon of Sir Henry Blount, and brother to Sir Thomas Pope Blount before mentioned, an eminent Writer alſo in the laſt century. He was born at his grandfather's ſeat at Upper Holloway, in the county of Middleſex, April 27, 1654 (*a*). He was endowed by nature with a great capacity, and with a ſtrong propenſity to learning; which excellent qualities were properly cultivated by the aſſiduous care of his father, who took upon himſelf the direction of his ſtudies. Under ſo able an inſtructor, he quickly acquired an extraordinary ſkill in the Arts and Sciences, without any thing of that pedantry, which is too frequently the conſequence of young men's application to ſtudy in the common courſe (*b*). His pregnant parts and polite behaviour brought him early into the world, ſo that his father, who was a true judge of men, thought fit to ſettle him when he was about eighteen. This he did by marrying him to Eleanora, daughter of Sir Timothy Tyrrel, of Shotover in the county of Oxford, and gave him a very handſome eſtate, having always eſteemed his parts, and reſpected him as a friend, as well as loved him with the affection of a father (*c*). The year after his marriage, he wrote a little treatiſe which he publiſhed without his name [*A*]. In 1678,

(a) This circumſtance is aſcertained from a MS. of Sir Henry Blount's, in the hands of Sir Harry Pope Blount.

(b) The Baronetage of England, Vol. iii. p. 670. See the Account of this gentleman's Life and Writings, ſaid to be written by Mr. Gildon, and prefixed to the Miſcellaneous Works of Charles Blount, Eſq.

(c) See the Tract above referred to, and many of our author's Letters in the *Oracles of Reaſon*.

[*A*] *Which he publiſhed without his name.*] This tract was intitled (1), 'Mr. Dryden vindicated, in 'Reply to the friendly Vindication of Mr. Dryden, 'with Reflections on the Rota.' In order to have ſome idea of the nature and occaſion of this piece, we muſt take notice of the controverſy on which it was written. One Mr. Richard Leigh, a player, on the coming out of Mr. Dryden's *Conqueſt of Granada*, publiſhed a pamphlet, intitled (2), *A Cenſure of the Rota on Mr. Dryden's Conqueſt of Granada*. Upon this appeared another ſmart pamphlet, under the title of (3) *The Friendly Vindication of Mr. Dryden from the Cenſure of the Rota*. It was againſt this pamphlet that our author drew his pen in the piece before mentioned, written with fire, and yet not deficient in judgment, though the author was then very young. That

(1) London, 1673, 4*to*.

(2) Oxford, 1673, 4*to*.

(3) Cambridge, 1673, 4*to*.

1678, or, as is generally held, in 1679, he ſent abroad his *Anima Mundi,* in which it is ſaid, and with great probability, that he had the aſſiſtance of his father. The piece, it ſeems, had been long before handed about in manuſcript by the acquaintance of its author, with ſeveral paſſages in it much ſtronger than in that which was tranſmitted to the preſs, and licenſed by Sir Roger L'Eſtrange. This did not hinder its giving great offence, inſomuch that complaint thereof was made to Dr. Compton, then Lord Biſhop of London, who, upon peruſal, judged it not proper for all readers promiſcuouſly, and therefore ſignified that he expected it ſhould be ſuppreſſed, intimating, that he would thereupon reſt ſatisfied. But afterwards, when the Biſhop was out of town, an opportunity was taken by ſome zealous perſon to burn the book, which nevertheleſs hath been reprinted ſince *(d)* [*B*]. The ſame year he publiſhed a broad ſheet under the title of *Mr. Hobbes's laſt Words and dying Legacy.* It was extracted from the *Leviathan,* and was intended to weaken and expoſe his doctrine; yet it ſeems he was no very warm antagoniſt, ſince there is ſtill extant a letter of his to Mr. Hobbes, wherein he profeſſes himſelf a great admirer of his parts, and one who would readily receive his inſtructions (*e*) [*C*]. There could not well be a ſtronger teſtimony in favour of liberty, than Mr. Blount ſhortly after gave in a pamphlet on the Popiſh Plot, and the fear of a Popiſh ſucceſſor. This treatiſe is ſubſcribed Junius Brutus *(f)*, and is the ſtrongeſt invective againſt Popery and Papiſts that was publiſhed even in that age, when almoſt all the wit of the nation was pointed that way. There are in it likewiſe ſuch expreſs recommendations of the

That he was really the author of this piece (4), could ſcarcely have been recovered at this diſtance of time, but by the favour of his family.

[*B*] *Which nevertheleſs hath been reprinted ſince.*] Nobody could be more aware than the author of the oppoſition this book was likely to meet with, and therefore he took the pains of apologizing for it in his Preface. ‘Methinks, ſays he, I already behold ſome haughty pedant, ſtrutting and looking down from himſelf as from the devil's mountain upon the univerſe, where, amongſt ſeveral other inferior objects, he happens at laſt to caſt his eye upon this treatiſe; when, after a quibble or two upon the title, he falls foul upon the book itſelf, damning it by the name of an Atheiſtical, Heretical pamphlet; and to glorify his own zeal, under the pretence of being a champion for truth, ſummons ignorance and malice for his ſeconds: But ſuch a perſon underſtands not wherein the nature of Atheiſm conſiſts, how converſant ſoever he may otherwiſe be in the practice of it. It were Atheiſm to ſay *there is no God,* and ſo it were (though leſs directly) to deny his providence, or reſtrain it to ſome particulars, and exclude it in reference to others. Such are Atheiſts who maintain ſuch opinions as theſe, and ſo are thoſe Heretics who err in fundamentals, and continue obſtinately in ſuch errors. But the ignorant vulgar people (whoſe ſuperſtition is grounded upon the aſſimulating God with themſelves) are apt to think that every one they hate are God Almighty's enemies, and that whoſoever differs from them in opinion (though in never ſo trivial a matter) are Atheiſts, or Heretics at leaſt, not rightly conſidering the words of St. Peter, *That in every nation, he who feareth the Lord and worketh righteouſneſs, is accepted with him.* And Minucius Felix ſays well to the ſame purpoſe, *He is the beſt Chriſtian who makes the honeſteſt man.* Hereſy is an act of the will, rather than underſtanding; a lye, rather than a miſtake; and thus St. Auſtin expreſſes it, ſaying, *errare poſſum, Hereticus eſſe nolo.* Hereſy and Schiſm (ſays the ingenious Mr. Hales), as commonly now uſed, are two theological ſcarecrows, with which they who uphold a party in religion, uſed to fright away ſuch, as making an inquiry into it, are ready to relinquiſh and oppoſe it, if it appear either erroneous or ſuſpicious. For as Plutarch reports of a Painter, who having unſkilfully painted a cock, drove away all the cocks and hens he could find, that ſo the imperfections of his own art might not appear by comparing it with nature; ſo men for ſome ends, not willing to admit of any fancy but their own, endeavour to hinder all inquiries by way of compariſon, that ſo their own deformity may not appear. Therefore if any man blames me for comparing Chriſtianity with Paganiſm, it ſhews nothing but his unworthy diſtruſt of the ſufficiency of that religion he profeſſes.’ The enemies of this book have ſuggeſted, that all that is here ſaid, and a great deal of the ſame ſort in the book itſelf, was purely to ſave appearances, and that whatever the author might proteſt, the deſign of it was very pernicious. The book notwithſtanding was much admired by men of very different perſuaſions, on account of the various learning contained therein, and particularly for the drawing together the thoughts of ſo many learned perſons on ſo important a ſubject. The title of this work at large is, ANIMA MUNDI; *or, An Hiſtorical Narration of the Opinions of the Ancients concerning Man's Soul after this Life, according to unenlightened Nature. By* CHARLES BLOUNT, *Gentleman.* Several anſwers were written to it; but the moſt ſolid refutation of the principles therein contained is to be met with in the works of a learned Divine (5), who conſidered it only occaſionally, and in conjunction with abundance of pieces of the ſame kind. A learned Foreigner has given this piece a place in his catalogue of rare books (6); but at the ſame time has branded it with the odious title of an atheiſtical piece, deſervedly prohibited, and from him another foreign writer (7) has copied: ſo that very probably this opinion will be effectually ſpread in Germany and the North, though few of the books themſelves can be thought to have got thither, and ſo be preſumed to have received ſentence after a fair hearing.

[*C*] *Who would readily receive his inſtructions.*] In this epiſtle to Mr. Hobbes there occur ſome very ſingular paſſages, which having relation to our author's ſentiments, and to various particulars in his private life, ſeemed to require ſome notice here. It is very evident from the words of this epiſtle, that Mr. Blount wrote it by the direction of his father Sir Henry Blount, whoſe notions therefore rather than his own it contained (8). The deſign of this epiſtle is to compliment Mr. Hobbes upon his treatiſe on Hereſy, which by the favour of Mr. Crooke the Bookſeller, and no doubt by the permiſſion of Mr. Hobbes himſelf, they had ſeen in manuſcript. But from the contents of this piece it is eaſy to diſcern, that it was calculated to ſhew Mr. Hobbes, that the arguments he had made uſe of in the treatiſe beforementioned might be carried much farther in ſupport of that doctrine, which was of ſo great conſequence to the cauſe of Free-thinkers in general. The method by which this is attempted differs not much from that of Mr. Hobbes, ſince it is built upon Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory as well as his: but the end here aimed at, is to ſhew that as Hereſies were not always ſo fully refuted by Scripture and argument as thoſe who wrote againſt them concluded; ſo in point of authority alſo they were not ſo clearly and univerſally condemned as the Church hiſtorians imagined. In ſupport of this poſition there is a ſuccinct account given of the diſputes between the Arians and the Orthodox, whom Mr. Blount ſtiles Trinitarians, with a view to prove, that as the decrees of General Councils were urged on both ſides, it muſt follow from hence that General Councils might err, and conſequently there was no competent judge in ſuch controverſies, even upon the grounds laid down by thoſe writers who challenge an implicit obedience to the laws of the Church.

(d) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 713.

(e) Oracles of Reaſon, p. 97. where it appears this Letter was written in 1678, and accompanied with a preſent to Mr. Hobbs of the *Anima Mundi.*

(f) This Piece is preſerved in the ſecond Volume of Blount's Miſcellaneous Works.

(4) Grounded on the information of Sir Harry Pope Blount, Baronet, grand nephew to our author.

(5) Nichols's Conference with a Theiſt, Vol. ii. Part. V.

(6) Bibliothec. Uffenbach. tom. i. p. 765.

(7) Johan. Vogt. Catalog. Hiſtor. Critic. Libror. Rarior. p. 125.

(8) Oracles of Reaſon, p. 97.

Duke of Monmouth, as might well hinder the author from owning it, and give it, in the eyes of the Lawyers of thoſe times, an air of ſedition at leaſt, if not of treaſon [*D*]. In 1680, he printed that work which had made him moſt known to the world, *The Life of* APOLLONIUS TYANEUS, which was ſoon after ſuppreſſed, and only a few copies ſent abroad. It was held to be the moſt dangerous attempt, that had been ever made againſt Revealed Religion in this country, and was juſtly thought ſo, as bringing to the eye of every Engliſh reader a multitude of facts and reaſonings, plauſible in themſelves, and of the fallacy of which, none but men of parts and learning can be proper judges (*g*). For this reaſon it is ſtill much in eſteem with the Deiſts [*E*]. The fate

(*g*) Wood's Ath, Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 713.

[*D*] *An air of ſedition at leaſt, if not of treaſon.*] The title of this extraordinary pamphlet at large runs thus: *An Appeal from the Country to the City for the Preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon, Liberty, Property, and the Proteſtant Religion* (9). It opens with a very ſtrong panegyric upon the city of London; in order to ſhew, that upon their conduct the ſafety of the whole nation depended: That the eyes of the people of England were upon them, and therefore it became them to juſtify by their behaviour the indulgence ſhewn them by Providence in raiſing them to ſo great a height, and the confidence repoſed in them by their fellow-ſubjects, who unanimouſly conſidered them as the champions of their liberty, by whoſe courage and conduct they muſt be preſerved, or by whoſe timidity and ill-timed caution they muſt fall. The ſubſequent part of the work is divided into nine conſiderations, all written with great force and ſpirit, and perfectly well calculated to raiſe a ſtrong ſpirit againſt the Papiſts, as well as to maintain the credit of the plot. The whole is interſperſed with many curious remarks upon our own and foreign hiſtories, very happily introduced, and very ſenſibly applied. There is great decency obſerved towards the King, who is repreſented as the ſole bar to the deſigns of the Papiſts, as the ſucceſſion of his brother the Duke of York is proved to be the baſis and foundation of all their hopes. Take it altogether in point of method and matter, conſidering the ſcheme upon which the author wrote, the circumſtances under which he wrote, and the dexterity with which he introduced topics that at this time one would have thought no man who had any regard to his own ſafety, and had ſo conſiderable property to loſe, would have ventured to mention; I ſay, taking in all theſe conſiderations, one may ſafely affirm that very few, if any one pamphlet in our language, is better written in every reſpect than this, more eſpecially as it is ſhort, comprehenſive, and equally calculated for the uſe of learned, and of common readers.

[*E*] *For this reaſon it is very much in eſteem with the Deiſts.*] The title of it ran thus: *The two firſt books of* Philoſtratus *concerning the Life of* Apollonius Tyaneus, *written originally in Greek, with Philological Notes upon each Chapter.* This book, which is a thin folio, was publiſhed in 1680, and it was chiefly the notes that gave offence, ſaid to have been taken from the manuſcript writings of the famous Lord Herbert of Cherbury (10). This book has made much more noiſe abroad than at home, and has been treated as a work truly dangerous to the Chriſtian religion. It is very ſtrange that ſuch as are perſuaded of the truth of our religion, ſhould be apprehenſive of its being in danger, from any works of this kind. Apollonius Tyaneus died, *A. D.* 96; his diſciple Philoſtratus it is confeſſed, wrote his life with a view to hurt the Chriſtian religion; and perhaps the tranſlation was made with the ſame view; but what then, does it follow that this book or this tranſlation, muſt neceſſarily anſwer the end with which they were written? Thoſe who think ſo, muſt believe the Chriſtian religion to be falſe, for otherwiſe they will be in no pain about it. The providence of God ſhewed itſelf in the eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian religion in ſpite of all oppoſition. The folly of men is ſhewn, in apprehending that what has been once proved true, ſhould be in danger by being brought to a new trial. It muſt, indeed, be confeſſed, that ſuch books may do a great deal of miſchief, but the queſtion is, Whether ſuppreſſing them will prove the means of preventing this miſchief? I muſt own I think not; and that it is much better to anſwer them, which, for any thing that appears to the contrary, is not ſo hard a thing to be done. Thoſe who are proper judges of ſuch queſtions, will then ſee on which ſide the truth lies; thoſe who are not proper judges muſt read ſuch books at their peril, if their curioſity leads them to run the hazard. But I am perſuaded it will be found, that none cry out ſo loud againſt ſuch books, and magnify ſo much the miſchief they are capable of doing, as thoſe who are really on that ſide of the queſtion, and are therefore prejudiced in favour of the champion, whoſe ſtrength they ſeem to apprehend capable of ſuch mighty feats.

⁂ [We entirely agree with our learned predeceſſor, Dr. Campbell, in diſapproving of all attempts to ſupport revealed religion by ſuppreſſing the pieces written againſt it. Every exertion of authority for this purpoſe muſt be diſhonourable to Chriſtianity. Truth can require no ſuch ſupports. If the Chriſtian ſyſtem be of divine origin, it cannot be overturned by human malice, or by human wit. And, indeed, the various attacks of the Deiſts have been the means of producing ſuch able defences of the goſpel revelation, as have placed the evidences of the divinity of its origin in a more ſtrong and convincing point of view. But whilſt Chriſtianity thus diſclaims the aid of perſecution or reſtraint, and propoſes itſelf to cloſe and impartial examination, its evidence merits a cloſe and impartial attention. It is the fault of great numbers that they peruſe the books which are written againſt revealed religion, without paying any regard to the productions on the other ſide of the queſtion. How many are there, for inſtance, who have read Mr. Hume's Eſſay on Miracles, and yet have never looked into Dr. Adams's or Dr. Campbell's admirable Replies to that Eſſay! This is ſtill more the caſe with reſpect to Voltaire. Perhaps not one in twenty of thoſe who have been ſeduced by his witty and ſarcaſtic ſneers at revelation, or by his miſrepreſentations of the Old and New Teſtament, have ever condeſcended to take the leaſt notice of his ſober anſwerers. Yet ſome, who diſdain ſeriouſly to inquire into the arguments in favour of Chriſtianity, would be diſpleaſed, were we to call in queſtion the philoſophical liberality of their minds. It ought, however, to be remembered, that a truly philoſophical liberality of mind conſiſts in a diligent inveſtigation of evidence, in fairly and candidly proving all things, and then in holding faſt that which is good. As to Mr. Blount's tranſlation of Philoſtratus's Life of Apollonius Tyanæus, Dr. John Leland remarks, that our author's notes to this work 'are manifeſtly intended to ſtrike at revealed religion.' The ſame judicious writer has alſo made the following obſervations relative to this work. 'Apollonius was a Pythagorean philoſopher that lived in the firſt century, whoſe character and miracles were oppoſed by the Pagans to thoſe of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Hierocles wrote a book to this purpoſe, which was anſwered by Euſebius, who hath plainly proved, that Philoſtratus was a vain and fabulous writer, and that his accounts are full of romantic ſtories and ridiculous fables. And whoever impartially conſiders Philoſtratus's book, which is ſtill extant, will be convinced, that Euſebius's cenſure upon it is juſt. Nothing can be ſuppoſed more different than Philoſtratus's manner of writing, ſtuffed with rhetorical flouriſhes and vain oſtentations of learning, is from the plain, ſober, artleſs narration of the Evangeliſts, which hath all the characters of genuine unaffected ſimplicity, and a ſincere regard to truth. To which it may be added, that Apollonius's philoſophy, and the wonders he is ſaid to have wrought, all tended to uphold the reigning eſtabliſhed ſuperſtition and idolatry, which at the ſame time had all worldly advantages on its ſide; and yet was not able to oppoſe the progreſs of Chriſtianity, which triumphed over it, though deſtitute of

(9) This is preſerved in the ſecond Volume of his Miſcellaneous Works.

(10) Bayle's Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary in the remark [*I*] on the article APOLLONIUS. Fabric. Biblioth. Grec. Vol. iv. lib. ii. c. 24. p. 46.

fate of this book, and the few copies that came abroad, have alſo contributed to raiſe its reputation, by placing it in the liſts of thoſe that are extremely rare [*F*]. In the ſame year he publiſhed his DIANA *of the* EPHESIANS, which, as the author foreſaw, raiſed a new clamour, many ſuggeſting that, under colour of expoſing ſuperſtition, he ſtruck at all Revelation, and while he avowed only a contempt of the Heathen, ſeemed to intimate no great affection for the Chriſtian prieſthood (*b*). The truth is, there cannot well be a more ſuſpicious book [*G*]. The wit, learning, and zeal of our author, had, by this time, raiſed him to be the chief of his ſect; and he took a great deal of pains to propagate and defend his opinions in his diſcourſes and familiar letters, as well as by his books. But it ſeems he had not always the ſame ſenſe in regard to theſe ſpeculations, ſince we find him owning, in a letter to Dr. Sydenham, that in point of practice, Deiſm was leſs ſatisfactory than the Chriſtian ſcheme (*i*) [*H*]. The noiſe his former pieces had made, induced him to conceal, induſtriouſly, his being the author of a book, intituled, *Religio Laici*, publiſhed in 1683 (*k*); and one may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the ſame motives prevailed on him to drop a deſign, in which it appears he was once engaged, of writing the Life of *Mahommed*, the Turkiſh Prophet, which however has been ſince executed, in his manner, by a French author (*l*). That the world might perceive Mr. Blount was capable of turning his thoughts to ſubjects very different from thoſe he had hitherto handled, he, in 1684, publiſhed a kind of introduction to polite literature (*m*), which ſhewed the extent of his knowledge, and the perfect acquaintance he had in the ſeveral branches of Philoſophy and Science [*I*]. He concurred

(*b*) See the Preface to this Tract, in the ſecond Volume of Blount's Miſcellaneous Works.

(*i*) Oracles of Reaſon, p. 87.

(*k*) Poſt Boy robbed of his Mail, Vol. ii. p. 472.

(*l*) The Life of Mohammed, by M. de Boulanvilliers.

(*m*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 713.

'of all thoſe advantages, and though it had all the 'powers of the world againſt it. A manifeſt proof 'this, how vaſtly ſuperior the evidence of our Saviour's divine character and miracles was to any thing 'that could be produced in oppoſition to it (*).'

Dr. Leland likewiſe obſerves, that Mr. Blount's *Religio Laici* 'is little more than a tranſlation of Lord 'Herbert's treatiſe of the ſame name (†).'] T.

(*) View of the Deiſtical Writers, Vol. i. p. 37, 38. 5th edit.

(†) *Id. ibid.*

[*F*] *By placing it in the liſts of thoſe that are extremely rare.*] It is ſaid to have been prohibited in 1693, and perhaps there were but a few copies of it came abroad at the time it was publiſhed, which has given occaſion to ſome authors to put it into their catalogues of ſcarce books (11), which is another method of raiſing the credit of ſuch performances, by ſuggeſting on the one hand, that great pains have been taken to deſtroy ſuch works; and that on the other hand, ſuch as came abroad were eagerly bought up. In the preſent caſe neither of theſe can be ſtrictly ſaid to have any truth; for the book is publicly enough ſold, and though not very common, is not either very ſcarce or very dear. It is requiſite to take notice of this, that foreigners may be undeceived in their notions on this head, and avoid publiſhing for the future ſuch groundleſs ſtories as they have done upon this ſubject, for want of due information.

(11) Bibliothec. Uffenbach. Tom. i. p. 765. 768. Vogt. Catal. Hiſtor. Crit. Libror. Rarior. p. 125, 126.

[*G*] *There could not be well a more ſuſpicious book.*] The title of this treatiſe at large runs thus (12): *Great is* DIANA *of the* EPHESIANS, *or the Original of Idolatry, together with the Political Inſtitution of the Gentiles Sacrifices:* with theſe two Latin verſes by way of motto, and at the ſame time to ſerve by way of key to the enſuing diſcourſe, viz.

(12) This ſmall Piece is alſo to be found in the ſecond Volume of Blount's Miſcellaneous Works.

Cum ſcis ipſe, nocens, moritur cur victima pro te?
Sultitia eſt morte alterius ſperare ſalutem.

That is,

Knowing thy guilt, why take the victim's breath,
Or hope for ſafety from another's death?

This ſhort treatiſe is written with great bitterneſs againſt prieſtcraft, and though the author pretends to point out the impoſitions only of Heathen prieſts, and conſequently to attack the truth only of the religions taught by them; yet it is very eaſy to ſee, that ſome other prieſts are aimed at. After all, it may be doubted, whether this performance of our author was intended againſt the Goſpel ſyſtem, or againſt that mixture of prieſtcraft which had been blended therewith. One would incline to think the latter from the following paſſage in our author's preface, which might likewiſe tempt one to think he had in ſome meaſure changed his opinion of Apollonius Tyaneus. 'Such, 'ſays he, after expoſing the follies of Paganiſm, 'were the myſteries of the Heatheniſh religions, and 'what I have here written concerns them only; for 'when Chriſt came into the world he delivered a doctrine ſo pious, juſt, and neceſſary, that (even in its 'infancy) its own merits ſupported it, without the 'aſſiſtances of princes or grandees. What is more 'reaſonable than to forbear thoſe luſts which will 'ruin us both here and hereafter, or who but a madman would condemn that law for unjuſt, which 'prohibits him from murdering himſelf? and Chriſt 'doth no more. Now if the law be good, what muſt 'the law-giver be? For ſuch as the fruit is, ſuch 'much the tree be alſo. Some have even among the 'Heathens been reported to have wrought miracles, 'as Apollonius Tyaneus; others have delivered 'good doctrines, as Plato, Seneca, Epictetus, &c. 'but what one man ever did both to that perfection 'as Chriſt did? Many in all religions have died to 'juſtify their own opinions; but who, except the 'primitive Chriſtians ever died to juſtify the truth of 'miracles, which they beheld with their own eyes; 'but this is unneceſſary, for that I write not to Heathens but Chriſtians.'

[*H*] *Was leſs ſatisfactory than the Chriſtian ſcheme.*] It is generally ſuppoſed that our author wrote a ſhort treatiſe in defence of Deiſm, under the title of *A Summary Account of the Deiſts Religion* (13), for the ſight of which, Dr. Sydenham had applied to him, and which our author ſent him, together with this letter, which is dated from Rolleſton, May 14, 1686; and, as it is very ſhort, we will give it the reader, becauſe it ſeems to afford a new proof of what has been hinted in the former note, viz. that Mr. Blount had in ſome meaſure changed his ſentiments, and begun to entertain more favourable notions than formerly of the Chriſtian religion.

(13) Publiſhed in the Oracles of Reaſon, p. 88.

SIR,

'THE laſt time I had the happineſs of your company, it was your requeſt that I would help you 'to a ſight of the Deiſts Arguments, which I told 'you I had ſometimes by me, but then had lent 'them out: they are returned me again, and according to my promiſe, I have herewith ſent them to 'you, whereby you will only find that human reaſon, 'like a pitcher with two ears, may be taken on either 'ſide. However, undoubtedly in our travels to the 'other world, the common road is the ſafeſt; and 'though Deiſm is a good manuring of a man's conſcience, yet certainly if ſowed with Chriſtianity it 'will produce the moſt profitable crop. Pardon the 'haſte of,

'SIR,
'Your moſt obliged friend,
'And faithful ſervant,
'C. BLOUNT.'

[*I*] *The ſeveral branches of Philoſophy and Science.*] The title of this work of our author's runs thus: JANUA SCIENTIARUM; *or, An Introduction to Geography, Chronology, Government, Hiſtory, Philoſophy, and all genteel Sorts of Learning* (14). Our author calls this very modeſtly an Introduction; and it is evident enough from his plan, that he thought it very practicable to make young men of tolerable parts, by reaſonable application, maſters of the moſt uſeful

(14) London, 1684, 8vo.

red heartily in the Revolution, and ſeems to have had very honeſt intentions of puniſhing thoſe who were King James's evil counſellors, after the government was re-ſettled, by declaring the Prince and Princeſs of Orange King and Queen (*n*) [*K*]. He gave another ſtrong teſtimony of his ſincere attachment to his principles, and inviolable love to freedom, by a nervous defence of the liberty of the preſs; wherein he ſhews that all reſtraints thereon, can have no other tendency than to eſtabliſh ſuperſtition and tyranny, by abaſing the ſpirits of mankind, and injuring the human underſtanding (*o*). This little piece, therefore, has been always eſteemed one of the beſt he ever wrote; and has furniſhed their ſtrongeſt arguments to many ſucceeding writers [*L*]. The warmth of Mr. Blount's temper, his great affection for King William, and his earneſt deſire to ſee certain favourite projects brought about, led him to write a pamphlet, in which he aſſerted King William and Queen Mary to be conquerors, which was not well reliſhed by the Houſe of Commons (*q*) [*M*]. We now draw towards the cloſe of his life; and

(*n*) See this explained in note [*K*].

(*o*) This ſhort Tract is preſerved amongſt the reſt of Mr. Blount's performances in the Work before mentioned.

(*q*) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 657.

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uſeful parts of learning, without obliging them to run through ſo tedious and ſo troubleſome a courſe, as that which they are generally compelled to in the ſchools, and which, inſtead of inclining them to the purſuit of knowledge, gives them very frequently a diſguſt to it. We may ſee from this performance that our author had the true ſpirit of his family, and was deſirous of promoting uſeful and polite Literature, though he was an enemy, as well as his father Sir Henry, and his brother Sir Thomas, to whatever had the leaſt tincture of ſuperſtition or pedantry.

[*K*] *The Prince and Princeſs of Orange, King and Queen.*] This is no more than a letter to Sir W. L. G. that is, Sir William Leveſon Gower, Baronet, concerning the regulations of Corporations, and ſurrenders of Charters in the year 1691 (15). It ſeems there was then a deſign to call thoſe people to an account who had been concerned in the garbling Corporations during the two laſt reigns, and the reaſon that Mr. Blount applied himſelf to this gentleman was, his ſerving for the borough of Newcaſtle Under-line in Staffordſhire. We perceive in this ſhort piece that Mr. Blount was truly a patriot, and that he thought no pretences, intereſts, or connections, ought to ſcreen ſuch as had been concerned in ſchemes for ruining the free choice and independency of Parliaments. He lays it down that Parliaments are the excellency of our conſtitution as they are repreſentatives of the people, but that when they ceaſe to be repreſentatives they loſe their excellency, and ceaſe to be Parliaments; ſo that if it be treaſon to endeavour the depoſing a King who has a legal title, and is owned by Parliament, it is a crime of as high a nature, if not an higher, to aim at the ſubverſion of Parliaments, by ſo practiſing upon them, as that they ſhall become no longer repreſentatives of the people. He therefore preſſes that for the ſake of juſtice, for the ſake of that generation, but more eſpecially for the ſake of poſterity, the perſons engaged in theſe iniquitous practices ſhould be puniſhed in the moſt exemplary manner. But the gentleman to whom he wrote dying very ſoon after, and the Government not caring to come to extremities with thoſe who had been deepeſt in thoſe meaſures, that affair dropped; but our author's epiſtle remains a full proof of what the ſentiments were of the diſintereſted patriots of thoſe times as to this affair, which they apprehended to be attempting the ſubverſion of the Conſtitution.

[*L*] *Strongeſt arguments to many ſucceeding writers.*] This treatiſe in defence of the liberty of the Preſs (16), as it was one of the beſt, ſo it was alſo one of our author's moſt ſucceſsful performances. It was written at a very critical time, that is, when the Act of Parliament for reſtraining the liberty of the Preſs, and permitting nothing to be publiſhed without the Imprimatur of a licenſer was juſt expiring, and the deſign was to prevent that Act from being renewed, and therefore it was addreſſed to the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled. It is digeſted into nine ſections, each of which contains a diſtinct argument againſt the invaſion of that liberty, which, as he obſerves, is the foundation, and at the ſame time the ſecurity, of all other kinds of liberty; for this being the power of ſpeaking truth, and of publiſhing it with reſpect to perſons and things in general, it follows, that while a people are in poſſeſſion of this liberty, the reſt are in a great meaſure ſafe; but if this is once weakened or taken away, it is impoſſible to ſay how ſoon the reſt may follow. His advice in this reſpect, ſupported by the reaſon of the thing, and the general voice of the people, had a proper effect: that pernicious Act was ſuffered to expire, and the Preſs was ſet free, to the inexpreſſible benefit of this nation.

[*M*] *Which was not well reliſhed by the Houſe of Commons.*] The title of this very ſingular and remarkable piece at large runs thus (17): *King William and Queen Mary Conquerors; or, A Diſcourſe endeavouring to prove, that their Majeſties have, on their ſide againſt the late King, the principal reaſons that make Conqueſt a good title: Shewing alſo how this is conſiſtent with that Declaration of Parliament, King James abdicated the Government, &c. Written with an eſpecial regard to ſuch as have hitherto refuſed the oath, and yet allow of the title of Conqueſt when conſequent to a juſt war.* This piece is now become very ſcarce, and, which is more extraordinary, is hardly remembered, though a very well written, and certainly as well intended a work as ever came from the Preſs. There is a long and excellent Preface before it, which becauſe it is long we will not tranſcribe; but there is ſo much good ſenſe, good nature, and true patriotiſm, viſible in the laſt paragraph of this diſcourſe, that the reader will certainly not think his time miſpent in reading it. 'I ſhall now, ſays he, leave ' what I have written to the reader's ſober thoughts, ' repeating my requeſt, that he would conſider maturely, and judge impartially. I know ſome will ' be apt to ſay there is no occaſion for ſo much caution to Proteſtants, whoſe intereſt may be ſuppoſed ' to be a bias on the ſide I write for, and not againſt ' it. But to ſuch I obſerve, that a fancied reputation ' of extraordinary loyalty, ſcorn to change an opinion ' that a man has pleaded for, ſuffered for, and perhaps, written for, having eſpouſed a party, and ' been conſiderable on that account, and imbittered ' againſt the contrary ſide; theſe and ſome other circumſtances do many times with ſome tempers outbalance even intereſt itſelf, and turn the ſcale of ' men's judgments againſt it. And of this I am ſo ' fully perſuaded, that I cannot but fear worſe effects ' from theſe, and ſuch like prejudices, than from any ' thing that can be objected againſt what I have ſaid. ' The God of light and love open our underſtandings, govern our wills, cool our heats, and temper ' all our affections, ſo as we may ſee and embrace *the* ' *things that belong unto our peace, before they be hid* ' *from our eyes.*' But the title of this performance giving many people offence, it met with a very ſevere cenſure, which probably gave great uneaſineſs to its author, whoſe laſt work it was. A Right Reverend author relates the whole tranſaction thus (18). '*January* the 21ſt, a complaint having been made to ' the Houſe of Commons of a printed pamphlet, intitled, *King* William *and Queen* Mary *Conquerors*, ' as containing aſſertions of dangerous conſequence to ' their Majeſties, to the liberties of the ſubjects, and ' peace of the kingdom: The Houſe upon examination of the matter ordered the ſame pamphlet to be ' burnt by the hands of the common hangman, and ' that his Majeſty be deſired to remove Mr. *Edmund* ' *Bohun* the licenſer from his employment, for having ' allowed the ſame to be printed. In this debate it ' was ſuggeſted, that Dr. *Burnet*, Biſhop of *Sarum*, ' had recommended this notion of Conqueſt in his ' Paſtoral Letter to the Clergy of his dioceſe, though ' he had done it only upon a favourable ſuppoſition, ' not in a way of aſſertion. However, the majority, ' in

(15) This piece is inſerted in the Oracles of Reaſon, p. 174.

(16) The title is *A juſt Vindication of Learning, and of the Liberty of the Preſs, by Charles Blount, Eſq.* It is the laſt piece in the ſecond Volume of his Miſcellaneous Works.

(17) London: Printed for Richard Baldwin, in Warwick Lane, 4to, 1693.

(18) Kennet's Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 657.

and it would give us great ſatisfaction, if we could draw a veil over his death; but the regard we owe to truth, and to the public, will not permit. After the death of his wife, he became enamoured of her ſiſter, who, we are told, was a Lady of great beauty, wit, good humour, virtue, and diſcretion, who is ſaid not to have been inſenſible on her ſide, but ſcrupulous only as to the lawfulneſs of the thing he propoſed, *viz.* marrying her after her ſiſter (*r*). Our author wrote a letter on this ſubject, wherein he ſtates the caſe as of a third perſon, and treats it with great learning and addreſs. It is alſo ſaid that he applied himſelf to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other Divines, who having decided againſt his opinion, and the Lady thereupon growing inflexible, it threw him into a fit of deſpair, which ended in a frenzy, ſo that he ſhot himſelf in the head, which brought him to his grave (*s*). The wound, however, did not prove immediately mortal; he lived after it ſome days; and retaining ſtill his paſſion for that Lady, he would receive nothing but from her hands, ſo long as he preſerved life (*t*). He died in the month of Auguſt, 1693, and was interred with his family in the church of Ridge in Hertfordſhire (*u*). Mr. Bayle, who mentions this fact in his article of Apollonius Tyaneus, is miſtaken in ſeveral circumſtances (*w*) [*N*]. After Mr. Blount's deceaſe, abundance of his private letters were publiſhed, in a work called *The Oracles of Reaſon*, compiled by Mr. Gildon, who in his preface, gives ſome account of our author, in a letter addreſſed to a Lady, wherein he defends Mr. Blount's manner of dying, and threatens to follow his example; but he lived to change his opinions afterwards (*x*). Theſe *Oracles* of *Reaſon* were afterwards printed with ſeveral of our author's pieces, under the title of *The Miſcellaneous Works of Charles Blount, Eſq*; [*O*]. As to his character, he was certainly a man of ſenſe and learning; had a faculty of writing with much ſeeming ſtrength, where his arguments were not very cogent. His early diſlike to ſuperſtition hurried him into dangerous miſtakes, and inclined him to believe all Revealed Religion prieſtcraft, becauſe he ſaw plainly that ſome prieſts made a trade of religion. However, if any credit be due to his writings (and ſincerity ſeems to have been rooted in his temper) he was certainly a Deiſt; and therefore ſuch foreigners

'in the warmth of debating, and ſome of them for 'the ſake of alluſion to the author's name, paſſed the 'ſame cenſure on that excellent Letter, and ordered 'it to be publicly burnt by the common executioner. 'On *January* the 24th the Lords came to the like re'ſolution, *That the aſſertion of King* William *and* '*Queen* Mary'*s being King and Queen by Conqueſt, was* '*highly injurious to their Majeſties, and inconſiſtent with* '*the principles on which this Government is founded,* '*and tending to the ſubverſion of the rights of the people*; 'which vote being communicated to the Commons, 'that Houſe on the next day unanimouſly concurred 'with their Lordſhips, with the remarkable addition 'of ſome words, viz. *Injurious to their Majeſties right*'*ful title to the crown of this realm.*'

[*N*] *Is miſtaken in ſeveral circumſtances.*] It is certain that Mr. Bayle was, generally ſpeaking, very accurate in his accounts; but in this very ſhort ſtory of our author he has made ſeveral miſtakes (19), and theſe are the more extraordinary, becauſe he quotes another foreign author, in whoſe works there are no ſuch miſtakes. He ſays, *that Mr.* Blount *was violently in love with his brother's widow,* whereas the paſſion that was fatal to Mr. Blount was for his wife's ſiſter. Mr. Bayle tells us next, *that he pretended he might marry her without inceſt, and that he wrote a book to prove this,* which is another miſtake grounded upon the former, though it is true that he did write a ſhort diſcourſe to ſhew the lawfulneſs of marrying two ſiſters ſucceſſively. Dr. Bernard delivers himſelf very correctly (20); he gives us an account of the Oracles of Reaſon, and ſets down their contents exactly. He obſerves, that among theſe treatiſes, the eleventh upon the lawfulneſs of marrying two ſiſters ſucceſſively, did not relate to a ſubject indifferent to the author. It was not, ſays he, a ſimple queſtion of Theory, for, to it, if I may ſo ſpeak, he died a martyr. He obſerves, that he applied himſelf to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and other Divines upon this ſubject, and ſets down other particulars mentioned in the text, which ſhews he was very well informed: yet other foreign writers have not only copied the miſtakes of Mr. Bayle, but have augmented them very conſiderably; as for inſtance Reimannus (21), who is pleaſed, inſtead of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to give us the Archbiſhop of Cambridge, and doubts whether his diſaſtrous end was owing to diſappointment in love or in fortune. This is literally copied by another writer, who takes the Archbiſhop of Cambridge without the leaſt heſitation (22). Some very late editions of Moreri (23) follow Bayle exactly, and are therefore no more in the wrong than he. This ſhews the importance and utility of a work of this nature, as well as the impoſſibility that foreigners ſhould be able to form a true judgment of the merit of Engliſh authors, whoſe works they very ſeldom ſee, and the very titles of which they ſometimes miſapprehend, notwithſtanding which their errors are ſo ſpread, that throughout the greateſt part of Europe things paſs for undoubted facts which are known here to be downright falſehoods.

[*O*] *Title of the miſcellaneous works of Charles Blount, Eſq.*] We muſt in this note obſerve to the reader, that the *Oracles of Reaſon* were printed in a ſmall volume by themſelves, in 1693, in the lifetime of Mr. Blount, with a preface before them, ſubſcribed C. Gildon. There is ſome reaſon to ſuſpect, that this collection of ſmall tracts was ſent abroad for the ſake of that which concerns the marriage of two ſiſters ſucceſſively. This is ſubſcribed by Mr. Blount; but he ſtates the caſe as of a third perſon, whom he calls Toriſmond, and the Lady Eugenia. His epiſtle is dated from Burton in Staffordſhire, March the 8th, 1693; and of all the treatiſes in that collection, this ſeems to have been written with the greateſt care and circumſpection, with a great ſeeming ſpirit of candour, and as much learning as could be ſhewn upon the ſubject. But theſe, however, are not the ſole reaſons that induce me to think the *Oracles of Reaſon* were made public, that this might appear amongſt them: The preface ſeems to ſpeak the ſame thing; and Mr. Gildon labours very hard in adding new arguments on the ſide of his friend, but it ſeems they did him no ſervice, and indeed they are very much inferior to thoſe of Mr. Blount, which are ſuch as ſhew him to have been a man of great reading and profound learning. There are beſides, in theſe *Oracles of Reaſon*, ſeveral other pieces of our author, beſides thoſe already mentioned, particularly his letters to a Nobleman, under the name of *Strephon*; and one to Mr. Gildon, with a tranſlation of *Ocellus Lucanus*, and a tranſlation and defence of the learned Dr. Thomas Burnet's writings; which though firſt in the collection, were laſt written in point of time, as bearing date the twenty-third of March 1693. After Mr. Blount's death, Mr. Gildon thought fit to republiſh the *Oracles of Reaſon*, with the beſt of Mr. Blount's writings, under the title of his *Miſcellaneous Works*; to which he prefixed an account of the life and death of the author. Theſe were printed in 1695, but they do not include the pamphlet before mentioned, of King William and Queen Mary's title by Conqueſt, on account of it's being cenſured by Parliament.

(*r*) Hiſtoire des Ouvrages de Scavans, Tom. x. p. 135.

(*s*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 713.

(*t*) Niceron, Memoires des Hommes Illuſtres, Vol. xxiii. p. 402.

(*u*) The Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. iii. p. 670.

(*w*) See the remark [*I*] on this article in his Dictionary.

(*x*) Under the name of *Lindamour*, and the perſon to whom they are addreſſed is ſtiled *Hermione*.

(19) See the remark [*I*] on the article of APOLLONIUS (TYANEUS).

(20) Hiſtoire des Ouvrages de Sçavans, Tom. x. p. 135, 136.

(21) Hiſt. Univ. Atheiſm. & Atheor. p. 450, 451.

(22) Vogt. Catal. Libror. Rarior. p. 125, 126.

(23) See the article of BLOUNT, in the edition of Moreri, printed at Baſle in 1731.

as have ſet him down in their catalogues of Atheiſts (*y*), both injure his memory, and betray their own want of judgment, as the reader will ſee more at large in the notes [*P*]. He left a ſon, Henry Blount, Eſq; who was a Lieutenant-Colonel, and ſeveral other children (*z*).

(*y*) Reimanni Hiſtor. Atheiſm. Hild. 1725, 8*vo*, p. 451.

(*z*) The Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. iii. p. 671.

[*P*] *As the reader will ſee more at large in the notes.*] We have already mentioned Reimannus, but it is neceſſary here to take notice, that in his Univerſal Hiſtory of Atheiſm and Atheiſts, the eighth chapter is dedicated to the hiſtory of ſuch as have flouriſhed in England; and in the ſeventh ſection he ſpeaks of Mr. Blount (24). But he does not pretend to have ſeen his writings, of which he mentions only his tranſlation of the Life of Apollonius Tyaneus, and the Oracles of Reaſon; and cites for his authorities, Bernard, Bayle, and Fabricius. He calls him, however, in expreſs terms, an Atheiſt, without aſſigning any reaſon; and indeed, if he had ſeen his books, he muſt have been ſatisfied that he was very far from being ſo: but, however, he has placed him in a very good company, ſince in the ſame chapter he ſets down Dr. Gliſſon, Lord Herbert, Dr. Connor, Mr. Collins, and Dr. Garth, as Atheiſts; and mentions alſo, Sir Thomas Browne, Mr. Locke, Dr. Clarke, Dr. Cudworth, and Dr. Grew, as ſuſpected of the ſame opinions, though he is ſo kind as to acquit them. Upon the credit of this author, whoſe account of Mr. Blount is entirely tranſcribed by him, the Reverend Mr. Vogt, paſtor of the cathedral church of Bremen, gives him the like character (25); and his writings are ſtamped with the title of Atheiſtical, by ſeveral other foreign authors, who, perhaps, had never ſeen them. It is inconceivable how theſe and other writers take upon them to treat, not only Mr. Blount, but many other perſons of great learning, unſpotted characters, and unſuſpected piety, in very harſh terms on the ſlighteſt pretences, and without having any better notions of what they found their judgments upon, than are derived from extracts out of their writings, made by ſuch as very indifferently underſtand them; or, perhaps, characters given of them and their writings by their declared adverſaries, which, in a country like ours, where party-prejudices generally run high, are not to be depended upon. But the great miſchief of all is, they become authorities to each other; and after the ſcandal is once publiſhed, either in Germany or Holland, it is, in the ſpace of a few years, deſſeminated as undoubted truth over all Europe. C.

(24) Hiſtor. Univ. Atheiſmi & Atheorum, p. 450, 451.

(25) Catal. Libror. Rarior. p. 125, 126.

BOADICEA (*a*), a famous Britiſh Queen (in the time of the Roman Emperor Nero) whoſe ſtory is related by Tacitus (*b*), and Dion Caſſius (*c*). She was widow of Praſutagus, King of the *Iceni*, and, having ſuffered the moſt barbarous indignities from the Romans [*A*], ſhe excited the Britons to a revolt [*B*]. Accordingly, to the number of an hundred and twenty thouſand, with Boadicea at their head, they attacked the Roman colony at *Camalodunum*, and ſlaughtered ſeventy or eighty thouſand Romans; committing the moſt ſhocking and unheard-of cruelties [*C*]. But Suetonius Paulinus marching

(*a*) Or Bonduca, *or* Boudicea, *or* Baudaica, *or* Bounduica, *or* Boduo, *or* Voadica.

(*b*) Annal. l. xiv. c. 31—37.

(*c*) Hiſtor. Rom. l. lxii. typ. Wecchel. 1606, p 700—706.

[*A*] *She ſuffered the moſt barbarous indignities from the Romans.*] Her huſband Praſutagus, in hopes to ſecure the protection of the Romans to his kingdom and family, had by his Will made the Emperor and his own daughter coheirs of his great treaſures: but it happened quite contrary to his expectations; for his kingdom and treaſures became thereby a prey to the Roman officers, who proceeded to ſuch a pitch of brutality, as to order his Queen Boadicea to be publicly whipped, and the two Princeſſes his daughters to be raviſhed by the ſoldiers. *Rex Icenorum Praſutagus, longa opulentia clarus, Cæſarem hæredem duaſque filias ſcripſerat, tali obſequio ratus regnum et domum ſuam procul injuria fore: quod contra vertit; adeo ut regnum per Centuriones, domus per ſervos, velut capta vaſtarentur. Jam primum, uxor ejus Boudicea verberibus affecta, et filiæ ſtupro violatæ ſunt* (1). Dion Caſſius, who is thought to have paraphraſed upon Tacitus in this ſtory, makes no mention however of theſe perſonal injuries offered to Boadicea and her daughters. But, as the author cited in the margin (2) juſtly obſerves, Tacitus, in relating the cruelties and injuſtices that Queen ſuffered, *is worthy of belief againſt his own nation.*

[*B*] *She excited the Britons to a revolt.*] Dion Caſſius (3) has given us a long ſpeech, which, he tells us, ſhe made upon her firſt aſſembling the Britons together, in order to animate them to take up arms againſt the Romans. She begins with obſerving, 'that they could not but be convinced how much liberty was preferable to ſlavery, and how much they were deceived by the fair promiſes of the Romans, in preferring a foreign government to the laws and manners of their own country, having ſuſtained all manner of calamities ſince the Romans entered Britain.' And ſhe owns, 'that the Britons themſelves had been the authors of their own misfortunes, by ſuffering the Romans at firſt to ſettle in the iſland.' The hiſtorian places her on a riſing ground, dreſſed in a looſe-bodied gown, with a ſpear in her hand, and a hare in her boſom, which, at the end of her harangue, ſhe lets ſlip among them, as an omen of ſucceſs. The author, referred to in the laſt remark (4), highly extols Boadicea's ſpeech, as well worthy of that hiſtorian's eloquence, and the wit of a Greek, *who*, he ſays, *was ſo greatly delighted with the wonder and worth of this argument, that he ſeems to have made the exquiſite handling thereof his maſterpiece. For*, he adds, *there is not any thing of that bright author extant, upon which he can be thought to have dealt with greater care or endeavour than upon his Bunduca's ſtory*. But Mr. Milton, after briefly relating the circumſtances given us by the Greek hiſtorian upon this occaſion, paſſes a general cenſure upon this and the like narrations. 'This they do, *ſays he* (5), 'out of a vanity, hoping to embelliſh and ſet out their hiſtory with the ſtrangeneſs of our manners, not caring in the mean while to brand us with the rankeſt note of barbariſm, as if in Britain women were men, and men women. I affect not ſet ſpeeches in a hiſtory, unleſs known for certain to have been ſo ſpoken in effect as they were written; nor then, unleſs worth recital. And to invent ſuch, though eloquently, as ſome hiſtorians have done, is an abuſe of poſterity, raiſing in them that read other conceptions of thoſe times and perſons than were true.' By the way, this author is miſtaken in placing this ſpeech immediately before the laſt battle between Boadicea and the Romans (6); as is M. Rapin de Thoyras, who (7) places the artifice of letting ſlip the hare immediately after her ſpeech before that laſt battle. Beſides the injuries offered to the family of King Praſutagus, the Britons had other cauſes of diſcontent. The Roman Veterans, being newly planted in the colony of *Camalodunum*, had driven the inhabitants from their houſes, diſpoſſeſſed them of their lands, and treated them as ſlaves and captives; and, moreover, the temple, lately built in honour of the Emperor Claudius, ſeemed to them the foundation of a perpetual tyranny. And, as the Britons were animated with the hope of recovering their liberty, the Romans were diſcouraged by various omens; for the ſtatue of Victory at *Camalodunum* fell down, without any apparent cauſe, ſtrange noiſes were heard in the Court and Theatre, the ſea looked bloody, and ſeveral enthuſiaſtic women foretold the ſubverſion of that colony (8).

[*C*] *The Britons committed the moſt ſhocking and unheard-of cruelties.*] Tacitus (9) only relates in general, that they gave no quarter, but deſtroyed their enemies by ſword, gallows, fire, and crucifixion. *Neque enim capere aut venundare, aliudve quod belli commercium, ſed cædes, patibula, ignes, cruces, tanquam redditari ſupplicium, ac prærepta interim ultione, feſtinabant.* But Dion Caſſius (10) has particularized ſome of their cruelties upon this occaſion. The men, he tells

(1) Tacit. Annal. l. xiv. c. 31.

(2) Mr. Bolton in his *Nero Cæſar, or Monarchie depraved, an Hiſtorical Work*, London, 1624, fol. ch. xxv. p. 100.

(3) Hiſtor. Rom l. lxii. typ. Wecchel. 1606, p. 701.

(4) Mr. Bolton, *ubi ſupra.*

(5) Hiſtory of England, b. II. in the Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. i. p. 18.

(6) See the remark [*D*].

(7) Hiſt. d'Angleterre, liv. i.

(8) Tacit. *ubi ſupra*, c. 31, 32.

(9) *Ibid.* c. 33.

(10) *Ubi ſupra.*

marching againſt them with about ten thouſand men, a bloody battle enſued [*D*]; in which eighty thouſand Britons were ſlain, and the Romans gained the victory with a very inconſiderable loſs. This battle was fought in the year of Chriſt 61, of Nero 8. Some have thought it was fought on Saliſbury Plain, and that *Stonehenge* was erected as a monument to Boadicea [*E*]. This valiant Queen, whoſe perſon we ſhall give a deſcription of in the remark [*F*], diſpatched herſelf by poiſon, or died by ſickneſs, ſoon after.

tells us, had their bowels cut out; and ſome of them were gored upon ſtakes, and others boiled to death. The moſt noble and honourable of the Britiſh ladies were ſtripped naked; and their paps ſliced off, and ſtitched to their mouths, that they might ſeem feeding; and laſtly were ſtaked through their bodies.

[*D*] *A bloody battle enſued.*] The Britons brought their wives and children into the field in waggons, to be ſpectators of the fight, and ſhare with them in the victory. Boadicea, with her daughters by her ſide, in her chariot, rode from rank to rank, animating and encouraging the ſeveral nations. She told them, 'this was not the firſt time the Britons had been victorious under the conduct of their Queens; but that, upon this occaſion, ſhe conſidered not her royal deſcent, nor the loſs of her riches and grandeur, but was come as a private woman to revenge the loſs of liberty, the ſtripes inflicted upon her own body, and the violation of her daughters chaſtity; that neither age, ſex, nor quality, could eſcape the unbounded luſt of the Romans: however, that the Gods had already begun to make them feel the puniſhments they deſerved, in the entire defeat of one of their legions, and the terror which had ſeized the reſt; that, far from ſuſtaining the efforts of a victorious army, they were not able to endure even the ſhouts of ſo great a multitude; that, if the Britons did but conſider their own ſtrength, and the cauſes of the war, they would be convinced they muſt either conquer or die; that, for her own part, though a woman, this was her reſolution; the men might live if they pleaſed, and be ſlaves.' *Solitum quidem Britannis fœminarum ductu bellare teſtabatur; ſed tunc non ut tantis majoribus ortam regnum et opes, verum ut unam e vulgo, libertatem amiſſam, confectum verberibus corpus, contrectatam filiarum pudicitiam ulciſci; eo provectas Romanorum cupidines, ut non corpora, ne ſenectam quidem, aut virginitatem impollutam relinquant: Adeſſe tamen Deos juſtæ vindictæ; cecidiſſe legionem, quæ prælium auſa ſit; cæteros caſtris occultari, aut fugam circumſpicere; ne ſtrepitum quidem et clamorem tot millium, nedum impetus et manus perlaturos; ſi copias armatorum, ſi cauſas belli ſecum expenderent, vincendum illa acie, vel cadendum eſſe; id mulieri deſtinatum; viverent viri et ſervirent* (11). Mr. Milton, upon this occaſion, is as much diſpleaſed with the Roman as the Greek hiſtorian (12). 'A woman alſo, *ſays he* (13), was their Commander in Chief; for Boadicea and her daughters riding about in a chariot, telling the tall champions, as a great encouragement, that with the Britons it was uſual for women to be their leaders. A deal of other fondneſs they put into her mouth, not worth recital; how ſhe was laſhed, how her daughters were handled; things worthier ſilence, retirement, and a veil, than for a woman to repeat, as done to her perſon, or to hear repeated before an hoſt of men.' The reader, we believe, will join with us in opinion, that this ingenious writer has puſhed his cenſure of Tacitus too far; for what is there of immodeſt or indecent in the terms made uſe of by that writer, *Confectum verberibus corpus, contrectatam filiarum pudicitiam?* And could ſhe have uſed a topic more likely to inflame the Britons to a deſire of revenge, than the contemptuous treatment, and perſonal inſults, ſhe, their Queen, and her children, had met with at the hands of the Romans? Beſides, it ſeems a piece of falſe delicacy, to think the mention of ſuch acts improper from a woman to men, under ſuch extraordinary circumſtances as Boadicea and the Britons were then in. But to return; while Boadicea was endeavouring to inſpire courage into the Britons, Paulinus, though aſſured of the valour of his troops, exhorted them to deſpiſe the threats and cries of the Barbarians. He repreſented to them, 'that among the enemy there were more women than warriors; and that the greateſt part of them, being without arms and without ſtrength, would betake themſelves to flight upon the firſt attack; that in the beſt armies the deciſion of the day depended upon a few; and that their glory would be ſo much the greater, as it was ſhared among fewer.' He exhorted them to keep their ranks cloſe, and to have recourſe to their ſwords, after they had flung their javelins; in fine, not to amuſe themſelves about plunder, which the conquerors could not fail of. This harangue being received with loud acclamations, the Roman General ordered the charge to be ſounded. While the fight continued at a diſtance, the Britons thought to terrify their enemies by the ſuperiority of their numbers; but when they perceived the legions advancing ſword in hand, and with a dauntleſs countenance, they fell into the utmoſt diſorder, and betook themſelves to flight. But the waggons, in which they had placed their wives and children, intercepting moſt of them, a dreadful ſlaughter enſued, and the Britons ſuffered a total defeat (14).

[*E*] *Some have thought —— that* Stonehenge, *on Saliſbury Plain, was erected as a monument to Boadicea.*] This is particularly the opinion of Mr. Bolton, who thinks no other tomb ſo likely to be her's, as that admirable monument of ſtones. 'The dumbneſs of it, *ſays he* (15) (unleſs the letters be worn quite away), ſpeaks, that it was not any work of the Romans, for they were wont to make ſtones vocal by inſcriptions. The common opinion touching that *Trophea*, or whatſoever elſe it may be called, would have it believed, that this ſtructure was contrived in memory of the Britain Lords perfidiouſly murdered by the Saxons here upon an interview. Of that heinous aſſaſſinate Nennius hath a touch, but aſſigns not the place. Geffrey Arthur or Monmouth is the man, who fetches theſe marvellous ſtones (reported by him to be medicinal) from out of Ireland, for the purpoſe of a memorial, by Merlin's counſel and force of arms.——That *Stonage (Stonehenge)* was a work of the Britains, the rudeneſs itſelf perſuades. And if that plate of mixed metal, mentioned by Camden, which was found about fourſcore years ſince near to that monument, and inſcribed with ſuch characters as were not legible to the learned of that time, did appertain to *Stonage*, then may it eaſily be credited to have been ſome old Britiſh inſcription, dedicated to the immortal fame of ſome or other great worthy, nor of any rather than, in my conceit, of the moſt mighty Bunduca.——The bones of men, digged up at times near this place under little banks, convince it to have been ſepulchral; but armours of a large and antique faſhion, upon which the ſpade or pick-ax are ſometimes ſaid to hit, do clear the owners from having been in the number of thoſe Britons, whom Pagan Hengiſt wickedly ſlew; for they came not armed, but weaponleſs.'

[*F*] *A deſcription of her perſon.*] We ſhall give it in the words of Mr. Bolton, who copies it from Dion Caſſius. 'Boadicea's body, *ſays he* (16), was big and burly, or rather huge; which ſome, tranſlating the Greek into Latin, not thinking to be a fit parcel in the bill of a lady's praiſe, have turned tall. Her face, naturally good, and full of dignity, was of purpoſe ſet to the quality of the preſent ſervice, after a moſt ſevere and ſerious manner; which moved famous Dio to hang (Βλοσυρωτατη) an epithet of ſuch an ambiguous ſenſe, upon her countenance, as like a double picture repreſents her diverſely to diverſe underſtandings, excellently comely, or incomparably terrible. Her complexion very fair, which who will wonder at in a Lady born in Britain? Her copious treſſes dangling in compaſſe farre beneath her waſte were of moſt bright yellow. And though by her colour her conſtitution might ſeem to be cold, yet her doings declared, that choler had the maſtery in her, even unto deceit and aduſtion. Her looks moſt eager, ſharp and piercing; an argument

(11) Tacit. *ubi ſupra*, c. 35.

(12) See the remark [*B*].

(13) Hiſtory of England, *ubi ſupra*.

(14) Tacit. *ibid.* c. 36, 37.

(15) Nero Cæſar, or Monarchie depraved, c. 25, p. 181.

(16) *Ibid.* p. 101.

‘ gument perhaps, that her eyes were diſproportion-‘ ably ſmall; and that was a ſign, if artiſts err not, ‘ of fraud and cruelty. Nature, finally, to make ‘ the conſort of her properties complete, furniſhed ‘ her with an alarum-bell for the country, and a ‘ deadly knell for thouſands, a tongue as harſh and ‘ rolling, as herſelf was high and great.—In Dio ‘ ſhe doth not appear old or decayed, but a ſtrong ‘ and perfect woman. Her picture hangs up there in ‘ ſuch words, as ſhew the perſon of ſome martial ‘ boſſe, or amazonian gianteſs.’ B.

BODLEY (Sir Thomas), from whom the *Bodleian* or Public Library at Oxford takes its name, was the eldeſt ſon of Mr. John Bodley [*A*] of Exeter, and born in that city the 2d of March, 1544. He was about twelve years of age when his father, being obliged to leave England on account of religion, ſettled with his family at Geneva [*B*], where he lived a voluntary exile during the reign of Queen Mary (*a*). In that univerſity, then newly erected, young Mr. Bodley applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the learned languages, and Divinity, under the moſt celebrated Profeſſors [*C*]. Upon the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth in 1558, he returned into England with his father and family, who ſettled at London; and ſoon after, he was ſent to Magdalen-college in Oxford, under the tuition of Dr. Humphrey, afterwards Preſident of that ſociety. In 1563, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and the ſame year was choſen Probationer of Merton-college, and the year following admitted Fellow. In 1565, by perſuaſion of ſome of the Fellows, he undertook the public reading of a Greek Lecture in the hall of that college (*b*) [*D*]. In 1566, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, and, that year, read Natural Philoſophy in the public ſchools. In 1569, he was elected one of the Proctors of the univerſity; and after that, for a conſiderable time, ſupplied the place of Univerſity Orator. Hitherto Mr. Bodley applied himſelf to the ſtudy of various faculties, without any inclination to profeſs any one more than the reſt. In 1576, being deſirous to improve himſelf in the modern languages, and to qualify himſelf for public buſineſs, he began his travels, and ſpent nearly four years in viſiting France, Germany, and Italy (*c*). Afterwards returning to his college, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Hiſtory and Politics. In 1583, he was made Gentleman Uſher to Queen Elizabeth; and, in 1585, married Anne, daughter of Mr. Carew of Briſtol, and widow of Mr. Ball; a lady of a conſiderable fortune (*d*). Soon after, he was employed by Queen Elizabeth in ſeveral embaſſies, to Frederick King of Denmark, Julius Duke of Brunſwick, William Landgrave of Heſſe, and other German Princes, to engage them to join their forces with thoſe of the Engliſh, for the aſſiſtance of the King of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. of France; and, having diſcharged that commiſſion, he was ſent to King Henry III., at the time when that Prince was forced by the Duke of Guiſe to quit Paris (*e*) [*E*]. In 1588, he was ſent to the Hague, to manage the Queen's affairs in the United Provinces; where, according to an agreement between the Queen and the States, he was admitted one of the Council of State, and took his place next to Count Maurice, giving his vote in every propoſition made to that Aſſembly (*f*). In this ſtation he behaved greatly to the ſatisfaction of his Royal Miſtreſs, and the advancement of the public ſervice [*F*]. After nearly five years reſidence in Holland, he obtained

(*a*) See *The Life of* Sir Tho. Bodley, *written by himſelf*, p. 1, 2. in the *Reliquiæ Bodleianæ*, &c. publiſhed by Mr. T. Hearne, London, 1703, 8*vo*.

(*b*) *Ibid*. p. 3.

(*c*) *Ibid*, p. 4.

(*d*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 384.

(*e*) *Life*, &c. *ubi ſupra*, p. 4, 5.

(*f*) *Ib*. p. 6, 7.

[*A*] *Eldeſt ſon of Mr.* John Bodley.] By his father's ſide he was deſcended from an ancient family of the Bodleys, or Bodleighs, of Dunſcomb near Crediton in Devonſhire. His mother was Joan, daughter and heireſs of Robert Home, Eſq; of Offery St. Mary, nine miles from Exeter (1).

[*B*] *His father, being obliged to leave England on account of religion, ſettled with his family at Geneva.*] ‘ My father, *ſays* Sir Thomas (2), in the time of ‘ Queen Mary, being noted and known to be an ‘ enemy to Popery, was ſo cruelly threatened, and ‘ ſo narrowly obſerved by thoſe that maliced his religion, that, for the ſafeguard of himſelf and my ‘ mother, who was wholly affected as my father, he ‘ knew no way ſo ſecure as to fly into Germany; ‘ where after awhile he found means to call over my ‘ mother, with all his children and family, whom he ‘ ſettled for awhile at Weſel in Cleveland (for there ‘ then were many Engliſh, which had left their country for their conſcience, and with quietneſs enjoyed ‘ their meetings and preachings); and from thence ‘ we removed to the town of Franckford, where was ‘ in like ſort another Engliſh congregation. Howbeit we made no long tarriance in either of theſe ‘ two towns; for that my father had reſolved to fix ‘ his abode in the city of Geneva, where (as far as I ‘ remember) the Engliſh church conſiſted of ſome ‘ hundred perſons.’

[*C*] *He ſtudied under the moſt celebrated Profeſſors.*] He frequented the public lectures of Chevalerius in the Hebrew tongue, of Beroaldus in the Greek, and of Calvin and Beza in Divinity; beſides his domeſtic teachers in the houſe of Philibertus Saracenus, a famous Phyſician of that city, with whom he boarded, where Robert Conſtantine, author of the Greek Lexicon, read Homer to him (3).

[*D*] *He undertook the public reading of a Greek lecture in the hall of Merton-college.*] He read this lecture for ſome time without expecting or requiring any ſtipend for it; but afterwards the ſociety of their own accord allowed him a ſalary of four marks *per annum*, and from thenceforth continued the lecture to the college (4).

[*E*] *He was ſent to King Henry* III., *at the time when that Prince was forced by the Duke of Guiſe to quit Paris.*] This commiſſion, he tells us (5), he performed with extraordinary ſecrecy, not being accompanied by any one ſervant (for ſo he was commanded), nor with any other letters than ſuch as were written with the Queen's own hand to the King, and ſome ſelect perſons about him. ‘ The effect, *continues he*, ‘ of that meſſage it is fit I ſhould conceal; but it ‘ tended greatly to the advantage of all the Proteſtants in France, and to the Duke's apparent overthrow, which alſo followed ſoon upon it.’ Mr. Camden ſays nothing more of this embaſſy, than that Queen Elizabeth ‘ not only aſſiſted the King of ‘ Navarre, when he was intangled in a dangerous ‘ and difficult war, with money and other military ‘ proviſions, but ſent over Sir Thomas Bodley to ‘ ſupport or encourage the French King when his ‘ affairs ſeemed to be in a very deſperate condition ‘ (6).’

[*F*] *He behaved greatly to the ſatisfaction of his Royal miſtreſs, and the advancement of the public ſervice.*] ‘ During all that time (*ſays* Sir Thomas (7), *ſpeaking of his reſidence at the* Hague) what approbation ‘ was given of my painful endeavours by the Queen, ‘ Lords

(1) *Life of* Sir T. B. *in the* Reliquiæ Bodleianæ, &c. p. 1. and Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 384.

(2) *Life*, &c. *ubi ſupra*, p. 1, 2.

(3) *Life*, &c. *ubi ſupra*, p. 1, 2.

(4) *Ibid*. p. 3.

(5) *Ibid*. p. 5.

(6) Annal. Eliz. Reg. *ad ann.* 1589.

(7) *Life*, &c. *ubi ſupra*, p. 6, 7.

obtained leave to return into England, to look after his private affairs; but was ſhortly after remanded back to the Hague. About a year after, he came into England again, to communicate ſome private diſcoveries to the Queen; and preſently returned to the States for the execution of thoſe councils he had ſecretly propoſed. At length, having ſucceeded in all his negociations, he obtained his final recal in 1597 (*g*). After his return, finding his advancement at Court obſtructed by the jealouſies and intrigues of the great men, he retired from the Court and all public buſineſs, and never could be prevailed with to return and accept of any new employment (*h*) [G]. The ſame year he

Lords in England, by the States of the country there, and by all the Engliſh ſoldiery, I refer it to be notified by ſome other's relation, ſith it was not unknown to any of any calling that then were acquainted with the ſtate of that government. For at my firſt coming there the people of that country ſtood in dangerous terms of diſcontentment, partly for ſome courſes that were held in England, as they thought, to their ſingular prejudice, but moſt of all in reſpect of the inſolent demeanour of ſome of her Highneſs's Miniſters, which only reſpected their private emolument, little weighing in their dealing what the Queen had contracted with the States of the country; whereupon was conceived a mighty fear on every ſide, that both a preſent diſſolution of the covenant would enſue, and a downright breach of amity, between us and them. Now what means I ſet a foot for redreſs of theſe perils, and by what degrees the ſtate of things was reduced into order, it would require a long treatiſe to report it exactly. But this I may aver with modeſty and truth, and the country did always acknowledge it with gratitude, that had I not of myſelf, without any direction from my ſuperiors, proceeded in my charge with extreme circumſpection, as well in all my ſpeeches and propoſals to the States, as in the tenour of my letters that I writ into England, ſome ſudden alarm had been given to the utter ſubverſion and ruin of the ſtate of thoſe Provinces, which in proceſs of time muſt needs have wrought, in all probability, the ſame effect in the State of this realm. Of this my diligence and care in the managing of my buſineſs, there was, as I have ſignified, very ſpecial notice taken by the Queen and State at home; for I received from her Majeſty many comfortable letters of her gracious acceptance; as withal from that time forward I did never almoſt receive any ſet inſtructions how to govern my proceedings in her Majeſty's occaſions, but the carriage in a manner of all her affairs was left to me and my diſcretion.' A more particular account of Sir Thomas's negociations with the *States* may be ſeen in Mr. Camden's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, under the year 1595, and in a ſhort piece, written by Sir Thomas himſelf, and publiſhed by Mr. Thomas Hearne in his *notes* upon that paſſage of Camden, intitled, *An Account of an Agreement between Queen Elizabeth and the United Provinces, wherein ſhe ſupported them, and they ſtood not to their Agreement.*

[G] *He retired from Court and all public buſineſs, and never could be prevailed with to return and accept of any new employment.*] We ſhall enlarge upon this part of Sir Thomas's life in his own words. ‘ I cannot chuſe, *ſays he* (8), in making report of the principal accidents that have befallen unto me in the courſe of my life, but record among the reſt, that from the very firſt day I had no man more to friend, among the Lords of the Council, than was the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh; for when occaſion had been offered of declaring his conceit, as touching my ſervice, he would always tell the Queen (which I received from herſelf, and ſome other ear-witneſſes) that there was not any man in England ſo meet as myſelf to undergo the office of the Secretary; and ſince, his ſon the preſent Lord Treaſurer hath ſignified unto me in private conference, that, when his father firſt intended to advance him to that place, his purpoſe was withal to make me his collegue. But the caſe ſtood thus in my behalf: Before ſuch time as I returned from the *Provinces United*, which was in the year 1597, and likewiſe after my return, the Earl of Eſſex did uſe me ſo kindly both by letters and meſſages, and other great tokens of his inward favour to me, that, although I had no meaning but to ſettle in my mind my chiefeſt dependance upon the Lord Burleigh, as one that I reputed to be both the beſt able, and therewithal the moſt willing, to work my advancement with the Queen; yet I know not how the Earl, who ſought by all devices to divert her love and liking both from the father and the ſon (but from the ſon in ſpecial), to withdraw my affection from the one and the other, and to win me altogether to depend upon himſelf, did ſo often take occaſion to entertain the Queen with ſome prodigal ſpeeches of my ſufficiency for a Secretary, which were ever accompanied with words of diſgrace againſt the preſent Lord Treaſurer, as neither ſhe herſelf (of whoſe favour before I was thoroughly aſſured) took any great pleaſure to prefer me the ſooner (for ſhe hated his ambition, and would give little countenance to any of his followers); and both the Lord Burleigh and his ſon waxed jealous of my courſes, as if underhand I had been induced, by the cunning and kindneſs of the Earl of Eſſex, to oppoſe myſelf againſt their dealings. And though in very truth they had no ſolid ground at all of the leaſt alteration in my diſpoſition towards either of them both (for I did greatly reſpect their perſons and places, with a ſettled reſolution to do them any ſervice, as alſo in my heart I deteſted to be of any faction whatſoever) yet the now Lord Treaſurer, upon occaſion of ſome talk that I have ſince had with him of the Earl and his actions, hath freely confeſſed of his own accord to me, that his daily provocations were ſo bitter and ſharp againſt him, and his compariſons ſo odious, when he put us in a ballance, as he thought thereupon, he had very great reaſon to uſe his beſt means to put any man out of love of raiſing his fortune, whom the Earl with ſuch violence, to his extreme prejudice, had endeavoured to dignify. And this, as he affirmed, was all the motive he had to ſet himſelf againſt me, in whatſoever might redound to the bettering of my ſtate, or increaſing my credit and countenance with the Queen. When I had thoroughly now bethought me, firſt in the Earl, of the ſlender hold-faſt he had in the Queen; of an endleſs oppoſition of the chiefeſt of our Stateſmen like ſtill to wait upon him; of his perilous, feeble, and uncertain advice, as well in his own, as in all the cauſes of his friends; and when moreover for myſelf I had fully conſidered how very untowardly theſe two counſellors were affected unto me (upon whom before in cogitation I had framed all the fabric of my future proſperity), how ill it did concur with my natural diſpoſition, to become, or to be counted a ſtickler or partaker in any public faction; how well I was able by God's good bleſſing to live of myſelf, if I could be content with a competent livelihood; how ſhort a time of farther life I was then to expect by the common courſe of nature; when I had, I ſay, in this manner repreſented to my thoughts my particular eſtate, together with the Earl's, I reſolved thereupon to poſſeſs my ſoul in peace all the reſidue of my days; to take my full farewell of State employments; to ſatisfy my mind with that mediocrity of worldly living that I had of mine own; and ſo to retire me from the Court, which was the epilogue and end of all my actions, aud endeavours of any important note, till I came to the age of ſixty-three. Now although after this, by her Majeſty's directions, I was often called to the Court by the now Lord Treaſurer, then Secretary, and required by him, as alſo divers times ſince, by order from the King, to ſerve as an Embaſſador in France, to go a Commiſſioner from his Highneſs for concluding the truce between Spain and the *Provinces*, and to negociate in other very honourable employments; yet I would not be removed from my former final reſolution; inſomuch as at length to reduce me the ſooner to return to the Court, I had an offer made me by the

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(*g*) *Life, &c. ubi ſupra*, p. 7, 8.

(*h*) *Ib.* p. 8—13.

(8) *Life, &c. ubi ſupra*, p. 8—13.

he ſet about the noble work of reſtoring, or rather founding anew, the Public Library at Oxford [*H*], which was completed in 1599 (*i*). After King James's acceſſion to the

present Lord Treaſurer (for in proceſs of time he ſaw, as he himſelf was pleaſed to tell me more than once, that all my dealing was upright, fair, and direct) that in caſe I myſelf were willing unto it, he would make me his aſſociate in the Secretary's office: And to the intent I might believe that he intended it *bona fide*, he would get me out of hand to be ſworn of the Council. And for the better enabling of my ſtate to maintain ſuch a dignity, whatſoever I would aſk that might be fit for him to deal in, and for me to enjoy, he would preſently ſolicit the King to give it paſſage. All which perſuaſions notwithſtanding, albeit I was often aſſaulted by him, in regard of my years, and for that I felt myſelf ſubject to many indiſpoſitions, beſides ſome other reaſons, which I reſerve unto myſelf, I have continued ſtill at home my retired courſe of life, which is now methinks to me as the greateſt preferment that the State can afford.' Mr. Camden mentions the affair of Sir Thomas's diſappointment in regard to the office of Secretary in theſe words: 'It raiſed in him *(the Earl of Eſſex)* a greater and more apparent diſcontent, that Sir Robert Cecil was choſen Secretary in his abſence; whereas he had ſome time before recommended *Sir Thomas Bodley*, on the ſcore of his great wiſdom and experience in the affairs of the *Low Countries*, and had run very high in his commendations; but with ſo much bitterneſs, and ſo little reaſon, diſparaged Cecil, that the Queen (who had by this time a mean opinion of Eſſex's recommendations) was the more inclinable to refuſe to make Bodley Secretary; neither would ſhe let the Lord Treaſurer join him in commiſſion with his ſon; both which honours were deſigned him, till Eſſex, by too profuſe and laviſh praiſes, had rendered him ſuſpected as a creature of his own (9).'

[*H*] *He reſtored, or rather founded a-new, the public Library at Oxford.*] Let us, firſt, hear Sir Thomas himſelf. Having given us the motives of his retirement from Court, and chuſing a private life (10), he goes on thus: 'Only this I muſt truly confeſs of myſelf, that though I did never yet repent me of thoſe, and ſome other my often refuſals of honourable offers, in reſpect of enriching my private eſtate; yet ſomewhat more of late I have blamed myſelf and my nicety that way, for the love that I bear to my reverend mother the univerſity of Oxon, and to the advancement of her good, by ſuch kind of means, as I have ſince undertaken. For thus I fell to diſcourſe and debate in my mind; that although I might find it fitteſt for me to keep out of the throng of Court contentions, and addreſs my thoughts and deeds to ſuch ends altogether, as I myſelf could beſt affect; yet withal I was to think, that my duty towards God, the expectation of the world, and my natural inclination, and very morality did require, that I ſhould not wholly ſo hide thoſe little abilities that I had, but that in ſome meaſure, in one kind or other, I ſhould do the true part of a profitable member of the State. Whereupon examining exactly for the reſt of my life what courſe I might take, and having ſought (as I thought) all the ways to the wood, to ſelect the moſt proper, I concluded at the laſt to ſet up my ſtaff at the *Library* door in *Oxon*, being thoroughly perſuaded, that in my ſolitude and ſurceaſe from the Commonwealth affairs, I could not buſy myſelf to better purpoſe, than by reducing that place (which then in every part lay ruined and waſte) to the public uſe of Students. For the effecting whereof I found myſelf furniſhed, in a competent proportion, of ſuch four kinds of aids, as, unleſs I had them all, there was no hope of good ſucceſs. For without ſome kind of knowledge, as well in the learned and modern tongues, as in ſundry other ſorts of ſcholaſtical literature; without ſome purſe-ability to go through with the charge; without great ſtore of honourable friends, to further the deſign; and without ſpecial good leiſure to follow ſuch a work, it could but have proved a vain attempt and inconſiderate. But how well I have ſped in all my endeavours, and how full proviſion I have made for the benefit and eaſe of all frequenters of the library, that which I have already performed in ſight, that which beſides I have given for the maintenance of it, and that which hereafter I purpoſe to add, by way of enlargement of that place (for the project is caſt, and, whether I live or die, it ſhall be, God willing, put in full execution), will teſtify ſo truly and abundantly for me, as I need not be the publiſher of the dignity and worth of my own inſtitution (11).' Mr. Camden (12), under the year 1598, tells us, 'Bodley, being at preſent unengaged from affairs of State, ſet himſelf a taſk, which would have ſuited the character of a crowned head, I mean, *ſays he*, the promotion and encouragement of learning; for he began to repair the Public Library at Oxford, and furniſhed it with new books. It was ſet up, *he adds*, by Humphrey Duke of Glouceſter, but through the iniquity of the times was, in the reign of Edward VI., ſtripped of all the books; but he *(Bodley)* having made the choiceſt collection from all parts of the world of the moſt valuable books, partly at his own coſt, and partly by contributions from others, he firſt ſtocked, and afterwards left it ſo well endowed at his death, that his memory deſerves to bear a very laſting date amongſt men of worth and letters.' The ſame author, in his *Britannia* (13), tells us, Duke Humphrey's library conſiſted of one hundred twenty-nine volumes, procured from Italy at a great expence. His tranſlator adds, that they were valued at above a thouſand pounds, and that the Duke in 1440 gave one hundred twenty-ſix volumes more, and in 1443 a much greater number, beſides conſiderable additions at his death three years after (14). But, before Duke Humphrey's time, Richard de Bury, *alias* Aungervil (15), Biſhop of Durham, in 1295, gave a great number of books to the univerſity, which were kept in a place for that purpoſe in the college, which the monks of Durham had founded in the north ſuburbs of Oxford; an account whereof may be gathered from a book written by himſelf, called *Philobiblos, Sive de amore librorum, et inſtitutione Bibliothecæ* (16). And after him, in the year 1320, Thomas Cobham, Biſhop of Worceſter, built another over the old Congregation-houſe in the north cœmitery of St. Mary's (17). In 1597, Sir Thomas Bodley, taking into his conſideration the ruinous condition of Duke Humphrey's library, and reſolving to undertake the reſtoration of it at his own expence, wrote a letter, dated at London, *Jan.* 23, to Dr. Ravis, Dean of Chriſt-Church, then Vice-Chancellor, to be communicated to the univerſity; offering therein to reſtore the fabric of the ſaid library, and to ſettle an annual income for the purchaſe of books, and the ſupport of ſuch officers as might be neceſſary to take care of it. This letter was received with the greateſt ſatisfaction by the univerſity, and an anſwer returned, teſtifying their moſt grateful acknowledgment and acceptance of his noble offer (18). Whereupon Sir Thomas immediately ſet about the work, and in two years time brought it to a good degree of perfection (19). He furniſhed it with a large collection of books, purchaſed in foreign countries at a great expence (20); and this collection in a ſhort time became ſo greatly enlarged by the generous benefactions of ſeveral Noblemen, Biſhops, and others, that neither the ſhelves nor the room could contain them. Whereupon Sir Thomas offering to make a conſiderable addition to the building, the motion was readily embraced, and, upon July the 19th, 1610, the firſt ſtone of the new foundation was laid with great ſolemnity, the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, Maſters of Arts, &c. attending in their proper habits, and a ſpeech being made upon the occaſion. But Sir Thomas Bodley did not live to ſee this part of his deſign completed, though he left ſufficient to do it with ſome friends, in truſt; for, as appears by the copy of his Will, he beſtowed his whole eſtate (his debts, legacies, and funeral charges defrayed) to the noble purpoſes of this foundation. By this means, and the help of other benefactions, in procuring which Sir Thomas was very ſerviceable by his great intereſt with many eminent perſons, the Univerſity was enabled to add three other ſides to what was already built; whereby was formed a noble quadrangle, and ſpacious rooms for ſchools of Arts (21). By Sir Thomas's Will

(*i*) Wood's Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 308 & l. ii. p. 50.

(9) Camden, *ubi ſupra*, ad ann. 1596.

(10) See the laſt remark.

(11) Life, &c. *ubi ſupra*, p. 13—15.

(12) *Ubi ſupra.*

(13) By Biſhop Gibſon, fol. Vol. i. col. 311.

(14) *Ibid.*

(15) See his article.

(16) Printed at Paris, in 1500, and at Oxford in 1599 in *4to*, and ſince in *8vo*.

(17) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 48.

(18) *Id. ib.* p. 308.

(19) *Id. ib.* l. ii. p. 50.

(20) Dr. Willet, in his Synopſis Papiſmi, apud Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 79, ſays, they were valued at about 10,000 *l.*

(21) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, p. 23.

the throne, he received the honour of Knighthood (*k*). He died the 28th of January, 1612, and was buried, with great ſolemnity, at the upper end of Merton-college choir [*I*]. An annual ſpeech in praiſe of Sir Thomas Bodley [*K*] is ſtill made at Oxford on the 8th of November, at which time the viſitation of the library is uſually made. His ſtatutes for the regulation of that library [*L*], were tranſlated out of Engliſh into Latin, by

Will 200 *l. per annum* was ſettled on the library for ever; out of which he appointed near forty pounds for the Head Librarian, ten pounds for the Sub-Librarian, and eight for the junior (22). He drew up likewiſe a body of excellent ſtatutes for the government of the library (23). In this library is a ſtatue, erected to the memory of Sir Thomas Bodley, by the Earl of Dorſet, Chancellor of the univerſity, with the following inſcription. THOMAS SACKVILLUS DORSETTIÆ COMES, SUMMUS ANGLIÆ THESAURARIUS, ET HUJUS ACADEMIÆ CANCELLARIUS, THOMÆ BODLEIO EQUITI AURATO, QUI BIBLIOTHECAM HANC INSTITUIT, HONORIS CAUSA PIE POSUIT; i. e. '*Thomas Sackvile, Earl of Dorſet,* '*Lord High Treaſurer of England, and Chancellor of* '*this univerſity, piouſly erected this monument to the ho*'*nour of Sir Thomas Bodley, Knight, who founded this* '*library.*' The *Bodleian library* is juſtly eſteemed one of the nobleſt libraries in the world, and if travellers are to be credited, exceeds even the *Vatican* at Rome. King James I., we are told (24), when he came to Oxford in the year 1605, and, among other edifices, took a view of this famous library, at his departure, in imitation of Alexander, broke out into this ſpeech: *If I were not a King, I would be an univerſity man; and if it were ſo that I muſt be a priſoner, if I might have my wiſh, I would have no other priſon than that library, and be chained together with ſo many good authors.* A catalogue of the printed books in the *Bodleian library* was publiſhed in 1674 by Dr. Thomas Hyde, then chief librarian; another of the manuſcripts was printed in 1697; and a more ample catalogue of the books, was printed at Oxford, in 1738, in two volumes folio (*).

[*I*] *He was buried at the upper end of Merton-college choir.*] Over him is erected a monument of black and white marble, on which is placed his effigies, in a ſcholar's gown, ſurrounded with books; and at the four corners ſtand Grammar, Rhetoric, Muſic, and Arithmetic. On each hand of his effigies ſtands an angel; that on the left holds out to him a crown; and that on the right a book open, in which are theſe words; *Non delebo nomen ejus de libro vitæ*; i. e. '*I* '*will not blot his name out of the book of life.*' Underneath is the figure of a woman, ſitting before the ſtairs of the old library, holding in one hand a key, and in the other a book, wherein the greateſt part of the alphabet appears; and behind are ſeen three ſmall books ſhut, inſcribed with the names of *Priſcianus, Diomedes,* and *Donatus.* Beneath all are engraven theſe words: *Memoriæ Thomæ Bodley Militis, Publicæ Bibliothecæ fundatoris, ſacrum. Obiit* 28 *Jan.* 1612 (25).

[*K*] *An annual ſpeech in praiſe of Sir Thomas Bodley.*] Dr. John Morris, Canon of Chriſt-Church, bequeathed by his Will to the univerſity five pounds *per annum*, for a ſpeech to be made by a Maſter of Arts in praiſe of Sir Thomas Bodley; the perſon who made the ſpeech to be nominated by the Dean of Chriſt-Church, and confirmed by the Vice-Chancellor for the time being. But this gift was not to take place till the death of Dr. Morris's widow; which happening in November, 1681, the annuity then fell to the univerſity; whereupon, the year following, Dr. John Fell, Dean of Chriſt-Church, nominated Thomas Sparke, A. M. of his college; who, being approved by the Vice-Chancellor, made a ſolemn ſpeech in the *Schola linguarum*, the 8th of November, 1682 (26).

[*L*] *His* Statutes.] The original copy of them, written by his own hand, is preſerved in the archives of the *Bodleian library*. They provide, 1. That the Keeper, or Librarian, ſhall be a graduate, without cure of ſouls, and unmarried; and that both the electors, and elected, ſhall take an oath, preſcribed in the Statutes; the election to be made after the ſame manner as in the choice of Proctors. 2. The Librarian's office is to keep the great regiſter-book, in which are enrolled the names and gifts of all benefactors to the library; to preſerve the diſpoſition of the whole, and to range all books that ſhall be given under their proper claſſes; to attend in the library from eight to eleven in the morning, and from two to four or five in the afternoon, ſuch days and times only excepted, as are ſpecified in the Statutes 3. To prevent accidents from fire, neither the Keeper, nor any perſon frequenting the library, to be allowed candle, or any other kind of light. 4. The keeper to deliver the books into the hand of perſons deſiring them, to be uſed in ſight, and reſtored before ſuch perſons depart; and no book, upon any pretence whatever, to be lent out of the library. 5. In caſe of ſickneſs, or other neceſſary avocation, the keeper may be allowed a deputy, who muſt be a graduate, and take the ſame oath as the keeper did at his admiſſion. He is allowed likewiſe an aſſiſtant in his office, and an inferior attendant (uſually ſome poor ſcholar) to keep the library clean. 6. The revenue ſettled for the maintenance of the library, &c. to be lodged in the univerſity cheſt, and managed by the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors for the time being. 7. None to enjoy the freedom of ſtudy there, but only Doctors and Licentiates of the three faculties, Bachelors of Divinity, Maſters of Arts, Bachelors of Phyſic and Law, and Bachelors of Arts of two years ſtanding; alſo Lords, and the ſons of Members of Parliament, and thoſe who become benefactors to the library; and all ſuch, before admiſſion to ſuch privilege, to take an oath, preſcribed in the Statutes. 7. Any graduate, or other perſon, who ſhall be convicted of diſmembering, or purloining, or altering any word or paſſage of any book or books, to be publicly degraded, and expelled the univerſity. 8. Eight Overſeers or Viſitors of the library are appointed, viz. The Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, the three Profeſſors of Divinity, Law, and Phyſic, and the two *Regius* Profeſſors of Hebrew and Greek, who are to inſpect the ſtate both of the building and the books, the behaviour of the keeper, &c. annually on the 8th of November; and, on the Viſitation-day, forty ſhillings is allowed to be expended on a dinner or ſupper for the Viſitors, and gloves to be preſented them by a beadle, viz. ſeven pair, of *ten ſhillings* the pair, to the five Profeſſors and two Proctors, and one pair, of *twenty ſhillings* price, to the Vice-Chancellor, beſides forty ſhillings in money to each of the Proctors, and twenty nobles to the Vice-Chancellor (27), &c. B.

*** [In Dr. Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, there are extracts of ſeveral letters written by Sir Thomas Bodley to the Earl of Eſſex, the Lord Treaſurer Burghley, Sir Robert Cecil, and Mr. Anthony Bacon, chiefly during Sir Thomas's reſidence in Holland From theſe, and from other paſſages in that work, we ſhall ſelect a few particulars, which may ſerve to render the account of his life ſomewhat more complete. In 1583, when Mr. Stafford (afterwards Sir Edward Stafford) was appointed Ambaſſador to France, it was ſaid that Mr. Bodley was to go with him as chief Secretary; but no evidence appears of his having actually ſerved the Ambaſſador in that capacity (28). The letters we have mentioned exhibit a farther proof of the fidelity and diligence with which he diſcharged his duty, in the management of Queen Elizabeth's affairs in the United Provinces. As ſome of the facts the letters relate to, are too minute to require a particular diſcuſſion in this place, it may be ſufficient to refer to thoſe pages of Dr. Birch's Memoirs in which they may be found (29). One principal buſineſs of Mr. Bodley, in Holland, was to obtain ſatisfaction, from the States General, for certain ſums of money due from them to the Queen, for the expence ſhe had been at, in aſſiſting and ſupporting their Republic: And though he conducted himſelf in this negociation with his uſual ability, and, in general, gave high ſatisfaction to her Majeſty, yet he once greatly diſpleaſed her, by returning to England, in order to lay before her, a ſecret propoſition, from ſome leading members

(*k*) Wood. Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 385.

(22) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, p. 51.

(23) See the remark [*L*].

(24) Vide Iſaaci Wake, Rex Platonicus, ſive Muſæ regnantes.

(*) Anecdotes of Topography, p. 418.

(25) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, p. 89.

(26) Wood, Athen. Oxon. col. 385.

(27) Vide Reliquiæ Bodleianæ, &c. p. 16, &c.

(28) Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. i. p. 40.

(29) *Ibid* p. 206—209. 209—214, 215—222. 230. 233. 248, 249. 301. 331. 334. 360. 361—364.

by Dr. John Budden, Principal of Broadgate-hall, and incorporated with the univerſity ſtatutes *(l)*. Sir Thomas wrote his own *Life* to the year 1609; which, together with the firſt draught of his *Statutes*, and a collection of his *Letters*, were publiſhed, from the originals in the Bodleian library, by Mr. Thomas Hearne, under the title of *Reliquiæ Bodleianæ, or, Some Genuine Remains of Sir Thomas Bodley* (*m*). Sir Thomas had two younger brothers, named Laurence and Josias Bodley.

members of the States, relative to the payments demanded. In a letter, written to the Queen, on the 14th of May, 1595, juſt after his return, he incloſed the ſubſtance of their overture, and alleged the reaſons of his own coming over in perſon, to be the winning of time, the clearing of doubts, and the framing of the overture fully to her Majeſty's ſatisfaction (30). Nevertheleſs, the Queen continued ſo exaſperated with the propoſal brought by him, that on the 24th of May, he wrote to Mr. Anthony Bacon, that he had not ſtirred abroad for ten days paſt, nor knew when he ſhould, ſince he ſaw ſo little hope of better uſage at Court; 'where,' ſays he, 'I hear 'for my comfort, that the Queen on Monday laſt did 'wiſh I had been hanged. And if withal I might have 'leave, that I ſhould be diſcharged, I would ſay, '*Benedetto ſi el Giorno, el Meſe, & l'Anno* (31).' However, at length, Mr. Bodley was ſent back to the Hague, with new inſtructions, to demand of the States a hundred thouſand pounds in ready money, and to proteſt, that if they would not now determine to return her Majeſty ſuch an anſwer, as ſhe might find they had ſome feeling of her manifold deſerts and preſent neceſſities, ſhe would not only revoke her ſuccours from thence with all expedition, but make her grievances known by ſome public declaration, whereby the world might take notice of their want of conſcience in their dealing. But not being able to bring the States to a compliance with the terms inſiſted upon, he was, at laſt, commanded to effect the very ſame project, which he had before carried to England, and for which he had endured ſo much bitterneſs and grief; and in concluſion he brought them to theſe terms: That they would conſent to a diſcharge of the auxiliary entertainments, which would eaſe her Majeſty of at leaſt forty thouſand pounds a year; upon condition, that her intention might be known two months before: to make an annual preſentation of twenty thouſand pounds, to be paid every time by public legation on her Majeſty's birth-day; but not to be continued beyond her reign: To aſſiſt her Majeſty, if there ſhould be occaſion, with their ſhipping and other ſea proviſions, and to come to no accord or pacification with the Spaniard, unleſs with her conſent; and to diſcharge the ſum of four hundred thouſand pounds in four years, but payable only to her Majeſty's perſon (32).

Among the other aids which Sir Thomas Bodley received, in his noble deſign of reſtoring the public library at Oxford, his great friend, the Earl of Eſſex, made him a preſent of a conſiderable part of the very valuable library that had belonged to the celebrated Jerom Oſorius, ſucceſſively Biſhop of Sylvas, and of Algarva, in which laſt ſee he died in 1580. This library had fallen to the Earl's ſhare, among the booty which had been taken in the famous expedition againſt Cadiz, in 1596 (33). King James the Firſt, likewiſe, enriched the Bodleian library at Oxford at the expence of his own: for he gave a warrant to Sir Thomas Bodley, under the Privy Seal, for any books, which that gentleman ſhould like in any of his houſes or libraries. However, his Majeſty amply ſupplied this loſs, by purchaſing Lord Lumley's library, which contained not only his own collection, but that of his father-in-law, Henry Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel, who had lived in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, when, upon the diſſolution of the monaſteries, he had great opportunities of collecting manuſcripts. Many of theſe manuſcripts, as well as of the printed books in the Royal library, have the name of *Arundel* and *Lumley* written in them; and now conſtitute a part of the noble collection in the Britiſh Muſeum (34). In Hearne's 'Johannis 'Glaſtonienſis Hiſtoria de Rebus Glaſtonienſibus,' are two letters to Sir Robert Cotton, which peculiarly belong to this article.

'Sir Thomas Bodley to Sir Robert Cotton.

'Sir,

'I Was thrice to have ſeen you at your houſe, but 'had not the hap to find you at home. It was 'onely to know how you hold your old intention, for helping to furniſh the Univerſity library, 'where I purpoſe, God willing, to place all the 'books that I have hitherto gathered within theſe 'three weekes. And whatſoever any man ſhal conferr for the ſtoring of it, ſuch order is taken for a 'due memorial of his gift, as I am perſuaded hee 'cannot any way receive a greater contentment of 'any thing to the value otherwiſe beſtowed. Thus 'much I thought to ſignify unto you, and to requeſt to hear, how you reſt affected. From my 'houſe, June 6. Yours, to uſe on any occaſion,

'Tho. Bodley.

'Sir Henry Savile to Sir Robert Cotton.

'SIR,

'I Have made M. Bodley acquainted with your 'kind and friendly offer, who accepteth of it in 'moſt thankful manner; and if it pleaſeth you to 'appoint to-morrow at afternoon, or upon Monday 'or Tueſday next, at ſome houre likewiſe after dinner, wee will not faile to bee with you at your houſe 'for that purpoſe.

'And remember, *I give you faire warning, that if 'you hold any booke ſo deare, as that you would bee loath 'to have him out of your ſight, ſet him aſide before hand.* 'For my own part, I will not do that wrong to my 'judgment, as to chooſe of the worſt, if better be in 'place; and beſide, you would account me a ſimple 'man. But, *to leave jeſting*, we wil any of the dayes 'come to you, *leaving*, as great reaſon is, *your own 'in your own power, freely to retaine or diſpoſe.* True 'it is, that I have raiſed ſome expectation of the 'quality of your gift in M. Bodley, whom you ſhal 'find a gentleman in all reſpects worthy of your acquaintance. And ſo, with my beſt commendations, I commit you to God. This St. Peter's day.

'Your very aſſured friend,

'Henry Savile (35).'

It hath, if we miſtake not, been imagined, that the former part of this laſt letter contains a reflection on Sir Thomas Bodley, as if he could ſcarcely be truſted, where curious books were in ſight: but it is fully evident, from the latter part of it, that no ſuch thing was intended, and that Sir Henry Savile was only in jeſt.

Though Sir Thomas Bodley's deſign, in refounding the public library at Oxford, was ſo excellent and uſeful, and his bequeathing his eſtate for that purpoſe ſo commendable, ſome perſons, it ſeems, were diſſatisfied at their not being remembered by him in his laſt will. This, at leaſt, was the caſe with Mr. Chamberlayne, who, though not a relation of Sir Thomas's, yet having had a long acquaintance with him, complains of his conduct with no ſmall degree of malignity. He ſays that Sir Thomas Bodley was ſo carried away with the vanity and vain glory of his library, that he forgot all other reſpects and duties almoſt of conſcience, friendſhip, or good nature (36). Mr. Chamberlayne farther obſerves, as another argument of Sir Thomas's vanity, that he had written his own life in ſeven ſheets of paper, not leaving out the leaſt minuteneſs, or omitting any thing that might tend to his own glory or commendation; and that he had not ſo much as made mention of his wife, or that he was married; by which it might be ſeen what a mind he carried, and what account he made of his beſt benefactors (37). It is eaſy to perceive, that theſe reflections are chiefly the reſult of ſpleen and diſappointment.

As

(*l*) Wood. Athen. Oxon. col. 451.

(*m*) London, 1703, 8vo.

(30) Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. i. p. 236.

(31) *Ibid.* p. 244.

(32) *Ibid.* p. 288, 289. See alſo, the authors referred to, at the end of note [*F*], and the article of BODLEY, in the General Dictionary, note [*F*], Vol. iii. p. 426—428.

(33) Birch's Memoirs, *ubi ſupra*, Vol. ii. p. 58.

(34) Birch's Life of Henry Prince of Wales, p. 162, 163.

(35) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. xlii. p. 371.

(36) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. iii. p. 429.

(37) *Ibid.* p. 432. Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. ii. p. 64.

As it would be tedious, and, indeed, ſcarcely practicable, to mention all the numerous benefactors and benefactions to the Bodleian Library, we ſhall content ourſelves with referring to *Wood* and *Pointer*, for ſome farther information upon the ſubject (38). We ſhall only add, that this library received a great addition, in 1755, on the death of Dr. Richard Rawlinſon, who bequeathed to it all his manuſcripts, coins, reliefs, marbles; ſeals, Engliſh and foreign, with their impreſſions: drawings, printed books with manuſcript notes, and his copper-plates relating to Oxfordſhire, Middleſex, Surry, and Berks. Browne Willis, likewiſe, long before his deceaſe, gave the completeſt collection of Engliſh coins in the kingdom, which he had been forty years in collecting. The univerſity, however, thinking that ſuch a preſent would be an injury to his family, paid him for 150 gold coins, at the rate of four guineas an ounce. The ſame Gentleman viſited the cabinet every year on St. Frideſwide's Day, and, beſides enlarging it, gave twelve hundred tradeſmens tokens, and ſundry manuſcripts, excluſive of his own, which he left by will to this library (39).

Mr. Gough, in his Anecdotes of Britiſh Topography, hath given an account of the publications and writings, which contain catalogues and deſcriptions of the books, manuſcripts, coins, pictures, and other curioſities belonging to the Bodleian Library (40).]

K.

(38) Wood's Hiſt. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Vol. ii. p. 50—53. Pointer's Oxonienſis Academia, p. 135—143. *Ibid.* p. 200—202.

(39) Anecdotes of Britiſh Topography, p. 420.

(40) *Ibid.* p. 416, &c.

BODLEY (LAURENCE), a younger brother of Sir Thomas Bodley, mentioned in the laſt Article [*A*], was born in the city of Exeter, about the year 1546 (*a*). After a ſuitable education, though in what ſchool is not known, he was ſent to Chriſt-Church-college in Oxford, where he took the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts (*b*). From thence he removed into his native country, where his merit became ſo conſpicuous, that he was made one of the Canons Reſidentiary of Exeter cathedral, and Rector of Shobroke, about ſeven miles from that city, near Crediton; which was all the preferment he ever had [*B*]. Among other good things which he did, he was of great uſe to his brother Sir Thomas Bodley, in founding his famous library at Oxford (*c*): He was chief mourner at that great man's funeral; and, the next day after it, namely, March 30, 1613, was actually created Doctor in Divinity, as a member of Chriſt-Church (*d*). He died April the 19th, 1615, in the ſeventieth year of his age, and was interred in St. Peter's Cathedral in Exeter, near the choir, under a flat marble ſtone (*e*), with an epitaph [*C*]. As to his character, we are told, that for his pious zeal, and continual labour in the faithful diſcharge of the duties of his function, he cannot be over-praiſed (*f*). He was at the ſame time of an hoſpitable diſpoſition, very charitable, and pious. In his Will, he bequeathed to the Mayor and Chamber of Exeter, four hundred pounds in money, to purchaſe twenty pounds a year in lands, towards the maintenance of a preacher in that city (*g*). There is nothing of his writing extant, except an elegy on the death of the famous Biſhop Jewel [*D*].

(*a*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, &c. edit. Exeter 1701, fol. p. 82.

(*b*) *Ibid.* His taking thoſe degrees is not mentioned in Wood's Faſti.

(*c*) Weſtcote, MS. Deſcript. of Devonſh. in Shobroke: and Prince, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) Wood, Faſti, edit. 1721, Vol. i. col 195.

(*e*) Prince, as above, p. 84.

(*f*) Weſtcote, *ubi ſupra.* See Prince.

(*g*) Prince as above.

[*A*] *A younger brother of Sir* Thomas Bodley, *&c.*] Mr. Wood, by miſtake, ſays, (1), that he was Sir Thomas's elder brother. —— *Laurentio nimirum fratre —— natu majori.* —— But Mr. Prince poſitively affirms the contrary. He was the third ſon of John Bodley, Gent. the father of Sir Thomas, who is the ſubject of the laſt article (2).

[*B*] *Which was all the preferment he ever had.*] Theſe are Mr. Prince's words (3); but Shobroke was undoubtedly a living of very conſiderable value, it being rated at 36 *l.* in the King's books, and conſequently might be worth near 400 *l.* a year: So that the Doctor's preferment was not ſo very ſmall, as Mr. Prince ſeems to intimate.

[*C*] *With an epitaph.*] It is now obliterated; but hath been preſerved by Mr. Riſdon (4), and is as follows:

Clariſſimo viro, nec non reverendo, olim hujus eccleſiæ Canonico Reſidentiario Dno Laurentio Bodleo, Johes *&* Laurentius Bodleius, *Nepotes, hunc dialogum, memoriæ ſacrum devotiſſimè conſecrarunt.*

Laurentius Bodleius.
Anagramma —— *Bonus Dives ille erat.*

Johan. *Ille erat! Hoc miſerum, non nunc; ubinam pia facta*
Virtutis, corpus, ſpiritus, oſſa, caro?
Laurent. *Oſſa jacent terrâ, & corpus, pia facta ſuperſunt,*
(Protypa virtutis) Spiritus aſtra colit.
Obiit decimo nono Aprilis A. D. 1615.

[*D*] *Except an elegy on the death of the famous Biſhop Jewel.*] It is inſerted in Dr. Humphrey's life of that Biſhop; and part of it is as follows:

Interea, Decor, O! Doctorum ſumme Virorum,
Et pater, & patriæ Gemma, Juelle, vale:
Chare, vale: donec Superorum ſede recepti,
Perpetuo juncti, ſtabimus ante Deum.
Tu modo præcedis, quia te præcedere dignum eſt;
Nos per idem læti mox veniemus iter, &c.

To conclude this learned perſon's life; Dr. John Prideaux, Regius Profeſſor of Divinity, and Rector of Exeter College in Oxford, dedicated to him an act ſermon of his on *Revel.* ii. 4. In which dedication he acknowledges himſelf indebted to him for ſome preferment; calling him his worthy patron, and commending him as a patron to patrons, for diſpoſing the Lord's portion, in thoſe his days (5).

M.

(1) Hiſt & Antiq. Univerſitat. Oxon. lib. i. p. 320.

(2) Prince, as above, p. 84.

(3) *Ubi ſupra,* p. 83.

(4) Survey of the county of Devon, *&c.* 8*vo.*

(5) Prince, *ubi ſupra.*

BODLEY (Sir JOSIAS), youngeſt brother to Sir Thomas, and Dr. Laurence Bodley, mentioned in the two laſt articles (*a*), was, in all probability, born at Exeter, as well as his brothers. He was bred up a ſcholar, and ſpent ſome time in Merton-college in Oxford (*b*): But preferring a military to a ſtudious life, he went and trailed a pike in the Low-Countries, which was then the grand theatre of war; where he behaved ſo well, that he was advanced to the degree of a Captain (*c*). In 1598, he was ſent into Ireland, with ſeveral old companies of Engliſh out of the Netherlands, amounting in all to above a thouſand men, of which he was ſecond Captain (*d*). There he ſignalized himſelf by his valour and conduct: and was, at the taking of the iſle of Loghrorcan (*e*); at the attack of Caſtle-Ny Park (*f*); and at the ſiege of Kinſale, in 1601, where he was overſeer of the trenches (*g*), as he was alſo at the ſieges of Baltimore, Berchahaven, and Caſtlehaven (*h*). For his good ſervices upon which, and other occaſions, he was knighted by the Lord Deputy Chicheſter (*i*). He was living in Ireland in the year 1613, when he was Director-General, and Overſeer of the fortifications of that kingdom.

(*a*) He was the fifth and youngeſt ſon of John Bodley, Gent. mentioned above. Prince as above, p. 84.

(*b*) Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. i. col. 385.

(*c*) Prince, as above, p. 85.

(*d*) Fines Moryſon's Itinerary, *&c.* Lond. 1617, fol. Part ii. p. 25.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 97, 98.

(*f*) Pacata Hibernia, Ireland appeaſed and reduced, *&c.* by T. Stafford, fol. Lond. 1633, p. 215.

(*g*) *Ibid* p. 220.

(*h*) Moryſon, *ubi ſupra.* See alſo Prince, as above.

(*i*) Prince, as above, p. 86.

kingdom (*k*). But how long he lived after that, and when or where he died, is unknown. He was author of ſome few things [*A*], which ſtill remain in manuſcript.

(*k*) Moryſon, p. 300.

[*A*] *He was author of ſome few things.*] Namely, theſe that follow: I. 'Obſervations concerning the 'Fortreſſes of Ireland, and the Britiſh Colonies of 'Ulſter.' MS. fol. ſometimes in the library of Sir James Ware, afterwards in that of Henry Earl of Clarendon. II. 'A jocular Deſcription of a Journey 'by him taken to Lecale in Ulſter, in 1602.' MS. in the ſame library (1). But we know not where they are at preſent. M.

(1) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

BOETHIUS, BOECE, or BOEIS (HECTOR), a famous Scottiſh Hiſtorian, in part of the XVth and XVIth centuries, was deſcended from a very ancient and conſiderable family and born at Dundee [*A*], in the ſhire of Angus, about the year 1470 (*a*). Having ſtudied ſome time at Dundee (*b*), and at Aberdeen [in which latter place he was a Profeſſor in 1497] (*c*), he went, for his further improvement, to the college of Montague, in the univerſity of Paris, where he applied himſelf to Philoſophy, and became a Profeſſor of it there. He had an opportunity of cultivating at the ſame time an intimate friendſhip with ſeveral perſons of the moſt eminent learning, who were ſtudents in that univerſity, particularly the great Eraſmus, who kept a kind of correſpondence with him afterwards (*d*). Dr. William Elphinſton, Biſhop of Aberdeen, having founded the King's-college in that city, about the year 1500, ſent over to Paris for our author, and made him Principal of that new univerſity. When he arrived at Aberdeen, he found among the Canon-regulars there (into which order he himſelf entered) a great many learned men. Being inſtalled in his place, he took for his collegue Mr. William Hay, who had been educated with him under the ſame maſters, both at Dundee and Paris: And by their joint care and labour, the kingdom was furniſhed with ſeveral eminent ſcholars (*e*). Upon the death of his Patron, Biſhop Elphinſton, in 1514 (*f*), he undertook to write his life; to which he added the lives of his predeceſſors in the See of Aberdeen (*g*). We ſhall give an account of this work below. Next, he applied himſelf to write the hiſtory of Scotland; to which he prefixed a large deſcription of that country [*B*]. This hiſtory he publiſhed, under the title of, *Scotorum Hiſtoria ab illius Gentis Origine*, Pariſ. 1526, fol. [*C*]. But he afterwards improved, and continued

(*a*) This is eaſily inferred from the dates hereafter mentioned.

(*b*) See the Lives and Characters of the moſt eminent Writers of the Scots Nation, &c. by G. Mackenzie, M. D. Edit. Edinb. 1711, Vol. ii. p. 376.

(*c*) Biſhop Nicolſon's Scottiſh Hiſtorical Library, edit. 1736, fol. p. 37.

(*d*) *Ibid.* & Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 382.

(*f*) See the ſame author, *ibid.* p. 116.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 384.

[*A*] *Born at Dundee.*] His father was Mr. Boeis of Panbride (*).

[*B*] *To which he prefixed a large deſcription of that country.*] It was tranſlated into Engliſh with conſiderable improvements, and inſerted into our author's life, by Dr. Mackenzie (1). But this geographical deſcription of Scotland by our author, hath been pretty ſeverely, and juſtly, criticized upon by Biſhop Nicolſon (2); whoſe words we ſhall lay here before the reader. '——Boethius, ſays he, takes 'occaſion to let his reader know, that he was ſingu'larly addicted to the ſtudy of Natural Hiſtory, and 'much delighted with ſuch phyſical curioſities as were 'moſt extraordinary and ſurprizing. His correſpond'ents, he aſſures us, were perſons of eminent learn'ing in ſeveral parts of the nation; among whom, 'was Edward Biſhop of Orkney, who furniſhed him 'with a faithful account of the healthy and vigorous 'conſtitution of the inhabitants of thoſe iſles. The 'reſt, as the Biſhop truly obſerves, did (not all of 'them at leaſt) deal ſo fairly by him; ſeveral of them 'having moſt certainly impoſed upon his good na'ture and eaſy faith. 'Tis a terrible ſtory which Sir 'Duncan Campbel told him of the monſtrous gooſe'footed Otter of the Loch Garloil; which ſtruck 'down great oaks with its ſteer, and yet the fiſher'men eſcaped its fury by climbing into trees. The 'ſea-monks at the iſle of Baſs, and Ja. Ogilby's 'wild men of Norway (who could pull up the talleſt 'fir, with as much eaſe as an ordinary body can root 'up a turnip), are proper companions for theſe; and 'the credibility of the three parallel ſtories muſt reſt 'upon the reporters. But the author himſelf is only 'anſwerable for the account, which, amongſt others, 'he gives of the clack-geeſe, or barnacle, which he 'affirms upon his own word; ſince what he pretends 'to have frequently obſerved, of a perfect bird, fea'thers and all, being formed in theſe ſhells, is ex'tremely diſſonant from what the Naturaliſts of our 'days have taught from as nice and credible experi'ments. He is more authentic in what he reports of 'the Guſtards (or Buſtards as the Engliſh call them) 'in the county of Mers, and the Salmon at Aber'deen; and, above all, he is to be applauded for 'what he hints of the purple-fiſh, reckoning it 'amongſt the *Conchæ intortæ*. This ſhews that he 'rightly underſtood Bede (3), who has ſomewhat to 'the ſame purpoſe; and that Mr. Cole's diſcovery of 'this very fiſh (4) ought not to be reckoned among 'ſuch as had not formerly been publiſhed by any au'thor. He does not appear to have been quite ſo 'happy in the uſe he made of the ſame ancient Hiſ'torian, and ſome others, in matters of antiquity; 'or elſe, he would hardly have placed the *Brigantes* 'in Galloway, the *Silures* in Carict, and the *Deiri* in 'Mers and Louthian (5). The account he likewiſe 'gives of the firſt original of Ptolemy's Geography, 'ſeems to be far from the truth. He tells us (6), 'that it was begun by ſome mathematical gentlemen, 'ſent purpoſely abroad by King Ptolemy Philadel'phus; who having been regaled by King Reutha, 'as his own countrymen and kindred, and having 'narrowly inſpected all the corners of the Scotch and 'Pictiſh territories, returned back to Egypt, won'derfully pleaſed with their finding a northern king'dom of the ſame language, manners, and govern'ment, with their own. Out of theſe obſervations, 'ſays he, King Ptolemy himſelf drew up part of a 'large volume of Coſmography; which, ſome cen'turies afterwards, in the Emperor Hadrian's time, 'was completed by his name-ſake of Alexandria (7).'

[*C*] *Scotorum Hiſtoria ab illius Gentis Origine.*] Or, *Scotorum Hiſtoriæ à prima Gentis Origine, &c. Libri* XIX. The firſt edition of his hiſtory was given by Badius Aſcenſius, at Paris, in 1526, fol. and conſiſted only of ſeventeen books, ending with the death of King James I. The next (at Lauſanne and Paris, in 1574, fol.) was larger, having the addition of the eighteenth book complete, and part of the nineteenth. Thus far the author himſelf continued it: But what follows was the work of J. Ferrerius, a native of Piedmont, who carried it down to the end of James the Third's reign. The Continuer himſelf wanted the helps he expected (8); his great encourager, H. Sinclare, Dean of Glaſgow, and afterwards Biſhop of Roſſe, being ſuddenly taken off, before he could furniſh him with the intended materials. But he ſeems to be honeſt and impartial in ſetting down matters as he found them.—Boethius's whole hiſtory was tranſlated into the Scottiſh language by John Bellenden, or Ballenden, Archdeacon of Murray, who died at Rome about the year 1550; and publiſhed in 1536, under this title, 'The Hiſtory and Croniklis of Scot'land, compilit and newly correctit and amendit be 'the Reverend and noble Clerk, Mr. Hector Boece, 'Chanon of Aberdene. Tranſlated laitly by Mr. 'Johne Bellendene, Archdene of Murray, and Cha'non of Roſſe, at command of James the Fyfth, 'King

(*) Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra.*

(1) Page 384—446.

(2) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 4.

(3) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. i. c. 1.

(4) See Philoſophical Tranſact. Vol. xv. No. 178, p. 1278.

(5) See Biſhop Nicolſon, *ubi ſupra.*

(6) Hiſt. Scot. lib. ii. fol. 20. b.

(7) Biſhop Nicolſon, *ibid.* p. 3.

(8) See his Dedicat. ad Jac. Betoun, Archiep. Glaſg. It was printed with his Continuation at Lauſanne, as above; and alſo at Paris in 1574 and 1575.

continued it till his death; which is ſuppoſed to have happened about the year 1550: For we find two perſons of great learning then bewailing his loſs. One is Bartholomæus Latomus, with whom our author was intimately acquainted at Paris; and the other, Joachim Wolfius, a learned German (*b*). His Hiſtory of Scotland hath been highly cenſured by ſome [*D*], and as much magnified by others [*E*]: All which was

King of Scottis. Imprentet at Edinburgh, be Thomas Davidſon, dwelling fornens the Fryere Wynde.' R. Holinſhed publiſhed it in Engliſh (9), with ſeveral large interpolations and additions out of Major, Leſley, and Buchanan: but he was not the author of that tranſlation.

[*D*] *His Hiſtory of Scotland hath been highly cenſured by ſome.*] Take the following account of it from Biſhop Nicolſon (10). In the ſix firſt books of his hiſtory there are a great many particulars not to be had in Fordon, or any other writers now extant; and unleſs the authors, which he pretends to have ſeen, be hereafter diſcovered; he will continue to be ſhrewdly ſuſpected for the contriver of as many tales (11) as our Geoffrey of Monmouth. For theſe novelties he has been ſeverely cenſured by H. Lhuyd (12); and Buchanan himſelf (13), though he makes Lhuyd as very a villain and blockhead as the other, acknowledges that he is never to be excuſed.—However, in matters relating to this nation, he certainly follows the moſt fabulous of our Hiſtorians more than he is willing to own, having only given a new turn of his pen to what they had written, and then commonly fathered it on Veremund, or Campbel. In his account of Achaius's treaty, Kenneth's victory over the Picts, the metropolitical power of the See of York, *&c.* he is extremely formal and tedious, giving us large ſamples of his oratory in the occaſional ſpeeches which he puts into the mouths of his ſeveral great men. To theſe he adds a collection of prodigies and miracles which happened upon every conſiderable revolution, and either he, or his friend the phyſician of Aberdene (14), garniſhes every diſh with flowers of choice obſervations in Natural Hiſtory. His principles in polity are the ſame with thoſe of Buchanan; whoſe *Jus Regni* is effectually confirmed by what he relates (15), of the making and depoſing of Kings and Biſhops by the ſole creating power of the people. His eighteenth book is as highly commended by Ferrerius (16) as it can poſſibly deſerve; *in quo fusè omnia ita ſcribendo conſecutus eſt, ut nihil pleniùs aut ſignificantiùs a quopiam in re perſimili fieri poſſe credam*; i. e. 'That he has treated of all things there in ſo comprehenſive a manner, that he believes no one could have done it more fully or ſignificantly on the like ſubject.' Indeed the elegancy of his expreſſions is fine, and well becomes the character which an eminent maſter of the like Rhetoric has given of it (17); *Illius ſtylus tam eſt terſus ut Cæſaris puritatem decoxiſſe; ac rationum verborumque ponderibus ita nervoſus, ut Livianum gravitatem in ſuam naturam tranſtuliſſe penitus videatur.* 'His ſtyle has all the purity of Cæſar's, and is ſo nervous, both in the reflections and diction, that he ſeems to have abſolutely entered into the gravity of Livy, and made it his own.' It is to be wiſhed that he had been as nice and curious in the matter of his work. How far he failed in this, the reader will beſt learn from the words of Sir Robert Gordon of Stralogh, who was as competent a judge of the performance as could be: *Diſplicet mihi*, ſays he (18), *Hiſtoria* Boethii; *ut liberè ad te loquar. Ille legum Hiſtoriæ ſcribendæ ignarus, rudi ſæculo ea ſcripſit quorum nos pudet. Quid illa de* Ptolemæi *regis legatione ad Geographiam noſtri regni veſtigandam? Quis ille de* Carataco *tractatus è* Tacito *ad verbum deſcriptus? Illum nemo antiquitatis prudens regibus noſtris annumeravit. Illum* Buchananus, *inſcitiæ tantæ gnarus, ne* Boethius *ludibrio haberetur, aut Hiſtoria labem apud exteros ſentiret, nolens è Regum ſerie delere, magnifica tamen illa intacta relinquit. Nomen ipſum* Caratacum *arguit Provincialem* Britonem. *fuiſſe. Quale hoc,* Silures *nobis aſcribi, quos hodiernæ* Walliæ *partem tenuiſſe* Romani *ſcriptores teſtatiſſimum faciunt? Quam portentoſum de* Cameloduno *commentum? Quales ſunt illæ regis noſtri ad Cæſarem Julium Epiſtolæ minaces? Nonne hoc eſt ſerio delirare? Ignoſco Gatheli fabulæ; cum nævus ille omnibus tam communis: At illi plus ſatis immorari, omnia ſigillatim, tanquam illorum temporum æqualis, referre, multum mihi diſplicet*; i. e. 'To ſpeak freely to you, I diſlike Boeis's hiſtory. He being ignorant of the laws of hiſtory, has written in a barbarous age what we are aſhamed of. For what elſe can you think of King Ptolemy's mathematical gentlemen (19)? Or of the ſtory of Caratacus, taken word for word out of Tacitus? No man that knows any thing of antiquity would rank him among our Kings. And therefore though Buchanan, ſenſible of ſo groſs a blunder, places him among our Kings (that Boethius might not be expoſed, and ſtrangers ſhould not perceive a blemiſh in our hiſtory), yet he paſſes over all the fine things that the other had ſaid of him: The very name of Caratacus proves him to have been a South Briton. How ſtupid is it to fix the *Silures* among us, when the Roman writers declare that they were inhabitants of Wales? How monſtrous is his fiction about *Camelodunum*? or our King's threatening letters to Julius Cæſar? Is not all that downright doting and fooliſhneſs? I could forgive him the fable of Gathelus, ſince it hath been embraced by all our hiſtorians; but to dwell too long or too minutely upon it is extremely diſagreeable.'—Dr. William Lloyd, late Biſhop of Worceſter, hath alſo ſpoken of our author with great ſharpneſs and contempt (20). For he calls him, 'A late romancer (21),' who 'could not only make ſtories, but authors too when he pleaſed; nay, that made a Biſhop of St. Alban's cloak Amphibalus (22).' That, 'to prove him a man of no credit is needleſs, when ſo many have done it (23).' He 'not only avers the ſame thing that J. de Fordon and J. Major had ſaid, without naming them, but, like Hector himſelf, he ventures farther into the dark, and charges beyond all his company. He was the firſt (for ought I know, ſays the Biſhop) that found there were Prieſts and Monks in Scotland, named *Culdees*, whom he makes to have been there above 150 years before there were Chriſtians in that country (24). I doubt, ſays the Biſhop elſewhere (25), whether Hector Boethius had thoſe authors whom he quotes [Veremund, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, and John Cambel] for he never quotes him that was his author indeed, the Monk of Fordon (26), whom he ſeems to have followed in all his Antiquities.' Dr. E. Stillingfleet, afterwards Biſhop of Worceſter, having alſo minutely examined this hiſtory, ſhews, 'That if Hector Boethius did not forge all the names of the pretended firſt race of Scottiſh Kings, from Fergus I. to Fergus II., yet he did *inſert* many things contrary to the ancient genealogy in John de Fordon, l. 10. c. 2. And that finding the ſucceſſion of thoſe Kings very ſhort and meagre, he ſet himſelf to *make up* what he found defective, and to put it together under the names of Veremundus and Cornelius Hibernicus, or others; out of theſe he framed a long ſeries or catalogue of Kings, and filled up the ſtory of theſe Kings, not out of their old annals (as far as yet appears) but in a great meaſure *out of his own invention* (*).' Elſewhere he calls him, 'A man who ſtands out at nothing (**), and 'the Geoffrey of Scotland (†).'——By the by, I muſt obſerve that Biſhop Lloyd having in the courſe of his book repreſented Hector Boethius's long ſucceſſion of Scottiſh monarchs, from Fergus to Congallus incluſive, as a mere fiction; Sir George Mackenzie publiſhed (27) a violent and not very mannerly anſwer, intitled, 'A Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland;' wherein he highly blames the Biſhop for having 'cut off forty-four Kings, and expoſing on a pillory as forgers the many and grave *Scotch* hiſtorians (28). Nay, Sir George admires, that any of the ſubjects of Great Britain did not think it a degree of *Leſe Majeſty* (29), to injure and ſhorten the Royal line of their Kings (30).' But certainly ſuch a conduct is monſtrous; for all learned men muſt know, that there is a fabulous part in the hiſtory of every nation; which to undertake

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(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 446, 447.

(9) In the firſt Volume of his Chronicles.

(10) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 38.

(11) See them at large in Biſhop Stillingfleet's Orig. Britan. p. 252, *&c.*

(12) See below, at the end of this note.

(13) Rerum Scot. lib. ii. *ſub finem.*

(14) Vide Dempſteri Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. ii.

(15) Confer. lib. vi. fol. 92. b. & lib. vii. fol. 128. b.

(16) In Epiſt. Dedicat. fol. 355. a.

(17) J. Leſlæus, lib. ix. p. 414.

(18) Biſhop Nicolſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 38.

(19) See the note [*B*].

(20) Hiſt. of the Government of the Church, as it was in Great Britain and Ireland, when they firſt received the Chriſtian Religion, Lond. 1684, 8*vo.*

(21) Page 15.

(22) *Ib.* p. 151.

(23) *Ib.* p. 152. See Voſſius de Hiſtoricis Latinis, edit. 1624, 4to, p. 615.

(24) *Ib.* p. 149.

(25) Preface, p. 26.

(26) Fordon was no Monk, ſays Sir George Mackenzie, Defence, *&c.* p. 34. See Mr. Hearne's edit. of that author.

(*) Preface to Origines Britannicæ, p. 11. 16.

(**) *Ibid.* p. xli.

(†) Orig. Brit. p. 64.

(27) Edinburgh, 1685, 8*vo.*

(28) Letter to the Earl of Perth at the beginning of the Defence, p. 4.

(29) A kind of high-treaſon.

(30) *Ibid.* p. 11.

was owing to that natural partiality and antipathy which reigned then between the Scotch and Engliſh nations. Beſides his Hiſtory of Scotland, our author publiſhed the Lives of the Biſhops of Aberdeen [*F*], juſt hinted at before. As to his character, he was a great maſter of claſſical and polite learning, well ſkilled in Divinity, Philoſophy, and Hiſtory; but ſomewhat credulous, and much addicted to the belief of legendary ſtories. With regard to his other accompliſhments, he was diſcreet, genteel, well-bred, attentive, generous, affable, and courteous (*i*). We ſhall take notice of a miſtake committed by Biſhop Lloyd, that has ſome relation to our author [*G*]; and for which that Prelate hath been ſeverely cenſured.

(*i*) Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 451. & Bale Scriptorum Britanniæ Centuria xiv. No. 61.

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dertake to defend, ſhews extreme weakneſs and ignorance; as to abuſe thoſe who ridicule it, is the height of petulancy and madneſs. Accordingly, the Biſhop was ſoon after vindicated with great wit and ſmartneſs by Dr. Stillingfleet, in the preface to his *Origines Britannicæ*, juſt now mentioned.—But to return; the laſt author I ſhall mention, who condemns H. Boethius's hiſtory, is Humphrey Lhuyd our eminent Engliſh Antiquary; and he looks upon the whole hiſtory to be nothing elſe but a heap of lies and fables from beginning to end, as appears from the following epigram of his (31).

> Hectoris hiſtorici tot quot mendacia quæris;
> Si vis ut numerem (lector amice) tibi:
> Idem me jubeas fluctus numerare marinos,
> Et liquidi ſtellas dinumerare poli.

[*E*] *And as much magnified by others.*] Eraſmus, who was intimately acquainted with him, ſays in one of his epiſtles, 'That he was a man of an extraordinary and happy genius, and of great eloquence.' *Vir ſingularis ingenii foelicitatis, & facundi oris.* And elſewhere (32), 'that he knew not what it was to lye.' Mr. William Gordon, in a letter of his to the univerſity of Aberdeen, at the beginning of the Hiſtory, tells them, 'That they had much reaſon to rejoice, in that the Hiſtory of their nation, written in a moſt eloquent ſtyle, faithfully and learnedly, had been firſt publiſhed by their univerſity.' And ſays, that 'Boethius was a man excellently well ſkilled in all the Sciences.' *Plurimum vobis gaudendum exiſtimo, quod noſtræ gentis hiſtoria diſſertiſſimo ſtylo, fideliter, atque erudite conſcripta ex noſtra Aberdonenſi literaria officina primum prodierit in lucem.*—[*Boethius*] *vir in omni Philoſophiæ genere apprime eruditus*, &c.—John Ferrier or Ferrerius, who continued this hiſtory, ſays (33), 'That Boethius was a man of great accompliſhments and ſingular learning, who tranſmitted to poſterity the noble and brave actions of the Scottiſh Kings and nation.' *Hector Boethius vir ornatiſſimus, & ſingulari doctrina præditus, qui regum veſtrorum & Scoticæ gentis res clariſſime ſuſceptas, & fortiſſime geſtas memoriæ ad poſteritatem tradidit.* Paulus Jovius, Biſhop of Nocera, in his deſcription of Britain, ſpeaking of our author, ſays, that 'he wrote the hiſtory of the Scottiſh Kings down to K. James III., with remarkable eloquence, and equal diligence;' *inſigni facundia, & pari diligentia.* Buchanan, though he frequently criticizes upon him, and takes notice of his faults (34), yet owns, that 'he was not only remarkable for his knowledge in polite literature above what was common in his time, but alſo that he was a man of ſingular humanity and courteouſneſs.'—*Non ſolum artium liberalium cognitione, ſupra quam illa ferebant tempora inſignem; ſed humanitate & comitate ſingulari præditum* (35).—Finally, Archbiſhop Spotiſwood, in his Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland (36), ſpeaking of our author, ſays, that 'he was a great philoſopher, and much commended by Eraſmus for his eloquence and felicity of Ingine (37); yet is he traduced by ſome of the Engliſh writers for a fabulous and partial Hiſtorian; but they who like to peruſe his Hiſtory will perceive, that this is ſpoken out of paſſion and malice, and not upon any juſt cauſe.' However it is not the Engliſh writers alone that call him a fabulous Hiſtorian, for Gerard Voſſius owns (38), that he has put many fables into his Hiſtory—*fabulas multas hiſtoriæ immiſcuit.*

[*F*] *The Lives of the Biſhops of* Aberdeen.] Under this title, *Vitæ Epiſcoporum Murthlacenſium & Aberdonenſium.* Pariſ. 1522, 4*to*. He begins at Beanus, the firſt Biſhop of that See, and ends at Gawin Dunbar, who was Biſhop when the book came out. A third part of the whole is ſpent in the life of Biſhop Elphinſton, for whoſe ſake the work was undertaken. But there is in the King's college at Aberdeen a valuable original Chartulary of Charters, Grants, &c. which would furniſh a better hiſtory of the Biſhops of that See than that of our author's, which upon the whole is but lame and imperfect (39).

[*G*] *We ſhall take notice of a miſtake committed by Biſhop Lloyd*, &c.] And we ſhall give it the reader in his own words (40).—'After the ſucceſſion from *Fergus* was publiſhed by *Hector Boethius*, it ſeems it was not then believed by the learned men of his own nation. For Polidore Virgil tells us (41), that when Hector's book was newly come forth, Gawen Douglas, Biſhop of Dunkeld, warned him of it, and earneſtly prayed him not to follow that hiſtory in writing of the Scottiſh manners. And that Biſhop gave him another account of their original.'—Upon which Sir Geo. Mackenzie animadverts in the following words (42):—'And whereas the Biſhop of St. Aſaph [Dr. Lloyd] to leſſen the credit of Boethius, relates, that *Biſhop Gavin Dowglas adviſed* Polidor Virgil *not to follow his hiſtory.* Polidor Virgil himſelf is appealed to, where there is no mention of Boethius at all, nor could it be; for Polidor regrets that Gavin Dowglas died anno 1520 (43), whereas Boethius was not publiſhed till 1526, and Boethius himſelf informs us (44), that the records, from which he formed his hiſtory, were ſent him from Icolmkill, anno 1525, and no ſooner.'—Polydore Virgil's words are,—*poſtea ſumme rogavit, ut ne hiſtoriam paulo ante à quodam ſuo Scoto divulgatam ſequerer.*——It was undoubtedly John Major that was meant, whoſe hiſtory of Scotland was publiſhed in 1520 (45). Obſerve likewiſe, that whereas Sir George Mackenzie ſays Gavin Dowglas died in 1520, Polydore Virgil expreſsly ſays it was in MDXXI (46). See Dr. Stillingfleet's preface to his *Origines Britannicæ* (47). M.

(31) Fragm. Britan Deſcr. fol. 32, &c.

(32) Epiſt. Anno 1530, in Vit. Eraſmi.

(33) In Epiſt. Dedicat. ad Jac. Betoun, *ut ſupra.*

(34) Lib. i. & ii. Rerum Scoticar, &c.

(35) Lib. ii. ſub finem.

(36) Book ii. p. 68.

(37) *i e.* Wit or Ingenuity: an old Scottiſh word.

(38) Voſſius de Hiſtoricis Latinis, *ubi ſupra.*

(39) Biſhop Nicolſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 57.

(40) Preface, &c. as above, p. 38, 39.

(41) Hiſtor. Anglican. lib. iii. p. 71. edit. Lugd. Batav. 1694, 8*vo*.

(42) Defence, &c. as above, p. 30, 31.

(43) It was 1521. See Polyd. Virg. p. 73.

(44) Lib. vii.

(45) See Dr. Mackenzie, Lives, &c. as above, Preface to vol. ii. p. vii. See alſo p. 315. 345.

(46) *ubi ſupra*, p. 73.

(47) Page liv.

BOLTON, or BOULTON (EDMUND), an ingenious writer, and Antiquarian, in the beginning of the XVIIth century, was a retainer to the great George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, under whom he probably enjoyed ſome office (*a*). He was a Roman Catholic (*b*): and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſeveral curious writings; which are as follow: 1. 'The Life of King Henry II.' intended to be inſerted in Speed's Chronicle; but the author being found to favour too much the haughty carriage of Thomas Becket, another life was written by Dr. Barcham (*c*). 2. 'The Elements of Armories, Lond. 1610, 4*to*.' 3. A poem upon the tranſlation of the body of Mary Queen of Scots, from Peterburgh to Weſtminſter-abbey, in 1612 [*A*]. 4. An Engliſh tranſlation of Lucius Florus's Roman Hiſtory. 5. 'Nero Cæſar, or Monarchie depraved. An hiſtoricall worke, dedicated with leave to the Duke of Buckingham, Lord-Admiral.' Lond. 1624, fol. This book, which contains the life of the Emperor Nero,

(*a*) See Epiſtle Dedicatory at the beginning of his Nero Cæſar.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. ii. col. 19.

(*c*) The Surfeit to A. B. C. Lond. 1656, 12*mo*, quoted by A. Wood, *ibid.* See alſo Vol. i. col. 530.

[*A*] *A poem upon the tranſlation of the body of Mary Queen of Scots*, &c.] It is intitled, *Proſopopoeia Baſilica*; and is extant in manuſcript in the Cottonian library (1), having never been printed.

(1) Titus, A. xiii. 23.

is printed in a neat and elegant manner, and adorned with ſeveral valuable and curious medals. As it is the moſt conſiderable work of our author, it will be proper to give ſome account of it; eſpecially as it is not very common. The whole is divided into fifty-five chapters, in ſome of which are introduced curious remarks and valuable obſervations [*B*]. In chap. xii. he ſhows, how Nero deviſed to go beyond all examples, in making mankind beholden to him, by aboliſhing the taxes upon the portage, or ſale, of wares. But he was diverted from it, by its being repreſented to him, that thoſe payments were among the ſinews of the ſtate, and that it was no more poſſible for Rome to have ſubſiſted, had thoſe returns of ſupply been withdrawn, than for a good huſband to hold all together, where receipts do infinitely undergo expences. In the xvth he aſſigns the reaſons which induced that unnatural monſter, Nero, to reſolve the death of his own mother Agrippina; namely, in order to bring about his marriage with his concubine Poppœa Sabina, which Agrippina oppoſed, out of regard to his wife Octavia; and alſo, for fear the ſame Agrippina, who was heir general to Auguſtus Cæſar, ſhould wreſt from him the empire, as ſhe ſometimes threatened to do. Next he deſcribes, how Nero contrived her deſtruction, by feaſting her at Baiæ, and putting her on board a trap-galley, the cabin whereof was ſo made as to fall at once with her into the water; but this wicked deſign miſcarried, and ſhe was ſaved by the aſſiſtance of her own ſervants, who jumped into the water, deſpiſing death and danger. In the xxivth and xxvth chapters, he gives a large account of the revolt in Britain againſt the Romans, under the conduct of Boadicia [*C*], which he introduces with a recapitulation of the affairs in Britain, from the Romans firſt entrance under Julius Cæſar, till that revolt under Nero. The battle in which that brave heroine was defeated, he ſuppoſes was fought (*) on Saliſbury-plain between two woods *(d)*; and he further ſuppoſes that ſhe was buried in that plain, and that Stonehenge, or Stonage, was erected for her monument [*D*]. In the xxviiith, he ſhows when Nero firſt came upon the common ſtage, namely, in the tenth year of his reign; and gives a print of his ſeal, on which was repreſented the ſtory of Marſyas. To pleaſe, as the author obſerves, the meaner ſort of people, was the poor chief point of his policy, in thus appearing upon the ſtage: For in their affections he repoſed his ſafety, and in their applauſe his glory. The xxixth is an account of the burning of Rome by Nero's order; in which he takes occaſion to deſcribe the prodigious bigneſs of that city. As Auguſtus left it, it was compriſed within a wall of almoſt *fourteen* miles in circuit, enlarged afterwards to *fifty*, under the Emperor Aurelian. But that ſpacious body, and the ſuburbs thereof, might rather ſeem a whole country ſuper-edified, than only a city. For the buildings ran out above *thirty* miles one way, and from the milliary pillar fixed in the Roman Forum, as a center of meaſure, a line of ſeventy thouſand paces would not have included the Prætorian camp, and the farthermoſt houſes. Her increaſe of habitations was ſo manifold, that the *ſeven and thirty gates* thereof, could not let in more; and ſhe had ſuburbs, which anſwered in quantity to ſo many ſeveral cities. For, to Oſtia, the port of Rome, and mouth of Tiber, the banks were covered with buildings, twelve miles outright one way. He farther takes notice that the fire of Rome began the 21ſt day of July, the very day on which it had, many centuries before, been ſacked and burned by the Gauls; and continued nine days. Chap. xxxvi. treats of the Eaſt-Indian trade in Nero's

(*) In September.

(d) § xxv ii. p. 161.

[*B*] *In ſome of which are introduced curious remarks, &c.*] For inſtance: That the tower built by Caligula, was not at *Brittenbuis*, as is commonly ſuppoſed, but at *Cherburg*, or *Boulogne* (2): That the Roman ſtanding forces in Britain, were not above 40,000 men (3): That the poll-money paid throughout the Roman empire, was but about ſix-pence *per* head (4): That the name of *London* occurs firſt in ancient authentic writers about the time of Boadicea's revolt (5). And he ſuppoſes it is denoted by that coin of Britannicus in Camden's Britannia, the reverſe of which he reads thus after Strada, *Metropolis Etimenri Ba. Lo.* The metropolis of King Etiminæus London (6).

[*C*] *Under the conduct of Boadicia.*] The author obſerves (7), that her name is variouſly written, namely, in Tacitus, *Boodicia, Boudicea*, and *Voadica*; in Dio, *Bounduica*; and perhaps in Camden's Britiſh Monies, *Boduo*.

[*D*] *He ſuppoſes, that ſhe was buried in Saliſbury-Plain, and that Stonehenge, or Stonage, was erected for her monument.*] This he grounds upon that paſſage of Dio, where it is ſaid, ' That the Britons enterred ' her pompouſly, or with much magnificence,' which, as he imagines, cannot be better verified than by aſſigning theſe orderly irregular, and formleſs uniform heaps of maſſive marble to her everlaſting remembrance. Various have been the hypotheſes and conjectures of learned men, about the occaſion and antiquity of this wild kind of ſtructure, as it is termed by Mr. Camden (8). For, beſides what Mr. Boulton thought of it; 1. Mr. Sammes, in his Britannia, fancied, that it was a work of the Phœnicians; 2. Inigo Jones, Eſq; (9), and Mr. John Webb (10), that it was a temple of the Tuſcan order, built by the Romans to the God *Cælum*, or *Terminus*; 3. Many of our Hiſtorians, that it was the burial-place of Uther Pendragon, Conſtantine, Ambroſius, and other Britiſh Kings; or, according to others, that it was erected by Ambroſius, or his brother Uther, with the help of Merlin, the Mathematician, in memory of the Britons ſlain there by treachery, in a conference with the Saxons. 4. Dr. Charlton (11), That it was a Daniſh monument, erected either for a burial-place, or as a trophy for ſome victory, or for the election and coronation of their Kings. 5. Some have maintained, that it was an old triumphal Britiſh monument, erected to Anaraith, the goddeſs of Victory, after a bloody battle won by the illuſtrious Stanings, and his Cangic giants, againſt Divitiacus and his Belgæ (12). 6. Finally, others have aſſerted, that it was a temple of the Druids, long before the coming in of the Romans (13). This opinion, which is the moſt probable, hath been embraced, and very well explained, by Mr. Toland, in his ' Specimen of a ' Critical Hiſtory of the Celtic Religion (14);' He there ſuppoſes Stonehenge to have been a cathedral of the Druids. See alſo *Mona Antiqua Reſtaurata*, by H. Rowlands, Dublin, 1723, 4*to*. and ' An Account of Jerſey,' by Ph. Falle, *&c.* Lond. 1734, 2d edit. 8*vo*.

(2) Page 84.

(3) Page 90.

(4) Page 95.

(5) Page 115.

(6) Page 134, 135. See Camden's Britan. edit. 1722, Vol. i. p. cxix.

(7) Page 99.

(8) In his Britannia, edit. Lond. 1722, fol. Vol. i. col. 120.

(9) In, *The moſt notable Antiquity of Great Britain, &c.* reſtored, Lond. 1655. fol.

(10) In his *Vindication of Stonehenge reſtored, &c.* Lond. 1665, fol.

(11) In his *Chorea Gigantum*, &c. Lond. 1663, 4*to*.

(12) See Camden, *ubi ſupra*, col. 123.

(13) J. Aubrey's Monumenta Britannica.

(14) Printed in Vol. i. of Collection of his Poſthumous Pieces, *&c.* Lond. 1726, 8*vo*.

time; which was then carried on, not by the Cape of Good Hope, but ſome way up the river Nile, and from thence by caravans over land to the Red-ſea, and ſo to the Indian ocean. The ready coin carried yearly from Rome upon that account, amounted, according to Pliny's computation, to above three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. And the uſual returns in December or January, yielded in clear gain an hundred for one. For, as the author obſerves, thoſe oriental nations did always underſtand the uſe and value of our mints, and were ſo happy in the follies of the Weſt, that while they ſat in quiet at home, they were ſought unto from the fartheſt coaſts by ſea and land, through all ſorts of perils, to receive for their ſhadowy ſuperfluities, our ſubſtantial payments. In chap. xliv, he relates Nero's attempt, to cut through the Corinthian Iſthmus. And in the xlviith, how he cauſed the choice Antiquities, and all the prime monuments of the Greeks, to be brought away to Rome. At the end of this book, there is a ſmall tract of eight leaves, intitled, 'An Hiſtorical Parallel; or, A Demon-'ſtration of the notable oddes, for the more uſe of Life, betweene reading large hiſ-'tories, and briefe ones, how excellent ſoever, as thoſe of Lucius Florus. Hereto-'fore, privately written to my good and noble friend Endymion Porter, Eſq; one of 'the Gentlemen of the Prince's bed-chamber.' The occaſion of that tract was this; The author having, in his epiſtle dedicatory to Lucius Florus, aſſerted, that 'Epi-'tomes are in truth no better than anatomies,' he demonſtrates the truth of it, by a parallel between the ſeveral accounts given by L. Florus (e), and Polybius (f), of the famous battle between Hannibal and P. C. Scipio. From whence he obſerves, that Florus gives us, in proper words, the flowers and tops of noble matter; but Polybius ſets the things themſelves, in all their neceſſary parts, before our eyes. And concludes, that the oddes between an epitome and a juſt hiſtory are evidently as great as between the contents of a chapter, and the chapter itſelf: And therefore, that all ſpacious mindes, attended with the felicities of means and leiſure, will fly them as bane. 6. Beſides the books above mentioned, Mr. Boulton hath written, '*Vindiciæ Britannicæ*, or 'London righted by reſcues and Recoveries of antiquities of Britain in general, and of 'London in particular, againſt unwarrantable prejudices, and hiſtorical antiquations 'amongſt the learned; for the more honour, and perpetual juſt uſes of the noble iſland 'and the city [*E*].' It conſiſts of ſeven chapters. In the firſt, he treats 'of London 'before the Britann rebells ſackt and fired it in hatred and defiance of Nero.' In the ſecond he ſhows, that 'London was more great and famous in Nero's days, than that 'it ſhould be within the deſcription, which Julius Cæſar makes of a barbarous Britann 'town in his days.' In the third, he proves, 'that the credit of Julius Cæſar's wri-'tings may ſubſiſt, and yet London retain the opinion of utmoſt antiquity.' In the fourth, 'the ſame fundamental aſſertion is upholden with other, and with all ſorts of 'arguments or reaſons.' The fifth bears this title, 'The natural face of the ſeat of 'London (exactly deſcribed in this ſection) moſt ſufficiently proved, that it was moſt 'antiently inhabited, always pre-ſuppoſing reaſonable men in Britain.' The ſixth contains 'a copious and ſerious diſquiſition about the old book of Brute [*F*], and of the 'authority thereof, eſpecially ſo far forth as concerns the preſent cauſe of the honour 'and antiquity of London, fundamentally neceſſary in general to our national hiſtory.' The laſt chapter is intitled, 'ſpecial, as well hiſtorical, as other, illuſtrations, for the 'uſe of the coins in my Nero Cæſar, concerning London in and before that time.' 7. Mr. Boulton was alſo author of '*Hypercritica*, or a Rule of Judgment for writing 'or reading our hiſtories. Delivered in four ſupercenſorian addreſſes by occaſion 'of a cenſorian epiſtle, prefixed by Sir Henry Savile, Knt. to his edition of ſome 'of our oldeſt hiſtorians in Latin, dedicated to the late Queen Elizabeth. That 'according thereunto, a complete body of our affairs, a *Corpus Rerum Anglicarum* may 'at laſt, and from among ourſelves, come happily forth in either of the tongues. A 'felicity wanting to our nation, now when even the name thereof is as it were at an

(e) Lib. ii. cap. 6.

(f) Lib. xv.

[*E*] *Vindiciæ Britannicæ, or London righted, &c.*] This book was never printed, though prepared by the author for the preſs. A copy of it, written very accurately in a thin folio of forty-five pages, was in the poſſeſſion of Hugh Howard, Eſq; (15). In an advertiſement to the reader, at the beginning of the book, Mr. Boulton obſerves, that though theſe ſeven chapters of hiſtorical and antiquarian paradoxes, are wholly written in explication, defence, and full accompliſhment of that, which is printed in the hiſtorical work of *Nero Cæſar*, concerning the ſtate of Britain and London; yet they are made, of themſelves, a body entire and independent, without the abſolute neceſſity of having both the books together. His chief deſign in this book is to ſhew, 'That Lon-'don, the greateſt, beſt, and moſt renowned city of 'the greateſt and beſt iſland of the whole Atlantic 'ocean, or of the univerſal world, was far more great 'and famous in Nero's days, than that it ſhould be 'within the deſcription, which Julius Cæſar makes '(16) of a barbarous Britann town in his days.'—— It was not a Britiſh or a Corniſh *Tre* or town, but a *Kaër* or city; nor ſimply a *Kaër* or city, but a *Dinas*, the ſeat of a ſovereign Prince, the ſeat of a Palace-Royal, as the laſt ſyllables of *Londinum* (formed out of *Dinas*, a palace) do moſt unqueſtionably teſtify.—— Then he mentions the ſeveral names, which London hath borne at any time; namely, *Tre-Nant*, i. e. the town in the valley; *Troy-Novant*, i. e. New Troy; *Kaër-Lud*, i. e. Lud's city; *Dinas Belin*, i. e. Belin's palace; *Lhan Dian*, i. e. Diana's fane or temple; *Lhong Dinium*, i. e. the city or palace-royal of ſhips: And under the Romans, *Auguſta Britannorum*, or *Trinobantum*.

[*F*] *The old book of Brute.*] That is, the ſtory of Brutus's coming to Britain (ſaid to be ſo denominated from him) with his Trojans. This matter, which is generally looked upon as fabulous, is treated of at large by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and from him by moſt of our Chroniclers. Some truth there may be in Geoffrey's book, but the main of it is unanimouſly condemned as fictitious.

(15) See General Dictionary, under the Article BOLTON, Vol. iii. p. 466

(16) Comment. de Bello Gallic. lib. v. c 21. *oppidum autem Britanni vocant, quam Silvas impeditas vallo atque foſſa munierunt*, i. e. what the Britons call a *Town*, is a thick wood fenced with a ditch and a rampart.

'end.

'end [*G*].' 8. Moreover, it appears, that our author intended to compoſe, 'A General Hiſtory of England, or an entire and complete Body of Engliſh Affairs [*H*]. 9. And there is extant in the Cottonian Library, 'the contents, or draught of a book, 'intituled, *Agon Heroicus*, or concerning arms and armories, by Edmund Bolton *(g)* [*I*].' 10. He

(g) Fauſtini, E. I. 7.

[*G*] *Hypercritica, or a Rule of Judgment*, &c.] This ſmall piece, which is often mentioned with applauſe by A. Wood, in his Athenæ Oxonienſes, was publiſhed by Dr. Anthony Hall, at the end of *Nicolai Triveti Annalium Continuatio, ut & Adami Murimuthenſis Chronicon*, &c. Oxon. 1722, 8*vo*. In his preface, the Doctor ſtyles Mr. Boulton, 'a conſiderable 'perſon,' and 'a very learned man.'

[*H*] *Moreover, it appears, that our author intended to compoſe a General Hiſtory of England*, &c.] This he intimates at the concluſion of his Hypercritica.—— 'I cloſe up this argument with this final admonition 'to *myſelf*, or to whoſoever elſe doth meditate the 'Herculean, and truly noble labour of compoſing an 'entire and complete body of Engliſh affairs, a *Corpus rerum Anglicanarum*, a General Hiſtory of England; to which not only the exquiſite knowledge 'of our own matters is altogether neceſſary, but of 'all other our neighbours whatſoever, yea of all the 'world; for where our arms and armies have not 'been, our arts and navies have.'

[*I*] *Concerning arms and armories, by Edmund Bolton.*]

Contents, or a draught of a book, intituled, *Agon Heroicus*, by Edmund Bolton.

AGON HEROICUS.

1. How to reduce honor and arms to better eſtimation than euer heretofore.

2. Of places according to the known qualitie of parties, as they are of uirtue, or parts of minde.

3. Of the Engliſh Croſſe, and of S. Georg.

4. The empire of virtue, and learning aduanced by the ſtudies of honor and antiquitie.

5. Excellent benefits comming to euery good gouernment, and perſon by the ſtudies of honor and antiquitie.

6. The antient myſterie of antient Maieſties ceremonie.

7. Whither apprentiſeſhip extinguiſheth gentrie.

8. Of antient ſeals, and coigns, and of ſuch as deface moniments of honor and arms.

9. Of ſuch as uſurp titles of gentrie, and notes of honor.

10. Of reuiuing publick reherſals of our works beefore they goe to the preſſe, or paſſe our hands.

11. On beehalf of Brute, Monmouth's founder of the Britann Monarchie.

12. Of Heathen Theologie among the Britanns and Saxens.

13. Of grants of arms.

14. Of Letters Patents, and other authentick inſtruments among the antient Engliſh.

15. Of Joſeph of Arimathea, and the Abbie of Glaſtenberie.

16. Of Lucius, firſt Chriſtian King of our land, and of S. Alban, firſt martyr of the ſame.

17. That the ſtudies of honor and antiquitie, are not uoluptuarie, vain, or felicitated in the ſenſes.

18. That no nature is good, which doth not uehemently incline to them.

19. Of Conſtantinus Magnus, and of his mother S. Helen.

20. Of the principal glorie of the Britann world, London.

21. Of Merlin, and his propheſies.

22. Of the moſt renowned ARTHVR.

23. Of antient Engliſh cheualrie.

24. Of Engliſh witts, and authors, with cenſures upon the cheif.

25. How the cheif care and aſſignation of armories came to bee a part of the crown-rights, or royal office, and why.

26. Of the law of arms as part of the lawes of nature and of nations.

27. Of gentlemen of bloud, and of name, and of arms, diſtinctly.

28. Of ſuperſcriptions, ſalutations, compliments in antiquitie among us, and of this Hemiſtichium in the Satyriſt,

——gaudent prænomine molles.

29. Of old alligeance.

30. Of praiſe and glorie for witt or learning.

31. Whither euer any Engliſhman attained to the heighth of commendation in any kinde of ſtudie.

32. Of mechanical conſpiracies in London againſt the aduancement and enrichment of the learned out of theyr own labours.

33. Of coat-armours in England, and theyr uſe.

34. Of the ſtudie of the old Britann, Scotiſh, Pictiſh, Saxon, Manniſh, Corniſh, Weſhford, and Iriſh tongues.

35. Of Robin Hood, and other famous outlawes.

36. Of antient inuentions appertaining to magnificence among us.

37. Of the Hiſtorie of England, and of many late ignoble writers in that right noble ſubject, with cenſures upon them.

38. Of aſſuming new coats for antient, upon diſlykes to their arguments, or forms.

39. Whither the whole perſon of a man or woman may regularlie bee born in armeries, being diſalowed Impreſes.

40. Whither the poetical bodies of a Sphynx, a Pegaſus, a Gryfon, a Centaur, a Syren, an Argus, a Gorgon, &c. may regularlie bee born in armories.

41. Whither antient heralds or heraldrie, were more exact and artificious than the modern.

42. Whither the ſtudies of honor and antiquitie bee among thoſe of that wiſdome, which ſcripture prefers aboue riches.

43. Whither according to the accedence of armories the L. Paget's coat bee a Quadrate roial, and what a Quadrate is.

44. That to honor, and pleaſe God, to the glorie and ſplendor of Prince and countrey, is the ſupreme cauſe of the ſtudies of Honor and Antiquitie.

45. How this ſentence of Salomon,

Fecit Deus hominem rectum, ſed ipſe ſe infinitis
miſcuit quæſtionibus,

is to bee ſenſed for our preſent purpoſe.

46. That the natural rectitude mentioned therein is only to be magiſtratized by the ſtudies of Honour and Antiquitie, in order to God.

EDMUND BOLTON.

Appendix ad Heroicum Agonem.

1. Of mere Materiators, enemies of ſtyle, and of mere Logodedaliſts, or phraſe-wrights, enemies of matter.

2. That it is more profitable for uirtue among us to found a college for the ſtudies of Honor and Antiquitie of Britann, then to erect a Librarie as bigg as K. Ptolomes.

3. That the ſphears of Cyclopedia move within the circle of Philarchæa.

4. That it would ſupply the defect of a cenſor's office in the policie of our countrey, if the antient courſes for noting coat armours with marks of bearers uices were recalled (17).

EDMUND BOLTON.

(17) Bibl. Cotton. Fauſtina, E. i. 7. fol. 63.

⁂ [A farther account of the writers who have treated concerning Stonehenge may be ſeen in Mr. Gough's Anecdotes of Britiſh Topography (18). This ſtupendous monument of antiquity hath afforded much ſcope for ſpeculation and conjecture: but we ſhall not enter upon the ſubject at preſent, as it will occur under various articles, and particularly *that* of STUKELEY.

(18) P. 530—534.

We cannot but expreſs our approbation of Mr. Bolton's opinion concerning Epitomes of Hiſtory: and the ſame obſervation might be extended to other objects of knowledge. Abridgments and ſhort views of facts and ſciences may, indeed, have their utility. They may ſerve, for inſtance, at the beginning of our entering upon any ſtudy, as a kind of text, to point out the courſe of our enquiries; and, when we have gained a full acquaintance with a ſubject, they may, occaſionally, be helpful in recalling it to memory. But nothing can be more pernicious than making them the only ſources of information: and the numerous publications

10. He alſo wrote ‘ The Life of the Emperor Tiberius (*b*).’ The time and place of our author's death are unknown. M.

(*b*) This he informs us of, in his Nero Cæſar, p. 82.

publications of this kind, which have appeared of late years, while they have promoted a general and ſuperficial knowledge of things, have done very little ſervice to the intereſts of ſound literature. No part of learning or ſcience can be well underſtood, or make a deep and laſting impreſſion upon the mind, unleſs it hath gone through that accurate and minute examination which ariſes from various and extenſive reading, and from cloſe and diligent reſearches.] K.

BOND (John), a celebrated Grammarian of the XVIth century, was born in Somerſetſhire, and educated in Grammar learning at Wincheſter ſchool. In 1569, being then nineteen years of age, he was entered a ſtudent in the univerſity of Oxford, where he became either one of the Clerks or Chaplains of New College, and was much noted for his great proficiency in academical learning. In 1573, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and in 1579, that of Maſter; and ſoon after was promoted by the Warden and Fellows of New College, to the maſterſhip of the free-ſchool of Taunton St. Mary Magdalen in Somerſetſhire: in which ſtation he continued many years, and taught ſchool with ſuch great ſucceſs, that many of his ſcholars proved afterwards eminent both in church and State. Being at length tired of the drudgery of a ſchool, he turned his thoughts to the ſtudy of phyſic, though he had not taken any degree in that faculty, which he practiſed rather for diverſion than profit, and became very eminent therein. Mr. Bond died the third of Auguſt, 1612, poſſeſſed of ſeveral lands and tenements in Taunton, Wilton near Taunton, and Newenton, and was buried [*A*] in the chancel of the church of Taunton (*a*). We have his *Commentaries* on Horace and Perſius [*B*].

(*a*) Wood Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 379.

[*A*] —— *and was buried*, &c.] Over his grave was put the following Epitaph (1):

(1) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 379.

Qui Medicus doctus, prudentis nomine clarus,
  Eloquii ſplendor, Pieridumque decus,
Virtutis cultor, pietatis vixit amicus,
  Hic jacet in tumulo; ſpiritus alta tenet.

In *Engliſh*:

Skill'd in the healing art, for prudence famed,
  To crown whoſe memory the Muſes love,
Who lived to virtue and her friends a friend,
  Here lies in duſt, his ſpirit ſoars above.

[*B*] *We have his* Commentaries *on Horace and Perſius.*] His *Horace* has been ſeveral times printed, viz. *Lond.* 1606, 8*vo*; *Han.* 1621, 8*vo*; and *Lugd. Batav.* 1653, 8*vo*. His *Perſius* was printed at London, 1614, in 8*vo*, *cum poſthumis Commentariis Johannis Bond*; i. e. ‘ with the poſthumous Commenta‘ ries of Mr. John Bond.’ It was publiſhed after the author's death by Roger Prowſe, who had married his daughter Elizabeth (2), who, in the dedication to Dr. Montague, Biſhop of Bath and Wells, informs us, that his father-in-law had not put the laſt hand to theſe Commentaries; which may be the reaſon of thoſe conſiderable defects, eſpecially with regard to ſome points of Hiſtory and Philoſophy, which M. Baillet tells us (3) are to be found in them. However, this author's notes on Horace and Perſius are eſteemed, as well as Farnaby's, on account of their conciſeneſs, and are chiefly uſed by the younger ſtudents in our univerſities, and in moſt ſchools. B.

(2) *Id. Ibid.*

(3) Jugemens des Savans, Tom. ii. n. 522. p. 241.

BONNELL (James), a man of ſtrict virtue and exemplary piety, was born at Genoa the 14th of November, 1653, being the ſon of Samuel Bonnell, Merchant (*a*), who reſided ſome time at Genoa, and of Rebecca, daughter of Thomas Sayer, near Norwich, Eſq;. His grandfather was Daniel Bonnell of London, Merchant, and his great-grandfather, Thomas Bonnell, a gentleman of good family near Ipres in Flanders, who, to avoid the Duke of Alva's perſecution, removed with his family into England, and ſettled at Norwich, of which, before his death, he was choſen Mayor. Samuel Bonnell, father of James Bonnell, being bred up under that eminent Merchant, Sir W. Courteen, Knt. applied himſelf to the Italian trade, at Leghorn and Genoa, with ſuch ſucceſs, that about 1649, he was worth at leaſt 10,000 *l.* and his credit much greater than his fortune. But both were ſoon impaired by ſeveral accidents, by great loſſes at ſea, and particularly by his zeal for King Charles II., during his exile, and the reſt of the Royal Family, whom he privately ſupplied with large ſums of money. About 1655, he removed with his family into England: And, at the Reſtoration, on account of the ſervices he had done the Royal Family, and as a compenſation (*b*) for the large ſums he had advanced them (which, it ſeems, were never repaid otherwiſe), there was granted him a patent to be *Accomptant General of the Revenue of Ireland*, a place worth about 800*l.* a year; his ſon's life being included in the patent with his own. But this he was not long poſſeſſed of, for he died in 1664, leaving his ſon, of whom I am now to ſpeak, and one daughter.——After James Bonnell had been inſtructed in the firſt rudiments of learning at Dublin (*c*), he was ſent to Trym ſchool, where he was eminent for ſweetneſs of temper, and for a moſt innocent, gentle, and religious behaviour. At fourteen years of age, he left that place, and was ſent to a private Philoſophy School in Oxfordſhire (*d*), kept by one Cole, who had formerly been Principal of St. Mary-hall in Oxford; and ſtaid there two years and a half. But finding his maſter was too remiſs in matters of morality and religion, a thing quite unſuitable with his ſtrict temper, and obſerving, there were in that place all the dangers and vices of the univerſity, without the advantages, he removed to Catharine-hall in Cambridge, where he proſecuted his ſtudies with indefatigable diligence, and performed all his exerciſes with general approbation. After taking his degrees in Arts, he removed into the family of Ralph Freeman of Aſpeden-hall in Hertfordſhire, Eſq; as tutor to

(*a*) Life of James Bonnel, Eſq; by W Hamilton, Lond. 1718. 4th edit. p. 1, &c. Memoirs communicated.

(*b*) Memoirs communicated.

(*c*) Life of J. Bonnel, Eſq; p. 4.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 89.

his eldeſt ſon (*e*); and there continued till 1678, when, going with his pupil into Holland, he ſtayed about a year in Sir Leoline Jenkins's family, at Nimmegen. From Nimmegen he went in the Embaſſador's company through Flanders and Holland; and returning to England, continued with his pupil till 1683, when Mr. Freeman was ſent into France and Italy. In 1684, Mr. Bonnell went into France, and met Mr. Freeman at Lions; and in his company viſited ſeveral parts of France. Leaving Mr. Freeman in France, he went directly from thence into Ireland (*f*), and took his employment of Accomptant-General into his own hands, which had, ſince his father's death, been managed by others for his uſe. In the diſcharge of it, he behaved in ſo obliging a manner, and with ſo much diligence and faithfulneſs, that he ſoon equally gained the eſteem of the government, and the love of all who were concerned with him. During the troubleſome reign of King James II., he neither unworthily deſerted his employment (*g*), as others did; nor came into the arbitrary and illegal meaſures of the court; and yet was continued in his office [*A*], without his deſiring it: which proved a great advantage to the Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland; ſince, whatever he received out of his place, he liberally diſtributed among the poor oppreſſed Proteſtants, taking all opportunities to relieve the injured, and boldly pleading for them with thoſe who were then in power. But though his place was very advantageous, and he had in it great opportunities of doing good; yet, either the weight of that employment, or his ill ſtate of health, or elſe his deſire of entering into holy orders (which he deſigned for a conſiderable time (*h*), but never effected), made him reſolve to quit it; and he accordingly parted with it (*i*) to another perſon in 1693.——In the whole courſe of his life (*k*) he behaved in ſo upright and worthy a manner that he was courted by his ſuperiors, and reverenced by his equals. For, with regard to piety, to juſtice [*B*] and charity, to ſobriety and temperance, few have outdone him. His devotion, though very intenſe, was calm and governable, confined within the ſtricteſt bounds of ſobriety and reaſon, and free from the leaſt appearance of affectation (*l*). His charity was alſo very extenſive (*m*), for he commonly gave away the eighth part of his yearly income to the poor [*C*]. And, for humility, meekneſs, and contempt of the world, he was a pattern to all. Nay, a perſon who had the beſt opportunity of knowing him thoroughly, declares (*n*), 'I can with truth ſay, I never knew him do a thing, or heard him ſay a 'word, that I would have wiſhed undone or unſaid, if he had died the next hour.'—He had, withal, an accuracy and exactneſs in his judgment that few can equal (*o*). He was maſter of the accompliſhing, as well as neceſſary parts of learning; had thoroughly digeſted the Greek and Roman authors, underſtood French perfectly well, and had made good progreſs in the Hebrew (*p*). In Philoſophy and Oratory, he exceeded moſt of his contemporaries in the univerſity; and applied himſelf with good ſucceſs to mathematics and muſic. In the courſe of his ſtudies, he read ſeveral of the Fathers; and tranſlated ſome parts of Syneſius into Engliſh [*D*]. This worthy perſon died of a malignant fever, April 28, 1699, and was buried in St. John's church in Dublin (*q*). In 1693, he married Jane, daughter of Sir Albert Conyngham (*r*), by whom he had three children; of whom only one daughter ſurvived him, but ſhe died not long after his deceaſe. A very neat monument of white marble was erected to his memory [*E*], by his relict, with an inſcription given below in the note.

(*e*) Life of J. Bonnell, Eſq; p. 12, 13.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 30.

(*g*) Memoirs, *ut ſupra.* Life of J. Bonnell, Eſq; p. 47. 54.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 31. 34. 71, &c.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 71, 72.

(*k*) Memoirs, *ubi ſupra.*

(*l*) Life of J. Bonnel, Eſq; p. 135.

(*m*) Page 215.

(*n*) His widow, in a Letter.

(*o*) Biſhop of Londonderry's Letter in Pref. to Mr. Bonnell's Life, p. xvii.

(*p*) Life, &c. p. 80.

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 76.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 72. 77.

[*A*] *And yet was continued in his office.*] Such an openneſs and ſincerity ſhined in all his actions, ſuch unſhaken fidelity was his rule and guide, ſo known an enemy was he to faction and intrigue, that he was not only free from blame, but even ſuſpicion; and the enemies of his religion reverenced his perſon. *Life of J. Bonnell,* Eſq; p. 39. But it ſeems one reaſon of his being continued in his employment was, becauſe at that time they could not be without his knowledge, nor do without him, in the revenue. Ibid. p. 275.

[*B*] *To juſtice,* &c.] He never knew what gratuity or reward meant, confining his gains entirely to his ſalary. *Life,* &c. p. 209.

[*C*] *He commonly gave away the eighth part of his yearly income,* &c.] He was eminent likewiſe for charity towards thoſe who differed from him in opinion. 'Though no man was firmer to the Proteſtant religion eſtabliſhed among us, and more truly zealous 'to ſupport and enlarge it; yet force and violence 'he eſteemed the unfitteſt means in the world to attain that end. And he utterly condemned all perſecutions for religion, and violence to mens conſciences.—His charity was ſo generous and noble, 'that it effectually ſecured him from all narrowneſs 'of temper, and moroſeneſs of behaviour, towards 'thoſe who differed from him in opinion. He uſed 'frequently to ſay, that moſt differences among 'Chriſtians were chiefly in words, and that their 'ſentiments were much nearer than their expreſſions. '—The diviſions which prevail among Chriſtians he 'heartily bewailed; he ſaw how much of paſſion and 'worldly intereſt there was in them, and how deſtructive they were to piety and charity. But then 'he conſidered, that charity obliged him to look upon all Chriſtians as his brethren, as children of the 'ſame father, and members of the ſame family to 'which he belonged, and conſequently that he muſt 'not hate nor perſecute any of them; that he ought 'to lament their diviſions, and do all that in him 'lay to heal their breaches and cure their animoſities, 'but ſtill they had a right to his charity and to his 'prayers.' *Life of Bonnel,* p. 222, 223. 225.

[*D*] *And tranſlated ſome parts of Syneſius into Engliſh.*] There is, however, nothing of his publiſhed, but ſome *Meditations* and *Prayers* inſerted in his life, and a *Harmony of the Goſpels* done by another hand, but reformed and improved by *James Bonnell,* Eſq; for his own uſe; printed at London, for Joſeph Downing.

[*E*] *A very neat monument of white marble was erected to his memory,* &c.] At the top there is a buſt of his head, underneath which are his arms. The inſcription is as follows:

P. M. S.

Jacobi Bonnelli armigeri, cujus exuviæ una cum Patris, et duorum filiorum *Alberti* et *Samuelis,* juxta ſitæ ſunt. Regibus *Carolo* 2^{do} *Jacobo* 2^{do} et *Gulielmo* 3^{o} erat a rationibus generalibus in Hiberniâ, temporibus licet incertis. Dominis fidus, ab omni factione immunis, nemini ſuſpectus, omnibus charus. Natus eſt Novembris 14^{o} 1653, Patre *Samuele,* qui propter ſuppetias Regiæ familiæ largiter exhibitas, officio computatoris generalis Fiſci *Hibernici* Anno Domini 1661, 1661, una cum Filio remuneratus eſt. Avo Daniele, Proavo Thoma, qui ſub Duce *Albano* religionis ergo *Flandriâ* Patriâ ſuâ exul, *Norvicum* in Anglia profugit, ubi mox Civis, et demum Prætor. Pietate avitâ, & pene congenitâ, imo primævâ et Apoſtolicâ, eruditione, prudentiâ, probitate, comitate, et morum ſimplicitate conſpicuus. Manſuetudine, patientiâ, et ſuper omnia charitate inſignis, Urbem hanc exemplo, et præceptis, meliorem, morte, mœſtam reliquit. Obiit Aprilis 28, 1699. Monimentum hoc ingentis doloris publici, præſertim ſui, exiguum promeritis, poſuit uxor mœſtiſſima *Jana Coninghamorum* gente. M.

BONNER (Edmund), Biſhop of London in the XVIth century, was born at Hanley in Worceſterſhire, being the ſon of an honeſt poor man of that place [*A*]. He was maintained at ſchool by ——— Lechmore, anceſtor to Nicholas Lechmore, Eſq; one of the Barons of the Exchequer in the reign of the late King William (*a*). About the year 1512, he became a ſtudent in Broadgate-hall in Oxford, now Pembroke-college, then a famous nurſery for Civilians and Canoniſts (*b*). Having made a ſufficient progreſs in Philoſophy and the Laws, he was admitted, on the 12th of June 1519, Bachelor of the Canon, and the day following, Bachelor of the Civil Law (*c*). He entered into holy orders about that time, and had ſome employment in the dioceſe of Worceſter (*d*). On the 12th of July 1525, he was created Doctor of the Canon Law (*e*). He did not diſtinguiſh himſelf by his learning, but by his ſkill and dexterity in the management of affairs: For which he was much taken notice of by Cardinal Wolſey, who made him his Commiſſary for the Faculties. And he was with that Prelate at Cawood, when he was arreſted for high-treaſon (*f*). At one and the ſame time he enjoyed theſe ſeveral eccleſiaſtical preferments; the livings of Blaydon, and Cherry-Burton in Yorkſhire; of Ripple in Worceſterſhire; of Eaſt-Dereham in Norfolk; and the Prebend of Chiſwick in the cathedral church of St. Paul: but this he reſigned in 1539, as he did his church of Eaſt-Dereham, in 1540 (*). He was likewiſe Archdeacon of Leiceſter, into which he was inſtalled, October 17, 1535 (*g*). After the Cardinal's, his patron's death, being a forward and puſhing man, he inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of King Henry VIII.; and became one of his chaplains, a favourer of the Lutherans, a promoter of that King's divorce from Queen Catharine of Spain, and of all his proceedings in abrogating the Pope's ſupremacy in this kingdom (*h*). He found means likewiſe to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of Thomas Cromwell [*B*], Secretary of State, by whoſe recommendation he was employed as Ambaſſador at ſeveral courts (*i*). Particularly, in 1532, he was ſent to Rome, along with Sir Edward Karne, to excuſe King Henry's perſonal appearance, or by proxy there, upon the Pope's citation for that purpoſe: And ſince there were, upon that occaſion, many threatenings to be uſed to the Pope and Cardinals, he was thought fitteſt for the employment, as being a very bold man (*k*). Again, in 1533, he was ſent to Pope Clement VII., then at Marſeilles, upon the excommunication decreed at Rome againſt King Henry VIII. on account of his divorce, to deliver that King's appeal from the Pope to the next General Council lawfully called: And he delivered the threatenings he was ordered to make with ſo much vehemence and fury, that the Pope talked of throwing him into a caldron of melted lead, or of burning him alive; upon which he, apprehending ſome danger,

(*a*) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. i. 2d edit. 1725, fol. p. 575.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. i. col. 158.

(*c*) *Idem*, Faſti, Vol. i. col. 27.

(*d*) Athen. *ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) *Id.* Faſti, *ut ſupra*, col. 39.

(*f*) Stow's Annals, edit. 1631, fol. p. 556. Holinſhed's Chronicle, edit. 1587, p. 915.

(*) Newcourt, Repertorium, &c. Vol. i. p. 26. 140; and Wood, Athenæ, *ubi ſupra*.

(*g*) Faſti Eccleſ. Anglicanæ, &c. by J. Le Neve, Lond. 1716, fol. p. 164.

(*h*) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra.*

(*i*) *Ibid.* and J. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, &c. edit. 1583, Vol. ii. p. 1088.

(*k*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. i. 2d edit. 1681, p. 120.

[*A*] *The ſon of an honeſt poor man of that place.*] The common notion is, that he was the natural ſon of George Savage, Prieſt, Rector of Davenham in Cheſhire, natural ſon of Sir John Savage of Clifton in the ſaid county, Knight of the Garter, and one of the Council to King Henry VII.; which George Savage had ſeven natural children by three ſundry women, *viz.* George Savage, Chancellor of Cheſter; John Wymeſley, Rector of Torperley in Cheſhire, and made Archdeacon of London by his brother Edmund Bonner; Randal Savage of Lodge in the ſaid county; Edmund Bonner, born of Elizabeth Frodſham, who was the wife (after Bonner had been begotten) of Edmund Bonner, a Sawyer, living with a gentleman called Armingham of Potters-Hanley in Worceſterſhire; beſides three daughters, Margaret, Ellen, and Elizabeth (1). But Mr. Strype informs us (2), that the late Baron Lechmore aſſured him, Bonner was certainly legitimately begotten, and born at Hanley in Worceſterſhire, of one Boner, an honeſt poor man, in a houſe called *Boner's Place* to this day, a little cottage of about five pounds a year; and that his great grandfather, Biſhop Bonner's intimate friend and acquaintance, purchaſed that eſtate of the Biſhop in Queen Elizabeth's time, and that he had it ſtill in his poſſeſſion. He added, that there was an extraordinary friendſhip between the Biſhop and his ſaid great grandfather; inſomuch that the Biſhop made leaſes to him of the value of 1000*l.* a year, two whereof he remembered were Fering and Kelvedon in Eſſex. And that he had been told by ſome of his family, that Bonner ſhewed this kindneſs to this Gentleman out of gratitude; his father, or ſome of the relations having put him out to ſchool. But as to his birth the Baron ſaid, he thought he could make it out beyond exception, that Bonner was begotten in lawful wedlock. And that he had ſeveral letters yet in his keeping between the Biſhop and his great grandfather, but of private matters.

Wood, Ath. *ſupra.* Godwin, de Præſulibus, edit. 1616, 4*to*, p. 250.

(2) Annals, *ubi ſupra.*

[*B*] *He found means likewiſe to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of* Thomas Cromwell.] And to him it was he chiefly owed his preferments and dignities, as he thankfully acknowledges in the following letter to that Lord, written from Bolis in France, 2d September, 1538. 'My very ſingular eſpeciall good 'Lord, as one moſt bounden, I moſt humbly commende mee unto your honourable good Lordſhip. 'And whereas in times paſſed it hath liked the ſame, 'without any my deſertes or merites, even only of 'your ſingular exceding goodnes, to beſtowe a great 'deale of love, benevolence and good affection upon 'me ſo poore a man, and of ſo ſmall qualities, expreſſing in deede, ſondry wayes, the good effectes 'thereof to my great preferment; I was very much 'bounde thereby unto your honourable good Lordſhippe, and thought it alway my duetie (as indeede 'it was) both to beare my true hart againe unto your 'Lordſhip, and alſo, remembring ſuche kindnes, to 'doe unto the ſame all ſuch ſervice and pleaſure as 'might then lie in my ſmal power to do. But where 'of your infinite and ineſtimable goodnes, it hath further liked you of late, firſt to advance me unto the 'office of Legation from ſuch a Prince as my ſoveraigne Lorde is, unto the Emperour and French 'King, and next after to procure and obtayne mine 'advauncement to ſo honourable a promotion as the 'Byſhoprike of Hereford: I muſt here knowledge the 'exceeding greatnes of your Lordſhippes benefite, 'with mine own imbecillitie to recompence it. - - - '&c. (3).'

(3) J. Foxe, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1088.

made

made his eſcape *(l)*. He was employed likewiſe in other embaſſies, to the Kings of Denmark and France, and to the Emperor of Germany (*m*). In 1538, being then Ambaſſador in France (*n*) [*C*], he was nominated to the Biſhopric of Hereford: He had the royal aſſent to his election, November 27, and the temporalities were reſtored to his proctor, March the 4th following (*o*). But, before conſecration, he was tranſlated to London; of which he was elected Biſhop, October 20 *(p)*, 1539; confirmed the 12th of November enſuing; took a commiſſion from the King for the exerciſe of his eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, immediately after (*q*); had reſtitution of his temporalities the 18th day of November, juſt now mentioned; and was conſecrated in his own cathedral, April 4, 1540, and enthroned the 16th of the ſame month (*r*). At the time of the King's death, in 1547, he was Ambaſſador with the Emperor Charles V. (*s*). He had appeared, during that reign, zealous againſt the Pope; and concurred generally in the ſeveral ſteps taken to bring about a Reformation in this kingdom [*D*]. But it was either out of ambition, becauſe he knew that to be the readieſt way to preferment; or elſe out of a dread of the King's furious and violent temper, who would not be contradicted: For he was all the while a thorough Papiſt in his heart, as appeared by his ſubſequent conduct. Among other inſtances, on the 1ſt of September, 1547, not many months after the acceſſion of King Edward VI., he ſcrupled to take an oath to renounce and deny the Biſhop of Rome, with his uſurped authority, and to ſwear obedience to the King, according to ſtatute 31 Henry VIII., and entered a proteſtation [*E*] againſt the King's injunctions and homilies (*t*). For this he became ſo obnoxious, that he was committed to the Fleet [*F*], though he ſubmitted, and recanted his proteſtation (*u*). However, he was ſoon releaſed (*w*): From which time he complied outwardly with the ſeveral ſteps taken to advance the Reformation [*G*], but uſed privately all means in his power to obſtruct it. And yet he behaved ſo cautiouſly, that no legal advantage could be taken againſt him. But, after the Lord Thomas Seymour's death, and the inſurrections in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, he viſibly appeared remiſs in putting the Court's orders in execution, particularly that relating to the uſe of the Common-Prayer-Book; for which he was ſeverely reproved by the Privy-Council [*H*]. He ſeemed upon this to redouble his diligence: But, notwithſtanding, through

his

(l) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. i. 2d edit. 1681, p. 134.

(m) Wood, *ubi ſupra*; and Life of King Henry VIII. by the Lord Herbert, in Complete Hiſt. of England, edit. 1706, Vol. ii. p. 182.

(n) Wood, *ut ſupra*, col. 159. Godwin de Præſulibus, edit. 1616, 4to, p. 250; and Newcourt, and J. Foxe, *ubi ſupra*.

(o) Conventiones, Acta Publica, &c. publiſhed by Rymer, Vol. xiv. p. 599. 601.

(p) Wood ſays it was October 1, *ubi ſupra*.

(q) See Burnet, as above, in the Collection of Records, Book iii. No. 14. p. 184.

(r) Wharton, de Epiſcop. Londin. 8*vo*. Newcourt, *ubi ſupra*.

(s) Wood, *ubi ſupra*.

(t) J. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, &c. edit 1583, Vol. ii p. 1309, 1310.

(u) His recantation is in Foxe, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1310. He firſt offered another, which being full of quiddities, was rejected. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Part ii. p. 36. 2d edit.

(w) Foxe, *ibid.*

[*C*] *Being then Ambaſſador in France.*] But he was recalled from thence this year, at the deſire of the King of France, to whom he had ſpoken a little too freely upon the following occaſion. An Engliſh traitor ſkulking in France, King Henry ordered his Ambaſſador, Bonner, to demand him; but the King of France refuſed to deliver him up: Whereupon Bonner told that King, that in ſo doing, he acted 'againſt God, againſt his honour, againſt juſtice, againſt reaſon, againſt honeſty, againſt friendſhip, againſt all law, againſt the treaties and leagues between him and his brother the King of England, yea and againſt all together.' At which King Francis was ſo nettled, that he bid him write theſe three things to the King his maſter: '1. That his Ambaſſador was a great fool. 2. That he cauſed better juſtice to be done in his realm in one hour, than they did in England in a whole year. 3. That if it were not for the love of his maſter, he ſhould have an hundred ſtrokes with an halbert, &c.' And never reſted till he had him recalled (4). At this time Bonner was greatly in the Lord Cromwell's favour, who was ſetting him up againſt Biſhop Gardiner (5).

[*D*] *And concurred generally in the ſeveral ſteps taken to bring about a Reformation in this kingdom.*] J. Foxe aſſures us in general (6), that 'he was a great fartherer of King Henry's proceedings, and at firſt a favourer of Luther's doctrine.'—And as for particular inſtances of his concurring in the Reformation, we find, that, whilſt he was Ambaſſador at Paris, he zealouſly promoted the printing of the Engliſh Bible there; and, after he was made Biſhop of London, cauſed ſix of them to be ſet up in St. Paul's cathedral (7). He was likewiſe one of thoſe who ſubſcribed to the Biſhops book againſt the Pope (8). He put a Preface to Biſhop Gardiner's book *De verâ Obedientiâ*, in which he very plainly ſpeaks againſt the Pope's exactions, and his *falſe pretended Supremacy*. Finally, when he was made Biſhop of London, he took an oath, 'never to conſent or agree that the Biſhop of Rome ſhould practiſe, exerciſe, or have any manner of authority, juriſdiction, or power, within this realm, or any other the King's dominions, but that he would reſiſt the ſame at all times to the utmoſt of his power; and that from thenceforth he ſhould accept, repute, and take the King's Majeſty to be the only ſupreme Head in earth of the Church of England; and, to the utmoſt of his power, obſerve and maintain all Acts and Statutes, made and to be made, in extirpation and extinguiſhment of the Biſhop of Rome and his authority, and in corroboration of the King's ſupremacy, againſt all perſons whatſoever; and repute any oath he had made in maintenance, or favour, of the Biſhop of Rome, vain and adnihilate (9).' Yet, not long after, he acted in a Commiſſion for the due execution of the Six Articles, and proſecuted ſeveral perſons upon the ſame: So complying was he with all changes, eſpecially when they tended to promote Popery (10)!

[*E*] *And entered a proteſtation.*] Which was as follows: 'I do receive theſe Injunctions and Homilies, with this proteſtation, that I will obſerve them, if they be not contrary and repugnant to God's Law, and the Statutes and Ordinances of the Church.' And immediately added with an oath, that he had never read the ſaid Homilies and Injunctions (11).

[*F*] *That he was committed to the Fleet.*] Mr. Rapin makes this judicious reflection upon that occaſion: 'The truth is, as ſeveral acts in favour of the Reformation were intended to be paſſed in the enſuing Parliament, which was called for the 4th of November, the Reformers were very glad to free themſelves from the troubleſome oppoſition of this Prelate (12).' He was releaſed November 17 (13).

[*G*] *He complied outwardly with the ſeveral ſteps taken to advance the Reformation.*] For inſtance; he readily tranſmitted to the Biſhop of Weſtminſter the Archbiſhop's Letter for omitting the carrying of Candles on Candlemas-day, and of Aſhes and Palms on Aſh-Wedneſday and Palm-Sunday; likewiſe another for aboliſhing of Images, and one to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for ſuppreſſing private Maſſes in that cathedral (14). In a word, 'he executed every order that was ſent him ſo readily (as Burnet obſerves), that there was not ſo much as ground for any complaint (15).'

[*H*] *For which he was ſeverely reproved by the Privy-Council.*] In a letter they wrote to him July 23, 1549; wherein, among other things, they tell him, —that 'one uniforme order for Common-Prayer and adminiſtration of the Sacraments having been ſet forth,—whereby much idolatry, vayne ſuperſtition, and great and ſlanderous abuſes, be taken away; it was no ſmall occaſion of ſorrow to them, to under-

'ſtand

(4) *Ibid.* p. 1093.

(5) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 249.

(6) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 1088.

(7) *Ibid.* p. 1191. 1206.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 1064.

(9) *Ibid.* p. 1093.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 1292; and Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 2,9.

(11) Foxe, *ibid.* p. 1309, and Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, in the Collection of Records, p. 112.

(12) Hiſtory of England, Vol. ii. edit. 1733, p. 9.

(13) Heylin's Hiſt. of the Reformat. p 42.

(14) J. Foxe, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1299, 1300. 1302.

(15) Hiſt. of the Reformation, as above, Part ii. p. 111.

his evil example, and eſpecially his ſlackneſs in preaching, and his connivance at the maſs in ſeveral places, many people in London, and elſewhere in his dioceſe, being obſerved to withdraw from the divine ſervice and communion, this was laid to his charge, as a neglect in the execution of the King's laws and injunctions. So the Council wrote to him, on the 23d of July, 1549, to ſee to the correcting of theſe things, and that he ſhould give good example himſelf. Upon which, on the 26th following, he ſent about a charge to have the order in this letter executed, which he ſaid he was moſt willing to do. Yet ſtill it was obſerved, that whatſoever obedience he gave, was againſt his will (*x*). Therefore he was convened before the Privy-Council on the 11th of Auguſt, when, after a ſharp reproof of his negligence, he was enjoined to preach the Sunday three weeks after, at Paul's-Croſs, on ſome articles then delivered to him [*I*]; and alſo to preach there once a quarter for the future, and be preſent at every ſermon made there, excepting he was hindered by ſickneſs, or other reaſonable cauſe: to celebrate the Communion in that church on all the principal feaſts: to convene before him, and puniſh, ſuch as did not come unto, and frequent the Common-Prayer and ſervice in the church, or did not come to God's board, and receive the Communion at leaſt once a year: to ſearch out and convent before him, more diligently than he had done, all adulterers: to keep the cathedral of St. Paul's, and other churches in London, in due repair, and ſee that the tithes were duly paid to the reſpective incumbents: and to abide and keep reſidence in his houſe in London, till he had licence from the Council to depart elſewhere (*y*). On the day appointed for his preaching, which was September 1, he made a ſermon to a crouded audience (aſſembled on purpoſe to hear what he would ſay) on the points delivered to him. But he ſaid not a word of the laſt, namely, ‘of the King's royal power being of no leſs authority and force in his ‘youth, than was that of any of his predeceſſors; and therefore that all his ſubjects ‘were as much bound to obey him, as if he had been thirty or forty years old.’ For this contempt he was complained of to the King by John Hooper, afterwards Biſhop of Worceſter, and William Latimer, B. D. (*z*); upon which Commiſſioners were appointed [*K*] to proceed ſummarily againſt him. He appeared before them, September 10, 13, 16, 18, 20, 23, and October 1; and, after a long trial [*L*], was committed

(*x*) Burnet, *ibid.* p. 121, 122; and Foxe, as above, p. 1303, 1304.

(*y*) Foxe, p. 1304, 1305, and Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 121, 122.

(*z*) Foxe, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1311.

‘ſtand by the complaints of many, that the ſaid book ‘remained, in many places of the realm, either not ‘known at all, or not uſed, or at the leaſt very ſeldom, and in a light and irreverent manner. The ‘fault whereof (add they) we muſt impute *to you*, ‘and other of your vocation.’—In the concluſion they tell him—‘If we ſhall hereafter (theſe our letters ‘and commandments notwithſtanding) have eftſoones ‘complaint, and finde the like faults in your dioces, ‘we ſhall have juſt cauſe to impute the fault thereof, ‘and of all that enſue thereof, unto you; and conſequently be occaſioned therby to ſee otherwyſe to ‘the redreſſe of theſe things, wherof we would be ‘ſory. And therfore we do eftſoones charge and ‘commaund you upon your allegiance, to loke well ‘upon your duety herein, as ye tender our pleaſure, ‘&c. (16).’

(16) Foxe, as above, p. 1303.

[*I*] *On ſome articles then delivered to him.*] Being as follows. 1. That all ſuch as rebel againſt their Prince, get unto them damnation, and thoſe that reſiſt the higher power, reſiſt the ordinaunces of God, and he that dieth therfore in rebellion, by the woorde of God is utterly damned, and ſo looſeth bothe bodye and ſoule. And therefore thoſe Rebelles in Devonſhire and Cornewall, in Northfolke, or elſewhere, who taking upon them to aſſemble a power and force againſt their King and Prince, againſt the lawes and ſtatutes of the realme, and goe about to ſubverte the ſtate and order of the commonwealthe, not onely do deſerve death, as traytors and rebels, but do accumulate to themſelves eternal damnation, even to be in the burning fire of hell, with Lucifer the father and firſt author of pride, diſobedience and rebellion, what pretence ſoever they have, and what Maſſes or holye water ſoever they pretende, or go about to make among themſelves, as Chore, Dathan and Abiron, for rebellion againſt Moſes, were ſwalowed downe alive into hell, although they pretended to ſacrifice unto God. 2. Likewiſe in the order of the Churche and externe rites and ceremonies of divine ſervice, for ſo muche as God requireth humility of heart, innocencie of living, knowledge of him, charity and love to our neighbours, and obedience to his woorde, and to his Miniſters and ſuperioure powers, theſe we muſt bring to all our prayers, to all our ſervice, and this is the ſacrifice that Chriſte requireth, and theſe be thoſe that make all thynges pleaſaunt unto God. The externe rites and ceremonies be but exerciſes of our religion, and appointable by ſuperior powers, in choſing whereof we muſt obey the Magiſtrates; the whyche thinges alſo we do ſee ever hath bene and ſhal be (as the time and place is) divers, and yet al hath pleaſed God ſo long as theſe before-ſpoken inwarde things be there. If any man ſhall uſe the old rites, and thereby diſobey the ſuperior power, the devotion of his ceremonies is made nought by his diſobedience; ſo that, which els (ſo long as the lawe did ſo ſtand) myghte be good, by pride and diſobedience nowe is made noughte; as Saules ſacrifice, Chore, Dathan, and Abiron, and Aaron's two children, were. But who that joineth to devotion obedience, hee winneth the garland: For elſe it is a zeale *ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam*, a wil, deſire, zeale and devotion, but not after wiſedome, that is a fooliſhe devotion, which can require no thankes or praiſe. And yet agayne, where ye obey, yee muſt have devotion, for God requireth the heart more than the outward doings, and therfore who that taketh the communion, or ſayth or heareth the ſervice appoynted by the King's Majeſtie, muſt bring devotion and inward prayer with him, or elſe his praiers are but vaine, lacking that whyche God requireth, that is, the heart and minde to pray to him. 3. Further, yee ſhal for example on Sonday come ſeventh night after the aforeſayd date, celebrate the Communion at Paules church. 4. Ye ſhal alſo ſet foorth in your ſermon, that our authoritie of royal power (17) is (as of truth it is) of no leſſe authoritie and force in this our young age, then is, or was of any of our predeceſſors, though the ſame were much elder, as may appeare by example of Joſias, and other yong Kings in ſcripture; and therfore all our ſubjectes to be no leſſe bound to the obedience of our preceptes, lawes, and ſtatutes, than if we were of thirty or forty yeares of age (18).

(17) *i. e.* the King's.

(18) Foxe, as above, p. 1310, 1311.

[*K*] *Whereupon Commiſſioners were appointed.*] Being Archbiſhop Cranmer, Biſhop Ridley; Sir William Petre, and Sir Thomas Smith, Secretaries of State; and William May, LL. D. and Dean of St. Paul's. Their Commiſſion was dated Sept. 8, 1549 (19).

(19) Rymer's Acta Regia, Vol. xv. p. 191.

[*L*] *And after a long trial.*] The matter laid to his charge was, ‘Diſobedience to the King's Ma‘jeſty, in that he did not ſet forth in his ſermon the ‘King's royal power in his minority, according to ‘the tenor of the article delivered to him for that ‘purpoſe.’ But he endeavoured to turn it off, and to mitted to the Marſhalſea, and, towards the end of October, deprived of his Biſhopric (*a*). But he moſt ſeverely revenged himſelf afterwards on his proſecutors. Not long after the acceſſion of Queen Mary to the throne, he was reſtored to his Biſhopric; namely, by a commiſſion dated Auguſt 22, 1553 (*b*), which was read in St. Paul's cathedral the 5th of September following (*c*). In the Convocation which met in 1554, he was made Vicegerent and Preſident of the ſame [*M*], in the room of Archbiſhop Cranmer, newly committed to the Tower (*d*). The ſame year he viſited his dioceſe, in order to root up all the ſeeds of the Reformation (*e*), and was guilty of ſeveral furious and extravagant actions [*N*]. On the 25th of October, he ſent an order to all parſons and curates within his dioceſe, to put out ſuch paſſages of Scripture as had been painted on the church walls, in the late King Edward's time (*f*); and ſet up the Maſs again at St. Paul's, before the act for reſtoring it was paſſed (*g*). The ſame year he was in a commiſſion to turn out ſome of the reformed Biſhops (*h*). After he was reinſtated in his ſee, he would not allow of ſeveral leaſes made by Biſhop Ridley to his ſiſter, and other perſons, to their great injury (*i*); though Bonner's mother had been conſtantly entertained by that Biſhop during his reſidence at Fulham, and treated as if ſhe had been his own mother; beſides his kindneſs to his other friends (*k*). In the years 1555, 1556, 1557, and 1558, he moſt inhumanly committed to the flames, and otherwiſe deſtroyed, hundreds of innocent perſons [*O*], for their firm adherence to the Proteſtant religion, and their refuſing to embrace the groſs errors of Popery (*l*). Being known to be fierce and cruel to the utmoſt degree, Biſhop Gardiner, in 1555, left the

to make people think, that he was called to anſwer, not for his contemptuous diſobedience, but for matters of religion; ſaying, that the cauſe of his trouble was not for the matter they pretended againſt him, but becauſe he ſet forth in his ſermon the true preſence of the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt to be in the Sacrament of the altar. And he ſtrove to blacken his accuſers, by repreſenting them as evil, infamed, and notorious criminous perſons, manifeſt and notable heretics and ſeducers of the people, eſpecially touching the Sacrament of the altar; conſequently excommunicate, and therefore not to be admitted as witneſſes. Particularly concerning Hooper he ſaid, 'Where I preached and affirmed the very true body 'and bloud of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt to be in the 'Sacrament of the altar, the ſelfe-ſame in ſubſtance 'that was hanged and ſhed upon the croſſe; he '[Hooper] like an aſſe (as he is an aſſe indeed) 'falſely changed and turned the word *that* into *as*, 'like an aſſe, ſaying that I had ſaid, as it hanged, 'and as it was ſhed upon the croſſe (20).' At another time he ſaid to one of his accuſers, that he ſpake like a gooſe; and to the other, that he ſpake like a woodcock. He likewiſe behaved with rudeneſs towards his judges, calling them pretenſed Commiſſioners, and the proceedings againſt him unjuſt and unlawful; and the people preſent daws, woodcocks, fools, &c. (21). The firſt day of his appearance he exhibited a proteſtation againſt the Commiſſioners juriſdiction (22), and the 20th of September appealed from them to the King, and ſent a petition to the Privy Council, dated the 7th of October, and another dated the 26th of the ſame month (23). But, notwithſtanding all his endeavours, he was committed to the Marſhalſea on the 20th of September, for not giving a full and perfect anſwer to the articles exhibited againſt him, and for refuſing Secretary Smith to be his judge (24); and about the end of October was finally deprived (25). This ſentence, we are told (26), was much cenſured, and by many thought over ſevere.

[*M*] *He was made Vicegerent and Preſident of the ſame.*] And made in it an oration in praiſe of Prieſthood, which ſhews *a great piece of his profound and deep learning*, as is well obſerved by Mr. Foxe, who hath preſerved this fragment of it (27). 'Wherefore 'it is to be known, that Prieſts and Elders be worthy 'of all men to be worſhipped, for the dignity-ſake 'which they have of God, as in Math. xvi. *Whatſoever ye ſhall looſe upon earth*, &c. *And whatſoever 'you ſhall bind*, &c. For a Prieſt by ſome means is 'like Mary the Virgin, and is ſhewed by three points. 'As the bleſſed Virgin by five words did conceive 'Chriſt, as it is ſaid Luke i. *Fiat mihi ſecundum verbum tuum*; i. e. Be it unto me according to thy 'word; ſo the Prieſt by five words doth make the 'very body of Chriſt. Even as immediately after 'the conſent of Mary, Chriſt was all whole in her 'womb; ſo immediately after the ſpeaking of the 'words of conſecration, the bread is tranſubſtantiated 'into the very body of Chriſt.—Therefore here is to 'be known, that the dignity of Prieſts by ſome 'means paſſeth the dignity of angels, becauſe there 'is no power given to any of the angels to make the 'body of Chriſt; whereby the leaſt Prieſt may do in 'earth, that the greateſt and higheſt angel in heaven 'cannot do.—Wherefore Prieſts are to be honoured 'before all Kings of the earth, Princes and nobles. 'For a Prieſt is higher than a King, happier than an 'Angel, maker of his Creator,' *&c.* Horrible abſurdities (28)!

[*N*] *And was guilty of ſeveral furious and extravagant actions.*] Particularly, at Hadham, he was exceſſively angry becauſe the bells did not ring at his coming, and the rood-loft was not decked, nor the Sacrament hanged up. So, ſwearing and fuming in the church at Dr. Bricket the Rector, and calling him knave and heretic, he went to ſtrike at him, but the blow fell upon Sir Thomas Joſcelyn's ear, and almoſt ſtunned him (29).

[*O*] *He moſt inhumanly committed to the flames, and otherwiſe deſtroyed, hundreds of innocent perſons.*] The perſons whom he is recorded to have ſent to the flames, or to whoſe death he was otherwiſe acceſſary, were, in 1541, John Porter. In 1546, Anne Aſkew. In 1554, Laur. Saunders, at Coventry. In the beginning of 1555, John Rogers, and Biſhop Hooper. March 16, 26, he cauſed two to be burnt in Smithfield; and on the 26th one at Raleigh, and one at Horndon on the Hill; the 28th one at Braintree, and one at Maldon; the 29th one at Colcheſter, all in Eſſex. April 24, one at Weſtminſter. May 30, two in Smithfield. June 10, one at Rochford, one at Raleigh, one at Coggeſhall, one at Chelmsford. June 14, one at Colcheſter; the 15th, one at Manningtree, and one at Harwich, all in Eſſex. In July, John Bradford, and another, in Smithfield. July 22, one at Lewes; the 23d, one at Stenyng, and one at Chicheſter, all in Suſſex. Aug. 2, one at Bury; Aug. 8, two at Uxbridge; the 26th, one at St. Alban's; the 28th, one at Uxbridge; the 31ſt, one at Walden, and one at Stratford. And likewiſe, in the ſame month, one at Stratford, one at Ware, and one at Barnet. December 18, John Philpot. In 1556, January 27, ſeven in Smithfield. April 24, ſix in the ſame place; April 28, ſix at Colcheſter. May 25, two at Stratford; the 16th, four in Smithfield. June 6, four at Lewes in Suſſex; June 27, thirteen at Stratford. In 1557, March 6, five in Smithfield. Auguſt 2, five men and five women at Colcheſter. September 17, four at Iſlington. November 18, three in Smithfield. December 22, two in the ſame place. In 1558, March 28, three in Smithfield. May 26, three at Colcheſter. June 27, ſeven in Smithfield (30). July 14, ſix at Brentford, *&c.* (31). In a word, he is reported to have burnt no leſs than *two hundred* in three years (32), beſides many impriſoned by him for their religion, who died in different gaols; and others whom he whipped, or cauſed to be cruelly tortured.

(*a*) Foxe, p. 1310—1320. Newcourt, ex Reg. Bonner, p. 210, ſays it was October 1; but it appears from Foxe, that the ſentence was pronounced after that day.

(*b*) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 247.

(*c*) Regiſtr. Bonner. c. 764. Immediately after, he deprived all married Prieſts in his dioceſe of their livings, without ſtaying for the Queen's order. Life of Archbiſhop Cranmer, by J. Strype, fol. p. 328, 329.

(*d*) Foxe, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1426.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 1474.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 1475. Burnet, Part ii. p. 289, 290, 291.

(*g*) Nov. 29. Burnet, *ibid.* p. 276.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 274, and Collect.

(*i*) J. Foxe, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1768.

(*k*) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 320.

(*l*) J. Foxe, Vol. ii. Burnet, Part ii. Book ii.

(20) Foxe, as above, p. 1313.

(21) *Ibid.* p. 1312.

(22) *Ibid.* p. 1313.

(23) *Ibid.* p. 1325. 1328. 1330.

(24) *Ibid.* p. 1324—1326.

(25) *Ibid.* p. 1330.

(26) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, Part ii. p. 127; and Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. ii. p. 281.

(27) Page 1426.

(28) See Foxe, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1426.

(29) *Ibid.* p. 1474.

(30) When theſe were led out to be burnt, it was proclaimed in the Queen's name, that no man ſhould pray for them, or ſpeak to them, or ſay *God help them.* Burnet, as above, Part ii. p. 364.

(31) See J. Foxe, Vol. ii. throughout; and Burnet, as above, Part ii. Book ii.

(32) J. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. ii. p. 396; and J. Foxe, as above, p. 2043.

condemning and burning of Heretics wholly to him, who undertook it cheerfully (*m*). But, ſoon after, conſidering how odious was the employment, he complained that the execution of the laws was left entirely to him, while the reſt looked on. Therefore, when the Juſtices and Sheriffs ſent up Heretics to him, he ſent them back, and refuſed to meddle farther. Upon this the King and Queen wrote to him, on the 24th of May, admoniſhing him, that when perſons who leaned to any erroneous and heretical opinions were brought unto him, he ſhould endeavour to remove them from their errors, or elſe proceed againſt them according to the laws (*n*). On the 14th of February, 1555-6, he came to Oxford (with Thirlby, Biſhop of Ely) to degrade Archbiſhop Cranmer, whom he uſed with his wonted inſolence [*P*] (*o*). The 29th of December following, he was put into a commiſſion to ſearch and raze all regiſters and records containing profeſſions againſt the Pope, ſcrutinies taken in religious houſes, *&c.* (*p*). And, the 8th of February, 1556-7, he was alſo put in another very unuſual commiſſion, or kind of Inquiſition, for ſearching after, and puniſhing all Heretics; that is, all perſons that were of the Proteſtant religion (*q*). Upon Queen Elizabeth's acceſſion to the throne, he had the confidence to go and meet her at Highgate, with the reſt of the Biſhops; but ſhe looked on him as ſo much defiled with blood, that ſhe could not ſhew him any mark of her favour (*r*). For ſome months he remained unmoleſted (*s*); but being called before the Privy-Council on the 30th of May, 1559, he refuſed to take the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy then tendered to him (*t*): upon which account he was deprived a ſecond time of his Biſhopric, the 29th of June following (*u*), and committed to the Marſhalſea (*w*) [*Q*]. In purſuance of the ſtatute 5 Elizabeth, Chap. 1. the oath of ſupremacy being again tendered to him, he was, upon his refuſing to take it, indicted of a *Præmunire* [*R*], but found means to come off (*x*). After having lived in his confinement ſome years, in a cheerful condition [which made ſome compare him to Dionyſius the tyrant (*y*), that behaved better in adverſity than proſperity], he died there September 5, 1569 (*z*). Three days after, he was buried, at midnight, in St. George's church-yard in Southwark (*a*), attended with ſome of his Popiſh friends and relations; which was ordered to be done at that ſeaſon of the night, and in that obſcurity, to prevent any diſturbances that might have been made by the citizens, who hated him extremely for having been the death of ſo many of their paſtors, friends, and relations, if they ſhould have ſeen him in the day-time carried with pomp and ſhew to his burial, as many of his acquaintance had intended to do. He ſtood excommunicate many years, and took no care for his abſolution; and ſo might have been denied Chriſtian burial; but the Biſhop of London would not make uſe of that rigour (*b*). Such was the end of that bloody man, Biſhop Bonner. He was, with reſpect to his character, a violent, furious, and paſſionate man, addicted to ſwearing [*S*], and extremely cruel in his nature, as is but too manifeſt from his actions above related. He was generally looked upon as a perſon of no principles (*c*); but if ſo, it is a wonder he ſcrupled embracing the ſeveral alterations made in religion, in the reign of King Edward VI. He is likewiſe repreſented as an Atheiſt, and ſaid to have believed, that there is neither heaven nor hell, nor God or devil (*d*): and indeed his monſtrous behaviour renders ſuch an opinion but too probable; for who that believes a God would burn people for ſpeculative opinions? The Biſhop, in his manner and converſation, was bluſtering and vehement (*e*); but withal ſatirical, and ſometimes full of witty re-

[*P*] *Whom he uſed with his wonted inſolence.*] For, as he was degrading him, he inſulted over him in the following manner: 'This is the man who hath ever 'deſpiſed the Pope's Holineſs, and now is to be 'judged by him. This is the man who hath pulled 'down ſo many churches, and now is come to be 'judged in a church. This is the man that con'temned the bleſſed Sacrament of the altar, and now 'is come to be condemned afore that bleſſed Sacra'ment hanging over the altar. This is the man that 'like Lucifer ſate in the place of Chriſt upon an al'tar to judge others, and now is come before an altar 'to be judged himſelf (33).' This laſt ſentence alludes to the Archbiſhop's ſitting at Bonner's trial, on a ſcaffold erected for that purpoſe in St. Paul's church, and, it ſeems, over one of the ſide altars; but the Archbiſhop declares he knew it not.

[*Q*] *And committed to the Marſhalſea.*] It ſhewed, as Dr. Burnet obſerves (34), a great temper in the whole nation, that ſuch a man as Bonner had been, was ſuffered to go about in ſafety, and was not made a ſacrifice to the revenge of thoſe who had loſt their near friends by his means.—There were great complaints made againſt him, that he had in many things, in the proſecution of thoſe that were preſented for Hereſy, exceeded what the Law allowed; ſo that it was much deſired to have him made an example. But as the Queen was of her own nature merciful, ſo the reformed Divines had learned in the Goſpel, not to render evil for evil.

[*R*] *Indicted of a Præmunire.*] Of which the puniſhment is, to be out of the King's protection, forfeit lands and goods, and be impriſoned and ranſomed at the King's pleaſure; and if not to be found, outlawed (35). As he was going back from the place where the oath was tendered to him, to the Marſhalſea, one of the multitude that ſtood gazing at him, ſaid, 'The Lord confound, or elſe turn thy heart!' To whom he anſwered, 'The Lord ſend thee to keep 'thy breath to cool thy porridge.' To another ſaying, 'The Lord overthrow thee;' he ſaid, 'The 'Lord make thee as wiſe as a woodcock.' And in his lodgings afterwards, a miniſter endeavouring to perſuade him by many arguments to yield, and acknowledge the Queen's ſupremacy, he anſwered him tauntingly, 'By God, you are well learned.' To whom the miniſter ſaid, 'Where learned you, Mr. 'Bonner, to ſwear?'—'I pray you, ſaid he, did 'not Chriſt ſwear, *Amen, Amen, dico vobis*;' i. e. Verily, verily, I ſay unto you (36).

[*S*] *Addicted to ſwearing.*] See the note immediately before this. His uſual oaths were, By God, Before God, By St. Mary, By all the Saints, &c. (37). And in one of his letters he hath theſe ſhocking words:—'If amongſt you I have no puddings, then 'muſt I ſay, as Meſſer, our Prieſt of the Hoſpital, 'ſaid to his mad horſe, in our laſt journey from 'Hoſtia, *Al diavolo, al diavolo, al tutti diavoli*;' i. e. To the devil, to the devil, to all the devils. This he wrote from the Marſhalſea (38).

(*m*) Burnet, Part ii. Book ii. p. 304.

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 311. and Collect. B. ii. No. 20. p. 285. He was uſually called the common Cut-throat and general Slaughter ſlave to all the Biſhops of England. Foxe, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1842.

(*o*) Foxe, as above, p. 1881, 1882.

(*p*) Burnet, as above, p. 341; and Collect. of Records, B. ii. No. 28. p. 301.

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 347, and Collect. of Records, B. ii. No. 32. p. 311.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 374. She would not give him her hand to kiſs. Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, fol. p. 635.

(*s*) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 396.

(*t*) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra*, col. 160.

(*u*) Strype's Annals, as above, p. 141.

(*w*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.* Under a very eaſy reſtraint. See Biſhop Godwin, *ubi ſupra*, p. 251.

(*x*) Strype's Annals, as above, Vol. i. p. 378, &c. Dyer's Reports, fol. 237. Mich. 6 & 7 Eliz. plac. 15.

(*y*) Briſe View of the State of the Church of England, &c. by Sir John Harrington, 12*mo*, Lond. 1653, p. 16.

(*z*) J. Le Neve, Faſti, &c. as above, p. 180.

(*a*) It is more probable that it was there, as the Marſhalſea ſtands in St. George's pariſh, than that it ſhould be in Barkingchurch-yard, as Biſhop Godwin aſſerts, *De Præſulibus*, &c. edit. 1616, 4*to*, p. 251. *In loco humatus eſt latronum et ſicariorum ſepulturæ deſtinato, cœmeterio*, viz. Barkingenſi.

(*b*) Strype's Annals, *ubi ſupra*, p. 573.

(*c*) Burnet, Part. ii. p. 128.

(*d*) Foxe, p. 1843. Strype's Annals, *ut ſupra*, p 573.

(*e*) See Foxe throughout, and Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, Book ii. Part ii. of the Hiſt of the Reformation.

(33) Foxe, as above, p. 1882.

(34) *Ubi ſupra*, Part ii. p. 396.

(35) Statut. 16 Ric. II. c. 5.

(36) Strype's Annals, *ubi ſupra*, p. 378, 379.

(37) See Foxe, as above, p. 1191. 2014, and in many other places.

(38) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Part ii. Book i. Collect. Records, No. 37. p. 170.

partees [*T*]. As to his perſon, he was very fat and corpulent [*U*]; which made one ſay to him, that he was full of guts, but empty of bowels *(f)*. He was a great maſter of the Canon Law, being excelled in that faculty by very few in his time, and alſo was well ſkilled in Politics *(g)*; but he underſtood little of Divinity *(h)*. Accordingly, he made no figure in the learned world. However, ſeveral things were publiſhed under his name, which are mentioned below in the note [*W*]. One ſervice he did to his Biſhopric, in that, through his great intereſt with Queen Mary I., he obtained from her ſeveral Manors and Advowſons to be united to the See of London [*X*].

[*T*] *And ſometimes full of witty repartees.*] For inſtance; after his deprivation, as he was once walking with his tippet in the ſtreet, one begged it of him, in ſcoff, to line a coat: ‘ No (ſaith he), but thou ſhalt have a fool's head to line thy cap.’ To another that bade him ‘ Good-morrow, Biſhop (*) *quondam*,’ he ſtraight replied, ‘ Farewel, Knave *ſemper* †.’ And one ſhewing him his own picture in the Book of Martyrs, in the firſt edition, on purpoſe to vex him, he laughed at it, ſaying, ‘ A vengeance on the fool, how could he get my picture drawn ſo right?’ And when one aſked him, ‘ If he were not aſhamed to whip a man with a beard?’ he laughed, and told him, ‘ His beard was grown ſince; but (ſaith he) if thou hadſt been in his caſe, thou wouldſt have thought it a good commutation of penance to have thy bum beaten, to ſave thy body from burning (39).’

[*U He was very fat and corpulent.*] Upon which account the following Epigram was made upon him (40).

Quæ nova forma viri, quid virga, quid ora, quid alvus,
Pondera quid ventris craſſitiéſque velit?
Corpus amaxæum, diſtento abdomine pigrum
Rides annes ſtupes, lector amice, magis?
Vaſta quid iſta velint, ſi neſcis, pondera, dicam;
Nam nihil hic mirum venter obeſus habet.
Carnibus humanis & ſanguine veſtitur atro,
Ducentos annis hauſerat ille tribus.
Ergo quid hoc monſtri eſt, recto vis nomine dicam?
Nomen nec patris, nec gerit ille matris.
Qui patre Savago natus, falſoque Bonerus
Dicitur: hunc melius dixeris Orbilium.

The ſenſe of which, in two words, is, that the reaſon of his being ſo fat was, becauſe he ſo voraciouſly fed upon human fleſh and blood; and that he devoured two hundred perſons in three years, *&c.*

[*W*] *Several things were publiſhed under his name, which are mentioned*, &c.] Being as follows. I. Preface to the Oration of Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, concerning True Obedience. Printed at London, in Latin, 1534, 1535, and at Hamburgh in 1536, 8vo. Tranſlated into Engliſh by Michael Wood, a zealous Proteſtant, with a bitter Preface to the Reader, and a Poſtſcript. Roan, 1553, 8vo. It is alſo inſerted in J. Foxe's Book of Martyrs (41). In that Preface, Bonner ſpeaks much in favour of King Henry VIIIth's marriage with Anne Boleyn, and againſt the Tyranny exerciſed by the Biſhop of Rome in this kingdom. II. Several letters to the Lord Cromwell (42). III. A Declaration to the Lord Cromwell, deſcribing to him the evil behaviour of Steven [Biſhop of] Wincheſter, with ſpecial cauſes therein contained, wherefore, and why he miſliked of him (43). IV. Letter of his about the Proceedings at Rome, concerning the King's Divorce from Catherine of Arragon (44). V. An Admonition and Advertiſement given by the Biſhop of London to all Readers of the Bible in the Engliſh Tongue, 1540 (45). VI. Injunctions given by Bonner, Biſhop of London, to his Clergy [about preaching], with the names of Books prohibited, 1542 (46). VII. Letter to Mr. Lechmore (47). VIII. *Reſponſum & Exhortatio*. Lond. 1553, 8vo; *i. e.* Anſwer and Exhortation to the Clergy in praiſe of Prieſthood; ſpoken by our author in St. Paul's Cathedral. London, 16 October, 1553, after a Sermon preached there before the Clergy, by John Harpesfield (48). IX. A Letter to Mr. Lechmore, 6 Sept. 1553 (49). X. ‘ Articles to be enquired of in the general Viſitation of Edmund Biſhop of London, exerciſed by him in the year 1554, in the City and Dioceſe of London, &c. (50).’ To ridicule them, John Bale, Biſhop of Oſſory, wrote a book, intituled, ‘ A Declaration of Edmonde Bonner's Articles, concerning the Cleargye of London Dyoceſe, whereby that execrable Anty-Chryſte is in his righte Colours reveled.’ 1554 and 1561, 8vo. XI. A profitable and neceſſary Doctrine, containing an Expoſition on the Creed, Seven Sacraments, Ten Commandments, the Pater-noſter, Ave-Maria, and the Seven Sacraments; with certain Homilies adjoining thereunto, for the inſtruction and information of the Dioceſe of London. Lond. 1554, 1555, 4to. This book was drawn up by his Chaplains, John Harpesfield and Henry Pendleton; and the former part of it, which is a Catechiſm, is moſtly taken out of the *Inſtitution of a Criſten Man*, ſet out by King Henry VIII., only varied in ſome points (51). XII. Several Letters, Declarations, Arguings, Diſputes, &c. of his, are extant in J. Foxe's Book of Martyrs, Vol. laſt. XIII. His Objections againſt the Proceſſe of Robert Horne, Biſhop of Wincheſter, who had tendered the Oath of Supremacy to him the ſecond time, are preſerved by Mr. Strype, in his Annals of the Reformation (52); as is likewiſe a Letter of his concerning King Henry VIIIth's appeal to the Pope, by Biſhop Burnet (53). But, upon the whole, it appears, how falſe and ill-grounded is the great character given [of ſome of the Popiſh Biſhops, and] of *him* in particular, by Sanders; that they were ‘ all men excellent for their Learning and Gravity.’ — *Omnes doctrina & gravitate præſtantes viri* — (54).

[*X*] *Through his great intereſt with Queen Mary I., he obtained from her ſeveral Manors and Advowſons to be united to the See of London.*] Namely theſe following: St. Alphage, St. Anne Alderſgate, St. Clement Eaſtcheap, St. James Garlickhithe, St. Catherine Coleman, St. Magnus, St. Martin's Ludgate, St. Martin's in the Fields, St. Matthew Friday-ſtreet, in London and Weſtminſter; Hanwell in Middleſex; Aſhwell and Sabridgeworth in Hertfordſhire; Creſhall, Fering, Patſwick, Packleſham, Tay Parva, and Wennington, in Eſſex. They were granted to him and his ſucceſſors by Letters-patent, dated the 3d of March, 1553 (55). M.

⁎ [No one will ſuſpect us of being favourable to Bonner, whoſe character, conduct, and memory, are to the laſt degree deteſtable, if we make a remark on the unreaſonableneſs of the firſt of the articles (in note *I*) upon which he was enjoined to preach at St. Paul's Croſs, in King Edward the Sixth's reign. He was to maintain, that the rebels in Devonſhire, Cornwall, Norfolk, or elſewhere, who had taken upon them to aſſemble a power and force againſt their King and Prince, againſt the laws and ſtatutes of the realm, and went about to ſubvert the ſtate and order of the commonwealth, not only deſerved death, as traitors, *but accumulated to themſelves eternal damnation, even to be in the burning fire of hell, with Lucifer, the father and firſt author of pride, diſobedience, and rebellion.* But, though, the conduct of theſe inſurgents was highly criminal, we may rationally ſuppoſe that there were many deluded people among them, who were more weak than wicked; and who, conſequently, did not deſerve the puniſhment of *eternal damnation.* There was, likewiſe, ſomething very ſevere in thus obliging a man publicly to denounce damnation on thoſe who were known to be of the ſame religious opinions with himſelf. Bonner's diſobedience to government might have been puniſhed, without compelling him to preach a doctrine which, according to *his* principles, he muſt have abhorred. It is not improbable but that this ſeverity of treatment might add farther bitterneſs to his ferocious and brutal mind, in his ſubſequent conduct towards the Proteſtants. In that period, liberty of conſcience was on no ſide well underſtood.

The incident mentioned in the note [*S*], ſhews that Bonner was at leaſt once in Italy]. K.

⁎ [BOOTH

(f) i. e. Compaſſion. Foxe, *ubi ſupra*, and Fuller's Hiſt. of Waltham Abbey, p. 18.

(g) Dr. Heylyn's Hiſt. of the Reformation.

(h) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 128.

(*) Sometime, or formerly.

(†) Always.

(39) Harrington, *ubi ſupra*.

(40) Alluding to the picture of him in Foxe, when whipping Thomas Hinſhaw, p. 2043. After his deprivation, every ill-favoured fat fellow that went in the ſtreet was called *Bonner*. Harrington, *ubi ſupra*, p. 16.

(41) Edit. as above, p. 1060.

(42) *Ibid.* p. 1088, 1089.

(43) *Ibid.* p. 1090.

(44) Burnet, as above, Part i. Collect. p. 111.

(45) *Ibid.* p. 251.

(46) *Ibid.* p. 252, &c.

(47) *Ibid.* P. ii. Collect. p. 170.

(48) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra*. See alſo above note [*M*].

(49) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, Part ii. Collect. p. 248.

(50) *Ibid.* p. 260, &c. and Part iii. Collect. p. 148.

(51) Wood, *ubi ſupra*; and Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. ii. p. 382, 383.

(52) Vol. i. p. 379, &c.

(53) Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. iii. Collect. p. 37.

(54) De Schiſm. Anglic. edit. Col. 1631, 8vo, Agrip. p. 248.

(55) See Newcourt's Repertorium Eccleſ. &c. under thoſe reſpective pariſhes.

⁂ [BOOTH (Henry), Earl of Warrington, and Baron Delamer of Dunham Maſſey, an upright Senator and diſtinguiſhed Patriot, was born on the 13th of January, 1651 (*a*). He was the ſecond ſon of George Lord Delamer, who was deſcended from a family of great antiquity [*A*]. His mother was the Lady Elizabeth Grey, eldeſt daughter

[*A*] *Deſcended from a family of great antiquity.*] Mr. Collins ſays, that ‘ the family of Booth is undoubtedly of great antiquity in the counties palatine of Lancaſter and Cheſter, where their conſtant reſidence has been, with great repute and honourable note, through a ſucceſſion of many generations; and from whom, as from one principal ſtock, all other families of this name, in other parts of the nation, are eſteemed to be, by younger branches, deſcended. Various are the traditions touching the original ſtem of this family, which, like moſt others of ſuch long ſtanding, is ſo ingulfed in the obſcurity of all-devouring time, that no other light than conjecture is now to be had thereof: the moſt probable is, that their beginning was at a certain place called the Booths, in the county of Lancaſter, where being ſeated, they were thence ſo ſurnamed, as the manner of thoſe ages was, to ſtile men from the places where they lived (1).’

Among the anceſtors of Lord Delamer were Sir Robert Booth, and William his ſon, to whom a grant was made, by King Henry VI. by patent, of the office of ſheriff of Cheſhire, for both their lives, and to the ſurvivor of them (2). Sir Robert had a numerous iſſue, and one of his ſons, John Booth, LL.D. was Warden of Mancheſter-college, and Biſhop of Exeter, in the reign of Edward the Fourth (3). From Sir William was deſcended George Booth, Eſq; who lived in the reign of Henry VIII., and who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Butler, of Beauſey, near Warrington, in Lancaſhire, whoſe progenitors had been ſummoned to parliament among the Peers of England, in the reigns of Edward the Firſt and Second. This George Booth was ſucceeded in his eſtate, in the ſame reign, by his eldeſt ſon, of the ſame name, to whom, when he was in the twenty-ſecond year of his age, Queen Jane Seymour commanded a letter to be written, acquainting him with the birth of her ſon, afterwards King Edward VI., bearing date at Hampton-Court, the very day of her delivery. The letter was as follows:

‘ By the Queene.

‘ TRUSTY and welbiloved, we grete youe well. And for aſmuche as by the ineſtimable goodnes and grace of Almighty God, we be delivered and brought in childbed of a Prince, conceyved in moſt lawful matrimonie between my Lord the King's Majeſtye and us, doubting not but that for the love and affection which ye beare unto us, and to the commyn wealth of this realme, the knowledge thereof ſhuld be joyous and good tydings unto youe, we have thought good to certiffie to you of the ſame, to th'intent ye might not only rendre unto God condigne thanks and praiſe for ſoo great a benefit, but alſo pray for the long continuance and preſervation of the ſame here in this lief, to the honor of God, joye and pleaſor of my Lord the King, and us, and the univerſall weale, quiet, and tranquillyty of this hole realme. Yevyn under our ſignet, at my Lord's manor of Hamptoncort, the xii day of October.

‘ To our truſty and welbiloved,
‘ George Both, Eſq. (4).’

To this George Booth, Eſq; a letter was alſo written by King Henry VIII., which may be ſeen in Collins's Peerage (5), directing him to levy troops to ſerve in the war againſt the Scots. He left a ſon, William Booth, who was knighted in 1578; but he died the following year, leaving a ſon, George Booth, who, on account of his minority at the death of his father, was in ward to the crown, and his eſtate being of conſiderable value, was by Queen Elizabeth granted to her favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leiceſter, to the great detriment and expence of the ſaid George Booth, in obtaining afterwards livery of his lands. He was knighted towards the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and created a Baronet by patent in 1611, being the tenth of thoſe who received that order at its firſt inſtitution (6). He was twice ſheriff of Cheſhire, and as often of Lancaſhire, lived with great hoſpitality, and died at the age of eighty-ſix, in 1652. His eldeſt ſon, William Booth, Eſq; was made Cuſtos Rotulorum for the county of Cheſter in the 19th year of the reign of James the Firſt; and this office from that time, excepting with ſome intermiſſion in the latter end of the reign of Charles the Second, and during the reign of James the Second, continued in this family till the year 1693 (7).

The laſt-mentioned gentleman left a ſon, who, on the death of his grandfather, became Sir George Booth, Bart. and who was the father of the ſubject of this article. He rendered himſelf remarkable by heading an inſurrection in Cheſhire, about a year after the death of Oliver Cromwell. He received a commiſſion from King Charles II. under his ſignet and ſign-manual, bearing date July 22, 1659, whereby he was conſtituted commander in chief of all forces to be raiſed for his Majeſty's ſervice in Cheſhire, Lancaſhire, and North Wales. A duplicate of this was dated at Bruſſels, Aug. 9, the ſame year (8). It ſeems that Sir George did not openly profeſs to act by the King's authority, or with a view to his reſtoration, but only in oppoſition to the tyranny of the parliament (9). He aſſembled about four thouſand men, took poſſeſſion of Cheſter, and was joined by the Earl of Derby, Sir Thomas Middleton, and Major Brook (10). But the parliamentary forces purſued Sir George and his adherents ſo cloſely, that they could not avoid coming to an action; and, after a ſharp conteſt, on the 19th of Auguſt, 1659, Lambert totally routed Sir George Booth's troops, purſued them a conſiderable way, and killed and took many of them (11). Ludlow informs us, that ‘ Sir George Booth, after his defeat, put himſelf into a woman's habit, and with two ſervants hoped to eſcape to London, riding behind one of them. The ſingle horſeman going before, went to an inn on the road; and, as he had been ordered, beſpoke a ſupper for his miſtreſs, who, he ſaid, was coming after. The pretended miſtreſs being arrived, either by alighting from the horſe, or ſome other action, raiſed a ſuſpicion in the maſter of the houſe, that there was ſome myſtery under that dreſs. And thereupon reſolving to make a full inquiry into the matter, he got together ſome of his neighbours to aſſiſt him, and with them entered the room where the pretended lady was. But Sir George Booth ſuſpecting their intentions, and being unwilling to put them to the trouble of a farther ſearch, diſcovered himſelf. Whereupon they took him into their cuſtody, and ſent him up to London, where the Parliament committed him priſoner to the Tower (12).’ Whitelock ſays, he ‘ rode in the habit of a woman; but acting that part not well, he was ſuſpected (13).’ We learn alſo from the ſame author, that Sir George made applications to many of the Parliament and Council, by his friends, for favour; that he was examined by Hazelrig and Vane, who referred his examination to the Council of State; and that applications were made from the Lord Say, and others, to ſave his life (14).

He was afterwards ſet at liberty, upon giving bail (15); and being Member of Parliament for Cheſter, he was the firſt of the twelve Members ſent by the Houſe of Commons, in May 1660, to carry to King Charles II. the anſwer of that Houſe to his Majeſty's letter, as appears by the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, May 7, 1660. And on the 13th of July following, the Houſe of Commons ordered, that the ſum of ten thouſand pounds ſhould be conferred on him, as a mark of reſpect for his eminent ſervices, and great ſufferings for the public. In this reſolution the Lords afterwards concurred. It appears, that the firſt motion was for twenty thouſand pounds, which the Houſe of Commons was about to agree to, had not Sir George Booth himſelf, in his place, requeſted of the Houſe, that it might be no more than ten; declaring, that what he had

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(*a*) Kimber and Johnſon's Baronetage of England, Vol. i. p. (35).

(1) Peerage of England, Vol iii. p. 126.

(2) Kimber and Johnſon's Baronetage of England, Vol. i. p. (23).

(3) Kimber, *ubi ſupra.*

(4) Kimber's Baronetage, Vol. iii. p. 412. Collins's Peerage, Vol. ii. p. 134, 135.

(5) Vol. iii. p. 135, 136.

(6) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 137.

(7) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 138.

(8) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 139, 140.

(9) *Vid.* Rapin's Hiſt. of England, Vol. xi. p. 144; and Whitelock's Memorials, p. 682.

(10) Rapin and Whitelock, *ubi ſupra.*

(11) Whitelock, p. 682.

(12) Memoirs, Vol. ii. p. 694.

(13) Memorials, p. 683.

(14) *Id. ibid.*

(15) Whitelock, p. 696.

daughter of Henry, Earl of Stamford (*b*). In the lifetime of his father, he was Cuſtos Rotulorum for the county palatine of Cheſter, and alſo knight of the ſhire for that county, in ſeveral parliaments during the reign of King Charles the Second (*c*). He very early rendered himſelf conſpicuous by his zeal for the Proteſtant religion, and the liberties of his country. When the bill for excluding the Duke of York from the throne was brought into parliament, Mr. Booth was very active in the promotion of it (*d*) [*B*]. He alſo made a ſpirited ſpeech in ſupport of the neceſſity of frequent parliaments, and againſt governing by favourites [*C*]; and he oppoſed, with a becoming ſpirit, the unjuſt and arbitrary power aſſumed by the Privy-Council, of impriſoning men contrary to law. He enumerated the ſtatutes made for the ſecurity of the liberty of the ſubject, and ſhewed how they had been violated and evaded (*e*).

As he was ſolicitous for frequent parliaments, ſo he was alſo anxious that they ſhould be preſerved incorrupt. He was, therefore, deſirous of procuring an act for the pu-

had done was purely with intention of ſerving his King and country, as became him in duty to do, without view of any reward. After the Reſtoration, his ſervices were alſo conſidered as ſo meritorious, that the King gave him liberty to propoſe ſix gentlemen to receive the honour of Knighthood, and two others to have the dignity of Baronet conferred on them. He was alſo himſelf created Baron Delamer of Dunham-Maſſey; and on the 30th of July, 1660, he was appointed Cuſtos Rotulorum for the county of Cheſhire, and ſo continued till the 30th of May, 1673, when he reſigned it to Henry, his ſon and heir (16). 'After this,' ſays Mr. Collins, 'he not 'being ſtudious to pleaſe the court in thoſe mea'ſures, which were taken in ſome parts of that reign, 'both he and his family were ſoon afterwards diſre'garded by the King, and ill uſed by his ſucceſſor 'King James the Second (17).' His Lordſhip died at Dunham-Maſſey, in the 63d year of his age, on the 8th of Auguſt, 1684, and was buried in a very ſplendid manner at Bowdon, in the burial-vault of the family, on the 9th of September following. He was twice married: his firſt wife was the Lady Catharine Clinton, daughter and co-heir to Theophilus Earl of Lincoln, who died in child-bed in 1643, by whom he had iſſue one daughter, Vere, who died unmarried at Canonbury-houſe, in 1717, in the ſeventy-fourth year of her age, and was buried in Iſlington church. His ſecond wife was the Lady Elizabeth Grey, eldeſt daughter of Henry, Earl of Stamford, by whom he had iſſue ſeven ſons and five daughters. His eldeſt ſon, William, died young; ſo that he was ſucceeded in his honours and eſtate by his ſecond ſon, Henry (18), who is the ſubject of this article.

Farther particulars concerning this family may be found in Collins's Peerage, Vol. iii. p. 126–152, 3d edit.; and in Kimber's Baronetage, Vol. i. and iii.

[*B*] *The bill for excluding the Duke of York from the throne.*] In his ſpeech in ſupport of this bill, he ſaid, 'The law has prohibited all Papiſts from having any 'office, civil or military, becauſe their principles are 'inconſiſtent with the government; and then how 'prepoſterous would it be to make him the head of 'the church, and the preſerver of our laws and li'berties, whoſe religion obliges him to ruin and de'ſtroy both? So that if the Duke had not by his 'practices given us juſt cauſe to except againſt him, 'yet barely as a Papiſt he ought to be excluded.'— 'It is a ſenſeleſs thing to imagine, that he will not 'diſturb us in our religion and laws, ſeeing whilſt 'he is a ſubject, he is practiſing to deſtroy us and 'them. Therefore, for my part, I think we betray 'both our religion and laws, if we do not paſs this 'bill.

'There is one opinion which prevails much in the 'world, which, as it is falſe, ſo it does a great deal 'of hurt; and that is this: That every government 'in the world was conſtituted by God himſelf. But 'that cannot be ſo; for it would follow, that God 'is unjuſt, which he cannot be. There neither is 'nor was any government of that ſort, but only that 'of the Jews: the reſt of the world were left to 'themſelves, to frame ſuch a government as ſuited 'beſt to their inclinations, and to make ſuch rules 'and laws as they could beſt obey and be governed 'by (19).'

He alſo urged other arguments to prove, 'that 'the next of blood has not ſo abſolute an inherent 'right to the crown, but that he may, for the good 'of the nation, be ſet aſide.' And he likewiſe obſerved, that 'the next of blood may be incapable of 'governing in ſeveral reſpects; ſuppoſe a fool, or 'lunatic; by his principles, if he aim at arbitrary 'power; by his religion, if he be a Papiſt, or a 'Heathen; or his practices before he comes to the 'crown, to deſtroy the religion and government by 'law eſtabliſhed (20).'

Towards the cloſe of his ſpeech is a paſſage, in which he appears to glance at the debauchery and immorality, which were ſo manifeſt in King Charles the Second's own conduct. 'If Kings,' ſays he, 'were good men, an abſolute monarchy were the 'beſt government; but we ſee that they are ſubject 'to the ſame infirmities with other men, and there'fore it is neceſſary to bound their power: and by 'reaſon that they are fleſh and blood, and the na'tion is ſo apt to be bad by their example, I believe 'was that wherefore God was averſe to let the Jews 'have a King. 'Till they had Kings, they never 'revolted ſo wholly from him: when their Kings 'were good, they were obedient to him; but when 'they were idolatrous, then the people went mad of 'idols. I hope it is no *regis ad exemplum* that makes 'our nation ſo lewd and wicked at this day (21).'

He appears to have ſpoken ſeveral times in ſupport of this bill (22); and Mr. Collins obſerves, that on account of his zeal in promoting the bill of excluſion, 'that great and good man the Lord Ruſſel, the 'morning of his going to be executed, ſent him a 'very kind meſſage of his reſpects for him (23).'

[*C*] *The neceſſity of frequent parliaments, and againſt governing by favourites.*] In his ſpeech on this ſubject, he ſays, 'A King of England at the head of his 'parliament is in his full ſtrength and power, and 'in his greateſt ſplendour and glory. It is then that 'he can do great things, and without a parliament 'he is not very formidable. Therefore, when Kings 'leave off the uſe of parliaments, and rely upon the 'advice of particular favourites, they forſake their 'chiefeſt intereſt, they lay aſide the ſtaff that ſup'ports them, to lean upon a broken reed that will 'run into their hands; and this is proved by the 'example of former Kings (24).'——'Kings only 'then grow out of conceit with parliaments, when 'their favourites are *ſo* overgrown, and their actions 'ſo exorbitant, that they will not endure to be ſcan'ned by a parliament: and therefore, to ſave them'ſelves, they perſuade the King to keep off the par'liament, though it be to his great hurt: For the 'laſt trump at the day of judgment will not be more 'terrible to the world, than the ſound of an ap'proaching parliament is to unjuſt miniſters and fa'vourites.'

'There is no man but very plainly ſees, that there 'are people about his Majeſty who adviſe him to 'ſhake off the fetters of the laws, and to govern ar'bitrarily; and I wiſh that their advice have not 'prevailed for the moſt part: yet I think his Maje'ſty's inclinations do not bend that way; for he 'ſeems to love quiet and eaſe, which no Prince can 'have that rules by an army. Therefore, before 'we can expect that his Majeſty will come in to us, 'theſe people of arbitrary principles muſt be removed 'from his throne.'——'Though I hope no man 'here will lift up his hand againſt his Majeſty, yet 'we may oppoſe any man that does ſeek to invade 'our properties. And for my own part, I will piſ'tol any ſubject, be he the greateſt in England, that 'ſhall endeavour to deprive me of my juſt right '(25).'

(*b*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. iii. p. 143.

(*c*) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 145.

(*d*) *Id. ibid.*

(*e*) Chandler's Debates, Vol. ii. p. 140, 141, 142, 143. Lord Delamer's Works, p. 100, &c.

(16) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 142, 143.

(17) *Id. ibid.*

(18) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 144.

(19) Works of Lord Delamer, 8*vo*, 1694, p. 96, 97. Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, publiſhed by Chandler, Vol. ii. p. 138, 139.

(20) Works of Lord Delamer, p. 98. Chandler's Debates, Vol. ii. p. 139.

(21) Works of Lord Delamer, and Chandler's Debates, *ut ſupra.*

(22) *Vid.* Chandler's Debates, Vol. i. p. 407. Vol. ii. p. 137, 138, &c.

(23) Peerage, Vol. iii. p. 145.

(24) Chandler's Debates, *ubi ſupra*, p. 151; and Delamer's Works, p. 121.

(25) Chandler, *ubi ſupra*, p. 153. 155; and Delamer's Works, p. 124, 125. 127, 128.

niſhment of thoſe who had received bribes from the court, as members of that parliament which was ſtiled the Penſion-Parliament [*D*]. And in a ſpeech made by him on this ſubject, he ſaid, ‘ Breach of truſt is accounted the moſt infamous thing in the ‘ world, and this theſe men have been guilty of to the higheſt degree. Robbery and ‘ ſtealing our law puniſhes with death; and what deſerve they, who beggar and take ‘ away all that the nation has, under the pretence of diſpoſing of the people's money ‘ for the honour and good of the King and kingdom (*f*)?’ He propoſed, that a bill ſhould be brought in, by which theſe proſtituted ſenators [*E*] ſhould be rendered incapable of ſerving in parliament for the future, or of enjoying any office, civil or military; and that they ſhould be obliged, as far as they were able, to refund all the money they had received for ſecret ſervices to the Crown. ‘ Our law,’ ſaid he, ‘ will ‘ not allow a thief to keep what he has got by ſtealth, but of courſe orders reſtitution; ‘ and ſhall theſe proud robbers of the nation not reſtore their ill-gotten goods (*g*)?’

(*f*) Chandler's Debates, Vol. ii. p. 149. Lord Delamer's Works, p. 116.

(*g*) Chandler's Debates, and Delamer's Works, *ut ſupra*.

He made likewiſe a ſpeech in parliament againſt the corruption of the Judges, in which he affirmed, that, in a variety of caſes, they had ſold, denied, or delayed juſtice. ‘ Our Judges,’ ſaid he, ‘ have been very corrupt and lordly, taking bribes, and ‘ threatening juries and evidence; perverting the law to the higheſt degree, turning ‘ the law upſide down, that arbitrary power may come in upon their ſhoulders (*h*).’ He, therefore, recommended, that an inquiry ſhould be made into their conduct, and that ſuch of them as were found guilty might receive the puniſhment they merited (*i*).

(*h*) Chandler, *ubi ſupra*, p. 162. Delamer's Works, p. 141, &c.

(*i*) Chandler and Delamer, *ut ſupra*.

Mr. Booth was alſo extremely zealous againſt the Papiſts [*F*]; and this circumſtance, together with the vigorous oppoſition that he made in parliament to the arbitrary meaſures of the court, occaſioned him to be put out of the commiſſion of the peace, and removed from the office of Cuſtos Rotulorum of the county of Cheſter (*k*). In 1684, by the death of his father, he became Lord Delamer; but about this time he was committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower of London (*l*). The pretence probably was, that he was ſuſpected of being concerned in ſome practices againſt the Crown; but we have met with no particular account of the accuſation againſt him: and as no parliament was then ſitting, it may be preſumed, that leſs attention was paid to any illegality in the proceedings reſpecting him. He was, however, ſet at liberty, after a few months impriſonment (*m*). But ſoon after the acceſſion of King James II. he was again committed priſoner to the Tower. After being confined for ſome time, he was admitted to bail; but was ſhortly after, a third time committed to the Tower (*n*). This was on the 26th of July, 1685; and a parliament being aſſembled in the November following, on the firſt day of the ſeſſion he ſtated his caſe in a petition to the Houſe of Peers. He repreſented to their Lordſhips, that the King, by his proclamation, had required him to appear before him in council within ten days. He had accordingly ſurrendered himſelf to Lord Sunderland, then principal ſecretary of ſtate; and being brought before his Majeſty, then ſitting in council, he was neither confronted by any perſon who accuſed him, nor otherwiſe charged with any kind of treaſon, but only queſtioned about ſome inferior matters, and which were of ſuch a nature, that, if he had been really guilty of them, he ought by law to have been admitted to bail: notwithſtanding which, he had been committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower, by a warrant from the Secretary of State, in which he was charged with high treaſon. After ſome debate, it was reſolved, that the Lords with white ſtaves ſhould wait upon his Majeſty, ‘ to know the reaſon why the Lord Delamer, a member of their houſe, was abſent from ‘ his attendance there.’ The day following, the Earl of Rocheſter, Lord Treaſurer, reported to the Houſe, ‘ That he, with the other Lords, having waited on his Majeſty ‘ with their meſſage, his Majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer, That the Lord Delamer ſtood ‘ committed for high-treaſon, teſtified upon oath; and that his Majeſty had already ‘ given directions, that he ſhould be proceeded againſt according to law (*o*).’

(*k*) Lord Delamer's Works, p. 130, 131.

(*l*) Collins's Peerage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 145. Kimber's Baronetage, Vol. i. p. (35).

(*m*) Collins and Kimber, *ut ſupra*.

(*n*) Collins and Kimber, *ut ſupra*.

(*o*) Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords from the Reſtoration, 8*vo*, 1742, Vol. i. p. 316, 317.

After the parliament was broken up, Lord Delamer was brought to his trial, before a ſelect number of the Peers, on the 14th of January, 1685-6. The Peers who tried him were, the Dukes of Norfolk, Somerſet, Beaufort, and Grafton; the Earls of Rocheſter, Sunderland, Mulgrave, Oxford, Shrewſbury, Huntingdon, Pembroke, Bridgwater, Peterborough, Scarſdale, Craven, Feverſham, Berkeley, Nottingham, and Plymouth; the Viſcounts Falconberg and Newport; and the Lords Ferrers, Cromwell, Maynard, Dartmouth, Godolphin, and Churchill (*p*). Jefferies, then Lord Chancel-

(*p*) State Trials, Vol. iv. p. 210, 211.

[*D*] *Thoſe who had received bribes from the court, &c.*] An inquiry was ſet on foot relative to this ſubject in 1679, when ſeveral members were convicted of having received bribes from the King, ſome of them annual penſions, and others particular ſums at different times, which ſeem to have been paid them for occaſional ſervices (26). But the parliament was prevented from properly proſecuting this buſineſs by a ſudden prorogation (27).

(26) Rapin's Hiſtory of England, Vol. xi. p. 544, edit. 8*vo*, 1757.

(27) Lord Delamer's Works, p. 115.

[*E*] *Proſtituted ſenators.*] After ſhewing, in ſeveral lights, the miſchiefs which were brought upon the nation by the conduct of theſe corrupt members of parliament, he obſerves, that, ‘ notwithſtanding this, ‘ theſe gentlemen had the face to ſtile themſelves the ‘ King's friends, and all thoſe who oppoſed their ‘ practices were factious and ſeditious (28).’

(28) Delamer's Works, p. 117.

[*F*] *Extremely zealous againſt the Papiſts.*] It appears from ſeveral paſſages in his works (29), that his zeal againſt the Papiſts was carried to too great a height: but he conſidered their principles as inconſiſtent with the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion, and a free conſtitution. And, indeed, in that age, enlarged ſentiments of toleration were very uncommon; not to mention, that, from various cauſes, which might be enlarged upon, the Papiſts were then much more formidable than they are at preſent.

(29) P. 130. 134, 135.

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lor, was appointed Lord High Steward on the occaſion. He was known to be a perſonal enemy of Lord Delamer, who had arraigned in parliament the conduct of Jefferies as Chief Juſtice of Cheſter (q).

(q) Delamer's Works, p. 143. Chandler's Debates, Vol. ii. p. 163.

Lord Delamer, after the indictment againſt him was read, objected againſt the juriſdiction of the court; alleging, that he ought not to be tried by a ſelect number of the Peers, but by the whole body of the Houſe of Peers in parliament, becauſe the parliament was then only under a prorogation, and not diſſolved. But his plea was overruled (r). In Jefferies's charge to the Peers, previous to the opening of the evidence againſt Lord Delamer, he threw out ſome hints relative to the ſhare his Lordſhip had in promoting the bill of excluſion [*G*], and introduced an eulogium on the conduct of King James the Second [*H*]. The only poſitive evidence againſt Lord Delamer was one Thomas Saxon, a man of a very bad character, and who in the courſe of the trial was proved to be perjured. Jefferies maintained, that there was no neceſſity, in point of law, that there ſhould be two poſitive witneſſes to convict a man of treaſon; and that where there was only one poſitive witneſs, additional circumſtances might ſupply the place of a ſecond (s). Lord Delamer made a very able defence; and by the Lords who were appointed to try him he was unanimouſly acquitted (t).

(r) State Trials, *ubi ſupra*, p. 212—215.

(s) State Trials, *ubi ſupra*, p. 242.

(t) *Id. ibid.*

After this he lived for ſome time, in a retired manner, at his ſeat at Dunham-Maſſey; but matters being at length ripe for the Revolution, he exerted himſelf in the promotion of that great event [*I*]. Upon the Prince of Orange's landing, he raiſed, in a very few days, a great force in Cheſhire and Lancaſhire [*K*], with which he marched to join that Prince (u). On his firſt appearance in arms, beſides aſſigning other reaſons for his conduct, he is ſaid to have made this declaration: 'I am of opinion, that when 'the nation is delivered, it muſt be by force, or miracle: it would be a great pre'ſumption to expect the latter; and, therefore, our deliverance muſt be by force; 'and I hope this is the time for it (w).' On his march he received a letter from the Prince of Orange, which will be found in the notes [*L*]. After he had joined the Prince, he was ſent by his Highneſs, together with the Marquis of Halifax, and the Earl of Shrewſbury, on the 17th of December, 1688, with a meſſage to King James, intimating to him, that he muſt remove from Whitehall. Lord Delamer, though little attached to that Prince in his proſperity, was too generous to inſult him in his diſtreſs; and, therefore, on this occaſion treated him with reſpect. And James was ſo ſenſible of this inſtance of his Lordſhip's civility to him, that, after his retirement into France, he ſaid, that 'the Lord Delamer, whom he had uſed ill, had then treated 'him with much more regard [*M*] than the other two Lords, to whom he had been 'kind, and from whom he might better have expected it (x).'

(u) Collins's Peerage, Vol. iii. p. 146. Kimber's Baronetage, Vol. i. p. (36).

(w) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 146.

(x) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 147.

[*G*] *Some hints relative to the ſhare his Lordſhip had in promoting the bill of excluſion.*] 'My Lords,' ſaid Jefferies, 'I know you cannot but well remember, 'what unjuſt and inſolent attempts were made upon 'the *rightful* and *unalterable ſucceſſion* to the imperial 'crown of theſe realms, under the pretence of that 'which has been ſo often found to be the occaſion of 'rebellion, I mean the ſpecious pretence of religion, 'by the fierce, froward, and fanatical zeal of ſome 'members of the Houſe of Commons, in the laſt 'parliament under the late King Charles the Se'cond, of ever-bleſſed memory (30).' The Lord High Steward alſo referred to Monmouth's rebellion, and intimated that Lord Delamer had not voted in ſupport of the bill for attainting the Duke of high-treaſon. However, he informed the Peers, that what ſhare the Noble Lord at the bar had in thoſe matters, was not within the compaſs of the indictment againſt him.

(30) State Trials, Vol. iv. p. 215.

[*H*] *An eulogium on the conduct of King James the Second.*] It was in the following terms: 'After it 'had pleaſed Almighty God to take to himſelf our 'late merciful and dread Sovereign, no ſooner was 'his Sacred Majeſty, that now is, ſeated in the royal 'throne of his anceſtors, but he made it his utmoſt 'endeavours, not only to convince the world that he 'had quite forgot thoſe impudent and abominable 'indignities that had been put upon him, only for 'being the beſt of ſubjects, and the beſt of brothers; 'but did alſo give forth the moſt benign aſſurances 'imaginable to all his loving people, that he would 'approve himſelf to be the Beſt of Kings. And farther 'to evince the reality of theſe his gracious and heroic 'reſolutions, he immediately called a parliament; and 'therein repeated, and ſolemnly confirmed, his for'mer declarations of having a particular care of 'maintaining our eſtabliſhed laws and religion (31).'

(31) State Trials, *ubi ſupra*, p. 216.

[*I*] *He exerted himſelf in the promotion of that great event.*] It is ſaid in a note to Dr. Akenſide's ode, addreſſed to the Earl of Huntingdon, that 'at Whit'tington, a village on the edge of Scarſdale, in Der'byſhire, the Earls of Devonſhire and Danby, and 'the Lord Delamer, privately concerted the plan of 'the Revolution. The houſe in which they met is 'at preſent a farm-houſe; and the country-people 'diſtinguiſh the room where they ſat, by the name 'of the Plotting Parlour (32).' It may alſo be obſerved, that Lord Delamer appears to have been one of the firſt who took up arms in favour of the Revolution (*).

(32) *Vid.* Granger's Biographical Hiſt. of England, Vol. iv. p. 274, 275.

(*) *Vid.* Hume's Hiſt. of England, Vol. viii. p. 285, edit. 1763. Macpherſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, Vol. i. p. 532, 2d edit.

[*K*] *A great force in Cheſhire*, &c.] Mr. Collins ſays, that 'out of the forces which were raiſed by 'this Lord to join the Prince of Orange, a re'giment of horſe was afterwards formed, and the 'command thereof for ſome time committed to him 'as Colonel thereof; which regiment ſerved in Ire'land during the war in that kingdom (33).'

(33) Peerage, Vol. iii. p. 147.

[*L*] *He received a letter from the Prince of Orange*, &c.] It was as follows:

'My Lord, Hindon, the 2d of December, 1688.

'I Have heard ſo worthy a character of you, that I 'am glad to find you ſo frankly embarked in the 'ſame deſign with me; and you may depend on me 'to ſhew you all the kindneſs in my power. If your 'occaſions will allow of it, I ſhall be glad to ſee you 'at Hungerford next Friday night; but you muſt 'ſend me notice of your coming the night before 'your arrival, that I may direct quarters for you and 'your troops, and that my out-guards may let you 'paſs to me.

'I am your moſt affectionate friend,

'Prince d'Orange (34).'

'To the Lord Delamer,
'at Glouceſter.

(34) Kimber's Baronetage, Vol. iii. p. 416.

[*M*] *Treated him with much more regard.*] Mr. Horace Walpole ſays, that Lord Delamer, 'who was 'thrice impriſoned for his noble love of liberty, and 'who narrowly eſcaped the fury of James and Jef'feries, lived to be commiſſioned by the Prince of 'Orange, to order that King to remove from White'hall; a meſſage which he delivered with a generous 'decency (35).'

(35) Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. ii. p. 93, 2d edit.

Lord Delamer, however, had no doubts about the neceſſity of dethroning King James, nor any inclination that an accommodation ſhould take place between him and the nation. For in a debate in the Houſe of Peers, the 31ſt of January 1688-9, relative to declaring the throne vacant, Lord Delamer ſaid, that ‘ it was long ſince he thought ‘ himſelf abſolved from his allegiance to King James; that he owed him none, and ‘ never would pay him any; and, if King James came again, he was reſolved to fight ‘ againſt him, and would die ſingle with his ſword in his hand, rather than pay him any ‘ obedience (y).’

(y) State Letters and Diary of Henry Earl of Clarendon, Vol. ii. p. 160.

It is intimated by Sir John Dalrymple, that Lord Delamer was not ſufficiently expeditious in joining the Prince of Orange when he firſt landed in England; and that gentleman affirms, that this was never forgiven by King William: but this is an aſſertion unſupported by any proper evidence, and which appears to be ill-grounded [*N*]. It is certain, that his ſervices in the promotion of the revolution were thought ſo meritorious at that period, that on the 13th of February, 1688-9, he was ſworn a Privy-Counſellor: on the 9th of April following, he was appointed Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer: on the 12th of the ſame month, made Lord-Lieutenant of the city and county of Cheſter; and on the 19th of July made Cuſtos Rotulorum of the ſame county (*z*). Theſe laſt offices, together with that of Privy-Counſellor, he enjoyed for life: but he continued in the others only for about a year (*a*). The reaſon appears to have been, that Lord Delamer was not calculated to be a pliant courtier under any eſtabliſhment, and ſeems to have been one of thoſe who wiſhed for more retrenchments of the regal prerogative, than were made at the Revolution. He probably thought, that even then the liberty of the ſubject was not ſufficiently ſecured and aſcertained [*O*]. And this will naturally account for the coolneſs of King William towards him, as the views of that Prince were not always perfectly conſiſtent with the intereſts of the Engliſh nation. That Lord Delamer was deſirous of ſome new limitations of the prerogative, is evident from a proteſt ſigned by him, relative to a clauſe propoſed to be added to the bill of rights (*b*). He alſo ſigned a proteſt reſpecting an amendment to the bill for recognizing King William and Queen Mary (*c*).

(z) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 147.

(*a*) Collins and Kimber, *ut ſupra.*

(*b*) Hiſt. and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. i. p. 395, 396.

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 400, 401, 402.

Though Lord Delamer was removed from the adminiſtration [*P*], it was thought neceſſary to confer on him ſome mark of Royal favour. Accordingly, by letters-patent, bearing date at Weſtminſter, April 17, 1690, he was created Earl of Warrington, in the county of Lancaſter, to continue to him and the heirs-male of his body. A penſion likewiſe of two thouſand pounds *per annum* [*Q*] was granted to him, for the better ſup-

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[*N*] *Unſupported by any proper evidence, and which appears to be ill-grounded.*] Sir John Dalrymple ſays, that there is in King William's cabinet at Kenſington, ‘ Letters from the Lords Delamer, Stamford, ‘ and Brandon (three perſons whoſe lives had been ‘ called in queſtion by the King), making apologies ‘ to the Prince for their want of ſpeed in joining ‘ him: offences, however, which he never after‘ wards forgave (36).’ As Sir John hath not thought proper to publiſh theſe letters, and we have not had the honour to examine this Royal repoſitory, we cannot ſpeak of the letters with preciſion: but what he hath ſaid reſpecting Lord Delamer may be exactly true, and yet there may be no juſt foundation for the inference drawn by Sir John Dalrymple. Lord Delamer might write a letter to the Prince of Orange, aſſigning his reaſons for not joining his Highneſs ſooner; thoſe reaſons might be well grounded, and ſuch as might ſatisfy the Prince. We have no evidence to the contrary: and that King William entertained a fixed reſentment againſt Lord Delamer on account of any conduct of his previous to the Revolution, appears extremely improbable, and indeed incredible, when we conſider the honours and preferments which were conferred on him by King William after that event. It was the conduct of Lord Delamer after the Revolution, and not before, which diſpleaſed King William. His oppoſition to the meaſures of the Court occaſioned the King's coolneſs towards him. This was the cauſe aſſigned by his Lordſhip's own family, as well as in the publications of the times, and appears to have been the only true cauſe.

(36) Memoirs of Great Britain, Vol. ii. Appendix, p. 339, 2d edit.

On the monument erected to his memory by his ſon, George, Earl of Warrington, in the pariſh-church of Bowdon, the following character is given of him. He was ‘ a perſon of unblemiſhed honour, ‘ impartial juſtice, ſtrict integrity. An illuſtrious ‘ example of ſteady and unalterable adherence to the ‘ liberties and properties of his country in the worſt ‘ of times: rejecting all offers to allure, and deſpiſing ‘ all dangers to deter him therefrom. For which he ‘ was thrice committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower of ‘ London, and at length tried for his life, upon a ‘ falſe accuſation of high treaſon, from which he was ‘ unanimouſly acquitted by his Peers, on the 14th of ‘ January, 1685-6; which day he afterwards annu‘ ally commemorated by acts of devotion and charity. ‘ In the year 1688, he greatly ſignalized himſelf at ‘ the Revolution, on behalf of the Proteſtant religion, ‘ and the rights of the nation, without mixture of ‘ ſelf-intereſt; *preferring the good of his country to the* ‘ *favour of the Prince who then aſcended the throne* ‘ (37).’

(37) Collins's Peerage, Vol. iii. p. 150, 151.

In a poem publiſhed after the Revolution, he was alſo thus characterized:

‘ A brave aſſertor of his country's right:
‘ A noble, but ungovernable fire,
‘ (Such as the Hero's) did his breaſt inſpire,
‘ Fit to aſſiſt to pull a Tyrant down,
‘ *But not to pleaſe a Prince that mounts the throne.*
‘ Impatient of oppreſſion ſtill he ſtood,
‘ His country's mound againſt th' invading flood (38).’

(38) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 147, 148.

[*O*] *The liberty of the ſubject was not ſufficiently ſecured and aſcertained.*] Mrs Macaulay has ſome very juſt obſervations upon this ſubject (39), though we think this ingenious Lady ſomewhat too ſevere in her cenſures both of King William, and the patriots of that period.

(39) Hiſt. of England from the Revolution, Vol. i. p. 4, 5. 8, &c.

[*P*] *Removed from the adminiſtration.*] Mr. Walpole ſays, that ‘ he was diſmiſſed by King William to gra‘ tify the Tories (40).’ And, indeed, throughout the whole of his life, Lord Delamer appears to have been a conſiſtent Whig, and therefore muſt have been obnoxious to the oppoſite party. Nor is it probable, that his ſteady and uniform adherence to his principles, was any great recommendation even to the King. William was ſufficiently a lover of virtue to eſteem men of probity, but ſeems to have wiſhed to be ſerved by perſons of leſs inflexibility than Lord Delamer.

(40) Cat. of Royal and Noble Authors, *ut ſupra.*

[*Q*] *A penſion likewiſe of two thouſand pounds per annum.*] Mr. Collins ſays, that this penſion ‘ having ‘ been paid to him only for the firſt half year, was ‘ afterwards ſuffered to run in arrear, and now re‘ mains ſtated amongſt the reſt of King William's ‘ debts, in a liſt of them drawn up at the command ‘ of her late Majeſty Queen Anne (41).’]

(41) Peerage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 148.

port of that dignity. And it was ſaid, in the preamble of the patent for his earldom, that it was conferred on him ‘ for his great ſervices in raiſing and bringing great forces ‘ to his Majeſty, to reſcue his country and religion from tyranny and Popery (*d*).’

On the 3d of January, 1692-3, the Earl of Warrington ſigned a proteſt againſt the rejection of the bill for incapacitating perſons in office under the Crown, either civil or military, from ſitting in the Houſe of Commons (*e*). Two other proteſts were alſo ſigned by him on different occaſions (*f*). But this patriotic Peer did not live long to enjoy his new dignity; for he died at London on the 2d of January, 1693-4, having not quite completed the forty-ſecond year of his age. He was interred in the family-vault in Bowdon church, in the county of Cheſter, on the 14th of the ſame month (*g*).

Mr. Granger ſays, that Lord Delamer was ‘ a man of a generous and noble nature, ‘ which diſdained, upon any terms, to ſubmit to ſervitude; and whoſe paſſions ſeemed ‘ to center in the love of civil and religious liberty (*h*).’ In every part of his life, indeed, he appears to have been actuated by the ſame principles; and in his ‘ Advice to ‘ his Children,’ printed in his works, he ſays, ‘ There never yet was any good man ‘ who had not an ardent zeal for his country (*i*).’ He was not only illuſtriouſly diſtinguiſhed by his public ſpirit, and his noble ardor in defence of the liberties of his country; but in his private life he appears to have been a man of ſtrict piety, and of great worth, honour, and humanity. He married Mary, ſole daughter and heireſs to Sir James Langham, of Cotteſbrooke, in the county of Northampton, Knight and Baronet. By this lady he had four ſons, and two daughters. His firſt ſon died an infant, and his ſecond ſon, George, upon the death of his father, became Earl of Warrington (*k*). He died on the 2d of Auguſt, 1758, and leaving no heirs male, the earldom became extinct (*l*).

The works of Henry, Earl of Warrington, the ſubject of this article, were publiſhed in 1694, in one volume 8vo. They conſiſt chiefly of ſpeeches made by him in Parliament, prayers uſed by his Lordſhip in his family, ſome ſhort political tracts, and the caſe of William Earl of Devonſhire. Mr. Collins informs us (*m*), that his Lordſhip was alſo author of ſome Obſervations on the Caſe of Lord Ruſſel.] T.

(*d*) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 148.

(*e*) Hiſt. and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, *ubi ſupra*, p. 413—417.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 404. 412.

(*g*) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 149, 150.

(*h*) Biographical Hiſt. of England, Vol. iv. p. 274, 2d edit.

(*i*) Works, p. 5.

(*k*) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 148, 149.

(*l*) Kimber's Baronetage, Vol. i. p. 38.

(*m*) Peerage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 148.

BOOTH (Barton), one of the beſt and moſt applauded Actors, more eſpecially in Tragedy, that ever trod the Engliſh Stage. He deſcended from a very ancient and honourable family, originally ſeated (*a*) in the county palatine of Lancaſter, in which he was born, and ſince ſpread into Cheſhire and ſeveral other counties. His father, John Booth, Eſq; was a perſon of great worth and honour, though his fortune was not very conſiderable, and highly attentive to the education of his ſons, of whom Barton, the third, was born in 1681 (*b*). When he was about three years old, his father removed himſelf and his whole family to town, and ſettled in Weſtminſter. At the age of nine years, Barton was put under the tuition of the famous Dr. Buſby, who was then at the head of Weſtminſter-ſchool, where he bred ſome of the ableſt men, that, in the laſt and preſent age, have done honour to this nation (*c*). The great pregnancy of Mr. Booth's parts were very quickly diſcovered: he had a ſtrong paſſion for learning, and a peculiar turn for Latin poetry; he not only read it with attention, and ſtudied the beſt authors with diligence, but fixed many of the fineſt paſſages ſo firmly in his memory, that he was able to repeat them, not only with propriety and correctneſs, but with ſuch a graceful action, ſo fine a tone of voice, and ſuch peculiar emphaſis, that it was taken notice of by the whole ſchool (*d*). It was in conſequence of this, that when, according to the cuſtom of the ſchool, a Latin Play was to be acted, a conſiderable part in it was given to young Booth, who performed it with ſuch excellence, as gained him the notice of the Doctor, as well as the univerſal applauſe of all the ſpectators [*A*]. This gave him

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 481.

(*b*) Life of Barton Booth, Eſq.

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 923.

(*d*) From the information of the Rev. Mr. Knipe.

[*A*] ***As well as the univerſal applauſe of all the ſpectators.***] There have been very few, if any, ſince the time of the famous Ben Jonſon, that have come upon the ſtage with ſo much true learning as Mr. Booth, which probably was the reaſon that he became ſo ſoon, and ſo good an actor. He was ſtruck with the Roman Poets, when at Weſtminſter, to a degree of enthuſiaſm. He was charmed with the ſound and cadence of their verſes before he underſtood them; but his paſſion for harmony was ſo ſtrong, that Virgil and Terence were familiar to him when he had very little acquaintance with Salluſt or Livy. When he repeated his leſſons, he did it with ſuch propriety and force, and was himſelf ſo ſtrangely affected with them, that the under-maſters could not avoid taking notice of it; nor was it long before it reached Buſby's ears (1). One might naturally imagine, from the opinion commonly entertained of this famous perſon, that ſuch a report could not much recommend a lad to his notice; but the fact was otherwiſe. This propenſity to playing was Buſby's own foible. In his youth he had performed in a Play of Mr. William Cartwright's, called the *Royal Slave*, with prodigious applauſe. He had always a prejudice in favour of this kind of eloquence, and thought nothing was ſo ſure a mark of genius as a reliſh for dramatic poetry (2). When he heard therefore of Booth's ſtrong inclination to this ſpecies of literature, he careſſed inſtead of correcting him, examined his proficiency, and aſſigned him a principal part in the Latin Play, which, according to a cuſtom introduced by this Dr. Buſby, was annually performed by the ſcholars, and perhaps this might have ſome ſhare in quickening his diligence to get it up, which he did ſo well, that Dr. Buſby himſelf praiſed him with ſuch warmth, as diſcovered ſufficiently, that though nearly ninety, he had not forgot the pleaſure that equal praiſes gave him in like circumſtances. But Mr. Booth's father, who had an invincible averſion to the ſtage, would ſometimes tell his ſon, alluding to this accident, *that the old man poiſoned him with his laſt breath.* This happened about three years before he left the ſchool, and choſe this for his profeſſion. How much the young people at Weſtminſter value themſelves upon Booth's coming

(1) From the information mentioned in the text.

(2) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 923.

him firſt an inclination for the Stage, to the great concern of his father, who intended him for the Church, and with that view had been particularly careful in his education. But as the paſſions firſt implanted in youth commonly act with violence, eſpecially when they meet with any reſtraint or contradiction, ſo when Mr. Booth had reached the age of ſeventeen, and the time approached when he was to be ſent to the univerſity, he reſolved to run any riſk, rather than be obliged to enter upon a courſe of life, ſo inconſiſtent with the livelineſs of his temper, and the natural bent of his inclination. It happened that there was then here one Mr. Aſhbury, who had been long Maſter of a company at Dublin, and was allowed to underſtand perfectly the management of a theatre, with whom young Booth became acquainted; and finding that under his direction there was no danger of his getting bread, he quitted all hopes and all pretenſions in another way, ſtole away from ſchool, and went over to Ireland with Mr. Aſhbury in 1698 (*e*). He very ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf on the Stage at Dublin, where he had great natural advantages over moſt of his contemporaries, eſpecially in Tragedy: he had a grave countenance, a good perſon, an air of dignity, a fine voice, and a very manly action. He ſpoke very juſtly, his pronunciation was very correct, and the cadence of his voice was extremely grateful to the ear. In ſhort, he gained in three ſeaſons ſo high a reputation in that country, and was complimented ſo much, upon his theatrical talents, by the Engliſh gentlemen who ſaw him there, that he reſolved to return home, and try how far it was poſſible for him to puſh his fortune here (*f*). He accordingly came back to England in 1701, and applied himſelf to Lord Fitzharding, who was of the Bedchamber to Prince George of Denmark, and was by him recommended to Mr. Betterton, who very readily took him under his care, and gave him all the aſſiſtance, in every reſpect, that was in his power, which he was the more enabled to do, as he was then at the head of a company (*g*). There never were two men better met. The tutor had all imaginable kindneſs for his pupil, and the pupil all poſſible veneration for his tutor. The firſt Play in which he acted was the Tragedy of *Valentinian*, in which he performed the part of *Maximus*, Mr. Verbruggen played *Valentinian*, Mr. Betterton *Etius*, and Mrs. Barry, *Lucina*. It was ſcarcely poſſible for a young Actor to hope, or even to wiſh, a better reception than he met with; and the kindneſs of the town had a very happy effect upon this new candidate for theatrical fame, as it gave him a proper degree of confidence without vanity, and inſpired him with a juſt paſſion for maintaining, by his future behaviour, the early reputation he had acquired (*h*). The *Ambitious Stepmother*, a new Tragedy that came ſoon after upon the Stage, in which he performed the character of *Artaban*, added to the character he had acquired, and raiſed him juſtly to the reputation of being one of the moſt conſiderable Actors then upon the Stage (*i*). In the year 1704, he married Mrs. Frances Barkham, daughter of Sir William Barkham of Norfolk, Baronet, who lived with him ſix years, and died then without iſſue (*k*). In all the theatrical revolutions that happened in thoſe days, Mr. Booth, notwithſtanding his great capacity, and his ſtanding ſo well as he did with the Town, had very little ſhare. He adhered conſtantly to Mr. Betterton, as long as that could be of any uſe to him, and when his tutor retired from the management of the Stage, he truſted to his merit, and to the juſtice of the Public, in which he was not at all deceived; for though he did not force himſelf into the management of the Drury-Lane Theatre, and though he oppoſed thoſe that did, yet he was very well received there, purely upon the ſcore of his abilities, which, after the death of Betterton, placed him very clearly at the head of his profeſſion, in Tragedy at leaſt (*l*) [*B*]. But we muſt now come to that period

(*e*) Hiſt. of the Engliſh Stage, p. 143.

(*f*) From the information of the late Mr. Elrington.

(*g*) Hiſt. of the Engliſh Stage, p. 143.

(*h*) Remarks on the Britiſh Theatre, p. 293.

(*i*) From a letter to the late N. R. Eſq; on the ſucceſs of that Play.

(*k*) Life of Barton Booth, Eſq.

(*l*) Remarks on the Britiſh Theatre, p. 297.

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coming from amongſt them, will appear from the following Prologue, ſpoke during his lifetime before one of their annual performances (3).

Your antique actors, as we read,
No more than anticks were indeed;
With wide-mouth'd maſks their babes to fright,
They kept the countenance from ſight.
Now faces on the ſtage are ſhewn;
Nor ſpeak they with their tongues alone,
But in each look a force there lies,
That ſpeaks the paſſion to the eyes.
See then which beſt deſerves our praiſe,
The vizard, or the human face?
Old *Roſcius* to our *Booth* muſt bow;
'Twas then but art, 'tis nature now.

(3) Hiſt. of the Engliſh Stage, p. 142.

[*B*] *At the head of his profeſſion, in Tragedy at leaſt.*] It has been ſhewn in another place, that very ſoon after the Reſtoration the two companies, ſtyled the *King's* and *Duke's*, were formed of perſons perfectly ſkilled in their profeſſion, and that when theſe companies united, they compoſed the moſt complete ſet of actors this nation ever ſaw. It was from the ſight of theſe extraordinary perſons in his youth, that Mr. Booth caught the paſſion he had for the ſtage, and under them he received thoſe inſtructions that were requiſite to give him that high degree of perfection he attained. There were however various circumſtances that in this reſpect were very favourable: He was in the prime of his life when they were in their decline, ſo that he had vigour enough to carry fully into execution thoſe lights which he derived from his experience. He was always ſtudious in his profeſſion, and had a very ſtrong deſire to ſupport its reputation, as well as his own; and this made him take great pains in the parts he played, and alſo made him cautious of accepting any, but thoſe he could perform to advantage. He was very willing to receive all the inſtructions that either authors who brought new Plays could give, the ſeniors in his own profeſſion could afford, or that might be derived from the remarks of the many able critics who flouriſhed in thoſe days, and ſhewed a peculiar regard for, and attention to, the entertainments of the theatre; ſuch as Mr. Manwaring, Mr. Addiſon, Mr. Steele, and many others. It was from his modeſty and circumſpection in all theſe points, and the gratitude he conſtantly expreſſed for any aſſiſtance he received, that his character came into general eſteem, and he was reputed one of the ableſt and moſt diligent of thoſe that were then on the ſtage, when there yet remained ſeveral great and applauded actors. It is indeed true, that his taſte for, and excellence in, Tragedy, rendered him a leſs general Player than ſome of his predeceſſors.

riod of time, in which Mr. Booth's ſole merit raiſed him into a ſuperior point of light, and procured for him that reward which he had long deſerved. The Tragedy of *Cato*, which had been written in the year 1703, or at leaſt the four firſt acts of it, was brought upon the Stage in 1712, chiefly on a political principle, and to ſupport the cauſe of the Whigs. It was ſo long before Mr. Addiſon could be prevailed upon to venture it, that the proper ſeaſon was elapſed, and the benefits came on in the month of April when it was firſt acted (*m*). The part of *Cato* was given to Mr. Booth without heſitation or diſpute; the then managers, who were Players, being very well ſatisfied that nobody elſe could perform it. To ſay that his action added in any degree to the character drawn by the Poet would be flattery; but to affirm that he entered fully into the ſpirit of his part, and came up to all that either the town or the author could expect, is barely doing juſtice to his memory, in ſupport of which, we may depend upon the teſtimony of numberleſs witneſſes (*n*) who ſaw it. We may alſo take the liberty of affirming, that as party prejudices never ran higher than at that time, and the excellency of the Play was diſtinguiſhed by the ſurpriſing conteſt between both parties which ſhould applaud it moſt; ſo the merit of the Actor received the ſame marks of approbation, both parties taking care to diſtinguiſh their ſatisfaction in that reſpect, by beſtowing upon him (*o*) unuſual and unprecedented rewards. But to enumerate the remarkable circumſtances that attended our Actor's extraordinary diſplay of his abilities upon this occaſion, would too much interrupt the thread of our narration, and we have therefore given them a place in the notes [*C*]. The run of *Cato* being over at London, the Managers thought fit

(*m*) See the article of ADDISON (JOSEPH.)

(*n*) Remarks on the Britiſh Theatre, p. 299.

(*o*) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 379.

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deceſſors. But though this might in ſome reſpect make him leſs uſeful to the managers, yet it did not at all detract from his credit with the public, more eſpecially when it appeared, that in ſome of the parts he played in Comedy, he was extremely perfect, and gave them a gracefulneſs and propriety which few other actors could reach. In this point of light he ſtood, when, in compliance with the importunities of his friends, Mr. Addiſon conſented that Cato, which had been already peruſed and admired by the beſt judges, ſhould be produced to the public, and make its appearance on the ſtage. The author himſelf and his friends were very ſenſible, that the ſucceſs of this excellent Tragedy would in a great meaſure depend on the manner in which the character was played; and therefore in putting it into the hands of Mr. Booth, they might be ſaid to reſt in a great meaſure their expectations from that celebrated piece on his capacity and care. It is no leſs true, that from his firſt rehearſal of it they became in ſome meaſure confident of its being received with applauſe; and it muſt be alſo allowed, that though Mr. Booth did not excel himſelf in this character, for in that of Othello he was thought ſuperior, yet he excelled all who have attempted that part ever ſince, and ſupported it with that dignity of behaviour, that captivated the minds of a well-judging audience, and rendered Cato as much admired and revered in Britain, as he ever had been in Rome. This might look like Panegyric, if the world did not know, from the interval of time ſince elapſed, that it is no more than naked truth.

[*C*] *Have therefore given them a place in the notes.*] The beſt way to come at all hiſtorical truths in general is, to have recourſe to the moſt knowing and candid writers, becauſe ſuch will always take care to be well informed themſelves, and be cautious how they deliver the facts they relate, that they may not miſinform their readers. This rule is as neceſſary, and as eſſential towards inſtructing one's ſelf well as to Theatrical Hiſtory, as it is in reſpect to the Hiſtory of the World; the ſame obſtacles lying in the way of both, and thereby rendering the means equally difficult, though their ends are not of the ſame importance. This fully juſtifies taking the following copious and curious account from the very impartial Mr. Cibber, who ſpeaks thus (4): ‘Although Cato ſeems plainly written upon what are called Whig principles, yet the Tories of that time had ſenſe enough not to take it as the leaſt reflection upon their adminiſtration, but, on the contrary, they ſeemed to brandiſh and vaunt their approbation of every ſentiment in favour of liberty, which by a public act of their generoſity was carried ſo high, that one day while the Play was acting, they collected fifty guineas in the boxes, and made a preſent of them to Booth, with this compliment—*For his honeſt oppoſition to a perpetual Dictator, and his dying ſo bravely in the cauſe of liberty.* What was inſinuated by any part of theſe words is not my affair; but ſo public a reward had the appearance of a laudable ſpirit, which only ſuch a Play as Cato could have inſpired. Nor could Booth be blamed, if, upon ſo particular a diſtinction of his merit, he began himſelf to ſet more value upon it. How far he might carry it in making uſe of the favour he ſtood in, with a certain Nobleman then in power at Court, was not difficult to penetrate, and indeed ought always to have been expected by the meaneſt actors; for which of them (making the caſe every way his own) could with ſuch advantages have contented himſelf in the humble ſtation of an hired actor? But let us ſee how the managers ſtood ſeverally affected upon this occaſion. Dogget, who expected, though he feared not the attempt of what after happened, imagined he had thought of an expedient to prevent it; and to cover his deſign with all the art of a ſtateſman, he inſinuated to us (for he was a ſtaunch Whig) that this preſent of fifty guineas was a ſort of Tory triumph which they had no pretence to, and that for his part he could not bear that ſo redoubted a champion for liberty as Cato, ſhould be bought off to the cauſe of a contrary party. He therefore in the ſeeming zeal of his heart propoſed, that the managers themſelves ſhould make the ſame preſent to Booth which had been made from the boxes the day before. This, he ſaid, would recommend the equity and liberal ſpirit of our management to the town, and might be a means to ſecure Booth more firmly in our intereſt, it never having been known that the ſkill of the beſt actor had received ſo round a reward or gratuity in one day before. Wilks, who wanted nothing but abilities to be as cunning as Dogget, was ſo charmed with the propoſal, that he longed that moment to make Booth the preſent with his own hands, and though he knew he had no right to do it without my conſent, had no patience to aſk it. Upon which I turned to Dogget with a cold ſmile, and told him, that if Booth could be purchaſed at ſo cheap a rate, it would be one of the beſt proofs of his œconomy we had ever been beholden to. I therefore deſired he might have a little patience, that our doing it too haſtily might be only making ſure of an occaſion to throw away the fifty guineas; for if we ſhould be obliged to do better for him, we could never expect that Booth would think himſelf bound in honour to refund them. This ſeemed ſo abſurd an argument to Wilks, that he began with his uſual freedom of ſpeech to treat it as a pitiful evaſion of their intended generoſity. But Dogget, who was not ſo wide of my meaning, clapping his hand upon mine, ſaid, with an air of ſecurity, Oh! don't trouble yourſelf, there muſt be two words to that bargain, let me alone to manage that matter. Wilks, upon this dark diſcourſe, grew uneaſy, as if there was ſome ſecret between us that he was to be left out of; therefore, to avoid the ſhock of his intemperance, I was reduced to tell him it was my opinion, that Booth would never be made eaſy by any thing we could do for him, till he had a ſhare in the profits

(4) Apology for his own Life, p. 379.

fit to remove to Oxford in the ſummer, where the Play met with ſo extraordinary a reception, that they were forced to open the doors at noon, and the houſe was quite full by one o'clock: the ſame reſpect was paid it for three days together; and though the univerſal applauſe this Play met with at London, ſurpaſſed every thing of that kind that had been remembered, yet the tribute of praiſe it received from this famous univerſity, ſurpaſſed even that (*p*). The reputation Mr. Booth was now in, ſeemed to entitle him, very juſtly, to as great advantages from the Theatre as any concerned therein enjoyed, which at that time was very conſiderable, the management, as we before obſerved, being in the hands of three capital Actors, *viz.* Cibber, Dogget, and Wilks (*q*); yet this perhaps he would never have obtained from the bare conſideration of what he deſerved. But the favour he was in with that powerful Miniſter, the Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke, was ſo great, that in 1713, he procured a new licence, recalling all former licences, in which Mr. Booth's name was added to thoſe of the former Managers (*r*). They were none of them pleaſed with this act of juſtice done to Booth's merit, at the expence of what they call their property: but none of them carried it ſo high as Mr. Dogget, who abſolutely refuſed to accept of any conſideration for his ſhare in the ſcenes and clothes, which had, however, no other effect, than depriving him, through his own obſtinacy, of his ſhare, which brought him in one thouſand pounds a year; though the beſt judge of this matter informs us, that this was only a pretence, and that the true reaſon of his quitting, was his diſlike to another of the Managers, whoſe humour was become inſupportable to him (*s*). At the time that Mr. Booth came to have this ſhare in the management of the houſe, he was certainly in the beſt condition for making it turn to the entire ſatisfaction of the public, and the emolument of his aſſociates as well as his particular benefit; for he was at that time in the thirty-third year of his age, and in the higheſt reputation as an Actor (*t*). He was extremely diligent both in his profeſſion and in his office, ſo that his abilities in the former, and his integrity in the latter, joined to the reſpect paid him as a gentleman of family, ſet him altogether in as high a point of eſteem, as any man had attained in his ſtation. He enjoyed theſe ſingular advantages for many years unenvied and unequalled, and his fame, as a Player, inſtead of ſinking by degrees, as ſometimes has happened to thoſe who have been moſt applauded, increaſed very perceptibly; and audiences, inſtead of growing thin from a ſatiety of ſeeing the ſame parts performed by the ſame man, became fuller from the fear of loſing him (*u*). Some years after this, he married Mrs. Santlowe, who from her firſt appearance as an Actreſs, in the character of the *Fair Quaker of Deal*, to the time ſhe quitted the Stage, had always received the ſtrongeſt marks of public applauſe, which were repeated, when, after a retreat for ſome time, ſhe appeared there again. By her prudence in managing the advantages that aroſe to her from the figure ſhe made upon the Stage, and her great diligence in her profeſſion, ſhe acquired a conſiderable fortune, which was very uſeful to Mr. Booth, who, from the natural turn of his temper, though he had a ſtrict regard to juſtice, was not much inclined to ſaving (*w*). This ſecond marriage, however, does not ſeem to have been founded on intereſt, but rather in affection, and, during the few years they lived together, there was the greateſt harmony between them. By degrees, the health of Mr. Booth began to decline, ſo that it was impoſſible for him to continue to act with as much diligence as uſual, which did not, however, leſſen the favour of the Public towards him, but, on the contrary, afforded room for freſh inſtances of their eſteem, by the crowded audiences his appearance drew, whenever the intervals of his diſtemper permitted him to tread the Stage (*x*). But when once his conſtitution began to decline he broke very faſt, and being attacked by a complication of diſeaſes, he at length gave way to Fate, May 10, 1733. He ſhewed his great modeſty, and contempt of that kind of fame that ſome people are ſo fond of after death, by directing that he ſhould be interred with all imaginable privacy, in the pariſh church of Cowley, near Uxbridge, in Middleſex, the conſtant place of his retirement in the ſummer, which was complied with, and no monument raiſed to his memory, though he intended to have erected one for his revered tutor and admired friend Mr. Betterton (*y*). He teſtified likewiſe his ſincere love for, and entire ſatisfaction in the conduct of, his wife, to whom he left all his fortune for reaſons therein aſſigned, which he declared amounted to no more, than two-thirds of what he had received with his wife upon the day of marriage (*z*). His character, as an Actor, has been celebrated by ſome of the beſt judges, and was never queſtioned by any. To ſay the truth, it was more criticiſed by himſelf than by any other; for he carried his own notions of Better-

(*p*) Remarks upon the late excellent Tragedy of Cato, p. 23.

(*q*) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 360.

(*r*) Short Hiſtory of the Theatre, addreſſed to H. G. T. D. O. N. I. C.

(*s*) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 402.

(*t*) Life of Barton Booth, Eſq.

(*u*) Remarks on the Britiſh Theatre, p. 300.

(*w*) See a Copy of his Will in the London Magazine for 1733, p. 116.

(*x*) Hiſtory of the Engliſh Stage, p. 145.

(*y*) He had ſpoke of this very ſeriouſly; perhaps the ſtate of his affairs hindered him from performing it.

(*z*) See his laſt Will, as before cited.

‘ fits and management; and that as he did not want
‘ friends to aſſiſt him, whatever his merit might be
‘ before, every one would think, ſince his acting of
‘ Cato, he had now enough to back his pretenſions
‘ to it. To which Dogget replied, that nobody
‘ would think his merit ſlighted by ſo handſome a
‘ preſent as fifty guineas; and that for his farther
‘ pretenſions, whatever the Licence might avail, our
‘ property of houſe, ſcenes, and clothes, were our
‘ own, and not in the power of the Crown to diſpoſe
‘ of. To conclude, my objections, that the money
‘ would be only thrown away, &c. were over-ruled,
‘ and the ſame night Booth had the fifty guineas,
‘ which he received with a thankfulneſs that made
‘ Wilks and Dogget perfectly eaſy, inſomuch that
‘ they ſeemed for ſome time to triumph in their con-
‘ duct, and often endeavoured to laugh my jealouſy
‘ out of countenance. But in the following winter
‘ the game happened to take a different turn; and
‘ then, if it had been a laughing matter, I had as
‘ ſtrong an occaſion to ſmile at their former ſecurity.’

ton's merit ſo high, that he always conſidered his performance as inimitable, and treated all attempts to flatter his own manner of acting as equal to his maſter's, not only with contempt but indignation. This ſome have imagined was carried too far, and that it was the effects only of the vigorous impreſſions made by Betterton's manner of playing on the youthful mind of Booth, which took the ſtamp ſo deeply, that no length of time could wear it out (*a*). But others have judged that in this he was not at all miſtaken, and that, if we are to look for the equals of Betterton, or, if it was poſſible, for his ſuperiors, it muſt be in the records of earlier times, there being a great probability, that parts are beſt played ſoon after they are firſt written, and when it is poſſible for the Actor to receive the inſtructions of the author; but this, perhaps, may be no more than an opinion as well as the former [*D*]. Amongſt thoſe, who, out of reſpect to his great abilities, have done honour to the memory of Mr. Booth, Aaron Hill, Eſq; a gentleman, who by the ſhare he had in the management of the Playhouſe, could not but have ſufficient opportunities of conſidering and becoming well acquainted with his merit, has given us a character of him at large, which, as it is every way worthy of the reader's notice, and is withal but ſhort, we have placed in the notes (*b*) [*E*]. But the moſt perfect thing of its kind that has appeared upon this ſubject,

(*a*) Remarks upon the Britiſh Theatre, p. 99.

(*b*) Hiſtory of the Engliſh Stage, p. 147.

[*D*] *May be no more than an opinion as well as the former.*] It appears from the moſt authentic writers of thoſe times, that the original actors in Shakeſpeare's beſt Plays were almoſt idolized by the populace, who ſet up the ſigns of their heads while they were living, and paid them ſuch reſpect and veneration as we can hardly conceive or credit (5). Richard Burbage, who played Richard the Third, was one of theſe remarkable perſons, and John Lowen, who played Hamlet, another. This laſt muſt have lived and acted to a good old age, if there be any truth in what ſome have ſuggeſted, that Sir William D'Avenant had ſeen him act Henry the Eighth, and from thence gave Betterton thoſe inſtructions which enabled him to ſhine in that character (6). It is however allowed, that Shakeſpeare himſelf did not ſucceed in playing; but for all that he might be very capable of inſtructing others, and ſo very probably he was, ſince the remarks upon acting in his Play of Hamlet are allowed to be very judicious. A great critic of the laſt age makes no ſort of ſcruple in aſſigning the merit of the actors as the true cauſe of the great ſucceſs of our moſt taking old Plays. As for inſtance, thus he delivers himſelf upon the ſubject (7). ' Amongſt thoſe who will be objecting ' againſt the doctrine I lay down, may peradventure ' appear a ſort of men who have remembered ſo and ' ſo, and value themſelves upon their experience. I ' may write by the book (ſay they) what I have a ' mind, but they know what pleaſes. Theſe are a ' ſort of ſtage quacks and empiricks in Poetry who ' have got a receipt to pleaſe, and no collegiate like ' them for purging the paſſions. Theſe ſay (for inſtance) *A King and no King* pleaſes. I ſay the comical part pleaſes; I ſay that Mr. Hart pleaſes: ' moſt of the buſineſs falls to his ſhare, and what he ' delivers every one takes upon content: their eyes ' are prepoſſeſſed and charmed by his action, before ' ought of the Poet's can approach their ears, and to ' the moſt wretched of characters he gives a luſtre ' and brilliant which dazzles the ſight, that the deformities in the poetry cannot be perceived; therefore a diſtinction is to be made between what ' pleaſeth naturally in itſelf, and what pleaſes upon ' the account of machines, actors, dances, and circumſtances which are merely accidental to the tragedy. Ariſtotle obſerves, that in his time there ' were ſome who (wanting the talent to write what ' might pleaſe) made it their care that the actors ' ſhould keep out where the Muſes failed.' In another place, criticizing the Maid's Tragedy, he ſays (8), ' We may remember (however we find Melantius and Amintor written in the book), that at the ' theatre we have a good ſcene acted: there is work ' cut out, and both our Æſopus and Roſcius are on ' the ſtage together. Whatever defect may be in ' Amintor and Melantius, Mr. Hart and Mr. Mohun are wanting in nothing. To theſe we owe for ' what is pleaſing in the ſcene, and to this ſcene we ' may impute the ſucceſs of *the Maid*'s Tragedy.' But with all the deference due to ſo ſevere a judge, and ſo great a critic, may we not have leave to inquire; Whether this prodigious excellence of the actor ariſes entirely from himſelf, or whether it is not owing to his diligence and attention in ſtudying his author, till he attains his full ſenſe, and thereby acquires a capacity of expreſſing himſelf with ſo much force and vivacity? If there be any thing in this, as I believe every judicious reader will allow there is, then the actor is as much indebted to the poet, as the poet to the actor. This alſo affords us a ſolution of a queſtion before mentioned, which is, why the original actors are commonly ſuperior to their ſucceſſors, which may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to ariſe from the opportunities they have of entering fully into the author's deſigns, and in which thoſe who come after them muſt be deficient.

[*E*] *And is withal but ſhort, we have placed in the notes.*] The author of this little piece was thought to underſtand the buſineſs of the ſtage as well as moſt people, as having a double advantage from genius and experience.

The character of Mr. BOOTH.

' TWO advantages diſtinguiſhed him in the ' ſtrongeſt light from the reſt of his fraternity: ' he had learning to underſtand perfectly whatever it ' was his part to ſpeak, and judgment to know how ' far it agreed or diſagreed with his character. Hence ' aroſe a peculiar grace, which was viſible to every ' ſpectator, though few were at the pains of examining into the cauſe of their pleaſure. He could ſoften ' and ſlide over with a kind of elegant negligence the ' improprieties in a part he acted, while on the contrary he would dwell with energy upon the beauties, ' as if he exerted a latent ſpirit which had been kept ' back for ſuch an occaſion, that he might alarm, ' awaken, and tranſport in thoſe places only, where the ' dignity of his own good ſenſe could be ſupported by ' that of his author. A little reflection upon this remarkable quality, will teach us to account for that ' manifeſt languor which has ſometimes been obſerved ' in his action, and which was generally, though I ' think falſely, imputed to the natural indolence of his ' temper. For the ſame reaſon, though in the cuſtomary rounds of his buſineſs, he would condeſcend to ' ſome parts in Comedy, he ſeldom appeared in any ' of them with much advantage to his character. The ' paſſions which he found in Comedy were not ſtrong ' enough to excite his fire, and what ſeemed want of ' qualification was only abſence of impreſſion. He ' had a talent at diſcovering the paſſions, where they ' lay hid in ſome celebrated parts, by the injudicious ' practice of other actors: when he had diſcovered he ' ſoon grew able to expreſs them. And his ſecret for ' attaining this great leſſon of the Theatre, was an ' adaption of his look to his voice, by which artful ' imitation of nature, the variations in the ſound of ' his words gave propriety to every change in his ' countenance. So that it was Mr. Booth's peculiar ' felicity to be heard and ſeen the ſame—whether as ' the *pleaſed*, the *grieved*, the *pitying*, the *reproachful*, ' or the *angry*. One would almoſt be tempted to ' borrow the aid of a very bold figure, and to expreſs ' this excellence the more ſignificantly, beg permiſſion ' to affirm, that the blind might have ſeen him in his ' voice, and the deaf have heard him in his viſage. ' His geſture, or, as it is commonly called, his action, ' was but the reſult and neceſſary conſequence of his ' dominion over his voice and countenance; for hav-

(5) See Stowe's Annals, p. 698. Wood's Faſt. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 167.

(6) An Anſwer to Mr. Pope's Preface to Shakeſpeare, in a Letter to a Friend, p. 19.

(7) The Tragedies of the laſt Age, conſidered and examined, in a Letter to Fleetwood Shepheard, Eſq; by Thomas Rymer, Eſq; p. 5.

(8) *Id. ibid.* p. 138.

ſubject, is the ſame character drawn by the hand of Mr. Cibber, whoſe judgment and candour are equally commendable; ſince, in the Hiſtory he has given us of the Theatre, there are a multitude of particulars, which ſhew how fit he was for the management of it, and all his accounts of contemporary Actors and Authors, are written with great juſtice and impartiality; ſo that it may be truly ſaid, that he has taken freedom with no man's character but his own. What he ſays of Booth and Wilks is equally curious and entertaining, and we may be ſure that he was very capable of entering deeply into their ſentiments and tempers, whom he had known with intimacy for many years, and as Actors, during the courſe of their lives (c). He has given us their characters with much plainneſs and perſpicuity, allowing their full ſhare of merit to both, without leſſening or concealing the failings of either; and thereby affords us more clear and certain light into the real advantages they had over other Actors, than could have been obtained any other way [*F*]. But it was not only in his profeſſion, though it was chiefly in that, Mr.

(c) Apology for Cibber's Life, p. 476.

‘ing, by a concurrence of two ſuch cauſes, impreſſed his imagination with ſuch a ſtamp and ſpirit of paſſion, he ever obeyed the impulſe by a kind of natural dependency, and relaxed or braced ſucceſſively into all that fine expreſſiveneſs with which he painted what he ſpoke, without reſtraint or affectation.’

A. HILL.

It muſt be admitted, that with many ſigns of friendſhip and reſpect, this character carries in it ſufficient marks of ſincerity, and a juſt concern for truth. The author knew, that with great abilities Mr. Booth had ſome failings, which he is far from concealing, though he attributes them to certain cauſes that do him no diſhonour; and it falls out very happily, that in excuſing him he does not violate probability in the leaſt. All who knew Mr. Booth muſt allow, that he has given a very fair account of his diſpoſition, and very rightly aſcribed to the temper of the man, thoſe inequalities that were diſcovered in him as an actor; ſo that in this character he ſeems equally ſtudious of doing juſtice to him and to the public.

[*F*] *Than could have been obtained any other way.*] There are a great many paſſages in Mr. Cibber's book which relate to Mr. Booth, and which we ſhould have collected, as the beſt account of him in his theatrical capacity, if we had not been afraid of tiring the reader. But what follows (9) is ſo much to the purpoſe, ſo juſt a criticiſm, and ſo fair a repreſentation of his excellencies and defects, that to have omitted it muſt have injured the end aimed at in this article. ‘Though the majority of public auditors are but bad judges of theatrical action, and are often deceived into their approbation of what has no ſolid pretence to it; yet as there are no other appointed judges to appeal to, and as every ſingle ſpectator has a right to be one of them, their ſentence will be definitive, and the merit of an actor muſt in ſome degree be weighed by it. By this law then Wilks was pronounced an excellent actor, which if the few true judges did not allow him to be, they were at leaſt too candid to ſlight or diſcourage him. Booth and he were actors ſo directly oppoſite in their manner, that if either of them could have borrowed a little of the other's fault, they would both have been improved by it. If Wilks had ſometimes too violent a vivacity, Booth as often contented himſelf with too grave a dignity. The latter ſeemed too much to heave up his words, as the other to dart them to the ear with too quick and ſharp a vehemence. Thus Wilks would too frequently break into the time and meaſure of the harmony by too many ſpirited accents in one line, and Booth, by too ſolemn a regard to harmony, would as often loſe the neceſſary ſpirit of it: So that (as I have obſerved) could we have ſometimes raiſed the one and ſunk the other, they had both been nearer to the mark. Yet this could not be always objected to them; they had their intervals of unexceptionable excellence that more than balanced their errors. The maſter-piece of Booth was *Othello*; there he was moſt in character, and ſeemed not more to animate or pleaſe himſelf in it than his ſpectators. 'Tis true, he owed his laſt and higheſt advancement to his acting Cato; but it was the novelty and critical appearance of that character that chiefly ſwelled the torrent of his applauſe; for let the ſentiments of a declaiming patriot have all the ſublimity that poetry can raiſe them to, let them be delivered too with the utmoſt grace and dignity of elocution that can recommend them to the auditor, yet this is but one light wherein the excellence of an actor can ſhine; but in *Othello* we may ſee him in the variety of nature. There the actor is carried through the different accidents of domeſtic happineſs and miſery, occaſionally torn and tortured by the moſt diſtracting paſſion that can raiſe terror or compaſſion in the ſpectator. Such are the characters that a maſter actor would delight in, and therefore in *Othello* I may ſafely aver, that Booth ſhewed himſelf thrice the actor that he could in Cato; and yet his merit in acting Cato need not be diminiſhed by this compariſon. Wilks often regretted, that in Tragedy he had not the full and ſtrong voice of Booth to command and grace his periods with. But Booth uſed to ſay, that if his ear had been equal to it, Wilks had voice enough to have ſhewn himſelf a much better Tragedian. Now though there might be ſome truth in this, yet theſe two actors were of ſo mixed a merit, that even in Tragedy the ſuperiority was not always on the ſame ſide. In ſorrow, tenderneſs, or reſignation, Wilks plainly had the advantage, and ſeemed more pathetically to feel, look, and expreſs his calamity. But in the more turbulent tranſports of the heart, Booth again bore the palm, and left all competitors behind him. A fact perhaps will ſet this difference in a clearer light. I have formerly ſeen Wilks act *Othello*, and Booth the Earl of *Eſſex*, in which they both miſcarried. Neither the exclamatory rage or jealouſy of the one, or the plaintive diſtreſſes of the other, were happily executed, or became either of them, though in the contrary characters they were both excellent. When an actor becomes, and actually looks the character he ſtands in, I have often obſerved it to have had as fortunate an effect, and as much recommended him to the approbation of the common auditors, as the moſt correct or judicious utterance of the ſentiments. This was ſtrongly viſible in the favourable reception Wilks met with in Hamlet, when I own the half of what he ſpoke was as painful to my ear as every line that came from Betterton was charming; and yet it is not impoſſible, could they have come to a poll, but Wilks might have had a majority of admirers: however, ſuch a diviſion had been no proof that the preheminence had not ſtill remained in Betterton; and if I ſhould add that Booth too was behind Betterton in *Othello*, it would be ſaying no more than Booth himſelf had judgment and candour enough to know and confeſs. And if Booth and Wilks are allowed in the two above-mentioned characters a ſecond place to ſo great a maſter as *Betterton*, it will be a rank of praiſe that the beſt actors ſince my time might have been proud of.’

(9) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 476.

It has been before obſerved, in ſpeaking of BETTERTON, that his hiſtory included in a great meaſure that of the Britiſh theatre, from 1660 to 1710. We may with like juſtice aſſert in regard to BOOTH, that his article continues the ſame hiſtory twenty years lower, and therefore merited all the regard that has been paid to it. Some perhaps may imagine that theſe characters are not of importance enough to deſerve ſo great attention: But in a body of perſonal hiſtory it is certainly right to have a due regard to a point which has ſo neceſſary a connection with the repreſentation of the times; and even the ſevereſt readers will find, that the hiſtory of the ſtage has its uſes, and that it would be no inconſiderable

ſervice

Mr. Booth excelled. He was a man of letters alſo, and an author in more languages than one. He had a taſte for poetry, which diſcovered itſelf when he was very young, in tranſlations from ſeveral Odes of Horace; and in his riper years, he wrote ſeveral ſongs and other original poems, which were very far from injuring his reputation. He was alſo the author of a maſk or dramatic entertainment called *Dido and Æneas*(*d*), that was very well received upon the Stage, which, however, did not get the better ſo far of his indolence, as to produce any thing of the ſame kind afterwards. But his maſter-piece was a Latin inſcription to the memory of a celebrated Actor, who died while he was young, Mr. William Smith, one of the greateſt men of his profeſſion, and of whom Mr. Booth always ſpoke in raptures. This ſhort elogy has all the ſtrength, beauty, and elegance, which is neceſſary to recommend a thing of that kind, without any mixture of that flattery, which ſo often vitiates inſcriptions of this nature, and is therefore the propereſt ſpecimen that can be offered to the reader's notice, of our author's genius and learning (*e*) [*G*]. In his private life he had many virtues, mixed

(*d*) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. i. p. 2[illegible]2.

(*e*) Hiſtory of the Engliſh Stage, p. 148.

ſervice done to the Republic of Letters, if due care were taken to furniſh us with a complete account of the characters of the principal performers before the Reſtoration, which perhaps we are not to expect in haſte. As to the particulars of the behaviour of Mr. Booth, conſidered in the light of a manager, it does not concern us ſo much, though it muſt be offered as an addition to his reputation, that during the twenty years he continued in this ſtation the theatre was in the greateſt credit, and that his illneſs, amongſt other things, contributed not a little to its declenſion. We have a very fair account of this matter from Mr. Cibber, who, towards the end of his book, gives us the following detail of the ruin of their adminiſtration, by whoſe care the ſtage had been rendered equally beneficial to the managers, advantageous to thoſe in their ſervice, and ſatisfactory to the public (10).

(10) Cibber's Apology for his own Life, p. 487.

‘ During our four laſt years, ſays he, there happened ſo very little unlike what had been ſaid, that ‘ I ſhall conclude with barely mentioning thoſe unavoidable accidents that drew on our diſſolution. ‘ The firſt that for ſome years had led the way to ‘ greater, was the continued ill ſtate of health that ‘ rendered Booth incapable of appearing on the ſtage. ‘ The next was the death of Mrs. Oldfield, which ‘ happened on the 23d of October, 1730. About ‘ the ſame time too Mrs. Porter, then in her higheſt ‘ reputation for Tragedy, was loſt to us by the miſfortune of a diſlocated limb from the overturning ‘ of a chaiſe. And our laſt ſtroke was the death of ‘ Wilks, in September the year following, 1731.’

[*G*] *Our author's genius and learning.*] It is a miſfortune to the reader that we can give him no tolerable account of the perſon whom this memorable inſcription referred to, beyond or excluſive of what is contained therein. His name was William Smith, and it is reaſonable to believe he was of a good family, ſince he was a Barriſter at Law of Gray's-Inn, before he quitted the Bar for the Stage. There is good reaſon to think that he came as early upon it as Betterton, or at leaſt that he was not much his junior, ſince we find that he was embarked with him in the deſign of procuring a conjunction of the two companies, ſo long ago as the year 1681. We have reaſon therefore to believe, that the following lines were penned by our author in the earlier part of his life, while he preſerved in their full perfection thoſe literary qualifications which he had acquired at Weſtminſter-ſchool, and that happy turn in writing the Roman language, which peculiarly diſtinguiſhes ſuch as have paid their firſt vows to the Muſes in thoſe venerable cloyſters. The ſentiments expreſſed in theſe few lines ſufficiently ſhew Mr. Booth's notions of his profeſſion (11).

(11) Hiſt. of the Engliſh Stage, p. 148.

Scenicus eximius,
Regnante Carolo Secundo:
Bettertono Coætaneus & Amicus,
nec non propemodum Æqualis.
Haud ignobili ſtirpe Oriundus,
Nec Literarum rudis humaniorum,
rem Scenicam
per multos feliciter annos adminiſtravit
Juſtoque moderamine & morum ſuavitate;
Omnium intra Theatrum
Obſervantiam, extra Theatrum Laudem,
Ubique benevolentiam & amorem ſibi conciliavit.

In Engliſh thus:

An Excellent Player,
in the reign of Charles the Second:
The contemporary and friend of Betterton,
and almoſt his equal.
Deſcended of no ignoble family,
nor deſtitute of polite Learning.
The buſineſs of the ſtage
He for many years happily managed;
And by his juſt conduct and ſweetneſs of manners
obtained
the reſpect of all within the Theatre,
the applauſe of thoſe without,
and the good will and love of all mankind.

C.

⁂ [Mr. Colley Cibber hath related an anecdote concerning our great Actor, which is ſo much to his honour, that we are ſurpriſed at its having been omitted in the preceding article. Mr. Booth, when he was but an Undergraduate of the Buſkin, had been for ſome time too frank a lover of the bottle. But having obſerved into what contempt and diſtreſſes Powel had plunged himſelf by the ſame vice, he was ſo ſtruck with the terror of his example, that he made a reſolution of entirely reforming the exceſs into which he had fallen; and to this reſolution he ſtrictly adhered to the end of his days. This, as Mr. Cibber juſtly obſerves, was ‘ an uncommon act of philoſophy ‘ in a young man, of which, in his fame and fortune, ‘ he afterwards enjoyed the reward and benefit (12).’ If the good conduct of Mr. Booth had been attended to, and followed by Shuter and Weſton, the Public might not ſo ſoon have been deprived of two favourite Actors.

(12) Life of Colley Cibber, Vol. i. p. 191. 4th Edition.

Mr. Victor informs us, that when the Tragedy of Cato was brought on the ſtage, Mr. Addiſon was a man of too much baſhfulneſs and diffidence to aſſume the Author, and to venture upon reading his Play at the firſt meeting of the Actors: Mr. Cibber, therefore, was requeſted to ſupply his place, who read it ſo much to the ſatisfaction and delight of Mr. Addiſon, that he inſiſted on Cibber's performing the part of Cato. However, when the parts came to be, caſt by the Managers, they had the judgment to aſſign the repreſentation of Cato to Booth. But he being then a young man, Mr. Wilks was afraid that Booth would think himſelf injured by being obliged to appear in ſo venerable a character. To reconcile him, therefore, to it, Mr. Wilks had good-nature enough to carry the part to Booth's lodgings, with a view of ſhewing him its importance, and of perſuading him, if neceſſary, to accept of it. Mr. Booth concealed his knowledge of the importance of the character, and ſeemed to undertake it entirely at the Manager's deſire and recommendation. This behaviour, and his performance of the part, gave Wilks great pleaſure, till the conſequences began ſoon after to appear, in the acceſſion of reputation and intereſt acquired by Mr. Booth (13). The anecdote now related, Mr. Victor had from Booth himſelf. By the way, the Life of Booth, publiſhed in 1734, was written by Mr. Victor (14).

(13) Victor's Hiſt. of the Theatres of London and Dublin, Vol. ii. p. 29—31.

(14) *Ibid* p. 9 note.

As it is allowed that the repreſentation of Othello was Mr. Booth's maſter-piece, we ſhall inſert an account of the manner in which he delivered one ſpeech in that character.

‘ In

mixed with a few, and thoſe very pardonable, failings. He was very juſt, punctual, and ſincere in all his dealings. He was not haſty in giving his word, becauſe he never broke

‘ In the firſt capital ſcene, Iago works Othello into ‘ jealouſy, and takes his leave as follows:

‘ ——— In the mean time
‘ Let me be thought too buſy in my fears,
‘ As worthy cauſe I have to fear I am,
‘ And hold her free, I do beſeech your honour.
‘ *Othello.* Fear not my government.
‘ *Iago.* I once more take my leave. [*Exit.*
‘ *Othello.* This fellow 's of exceeding honeſty,
‘ And knows all qualities with a learn'd ſpirit
‘ Of human dealings. If I do prove her haggard,
‘ Though that her jeſſes were my dear heart-ſtrings,
‘ I'd whiſtle her off, and let her down the wind
‘ To prey on fortune. Haply, for I am black,
‘ And have not thoſe ſoft parts of converſation
‘ That chamberers have—Or, for I am declin'd
‘ Into the vale of years—Yet that's not much—
‘ She's gone! I am abus'd! and my relief
‘ Muſt be to loath her. O curſe of marriage!
‘ That we can call theſe delicate creatures ours,
‘ And not their appetites! I had rather be a toad,
‘ And live upon the vapour of a dungeon,
‘ Than keep a corner in the thing I love
‘ For others uſes——Look where ſhe comes——
‘ [Deſdemona *enters.*
‘ If ſhe be falſe—O then Heaven mocks itſelf!
‘ I'll not believe it.

‘ I look upon this ſoliloquy to be the Touchſtone ‘ for every new actor. When Iago has left him, ‘ after a long pauſe, the eye kept looking after him, ‘ Booth ſpoke the following remark, in a low tone ‘ of voice:

“ This fellow's of exceeding honeſty,
“ And knows all qualities with a learn'd ſpirit
“ Of human dealings.”

‘ Then a pauſe; the look ſtarting into anger.’

“ If I do find her haggard,
“ Though that her jeſſes were my dear heart-ſtrings,
“ I'd whiſtle her off, and let her down the wind
“ To prey on fortune!”

‘ A long pauſe, as to ruminate.’

“ Haply, for I am black,
“ And have not thoſe ſoft parts of converſation
“ That chamberers have—Or, for I am declin'd
“ Into the vale of years—Yet that's not much—”

‘ After a pauſe, the following ſtart of violent paſſion.’

“ She's gone! I am abuſed! and my relief
“ Muſt be to loath her! O curſe of marriage!
“ That we can call thoſe delicate creatures ours,
“ And not their appetites!”

‘ What follows in a quicker, contemptuous tone.’

“ I'd rather be a toad,
“ And live upon the vapour of a dungeon,
“ Than keep a corner in the thing I love
“ For others uſes!”

‘ A look of amazement, ſeeing Deſdemona coming.’

“ Look where ſhe comes!”

‘ A ſhort pauſe, the countenance and voice ſoftened.’

“ If ſhe be falſe, O then Heav'n mocks itſelf!
“ I'll not believe it.”

‘ In this ſoliloquy the tranſitions are frequent, and ‘ require ſuch judicious pauſes, ſuch alteration of ‘ tones and attitudes, ſuch correſponding looks, that ‘ no actor ſince Booth has been quite complete in it.

‘ In the diſtreſsful paſſages, at the heart-breaking ‘ anguiſh of his jealouſy, I have ſeen all the men, ‘ ſuſceptible of the tender paſſions, in tears. Now, ‘ the inference to be drawn is, that this man, who ‘ had all the requiſites and powers to excel in that ‘ important character, muſt be acknowledged a great ‘ actor (15).’

In the work from which the above extract hath been made, Mr. Victor hath been at ſome pains to do juſtice to Mr. Booth, in oppoſition to the luke-warm praiſe of Cibber, and to the reflection contained in Pope's epithet of WELL MOUTH'D, and in the ſevere illuſtration of it, by his right reverend annotator (16).

To the ſpecimen given, in Note (G), of Mr. Booth's talent for Latin compoſition, we ſhall add an inſtance of his abilities in Engliſh poetry. It is an Ode on Miſs Saintlow's dancing, afterwards Mrs. Booth.

‘ She comes! the God of Love aſſerts his reign,
‘ Reſiſtleſs o'er the gazing throng!
‘ Alone ſhe fills the ſpacious ſcene!
‘ The charm of ev'ry eye, the praiſe of ev'ry tongue!

‘ Order and grace together join'd,
‘ Sweetneſs with majeſty combin'd,
‘ To make the beauteous form complete,
‘ On ev'ry ſtep and motion wait.

‘ Now, to a ſlow and melting air ſhe moves!
‘ Her eyes their ſoftneſs ſteal from Venus' doves!
‘ So like in ſhape, in air, and mien,
‘ She paſſes for the Paphian queen!
‘ The Graces all around her play;
‘ The wond'ring gazers die away.

‘ But now, the flying fingers ſtrike the lyre!
‘ The ſprightlier notes the nymph inſpire!
‘ She whirls around! ſhe bounds! ſhe ſprings!
‘ As if Jove's Meſſenger had lent her Wings!

‘ Such Daphne was, when near old Peneus' ſtream
‘ She fled to ſhun a loath'd embrace!
‘ (Of ancient bards the frequent theme)
‘ Such were her lovely limbs, ſo fluſh'd her charming ‘ face!

‘ So round her neck, her eyes ſo fair!
‘ So roſe her ſwelling cheſt, ſo flow'd her amber hair!
‘ While her ſwift feet outſtripp'd the Wind,
‘ And left the enamour'd God of Day behind.

‘ While the light-footed fairy flies,
‘ Our mounting ſpirits nimbly riſe!
‘ The pulſe ſtill anſwers to the ſtrains,
‘ And the blood dances in our veins.
‘ Of Cynthia's air let poets dream.
‘ When from the hoary mountain's height,
‘ Down to Eurotas' ſilent ſtream
‘ She leads her virgin train, and charms the ſight!

‘ Whether on mountains, or in woods,
‘ In flow'ry lawns or verdant fields,
‘ Or bathing in the ſilver floods,
‘ Lo! to a mortal fair the fancy'd Goddeſs yelds!” (17.)

Mrs. Booth ſurvived her huſband forty years. In 1772, ſhe erected, in Weſtminſter Abbey, a monument to his memory, on which is an inſcription in proſe, which, as it contains no new information, we have not thought it needful to inſert. The Epitaph here ſubjoined was written by Mr. Victor, and appears to have been intended for the monument:

“ Here lies the genius of the tragic ſtage,
“ Crown'd with applauſe by an admiring age.
“ All who have *learning*, *judgment*, *wit*, ſtop here,
“ And give to BOOTH a tributary tear.”

We have been favoured, by Mr. Reed of Staple's-Inn, with the following curious account of Mr. Smith the Comedian, mentioned in note [G], whoſe hiſtory hath hitherto been very little known. ‘ Downes, ‘ the Prompter, ſays (18), that Mr. Smith was one ‘ of thoſe who joined Sir William Davenant's com‘pany, about a year after they began to perform at ‘ Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. That houſe was opened in ‘ Spring 1662. It was, therefore, in the ſubſequent ‘ year that Mr. Smith's theatrical life commenced. ‘ He continued to perform during all the reign of ‘ Charles the Second, and part, if not the whole, of ‘ that of his ſucceſſor. Cibber, in his Apology (19), ‘ mentions him as one who paid attention to his cha‘racter in private life; and gives the following account ‘ of the cauſe which occaſioned his retirement, for ‘ ſome time, from the ſtage (20); “ Mr. Smith had “ the misfortune, in a diſpute with a Gentleman be“hind the ſcenes, to receive a blow from him: the “ ſame night an account of this was carried to the “ King (James the Second), to whom the Gentleman “ was repreſented as ſo groſsly in the wrong, that “ the

(15) Victor's Hiſt. of the Theatres of London and Dublin, p. 10—13.

(16) *Ibid.* p. 15—20.

(17) Victor 's Hiſt. of the Theatres in London, from 1760 to 1770. Dedication to Mrs. Booth, p. viii—x.

(18) Roſcius Anglicanus, p. 20.

(19) *Ibid.* p. 70. Edin. 1750.

(20) *Ibid.* p. 68.

broke it. He had no envy in his compoſition, but, on the contrary, readily approved, and as readily rewarded, merit, as it was in his power. He was ſomething rough in his manner, and a little haſty in his temper, but very open and free to ſpeak his ſentiments, which he always did with an air of ſincerity, that procured him as much credit with people at firſt ſight, as he had with thoſe to whom he had been known ever ſo long. He was very kind to all the Players whoſe circumſtances were but indifferent, and took care not to make them uneaſy, either in point of ſalary or of uſage. He was no great ſpeaker in company, but when he did, it was in a grave lofty way, not at all unlike his pronunciation on the Stage. He had a great veneration for his parents while they were living, and was alſo very uſeful to his brother and ſiſter after their deceaſe. In a word, he diſcharged all the duties of private and public life in a genteel and generous manner, ſo that his death was very much regretted; and as, in his judgment, the Town ſaw nothing equal to Betterton after he quitted the Stage; ſo many are perſuaded, that ſince the death of Mr. Booth, his parts have been performed by none with ſuperior grace.

“ the next day his Majeſty ſent to forbid him the Court upon it. This indignity caſt upon a Gentleman, only for having maltreated a Player, was looked upon as the concern of every Gentleman; and a party was ſoon formed to aſſert and vindicate their honour, by humbling this favourite Actor, whoſe ſlight injury had been judged equal to ſo ſevere a notice. Accordingly, the next time Smith acted, he was received with a chorus of catcalls, that ſoon convinced him he ſhould not be ſuffered to proceed in his part; upon which, without the leaſt diſcompoſure, he ordered the curtain to be dropped; and having a competent fortune of his own, thought the conditions of adding to it, by his remaining upon the ſtage, were too dear, and from that day entirely quitted it.” ‘ Another Writer (21) tells the ſtory with ſome variation, and probably with more accuracy. He aſſerts, that Mr. Smith left the ſtage, in order to ſerve as a volunteer in the army of King James, to whom he was zealouſly attached; and that, on the Abdication, returning to the theatre, he met with the reception deſcribed by Mr. Cibber, from which the ſame conſequences followed. As that lively Author appears, in writing his book, to have relied wholly on his memory, it is probable that he confounded two ſtories together. The firſt part of it may, therefore, be true; and to that incident may be aſcribed the attachment to King James's intereſt mentioned by Mr. Chetwood. It is, however, certain (22), that Mr. Smith did reſume his ſtation in the Theatre, but not until 1695, when he was prevailed upon to perform the part of Scandal, in Mr. Congreve's then new Comedy of Love for Love. He continued to act on the ſtage during the ſmall remainder of his life (23), which ended in the next year, 1696, on the fourth day of the run of Banks's Tragedy of Cyrus. His death was brought on by a cold, occaſioned by a violent fit of the cramp, which prompted him to throw himſelf out of bed. In this ſituation he continued ſo long almoſt naked, that the cold he caught fell on his lungs: a fever enſued, and death followed in three days after (24).’ K.

(21) Chetwood's General Hiſt. of the Stage, p. 96.

(22) Chetwood.

(23) Downes, p. 44.

(24) Chetwood.

*** [BORLASE (WILLIAM) *, a very ingenious and learned Writer in the antiquities and natural hiſtory of his native county, was born at Pendeen, in the pariſh of St. Juſt, Cornwall, on the 2d of February, 1695-6. The family of that name, from which he was deſcended, had been ſettled at the place from whence they derived it (Borlaſe), from the time of King William Rufus. Our Author was the ſecond ſon of John Borlaſe, Eſq; (*a*), of Pendeen, in the pariſh before mentioned, by Lydia, the youngeſt daughter of Chriſtopher Harris, Eſq; of Hayne in the county of Devon; and was put early to ſchool at Penzance, from which town he was removed, in the year 1709, to the care of the Rev. Mr. Bedford, then a learned ſchool-maſter at Plymouth (*b*). Having completed his grammatical education, he was entered of Exeter College, Oxford, in March 1712-13; where, on the 1ſt of June 1719, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts. In the ſame year, Mr. Borlaſe was admitted to Deacon's orders, and ordained Prieſt in 1720. On the 22d of April, 1722, he was inſtituted, by Dr. Weſton, Biſhop of Exeter, to the Rectory of Ludgvan in Cornwall, to which he had been preſented by Charles Duke of Bolton. On the 28th of July, 1724, he was married in the church of Illuggan, by Dr. Borlaſe of Caſtlehorneck, to Anne, eldeſt ſurviving daughter and coheir of William Smith, M. A. Rector of the pariſhes of Camborn and Illuggan, by Mary, daughter and coheir of John Farthing of Weſtminſter, Eſq; by Martha, daughter of the Rev. John Pelling (*c*). In 1732, the Lord Chancellor King, by the recommendation of Sir William Morice, Bart. preſented Mr. Borlaſe to the Vicarage of St. Juſt, his native pariſh, and where his father had a conſiderable property. This Vicarage and the Rectory of Ludgvan were the only preferments he ever received.

When Mr. Borlaſe was fixed at Ludgvan, which was a retired, but delightful ſituation, he ſoon recommended himſelf as a paſtor, a gentleman, and a man of learning. The duties of his profeſſion he diſcharged with the moſt rigid punctuality and exemplary dignity. He was eſteemed and reſpected by the principal gentry of Cornwall, and lived on the moſt friendly and ſocial terms with thoſe of his neighbourhood. In the purſuit of general knowledge he was active and vigorous; and his mind being of an inquiſitive turn, he could not ſurvey with inattention or indifference the peculiar objects which his ſituation pointed to his view. There were in the pariſh of Ludgvan rich copper works, belonging to the late Earl of Godolphin. Theſe abounded with mineral and metallic foſſils, which Mr. Borlaſe collected from time to time; and his collection increaſing by degrees, he was encouraged to ſtudy at large the natural hiſtory of his native county. While he was engaged in this deſign, he could not avoid being ſtruck with the nume-

* For the materials of this article we are indebted to the obliging communications of the Rev. Mr. Penneck, of the Britiſh Muſeum, nephew of Dr. Borlaſe; to the Rev. Mr. Borlaſe of Roſecadgwell in Cornwall, the ſeat of his late grandfather John Borlaſe, Eſq; the Doctor's ſon; and to the Rev. Mr. J. Penneck, of Gulval, in the ſame county.

(*a*) John Borlaſe, Eſq; ſat in parliament two ſeſſions for the borough of St Ives.

(*b*) It is ſaid, likewiſe, that he had part of his grammar learning at Tiverton in Devonſhire, where many good ſcholars have been educated.

(*c*) Ludgvan Regiſter.

rous monuments of remote antiquity that are to be met with in ſeveral parts of Cornwall; and which had hitherto been paſſed over with far leſs examination than they deſerved. Enlarging, therefore, his plan, he determined to gain as accurate an acquaintance as poſſible with the Druid learning, and with the religion and cuſtoms of the ancient Britons, before their converſion to Chriſtianity. To this undertaking he was encouraged by ſeveral gentlemen of his neighbourhood, who were men of literature and lovers of Britiſh antiquities; and particularly by Sir John St. Aubyn, grandfather of the preſent Baronet of that family, and the late Rev. Edward Collins, Vicar of St. Earth. In the year 1748, Mr. Borlaſe, happening to attend the ordination of his eldeſt ſon at Exeter, commenced an acquaintance with the Rev. Dr. Charles Lyttelton, late Biſhop of Carliſle, then come to be inſtalled into the Deanry, and the Rev. Dr. Milles, the preſent Dean; two gentlemen of diſtinguiſhed eminence for hiſtorical and antiquarian knowledge, and who, in ſucceſſion, have ſo worthily and ably preſided over the Society of Antiquaries in London. Our Author's correſpondence with theſe learned and communicative gentlemen was a great encouragement to the proſecution of his ſtudies; and he has taken care to acknowledge his obligations to them, in ſeveral parts of his works. In 1750, being at London, he was admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society, into which he had been choſen the year before, after having ſhewn how well he deſerved that honour, by communicating an ingenious and curious Eſſay on the Corniſh Cryſtals (*d*). Mr. Borlaſe having completed, in 1753, his manuſcript of the Antiquities of Cornwall, carried it to Oxford, where he finiſhed the whole impreſſion, in folio, in the February following. A ſecond edition of it, in the ſame form, was publiſhed at London, in 1769 [*A*]. Our Author's next publication was, “ Obſervations on the ancient and “ preſent

(*d*) Abridgment of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, by Martyn, Vol. x. Part 1. p. 642, &c.

[*A*] The title of the work is as follows: “ Antiquities, hiſtorical and monumental, of the County “ of Cornwall. Conſiſting of ſeveral Eſſays on the “ ancient Inhabitants, Druid Superſtition, Cuſtoms “ and Remains of the moſt remote Antiquity in Britain, and the Britiſh Iſles, exemplified and proved by “ Monuments now extant in Cornwall and the Scilly “ Iſlands; with a Vocabulary of the Cornu-Britiſh “ Language. By William Borlaſe, L. L. D. F. R. S. “ Rector of Ludgvan, Cornwall.

> “ *Miratur, facileſque oculos fert omnia circum*
> “ *Æneas, capiturque locis, et ſingula lætus*
> “ *Exquiritque auditque virûm monimenta priorum.*
> Virg.

“ The ſecond Edition, reviſed, with ſeveral Additions, “ by the Author; to which is added a Map of Corn- “ wall, and two new Plates.” This very valuable performance is dedicated to the late Sir John St. Aubyn, Bart. who, as well as his father, had been a great encourager of the deſign. The work is divided into four books, and theſe again into chapters, the general contents of which we ſhall lay before our readers, to give them a ſlight view of the entertainment they may expect from ſo curious a publication. Book I. General Obſervations on the Hiſtory of Britain. Chap. I. Of the Name of Britain. II. Of the ancient Inhabitants of Britain. III. Firſt Inhabitants from Gaul, and Gaul only. IV. Of the Gauls. V. What the ancient Inhabitants of Britain knew, or thought of their own Original. VI. Of the Reſemblance which the ancient Cimbri or Celts bore the Eaſtern Nations, and how far the Monuments of Aſia and the Eaſtern Parts of Europe may contribute to illuſtrate the Antiquities of the Weſtern Nations. VII. Of the Story of Brute, and the Phenician Trade to this Iſland. VIII. Of the Grecians. IX. Of the Romans. X. Of the Saxons. XI. Of the Danes. XII. Of the Normans. XIII. Of the Britiſh Religion. This laſt is only a ſhort introductory Chapter to the ſecond Book, which treats more ſpecifically, and at large, concerning the Britiſh Religion, and in which the following Subjects are conſidered. Chap. I. Of Idolatry in general. II. Of the Name and Claſſes of the Druid Prieſthood. III. Of the Countries inhabited by the Druids; probably only Gaul and Britain. IV. Of the Antiquity of the Druids. V. The Original of the Druid Doctrine and Prieſthood. VI. That Druidiſm had its firſt Riſe in Britain. VII. The Dignity and Power of the Druids. VIII. Of the Druid Diſcipline; the Quality and Admiſſion of their Diſciples; the Privacy, Time, Privileges, and Manner of their Inſtruction; their Correction. IX. Of Druideſſes, and whether the Germans had any female Druids. X. Of the Druid Learning, Letters, Language, Doctrine, and Tenets. XI. Of their phyſical Knowledge. XII. Of their Botany and Anatomy. XIII. Moral and religious Doctrine. XIV. Of the Immortality and Tranſmigration of the Soul, and how far adopted by the Druids. XV. Of Druid Doctrines. XVI. Of the Druid Deities and Idols. XVII. Of the Druids Places of Worſhip. XVIII. Of the Druid Worſhip. XIX. Of the ſuperſtitious Rounds and Turnings of the Body, which the Druids and other Gentiles performed during the Time of Worſhip, and of Luſtration. XX. Of the holy Fires of the Druids. XXI. Of their Divination, Charms, and Incantations. XXII. Of the great Reſemblance betwixt the Druid and Perſian Superſtition, and the Cauſe of it enquired into. XXIII. The Declenſion and Expiration of Druidiſm. The third Book of this Work is devoted to the Conſideration of rude Stone Monuments, under the ſubſequent Heads. I. Of rude Stone Monuments in general. II. Of ſingle Stones erect, or rude Pillars. III. Of Rock-Idols, their ſeveral Shapes, and the high Opinion which the Ancients entertained of them. IV. Of the Logan, Lagan, or rocking Stones. V. Of the great Virtues attributed by the Ancients in foreign Parts, and the Druids here, to particular Stones and Gems. VI. Of Monuments, conſiſting of two, three, or ſeveral Stones; their Deſcription, and original Deſign enquired into. VII. Of circular Monuments; the Uſe and Deſign of them among the Ancients in foreign Countries, and the Druids in this. VIII. Of Barrows. IX. Of the Cromlêh. X. Of Urn-burial, and ſome remarkable Urns found in Cornwall. XI. Of the Rock-baſons. XII. Of the Gold Coins found at Kam-Bre in Cornwall, and what Nation they are to be aſcribed to. XIII. Of the Braſs Belts found at Kam-Bre and elſewhere. XIV. Of the Caves of the ancient Corniſh Britons. The fourth and laſt Book treats of the Roman Remains of Cornwall; and comprehends the following Particulars. Chap. I. Of Roman Coins. II. Of Roman Sepulchres, and other Remains found in Cornwall. III. Of Roman Camps and Fortifications in Cornwall. IV. Of the Roman Geography of Cornwall, and the ancient and preſent Name and Limits. V. Of the Roman Ways. VI. Cornwall conquered by the Romans as early as the Time of Agricola, in the Reign of Domitian. VII. Of ancient Caſtles in Cornwall; and firſt of Hill-caſtles. VIII. Of walled Caſtles, deſigned for Reſidence as well as Defence. IX. Of walled Caſtles of Reſidence and Defence which have Keeps; and firſt of Trematon. X. Of the State of Chriſtianity in Cornwall after the Roman Conqueſt. XI. Of religious Houſes founded in Cornwall after the Roman Conqueſt. XII. Inſcribed Monuments after the Conqueſt. XIII. Of the Princes and civil Government of Cornwall, from the earlieſt Account of it, to the Norman Conqueſt.—We can aſſure ſuch of our readers as have not yet peruſed Dr. Borlaſe's Antiquities of Cornwall, that they will find it a very judicious,

" preſent State of the Iſlands of Scilly, and their Importance to the Trade of Great " Britain [*B*], in a letter to the reverend Charles Lyttelton, LL. D. Dean of Exeter, " and F. R. S." This work, which was printed likewiſe at Oxford, and appeared in 1756, in quarto, was an extenſion of a paper that had been read before the Royal Society, on the 8th of February 1753, entitled, " An Account of the great Alterations " which the Iſlands of Scilly have undergone, ſince the Time of the Ancients, who " mention them, as to their Number, Extent, and Poſition (*e*)." It was at the requeſt of Dr. Lyttelton, that this account was enlarged into a diſtinct treatiſe. In 1757, Mr. Borlaſe again employed the Oxford preſs, in the printing of his Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall [*C*], for which he had been many years making collections, and which was publiſhed

dicious, as well as a very learned work. The author hath not entered into thoſe long digreſſions, or advanced thoſe fanciful hypotheſes, which may be found in ſome antiquarian writers. His conjectures are modeſt, and, in general, well ſupported; and there is a vein of good ſenſe running through his performance which reflects upon him no ſmall degree of honour. In ſaying this, it cannot be ſuppoſed that we mean to aſſert our agreement with him in every minute particular, upon ſubjects which, in themſelves, are ſufficiently obſcure and difficult. Particularly, when, in accounting for the ſame, or the like idolatry's prevailing in all nations, he aſcribes it, among other cauſes, to its being conducted by the author of error, the father of lies; that is, by the devil; the ſolution of the queſtion is more orthodox than philoſophical (1).

[*B*] *Obſervations on the ancient and preſent State of the Iſlands of Scilly.*] It hath juſtly been obſerved, that this performance did not in the leaſt diminiſh the reputation which Mr. Borlaſe had already acquired as an antiquary. In the iſlands of Scilly he met with plenty of materials to gratify an inquiſitive diſpoſition. With much labour, and not without much hazard, he has traced, in thoſe iſlands, and deſcribed, ſeveral remarkable monuments of antiquity. His conjectures upon them are ingenious, and generally well ſupported; and his deſcriptions are ſeldom attended with that inſipid dryneſs, too frequently found in diſquiſitions of this ſort. The objects, at the ſame time, are preſented to the eye, in well executed copper-plates (2). The writer referred to, hath farther obſerved, that the ſtudy of antiquity was Mr. Borlaſe's favourite attachment; and that, as a naturaliſt, he did not greatly excel. The latter aſſertion is undoubtedly a miſtake: nor could it, we ſuppoſe, have been made by the periodical critic, if our author's Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall had then been publiſhed. However, the Reviewer adds, that Mr. Borlaſe has judiciouſly and clearly pointed out the importance of the iſlands of Scilly to Great Britain; the prejudice that would accrue from their falling into an enemy's hand; what is wanting for their protection and encouragement; the neceſſity of ſupplying the inhabitants with proper perſons to excite among them a ſpirit of induſtry, to amend their morals, and inſpire them with a due ſenſe of religious duties (3).

We ſhall take notice of a few incidental circumſtances which occur in the obſervations on the iſlands of Scilly. Mr. Borlaſe and his companion, during their viſit to the iſlands, being deſirous of examining ſeveral of the barrows, or ſepulchres, where, according to common opinion, *giants* were buried, employed ſome ſoldiers to open them; and on the following night there happened to be a remarkably violent ſtorm. This the iſlanders imputed to the giants being offended at having their burying-place diſturbed; and our author and his friend were conſidered as the ſource of a calamity which had deſtroyed the poor people's crops (4).

In St. Martin's, one of the iſlands, which had become deſtitute of inhabitants, a little colony had been eſtabliſhed, by a Mr. Ekines, ſomething more than one hundred years before Mr. Borlaſe's viſit. There were then in it eighteen families, all related, who had a great opinion of their own iſland, were not willing to admit ſtrangers among them, and thought they could not live any where ſo plentifully and pleaſantly as at St. Martin's (5). It is remarkable that the iſle of Scilly, which gives the general name to the reſt, is now ſo ſmall and inconſiderable a ſpot, that ſcarcely any thing but birds could mount its cliffs, and its barrenneſs would ſuffer nothing but ſea birds to inhabit there. It is ſhewn, however, by our author, that it was formerly of greater extent; being joined, by little necks of land, to what are now become iſlands (6). The whole of the Scilly Iſles, at the time we are ſpeaking of, contained about a thouſand inhabitants; and thoſe of them who lived temperately, lived to a great age (7). More tin was found in theſe iſlands when the Phenicians traded thither, than at preſent: But it is not probable that that commercial people drew, from thoſe alone, the whole of this valuable metal, which they diſperſed through ſo many parts of the world. Mr. Borlaſe hath endeavoured to prove, with no ſmall appearance of reaſon, that the Phenicians and other traders included the weſtern parts of Cornwall in the iſlands called Caſſiterides (8). No adders, or venomous creatures, of any kind, are to be met with in the Scilly Iſles (9). Anciently, they were fully cultivated and inhabited; and muſt, our author thinks, have undergone ſome great cataſtrophe (10). The preſent race of inhabitants are all new-comers (11).

Dr. Campbell, in his admirable work, " The " Political Survey of Great Britain," hath given an account of the Iſlands of Scilly, for which he is, in part, indebted to Dr. Borlaſe; and hath made ſome excellent obſervations on the improvements of which theſe iſlands are capable (12).

[*C*] *His Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall.*] The title of this work is as follows: " THE NATURAL HISTORY " OF CORNWALL. The Air, Climate, Water, " Rivers, Lakes, Sea, and Tides; of the Stones, " Semi-metals, Metals, TIN, and the Manner of " Mining; the CONSTITUTION of the STANNARIES; IRON, COPPER, SILVER, LEAD, and " GOLD, found in CORNWALL. Vegetables, rare " Birds, Fiſhes, Shells, Reptiles, and Quadrupeds: " Of the INHABITANTS, their Manners, Cuſtoms, " Plays, or Interludes, Exerciſes, and Feſtivals; the " CORNISH LANGUAGE, Trade, Tenures, and " Arts. Illuſtrated with a new Sheet Map of the " COUNTY, and twenty-eight Folio Copper-plates " from ORIGINAL DRAWINGS, taken on the Spot." Oxford. Folio. This very valuable performance is dedicated to the nobility and gentry of the county of Cornwall; to which dedication is ſubjoined an explanation of the riſe of the treatiſe; the difficulties that interfered in the completion of it; the aſſiſtance obtained; the method, plan, and connection of the whole work, and the undeniable imperfections in the execution of it, as the author modeſtly expreſſes himſelf. The contents of this work will, in part, be ſeen from the title already given; and we can aſſure our readers, who have not hitherto peruſed it, that they will find in it a great variety of curious and uſeful information. Dr. Borlaſe hath done particular juſtice to the metals of his native county, and eſpecially to tin, the peculiar and moſt valuable property of Cornwall. When he treats of its inhabitants, he explains, among other things, why it ſends ſo many members to parliament. This pre-eminence of the county is not ancient. From the 23d of Edward the Firſt, five boroughs only, viz. Launceſton, Liſkard, Truro, Bodmyn, and Helſton ſent two members each, and the county two. Leſtwythyel hath held the ſame privilege from the 4th of Edward the Second, and ſent two members once before, viz. in the 33d of Edward the Firſt. Theſe are the only ſix ancient boroughs of Cornwall, and the number was neither diminiſhed nor increaſed, till the 6th of Edward the Sixth, excepting in one ſingle inſtance, mentioned hereafter. But at this time, being the latter end of Edward the Sixth's reign, ſeven other boroughs, viz. Saltaſh, Camelford, Weſt-Loo, Granpont, Tindagel, Michel, and Newport, were permitted to ſend up two members each. In the firſt year of Mary, Penryn,

(*e*) Philoſ. Tranſ. Vol. xlviii. Part I. p. 55.

(1) Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 63, 2d edit.

(2) Monthly Review, Vol. xiv. p. 449.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 450.

(4) Obſervations on the ancient and preſent State of the Iſlands of Scilly, &c. p. 31.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 55.

(6) Obſervations on the ancient and preſent State of the Iſlands of Scilly, &c. p. 58.

(7) *Ibid.* p. 65. 67.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 72—75.

(9) *Ibid.* p. 83.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 84. 91.

(11) *Ibid.* p. 85.

(12) Vol. i. p. 470—490.

publiſhed in April, 1758. After the publication of the ſeveral volumes we have mentioned, he ſent a variety of foſſils, and remains of antiquity, which he had deſcribed in his works, to be repoſited in the Aſhmolean Muſeum, for the ſatisfaction of the inquiſitive; and to the ſame repoſitory he continued to ſend every thing curious, of the like kind, which fell into his hands. For his benefactions in this reſpect, he received the thanks of the Univerſity, in a letter from the Vice-Chancellor, dated November 18, 1758; and in March, 1766, that learned body conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws.

Though Dr. Borlaſe, when he had completed his three principal works, was become more than ſixty years of age, he continued to exert his uſual diligence and vigour. The chief objects of his attention were his paſtoral duty, and the ſtudy of the Scriptures. In the courſe of this ſtudy, he drew up paraphraſes on the books of Job, and the books of Solomon, and wrote ſome other pieces of a religious kind; all of which, however, he ſeems to have compoſed rather for his private improvement, than with a view to publication. His amuſements abroad were, to ſuperintend the care of his pariſh, and particularly the forming and reforming of its roads, which were more numerous than in any pariſh of Cornwall, and perhaps than in moſt places of equal extent in England. His amuſements at home were the Belles-Lettres, and eſpecially painting. Dr. Borlaſe did not, however, deſert his former literary purſuits. The correction and enlargement of his Antiquities of Cornwall, for a ſecond edition, engaged ſome part of his time; and when this buſineſs was completed, he applied his attention to a minute reviſion of his Natural Hiſtory, and to the interſperſion of the additional diſcoveries which had occurred to him. He added alſo ſuch freſh ſubjects and embelliſhments as were furniſhed by ſubſequent informations. As this work is already become ſcarce, a new edition of it, with the Author's improvements, would probably be very acceptable to the Public. After Dr. Borlaſe had reviſed his Natural Hiſtory, he prepared for the preſs a Treatiſe he had compoſed ſome years before, concerning the Creation and Deluge. But a violent illneſs, in January 1771, and the apprehenſions of entangling himſelf in ſo long and cloſe an attention as the correcting of the ſheets, ſolely, and at ſuch a diſtance from London, would require, induced him to drop his deſign, and to recal the manuſcript from his bookſeller, when only a few pages of it had been printed. From the time of his illneſs, he began ſenſibly to decline; the infirmities of old age came faſt upon him; and it was viſible to all his friends that his diſſolution was approaching. This expected event happened on the 31ſt of Auguſt,

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ryn, and in the fourth and fifth of the ſame reign, St. Ives, had the like privilege. In the firſt of Elizabeth, Tregony was admitted; in the fifth St. Germans, and St. Maw's; in the 13th Eaſt-Loo and Fawy; and in the 27th of that reign Callington, making up the number of twenty-one boroughs, which, with the county, return to parliament forty-four members. The reaſon of this modern addition to the boroughs, Dr. Borlaſe thinks, may beſt appear from conſidering that the dutchy of Cornwall yields in tin and lands an hereditary revenue, much ſuperior to what the crown has in any county in England, and that eight of theſe boroughs (13) had either an immediate or remote connection with the demeſne lands of this dutchy, a link formerly of much ſtricter union and higher command than at preſent. Four other boroughs (Newport, Penryn, St. Germans, and Fawy) depended on, or wholly belonged to religious houſes which fell to the crown at the diſſolution of monaſteries, in the reign of Henry the Eighth. Of the other boroughs, Michel belonged to the rich and highly allied family of the Arundels of Langhearne, and St. Ives and Callington to the family of Pawlet. Now the ſeveral connections of the additional boroughs may point out the riſe of the privilege granted them of ſending members to parliament. Henry the Seventh reduced the power of the ancient Lords, and conſequently advanced that of the Commons: Henry the Eighth enriched many of the Commons with church lands. In the latter end of the reign of Edward the Sixth, the Duke of Northumberland could not but perceive of what conſequence it was to his ambitious ſchemes to have a majority of the Houſe of Commons in his favour. Accordingly, Cornwall ſeems to have been pitched upon as the moſt proper ſcene for this ſtretch of prerogative, becauſe of the large property of the dutchy, and the influence ariſing from that property. Six towns, therefore, depending on the dutchy and church lands, and one borough of a powerful family were indulged to ſend fourteen members. The miniſtry of thoſe days were not ſo defective in artifice as not to oblige powerful lords now and then with the ſame indulgence which they granted to other boroughs; endeavouring thereby to reconcile the nobility to their adminiſtration, or to make this guilty increaſe of the prerogative leſs invidious. Queen Mary, during her ſhort reign, admitted, probably from ſimilar motives, two more; and queen Elizabeth, who never rejected any political precedent which might confirm her power, though ſhe exerted that power for the proſperity of her people, as well as her own glory, conferred the ſame honour on ſix other boroughs. The only inſtances which could give the leaſt colour of juſtice to theſe proceedings, were few and weak. The borough of Tregony ſent burgeſſes indeed twice, *viz.* in the 23d and 35th of Edward the Firſt, but no more till the firſt of Elizabeth. Eaſt-Loo and Fawy ſent one and the ſame merchant, then called a ſhip-owner, to the council at Weſtminſter (not a parliament), in the fourteenth of Edward the Third. Of theſe inſtances, however, Queen Elizabeth laid hold, for the more ſpecious promoting of her deſigns. It was not any objection, Dr. Borlaſe imagines, to theſe boroughs ſending up members to parliament, that they had little trade, few inhabitants, and thoſe poor, and of no eminence. Theſe circumſtances, in all likelihood, did rather promote their having this privilege beſtowed upon them, as rendering them more tractable and dependent than if they had been large and opulent towns, inhabited by perſons of trade, rank, and diſcernment. It is true, indeed, that theſe places, ſo ſummoned, were old boroughs, in the legal acceptation of the word: that is, they had immunities granted them by their princes or lords, exemptions from ſervices in other courts, privileges of exerciſing trades within their own diſtrict, and they were inveſted with the property of lands, mills, fairs, &c. upon their paying annually a certain chief or fee-farm rent. Moſt of them alſo were parts of the ancient demeſnes of the crown, and had been either in the crown or the blood royal from the Norman conqueſt (14). So that, by paſſing to and from the crown often, and having their privileges conſtantly reſerved and confirmed at every new transfer, theſe towns had acquired a kind of nominal dignity. But, notwithſtanding this, they were, in every other light, inconſiderable, and no ways entitled to the power of ſending members to parliament. Much leſs could they pretend to ſuch a claim, in preference to ſo many more populous communities in the other parts of England (15).

(13) Saltaſh, Camelford, Weſt Loo, Granpont, Tindagel, Tregony, St. Maw's, and Eaſt-Loo.

(14) Once only excepted, when Pierce Gaveſton, by the favour of Edward the Second, was Earl of Cornwall for a ſhort time.

(15) Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall, p. 309—312.

1772, in the 77th year of his age, when he was lamented in the ſeveral relations of a kind father, an affectionate brother, a ſincere friend, an inſtructive paſtor, a man of erudition, and a good citizen. He was buried within the communion rails in Ludgvan church, by the ſide of Mrs. Borlaſe, who had been dead above three years, and over whoſe grave he had cauſed to be inſcribed the following elegant teſtimony of the mutual harmony and affection in which they had lived:

Annæ ſuæ,
Per annos propemodum quadraginta et quinque
Uxori peramatæ, amanti, amabili,
Extremum hoc qualecunque
Grati animi pignus,
Poſuit
Gulielmus Borlaſe.
Deceſſit in Chriſto multum deſiderata
Aprilis xxi^{mo} die, MDCCLXIX. Ætat. LXVI.

The epitaph placed over Dr. Borlaſe by his executor, is as follows:

Hic etiam ſunt repoſitæ
Reliquiæ Annæ mariti
Gul. Borlaſe, L.L. D. R. S. S.
Perurbani, perhumani, perquam pii,
Hujuſce parochiæ per annos LII,
Rectoris deſideratiſſimi,
In republica necnon literaria verſatiſſimi,
Loquuntur ſcripta
Teſtantur poſteri.
Ob. xxxi Aug. A. D. MDCCLXXII.

The Doctor had by his lady ſix ſons [*D*], two of whom alone ſurvived him, the Rev. Mr. John Borlaſe (now living in Cornwall), and the Rev. Mr. George Borlaſe (late Fellow of All Souls College in Oxford), deceaſed.

Beſides Dr. Borlaſe's literary connections with Dr. Lyttelton and Dr. Milles, before mentioned, he correſponded with moſt of the ingenious men of his time. He had a particular intercourſe of this kind with Mr. Pope; and there is ſtill exiſting a large collection of letters, written by that celebrated poet to our Author. He furniſhed Mr. Pope with the greateſt part of the materials for forming his grotto at Twickenham, conſiſting of ſuch curious foſſils as the county of Cornwall abounds with: and there may, at preſent, be ſeen Dr. Borlaſe's name in capitals, compoſed of cryſtals, in the grotto. On this occaſion a very handſome letter was written to the Doctor by Mr. Pope, in which he ſays, 'I am much obliged to you for your valuable collection of 'Corniſh diamonds. I have placed them where they may beſt repreſent yourſelf, *in* '*a ſhade, but ſhining*;" alluding to the obſcurity of Dr. Borlaſe's ſituation, and the brilliancy of his talents.

As a farther evidence of Dr. Borlaſe's zeal in promoting the knowledge of natural hiſtory and antiquities, we ſhall ſubjoin, in a note, an enumeration of the papers which he communicated, at different times, to the Royal Society [*E*].] K.

[*D*] *Had by his lady ſix ſons.*] For one of his ſons, who died young in the naval ſervice, there is the following inſcription on a ſmall plate in Ludgvan church, written by the Doctor:

By the ſmallneſs of this table,
Judge not, Reader, of that loſs
Which it deplores.
Chr. Borlaſe, a youth of ſweet and amiable diſpoſition,
Chooſing the life of a ſailor,
And making quick advances to deſerve
The honours of his profeſſion,
Died, neither by the fury of war,
(In which he was engaged about four years)
Nor by the dangerous element
On which he ſerved his King and country,
But by a fever.
Like a fair flower that had ſurviv'd
The winter's hail and ſtorms,
Reſerved to be gather'd, not torn off,
In time of peace,
He was taken by God to himſelf,
On the coaſt of Guinea, Feb. 21, 1749.
His affectionate parents, deprived of a moſt hopeful ſon,
And unable to pay him the proper funeral duties,
Engrave their remembrance of him
In this plate:
Contented, becauſe ſuch was the will of God.

[*E*] *The papers communicated by him to the Royal Society.*] 1. An Enquiry into the original State and Properties of Spar, and ſparry Productions; particularly the Spars, or Cryſtals, found in Corniſh mines, called Corniſh Diamonds; in a Letter to Emanuel Mendez da Coſta, Eſq; F. R. S. N° 493. Read Dec. 14, 1749, and May 3, 1750 (16). 2. An Account of the great Alterations which the Iſlands of Sylley have undergone ſince the Time of the Ancients, who mention them, as to their Number, Extent, and Poſition; in a Letter to Dr. Birch. Read Feb. 8, 1753 (17). Theſe two papers have already been mentioned in the courſe of the article. 3. An Account of a Storm of Thunder and Lightning near Ludgvan in Cornwall; in a Letter to Dr. Lyttelton. Read Feb. 15, 1753 (18). 4. An Account of ſome Trees diſcovered under Ground, on the Shore at Mounts Bay in Cornwall; in a Letter to the ſame Gentleman. Read Feb. 10, 1757 (19). 5. An Account of the Earthquake in the Weſt Parts of Cornwall, July 15, 1757. Communicated by Dr. Lyttelton, and read Jan. 26, 1758 (20). 6. An Account of ſome Antiquities found in Cornwall; in a Letter to the ſame Gentleman. Read Jan. 11, 1759 (21). 7. Some Account of the extraordinary Agitation of the Waters in Mount's Bay, and other Places, on the 31ſt of March, 1761; in a Letter to the ſame Gentleman. Read Jan. 14, 1762 (22). 8. Account of ſome Circumſtances relative to the Earthquake which attended it in the Weſtern Parts of Europe (23). 9. An Account of a remarkable Agitation of the Sea, July 28, 1761, and of two Thunder Storms in Cornwall; in a Letter to Dr. Birch. Read April 1, 1762 (24). 10. An Account of the late mild Weather

(16) Martin's Abridg. of the Phil. Tranſ. Vol. x. Part i. p. 642, &c.

(17) Philoſophical Tranſactions, Vol. xlviii. Part i. p. 55.

(18) *Ibid.* p. 86.

(19) Vol. l. Part i. p. 51.

(20) *Ibid.* Part ii. p. 499.

(21) Vol. li. Part i. p. 13.

(22) Vol lii. Part ii. p 418.

(23) *Ibid.* p. 426.

(24) *Ibid.* p. 507.

ther in Cornwall, and of the Quantity of Rain fallen there in the Year 1762; in a Letter to Mr. Henry Baker. Read Feb. 10, 1763 (25). 11. An Account of the Quantity of Rain fallen at Mount's Bay, in Cornwall, and of the Weather in that Place; in a Letter to the Right Rev. Charles (Lyttelton), Lord Biſhop of Carliſle. Read Feb. 16, 1764 (26). 12. Extract from two Letters, dated Dec. 7 and 12, 1765, to Emanuel Mendes da Coſta, Eſq; Librarian to the Royal Society, containing an Account of native Tin found in Cornwall. Read March 5, 1766 (27). 13. Some farther Account of that Diſcovery (28). 14. Meteorological Obſervations made at Ludgvan in Cornwall for 1767. Read March 10, 1768 (29). 15. Letters from Dr. Borlaſe to Dr. Charles Morton, and from Mr. Roſewarne, of Truro, to Dr. Borlaſe; giving an Account of a Specimen of native Tin found in Cornwall, and now depoſited in the Muſeum of the Royal Society. Read Feb. 16, 1769 (30). 16. Meteorological Obſervations made at Ludgvan in Mount's Bay, Cornwall, 1768. Read June 1, 1769 (31). 17. Meteorological Obſervations at the ſame Place, 1769. Read Feb. 8, 1770 (32). 18. Meteorological Obſervations at the ſame Place, 1770. Read March 21, 1771 (33). 19. Ditto, for 1771. Read May 28, 1772 (34).

(25) Philoſophical Tranſactions, Vol. liii. p. 27.

(26) Vol. liv. p. 59.

(27) Vol. lvi. p. 35.

(28) *Ibid.* p. 305, 306.

(29) Vol. lviii. p. 89.

(30) Vol. lix. p. 47.

(31) *Ibid.* p. 157.

(32) Vol. lx. p. 230.

(33) Vol. lxi. p. 195.

(34) Vol. lxii. p. 365.

⁂ [BOTT (THOMAS), (*) M. A. a Clergyman of the Church of England, in the preſent century, and the Author of ſome ingenious and learned publications, was deſcended from an ancient family in Staffordſhire [*A*], and born at Derby, in the year 1688. His grandfather had been a Major in the civil wars of King Charles the Firſt's reign, we ſuppoſe on the ſide of the parliament. His father, who was a Mercer in Derby, had diminiſhed a conſiderable paternal eſtate by an extravagant attachment to gaming: but his mother, who was a woman of excellent underſtanding and virtue, determined to repair the loſs, by giving a very good education to her ſix children; the benefit of which they reaped in their future proſperity and ſucceſs. Thomas, who was the youngeſt of them, acquired his grammatical learning at his native place; after which he went through a regular courſe of education for the Chriſtian miniſtry among the Proteſtant Diſſenters. When he had finiſhed his academical ſtudies, he preached to a Preſbyterian congregation at Spalding in Lincolnſhire. But not chooſing to continue in this mode of life, he quitted it in a very little time, and came up to London, during the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, with a view of preparing himſelf for the practice of phyſic. Accordingly, he attended the anatomical lectures at the hoſpitals, and availed himſelf of other methods of inſtruction; by which means he acquired ſuch a ſkill in medicine, as rendered him afterwards of ſingular ſervice to his pariſhioners and neighbours. During his reſidence in town, Queen Anne died; and Mr. Bott was ſo ardently devoted to the principles of the Whigs, and ſo apprehenſive of the deſigns of the Tories and Jacobites, that he uſed to ſay, no event ever gave him a greater pleaſure. Soon after the acceſſion of the Hanover family, he took orders in the Church of England; and the firſt benefice conferred upon him was the Rectory of Winburg in Norfolk; for which he was indebted either to the intereſt or appointment of the Lord Chancellor Macclesfield. Whilſt he was in this ſituation, he publiſhed, in 1724, a Diſcourſe, the deſign of which was to ſhew, that the immediate intent of our Saviour's miſſion, was the reformation of the lives of mankind, with a principal view to their happineſs in this world. The ſingularity of this opinion [*B*], and the ingenuity with which it was ſupported, excited no ſmall attention among theological men when the pamphlet appeared; though it hath now become ſo ſcarce, that we have not been able to procure a copy of it on the preſent occaſion. About the year 1725, Mr. Bott was preſented to the benefice of Reymerſton in Norfolk, by Francis Long, Eſq; grandfather to the preſent Mr. Long of Spixworth in that county. Our Author's next publication was a ſmall pamphlet [*C*], (in 1725) in oppoſition to the notion concerning the nature of moral good and evil, which had been advanced by Mr. Wollaſton, in his 'Religion of Nature delineated.' That Mr. Bott was right in his objections to Mr. Wollaſton's peculiar opinion, will now univerſally be acknowledged, though the popularity of the book for a time, and its real excellence in other reſpects, might, at firſt, ſeduce a number of readers. On the 17th of April, 1730, he preached a Sermon (*a*), at the Archdeacon of Norwich's viſitation, which was printed under the following title: 'Morality, founded in the Reaſon of Things, and the Ground of Revelation.'

(*) The materials for the preſent article have been derived from the information of Edmund Bott, Eſq; of Chriſtchurch, Hants, and from perſonal knowledge and connection; the Writer of this Life having married a Niece of Mr. Thomas Bott. Some particulars, concerning his writings, have been communicated by Dr. Fleaman.

(*a*) At St. Michael's at the Pleas, in Norwich.

[*A*] *From an ancient family in Staffordſhire.*] The Botts have been ſeated in Staffordſhire for ſeveral centuries, and the arms of the family are engraved in the map annexed to Dr. Plot's Hiſtory of that County. In the ſame work mention is occaſionally made of Mr. John Bott of Dunſtable, as a friend of the author's (1).

(1) p. 23. 261.

[*B*] *The ſingularity of this opinion.*] The Pamphlet was intitled, 'The Peace and Happineſs of this 'World the immediate Deſign of Chriſtianity, a Diſ'courſe on Luke ix. 56. With an Addreſs in the 'Cloſe to the Deiſts, or thoſe who deny the Chriſtian 'Revelation. By Thomas Bott, Rector of Winburg 'in Norfolk.' 8vo. That this notion is, in ſome degree, a ſingular one, cannot be doubted; for though St. Paul hath obſerved, that godlineſs hath the promiſe of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come; and though it is certain, that the practice of the Chriſtian virtues hath a tendency to promote the preſent happineſs of mankind, both by the regular operation of theſe virtues, and the peace and pleaſure with which the exerciſe of them is accompanied; yet it hath been the concurrent ſentiment of Divines, and we think with reaſon, that the prime view of our Saviour's revelation is directed to a future and eternal world.

[*C*] *Next publication was a ſmall pamphlet.*] The title of this piece is, 'The principal and peculiar No'tion advanced in a late Book, intitled, *the Religion of* '*Nature delineated*; conſidered and refuted. In a Let'ter to a Gentleman.' 8vo. It is well known, that Mr. Wollaſton made the *formal ratio* of moral good and evil to conſiſt in an *agreement* or *diſagreement with truth*; and by *truth*, he meant any truth whatever; *any true propoſition whatſoever, whether containing matter of ſpeculation, or plain fact.* According, therefore, to this opinion, the proper idea and nature of moral evil conſiſted in its *acting a lie.* This ſentiment Mr. Bott hath conſidered and confuted with great ſtrength of reaſon: and we would have produced ſome paſſages in proof of our aſſertion, if the ſubject treated of had been at this time a point in diſpute.

‘ lation.’ In the ſame year, he publiſhed a ſecond Tract in defence of his peculiar notion concerning the immediate purpoſe of the Goſpel. It was intitled, ‘ The Nature and Deſign of Chriſtianity farther conſidered, in a Diſcourſe on the Simplicity and Reaſonableneſs of the Chriſtian Inſtitution; deſigned to obviate thoſe Prejudices againſt it; which ‘ are both the moſt common, and likewiſe obſerved to have the greateſt Influence.’ 8vo. In 1734, Mr. Long, who was Mr. Bott's chief patron, gave him the rectory of Spixworth, which he held, together with Croſtwick, the adjoining pariſh, to his death. In 1738, he was appointed to preach, at the cathedral church of Norwich, the anniverſary diſcourſe on the 30th of January. The words he diſcourſed from were thoſe of our Saviour, *Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do unto you, do ye alſo to them*; and in the body of the ſermon, he confined himſelf to a very accurate and judicious illuſtration of our Lord's precept, without taking notice of the action appointed to be commemorated and deprecated upon that day. But, in the concluſion, he obſerved (and *that* was the only obſervation he made upon it) that if both parties had, in their conduct, adhered to the rule given in the text, it had not been poſſible for the event to have taken place. This ſermon was printed, at the requeſt of the Mayor and Corporation of Norwich. He was the Author, likewiſe, in the ſame year, of a Tract, intitled, ‘ Remarks upon Dr. Butler's Sixth Chapter of the Analogy of Religion, &c. concerning Neceſſity; and alſo upon the Diſſertation upon the Nature of Virtue, by Philanthropus.’ 8vo (*b*). In 1739, he married Rebecca, the daughter of Edmund Britiffe, Eſq; of Hunworth in Norfolk. How happy Mr. Bott was in this connection, is evident from his having ſaid to ſeveral of his friends, that he did not believe there was ſuch another woman in the world: and, indeed, her conduct as a wife, a mother, and a friend, gave her a claim to every kind epithet which gratitude could ſelect. In 1743, Mr. Bott publiſhed his principal work [*D*], which was an Anſwer to the firſt Volume of Mr. Warburton's Divine Legation of Moſes. This reply of our Author's is written with temper and moderation; and, whatever opinions may be formed of the points in debate, the learning of it is unqueſtionable. When the rebellion happened in 1745, Mr. Bott reſolved, if the Jacobites had prevailed in their attempt to overthrow the conſtitution of this country, to abandon England, and to paſs over to Switzerland, or to one of our colonies in America. In the year 1747, he was preſented to the rectory of Edgefield in Norfolk, by Mrs. Harbord, at the recommendation of her father, Sir Benjamin Wrench of Norwich, an old acquaintance; and partly out of gratitude for our Author's having prevented, by his advice, a ridiculous and pernicious match in that family. The zeal manifeſted by him on this occaſion was agreeable to his diſpoſition, which was kind and friendly; he not being at all one of thoſe perſons who feel or think *quod extra nos nihil ad nos*. Though Mr. Bott held more

(*b*) He is ſaid to have printed an Aſſize Sermon; but in what year we have not been informed.

[*D*] *Publiſhed his principal work.*] It is intitled, ‘ An Anſwer to the Rev. Mr. Warburton's Divine ‘ Legation of Moſes, in three Parts. In which are ‘ conſidered, I. Some of his Quotations from the Ancients. II. His Manner of Reaſoning. And, ‘ III. His Notion of moral Obligation. By Thomas ‘ Bott, A. M. Rector of Spixworth, Norfolk.’ 8vo. ‘ In this, as in his other works,’ ſays the Gentleman to whom we are chiefly indebted for the materials of the preſent article, ‘ Mr. Bott ſeems to me to proceed in what may be called a Socratic Logic. He ‘ grants, for a time, the propoſition, and helps the ‘ opponent to confute himſelf, merely by ſhewing ‘ him the abſurd conſequences. The practice of denying every thing is excellent for keeping up the ‘ diſpute; but the other more naturally and quietly ‘ tends to confutation and conviction.’ In the firſt part of Mr. Bott's performance, he examines a number of paſſages from the Ancients, which he thinks had either been miſtaken or miſapplied by the Author of the Divine Legation. In the ſecond, he conſiders ſome of that celebrated writer's poſitions, *viz.* that the inculcating the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments is neceſſary to the well-being of civil ſociety; that all mankind, eſpecially the moſt wiſe and learned nations of antiquity, have concurred in believing and teaching the neceſſity of this doctrine to the ſupport of government; and that the *Philoſophers*, though they were perpetually inculcating this doctrine in their writings, did not believe a future ſtate either of rewards or puniſhments. The laſt point is particularly examined by our Author; and it cannot be denied, that he hath ſuſtained his argument, not only with much learning, but with great ſtrength of reaſon. In the third part of Mr. Bott's work, he endeavours to confute Mr. Warburton's notion, that the only foundation of moral obligation is the poſitive will or command of a ſuperior. To give a ſhort ſpecimen of our Author's reaſoning upon this ſubject; ‘ Suffer me, ſays he, to aſk, Is there nothing in the ‘ actions themſelves to determine the *will of this ſuperior*, to command one, and to forbid another? ‘ If ſo, it will follow, that it was antecedently indifferent which was commanded, and which forbidden: and that, whereas one ſort of actions have ‘ been commanded, and another forbidden, the ‘ latter might have been commanded, and the other ‘ forbidden. And then it will follow too, that it ‘ muſt be abſolutely impoſſible for any man, by any ‘ mere light of nature, to know what are the commands and prohibitions of this *ſuperior will*: for ‘ in inveſtigating morals by the light of nature, there ‘ is no other way of coming at the *will* of the ſuperior Being, but by firſt finding out the reaſonableneſs or unreaſonableneſs of ſuch and ſuch actions; ‘ and *from thence* concluding the divine pleaſure ‘ with relation to them. Let Mr. Warburton likewiſe further conſider, whether God is not a *morally* ‘ *good* Being; whether he has not *morally good* diſpoſitions, or *moral* attributes; and, laſtly, whether ‘ he does not act *morally* well. Nothing of this can ‘ be denied. Let it then be farther conſidered, whethe divine *morality*, the morality of God's attributes ‘ and actions, can be founded in *will*: not the will ‘ of a *ſuperior*; for he has none: not *his own* will; ‘ for this, in Mr. *Warburton*'s own opinion, cannot ‘ conſtitute an obligation upon *himſelf*. And others ‘ will ſay, *not his own will*; becauſe this *will* muſt ‘ be determined by ſome reaſon or no reaſon: if by ‘ ſome reaſon, then it is that reaſon that conſtitutes the ‘ morality: if by no reaſon, then the determination ‘ is precarious; and whereas God is ſaid to be *juſt* ‘ and *good*, he might have been, and may at any time ‘ be, quite the reverſe. But if the morality of the ‘ Supreme Being is not founded in *will*, but in ſomething very different, *viz.* the reaſon of things, why ‘ may not the morality of inferior beings be ſo too? ‘ It muſt be ſo, unleſs mere *finiteneſs* makes a difference; which how it ſhould do here, no one will ‘ be able to ſay (2).’ Mr. Bott's Anſwer to the Divine Legation did not receive a reply. However, the controverſy concerning the opinions of the philoſophers with regard to a future ſtate was afterwards revived, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee under other articles.

(2) Anſwer to Warburton, p. 232—234.

than

than one benefice at a time, his eccleſiaſtical income ſcarcely, at any period, exceeded two hundred pounds a year. Such, however, was his diſcretion in the management of his affairs, that, very early in life, he formed a reſolution of laying up money for his ſupport, after his faculties ſhould no longer be equal to the taſk of diſcharging his duty as a Miniſter of the Goſpel. About the year 1750, his mental powers began to decline. The declenſion, at firſt, was gradual; but about Chriſtmas 1752, he ceaſed to appear in the pulpit. The laſt time of his conducting divine worſhip, he was not able to go through the communion ſervice. Mrs. Bott, obſerving his confuſion, ſent her ſon to aſſiſt his father in finding the Epiſtle and Goſpel. The heart of the youth, when he came to his parent's aid, was melted at his tears, his ſhaking and trembling hands, and his murmuring voice, which indicated unutterable diſtreſs; and he was ſhocked at the thought of the agony his father muſt have ſuffered, before ſo fine an underſtanding and ſo ſtrong a mind could be reduced to that degree, as to ſtand in need of the aſſiſtance of a child, and be pleaſed, as was evidently the caſe, with his filial interpoſition. From that time Mr. Bott gave over ſtudy, and read only for amuſement. The laſt book peruſed by him was the Bachelor of Salamanca. In his ſtudious days, Horace uſed to be his favourite and lighteſt author. In the beginning of the year 1753, Mr. and Mrs. Bott removed from Spixworth to Norwich; and during his reſidence in this city he declined rapidly till his death, which took place on the 23d of September 1754, in the 67th year of his age. Mrs. Bott ſurvived him nearly ſeventeen years, and is buried in the ſame grave.

Our Author began and concluded the day with a pipe; and in the morning he always ſmoked it with the New Teſtament in his hand. Partly from nature, and partly through diſappointment, he was not a little choleric; of which imperfection he was ſo fully ſenſible, that, on account of it, he refuſed to accept of an offer which was made him of the ſchool at Norwich. He never was guilty of flattery, nor, on the other hand, was he arrogant or aſſuming. At the ſame time, he would in no caſe ſubmit to inſult, but always returned it with a contempt which was accompanied with ſevere ſtrokes of ſatire. Hence he created to himſelf ſome enemies, though he was rarely unjuſt in the application of his talent of wit and humour. Wealth, when joined with ignorance, pride, and impertinence, could extort no homage from him; but he did not refuſe his friendſhip and reſpect to men who were not diſtinguiſhed by the liberality of their education, or the eminence of their underſtandings, when their characters were worthy, and their conduct regulated by the rules of propriety. Integrity and fortitude were among his prime virtues; nothing being able to engage him to act contrary to his own opinions, or to the dictates of his conſcience. Though his ſentiments, both upon civil and religious ſubjects, nearly coincided with thoſe of Biſhop Hoadly, we are, nevertheleſs, aſſured that he once ſteadily oppoſed that eminent and excellent Prelate, in ſome inſtance wherein he thought him to be wrong. Notwithſtanding his firm attachment to the revolution, and the Hanover ſucceſſion, yet, when, in his eſtimation, Sir Robert Walpole, and the other original ſupporters of the preſent Royal Family, introduced the language and corruption of Tories into the adminiſtration, he then defended them no longer; and hath often been heard to ſpeak with great indignation of their departure from the principles of liberty and the conſtitution. Mr. Bott was thoroughly perſuaded of the truth of the religion he profeſſed, and appeared like a Platonic or Stoic Philoſopher converted to Chriſtianity. However, it muſt be confeſſed, that he did not attain to all the patience preſcribed by the Stoic, or acquire all the meekneſs and long ſuffering inculcated by the ſyſtem of the Goſpel.

Mr. Bott's reputation, learning, and virtues procured him the acquaintance and friendſhip of the moſt reſpectable members of the dioceſe of Norwich; and he was particularly connected with that ſet of his contemporary Divines who were diſtinguiſhed for the liberality of their ſentiments. He correſponded with the learned Dr. Sykes, and was intimate with the Rev. Mr. Pyle of Lynn; his ſon, the late Dr. Pyle, Prebendary of Wincheſter; Dr. John Clarke, Dean of Sarum; and his brother, the eminent Dr. Samuel Clarke. Our Author uſed to relate, what we have likewiſe heard from other quarters, that Dr. Samuel Clarke was not only of a chearful, but of a *playful* diſpoſition. Once, when Mr. Bott called upon him, he found him ſwimming upon a table. At another time, when the two Dr. Clarkes, Mr. Bott, and ſeveral men of ability and learning were together, and amuſing themſelves with diverting tricks, Dr. Samuel Clarke, looking out of the window, ſaw a grave blockhead approaching to the houſe; upon which he cried out, "Boys, boys, be wiſe, here comes a fool." Theſe little anecdotes will not leſſen that great man's reputation in the opinion of any but thoſe whoſe ſolemnity is ſuperior to their wiſdom.

Mr. Bott left only one ſon, Edmund Bott, Eſq; now of Chriſt-church in Hampſhire. This Gentleman had his grammatical education in the city of Norwich, from whence he removed to Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he was ſome time a Fellow. Having been entered at the Temple, he became a Barriſter at Law. But finding the fatigues of his profeſſion inconſiſtent with his health, he quitted practice, and contents himſelf with being uſeful to his neighbours, in diſcharging the duties of a juſtice of peace. He publiſhed, in 1771, a Collection of Caſes relating to the Poor Laws, a work which is in much eſtimation. He is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and is known for his learning and taſte.] K.

BOULTER (Hugh) D. D. Archbiſhop of Armagh, Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland, is one of thoſe ſubjects that cannot be handled without panegyric, the naked relation of his actions being ſuch. He was born in or near London, of a reputable and eſtated family [*A*], and received his firſt rudiments of learning at Merchant-Taylor's ſchool (*a*), in that great metropolis, where, having with a quick proficiency got through grammar learning, and ſuch parts of knowledge as are uſually taught in ſchools, he was admitted from thence a Commoner (*b*) in Chriſt-church in Oxford ſome time before the Revolution. His merit became ſo conſpicuous there, that immediately after that great event, he was elected a Demi (*c*) of Magdalen-college, together with the late Mr. Addiſon, and Dr. Joſeph Wilcox, the late Biſhop of Rocheſter and Dean of Weſtminſter. Dr. Hough, who was then reſtored to the Preſidentſhip of that college (from which he had been unwarrantably ejected in the reign of King James II.) uſed to call this election by the name of the *golden election* (*d*), from the merit and learning of the perſons who were choſen; and the ſame reſpectful appellation was long after made uſe of in common converſation in the college. Mr. Boulter was afterwards made Fellow (*e*) of Magdalen-college, for which, as well as for Chriſt-church, he always retained ſentiments of reſpect and gratitude; and, as a proof thereof, he afterwards remembered them both in his Will [*B*]. He continued in the univerſity till he was called to London, by the invitation of Sir Charles Hedges, Principal Secretary of State in the year 1700 (*f*), who made him his Chaplain; and ſome time after he was preferred to the ſame honour (*g*) by Dr. Thomas Teniſon, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. In theſe ſtations he was under a neceſſity of appearing often at Court, where his merit and virtues fell under the notice of Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, Principal Secretary of State, by whoſe influence and intereſt he was advanced to his firſt promotions in the Church, namely, to the parſonage of St. Olave in Southwark, and to the archdeaconry of Surrey (*h*). The pariſh of St. Olave was very populous, and for the moſt part poor, under which circumſtances it required a vigilant Paſtor; and in this particular Dr. Boulter was by no means deficient (*i*); applying himſelf, in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, to their inſtruction, correction, and reproof; nor was his purſe wanting to help the neceſſitous, according to his abilities and their emergencies. When King George I. paſſed over to Hanover in the year 1719, Dr. Boulter was recommended to attend him in quality of his Chaplain (*k*). During his abode there he took a good deal of pains to learn the German language; in which, nevertheleſs, he did not arrive to any great perfection (*l*). He alſo, at the King's inſtance, took Prince Frederick under his care, to inſtruct him in the Engliſh tongue; and for that purpoſe drew up for his uſe, *A Set of Inſtructions in writing*, which, together with his great moderation and ſweetneſs of temper, riveted him in the King's favour, and cauſed his Majeſty to lay hold of the earlieſt opportunity of promoting him in the Church, which ſoon happened (*m*). For, during his abode at Hanover, the biſhopric of Briſtol, and deanery of Chriſt-church, Oxford, became vacant by the death of Dr. George Smalridge, on the twenty-ſeventh of September 1719 (*n*), and the news thereof arriving at Hanover, the King, of his mere motion, granted to him that ſee and deanery, and he was conſecrated (*o*) Biſhop of Briſtol, on the fif-

(*a*) Memoirs communicated by one who was moſt intimate with Dr. Boulter from his youth to his death.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Ibid.

(*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) Ibid.

(*n*) Court Regiſter, p. 70.

(*o*) Ibid.

[*A*] *Born of a reputable and eſtated family.*] His father had an eſtate near Oxford, and in houſes and ground-rents in the Minories and Cripplegate, London; as alſo in Bermondſey in Southwark, and in Kenſington in Middleſex; all which Dr. Boulter enjoyed to the time of his death, ſubject to a few ſmall incumbrances left on them by his father: And he, by his own Will, dated the 19th of November 1729 (1), directed, that on the contingency of the death of his wife without iſſue by him, the ſaid ſeveral eſtates (eſpecially named in the Will) ſhould be ſold, and the money ariſing by ſuch ſale he ordered to be diſpoſed of as follows: namely, Firſt, to his brother Charles Savage he deviſed one hundred pounds; to Dr. Robert Welſted one hundred pounds, or, if he were dead, one hundred pounds to his eldeſt ſurviving ſon; and the overplus of the money ariſing from ſuch ſale, together with the remainder of the money he had in the ſtocks, he directed ſhould be remitted to his truſtees in Ireland, to be laid out in manner following; namely, that out of the money they returned, and the overplus of his effects undiſpoſed in Ireland, his truſtees ſhould build four houſes for the widows of ſuch Clergymen as had been Curates at leaſt ten years in the dioceſe of Armagh; and that an eſtate of fifty pounds a year ſhould be bought by his truſtees, to be equally divided among the ſaid four widows, after deducting for neceſſary repairs; and that the ſaid widows be nominated by his ſucceſſors, and be ſubject to their order and viſitation. And as to what ſhould remain of ſuch funds, he directed it to be paid to his ſucceſſors, and to be employed in augmenting poor livings, and buying glebes, according to the directions of the truſtees of the firſt-fruits. And for the doing the more ſervice with ſuch money, he ordered, that whatever purchaſe was made with it in tithes or land, that the ſame ſhould not be made over to any incumbent abſolutely till ſuch tithes or land ſhould repay half the purchaſe-money without intereſt. And this he did in order to make the fund more conſiderable for the purpoſes intended.

[*B*] *Remembered Magdalen-college and Chriſt-church in his Will.*] Upon the contingency of his wife's death without iſſue by him, he bequeathed (2) five hundred pounds to Magdalen-college in Oxford, to be applied towards rebuilding the ſame; and on the like contingency he bequeathed a thouſand pounds to Chriſt-church in the ſame univerſity, to be applied to the purchaſe of an eſtate for founding five exhibitions of equal value, to be diſtributed among five of the pooreſt and moſt deſerving of the Commoners of that college, to be enjoyed by them for four years from the time of their election; and directed, that no Commoner of above three years ſtanding ſhould be elected into the ſaid exhibitions. He veſted the ſaid election in the Dean and Canons of that houſe, and directed that the exhibitioners ſhould be choſen upon a public examination in the hall, and recommended the ſons of Clergymen to be in the firſt place, *cæteris paribus*, conſidered. He alſo bequeathed the further ſum of five hundred pounds to the laſt mentioned college, to buy an eſtate, to be diſtributed in equal exhibitions to five Servitors of the ſaid college, of whom none were to be capable of election who were of above two years ſtanding, nor to enjoy the exhibition longer than for three years; and he veſted the right of election in the Dean and Chapter.

(1) Prerog. Office of Ireland.

(2) Prerog. Office of Ireland.

teenth of November following. In this laſt ſtation he was more than ordinarily aſſiduous (*p*) in the viſitation of his dioceſe, and the diſcharge of his paſtoral duty; well knowing how much the intereſt of the Church depended upon a ſtrict reformation of the lives and morals of the clergy, and a faithful and diligent execution of the truſt committed to them. While he was employed in the buſineſs of one of theſe viſitations, he received a letter (*q*) by a Meſſenger from the Secretary of State, acquainting him, that his Majeſty had nominated him to the archbiſhopric of Armagh, and primacy of Ireland, then vacant by the death of Dr. Thomas Lindſay, on the 13th of July, 1724 (*r*), and deſiring him to repair to London as ſoon as poſſible, to kiſs the King's hand for his promotion. What would have given joy to another, to this good Biſhop afforded only matter of grief; and we have heard it affirmed by indiſputable teſtimony, that he never appeared more diſconcerted in his life, than upon receiving the news of the King's pleaſure. He conſulted with his own thoughts for a few hours, and adviſed with ſuch of his friends as were preſent, how he ſhould conduct himſelf on this grand occaſion. At length he called for pen and ink, and ſent an anſwer by the meſſenger, refuſing (*s*) the honour the King intended him, and requeſting the Secretary to uſe his good offices with his Majeſty, in making his excuſe. Whether his refuſal was owing to an unwillingneſs in him to quit his native country, where he ſtood ſo fair in the King's favour, as to hope for high advancements, or to a timorouſneſs of accepting a charge, that his great modeſty judged was too weighty for him to ſupport, muſt be left a doubt to poſterity: but this much may be affirmed with certainty, that the people of Ireland were upon the point of loſing a *man*, for whom they will for ever have reaſon to be thankful to *God*. The Meſſenger was diſpatched (*t*) back to him by the Secretary, with the King's abſolute commands that he ſhould accept of the poſt. He ſubmitted to his Majeſty's pleaſure, though not without ſome reluctance, and ſoon after addreſſed himſelf to his journey to Court. Ireland was at that juncture not a little inflamed, by a ruinous project ſet on foot by one Wood [*C*], and it was thought by the King and Miniſtry, that the judgment, moderation, and wiſdom of the Biſhop of Briſtol would tend much to bring back matters to a calm there. He arrived in Ireland on the third of November, 1724, and had no ſooner paſſed patent (*u*) for the primacy, than he ſet about ſtudying the real and ſolid intereſt of that kingdom, in which his lot was caſt for life, and which all his actions ſhewed, he ever after conſidered as his own. He appeared at all boards of public concernment, and gave a weight and vigour to them; and, in every reſpect, was indefatigable in promoting the good and real happineſs of the people. It would tire the reader to be over minute in relating all the good actions of his Grace, nor would it be an eaſy taſk to do ſo, ſince they are branched out into ſuch a multiplicity of parts; and more eſpecially, as he rather ſtudied to do good, than deſired to have it publiſhed. Yet ſome things muſt not be paſſed over in ſilence.—In ſeaſons of great ſcarcity in Ireland, he was more than once, under God, inſtrumental in averting a peſtilence and famine, which threatened the nation [*D*]. When the ſcheme was ſet on foot for making a navigation, by a canal to be drawn from Lough-Neagh to Newry, not only for bringing coal to Dublin, but to carry on more effectually an inland trade in the ſeveral counties

(*p*) Memoirs, &c.

(*q*) *Ibid.*

(*r*) Biſhops of Ireland, p. 132.

(*s*) Memoirs, &c.

(*t*) *Ibid.*

(*u*) Rolls Office Ireland, Pat. 31. Aug. 1724.

[*C*] *Ireland inflamed by a ruinous project of one Wood.*] This project was a patent Wood had obtained from the Crown, by falſe ſuggeſtions, for coining three hundred and ſixty tons of copper into halfpence and farthings, to be iſſued in Ireland, of which he ſent over great quantities ſtruck in a baſe metal, and under weight. All ranks and degrees of people murmured at this proceeding. The Parliament, the Lords Juſtices and Council, and the County and City of Dublin, addreſſed his Majeſty upon the occaſion; the Preſs groaned with pamphlets written in oppoſition to the ſcheme, and ſome in particular were admirably well done by Dr. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's Dublin, under the fictitious name of *Letters from a Drapier*, as if written by a tradeſman to incite people againſt receiving this baſe coin, which the patent left at the liberty of the ſubject whether to receive or reject.

[*D*] *Inſtrumental in averting a peſtilence and famine which threatened the nation.*] In the winter of 1728, and the ſummer following, bread, corn, and all other eſculents, bore an exceſſive high rate in Ireland, the middle price of wheat being then from 1 *l.* 2 *s.* 3 *d.* to 1 *l.* 5 *s. per* Briſtol barrel. The poor were thereby reduced to a miſerable condition, and the nation not only threatened with a famine, but with the conſequences of it, a peſtilence. The Primate could not bear to ſee his fellow-creatures periſh while he had abilities to relieve them; and accordingly he diſtributed vaſt quantities of corn for the relief of the poor through ſeveral parts of the kingdom, which, it is verily believed, was a great means of averting the threatened evil. The Houſe of Commons was ſo ſenſible of the ſervices he did upon this occaſion, that they paſſed a vote of public thanks to him, and ordered it to be entered in their Journals, and directed all the vagrant poor that crouded the ſtreets of the city of Dublin to be received into the poor-houſe, where they were maintained at the private expence of this Prelate, till the following harveſt brought relief.—In the latter end of the year 1740, and the ſpring, and part of the ſummer of 1741, Ireland was again afflicted with a great ſcarcity. Upon this occaſion the Primate's charity was very extenſive and remarkable, though conducted with more regularity than before. The poor were fed in the workhouſe twice every day, according to tickets iſſued by people intruſted, of which, from January to Auguſt, the number of tickets amounted to ſeven hundred and thirty-two thouſand three hundred and fourteen. The accounts of the diſtribution of this charity are kept in the workhouſe in Dublin; and it is eſtimated thereby, that two thouſand five hundred ſouls were fed there every morning, and as many every evening, moſtly at the primate's expence, though ſome few others contributed to the good work. As a grateful memorial of his Grace's overflowing charity in relieving ſo many diſtreſſed families upon this occaſion, in the year 1741, a few lay-gentlemen, at their private expence, erected, in the hall of the poor-houſe, a grand noble portrait of the Primate at full length, deſigned by Mr. Bindon, an eminent Painter, attended with a lively group of proper objects of different ages and ſexes, all waiting for food ſupplied by his bountiful hand.

of the north of Ireland, through which it was intended to be carried, he greatly encouraged and promoted the deſign [*E*], not only with his counſel but his purſe, to the vaſt benefit of the kingdom. Drogheda is a large and populous town within the dioceſe of Armagh, and his Grace finding that the eccleſiaſtical appointments were not ſufficient to ſupport two clergymen there, and the cure over burthenſome for one effectually to diſcharge, he allotted out of his own pocket a maintenance for a ſecond Curate, whom he obliged to give public ſervice every Sunday in the afternoon, and prayers twice every day. He had great compaſſion for the poor clergy of his dioceſe, who were diſabled from giving their children a proper education, and he maintained ſeveral of the ſons of ſuch in the univerſity, in order to qualify them for future preferment. He erected four houſes at Drogheda for the reception of clergymen's widows, and purchaſed an eſtate for the endowment of them, after the model of Primate Marſh's charity [*F*]; which model, neverthleſs, he enlarged in one particular: for as the eſtate he purchaſed for the maintenance of the widows, amounted to twenty-four pounds a year more than he had ſet apart for that uſe, he appointed that the ſurplus ſhould be a fund for ſetting out the children of ſuch widows apprentices, or otherwiſe to be diſpoſed of for the benefit of ſuch children, as his Truſtees ſhould think proper. He alſo by his Will directed (*w*), that four houſes ſhould be built for clergymen's widows at Armagh, and endowed with fifty pounds a year; which building has been finiſhed, and the endowment made ſince his death. During his life, he contracted for the building of a ſtately market-houſe at Armagh, which has been ſince finiſhed by his executors, at upwards of eight hundred pounds expence. He was a benefactor alſo to Dr. Stevens's Hoſpital in the city of Dublin [*G*], erected for the maintenance and cure of the poor. His charities for augmenting ſmall livings, and buying of glebes (particularly mentioned in the remark *A*), amounted to upwards of thirty thouſand pounds, beſides what he deviſed by his Will for the like purpoſes in England [*H*]. The wiſdom of man could not contrive a more effectual method for the inſtruction of the poor Popiſh natives of Ireland in the principles of Chriſtianity, and for inuring them to induſtry and labour, than the inſtitution of the incorporated Society for promoting Engliſh Proteſtant working ſchools in that country. Though the original projection of this ſcheme cannot be

(*w*) See for this particular under remark [*A*].

[*E*] *Encouraged and promoted the ſcheme for drawing a Canal from Lough-Neagh to Newry.*] Lough-Neagh is a large navigable meer of water, about twenty Engliſh miles long, and from ten to twelve miles broad, ſurrounded by the counties of Down, Londonderry, Antrim, Tirone, and Armagh; and Newry is a conſiderable trading town, ſeated on the Newry water, in the ſouth of the county of Down, not far from the opening of Carlingford bay. A great fund of valuable coals being diſcovered on lands in the county of Tirone, bordering on the ſaid lake, it was judged by ſome gentlemen, who wiſhed well to the wealth and trade of their country, that if a navigation was made by a canal from the lake to Newry, a great ſaving would ariſe to the kingdom by bringing coals through the ſaid lake and canal to Newry, and from thence by a free good navigation by ſea to Dublin. When the ſcheme for opening this navigation was propoſed in Parliament, in the year 1729, the Primate patronized it with all his intereſt; and after paſſing the bill, and that the work was ſet about the year following, his Grace was very inſtrumental in carrying it on with effect. The colliery ſtood on the See-lands of Armagh, which were then in leaſe to a tenant. The Primate fearing that the leſſee might be exorbitant in his conditions in ſuffering coals to be raiſed out of his lands, purchaſed in the leaſe at a large expence in order to accommodate the public. He alſo gave timber out of his woods to carry on the work; and often, when the fund eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament for cutting the canal did not readily come in, his Grace advanced his own proper money for the occaſion without intereſt, that no interruption might from thence ariſe to the deſign. See a deſcription and account of this canal in a little treatiſe publiſhed in Dublin in the year 1744, intitled, *The Ancient and Preſent State of the County of Down*, chap. 4. The importance of this navigation, beſides the article of coals, and the opening a trade by water-carriage among the northern counties, appeared in the year 1745. For the wetneſs of the preceding harveſt having occaſioned a great dearth of corn, and a ſcarcity of fodder in thoſe parts, moſt of the carriage-horſes in that country were deſtroyed; and when a relief of corn came to Newry from England, it would have been impoſſible to have diſtributed it ſeaſonably through the country, if it had not been for the advantages of this navigation, by which it was laid down in the neighbourhood of moſt of the inhabitants of the ſaid counties.

[*F*] *After the model of Primate Marſh's charity.*] Primate Marſh built and endowed alms-houſes at Drogheda for the reception of twelve widows of decayed Clergymen, to whom he allotted a lodging, and twenty pounds a year for a maintenance; and he appointed that the widows intitled to the proviſion ſhould be ſuch whoſe huſbands ſerved cure in the dioceſe of Armagh, or, for want of ſuch, in the dioceſe of Meath; and, if numbers did not offer to take up the charity in both theſe dioceſes, then it was to go to the widows of Clergymen who ſerved cure in the province of Armagh at large. Primate Boulter founded his charity upon the ſame model.

[*G*] *Was a benefactor to Dr. Stevens's hoſpital.*] Dr. Stevens, a Phyſician of eminence in the city of Dublin, bequeathed by his Will an eſtate of about ſix hundred pounds a year to his ſiſter Mrs. Grizel Stevens during her life, and, after her deceaſe, to build and maintain an hoſpital for the cure of wounded and diſeaſed poor people, who ſhould be judged to be curable. The Lady, from a principle of charity and goodneſs, ſet about the work, and finiſhed the beſt half of the ſhell of the houſe, in which ſhe reſerved an apartment for her own habitation; and ſhe allotted almoſt the whole eſtate for the ſupport and maintenance of her brother's deſign. After the houſe was finiſhed, ſeveral well diſpoſed perſons became contributors towards fitting up and furniſhing the wards; and, among others, Primate Boulter ſubſcribed fifty pounds, and alſo at a conſiderable expence furniſhed one of the wards for the reception of patients, and ſubſcribed fifty pounds a year towards the charity, to continue during pleaſure, which laſted during his life.

[*H*] *Beſides what he deviſed by his Will for the like purpoſes in England.*] Upon certain contingencies mentioned in his Will (3), he appointed one thouſand pounds to be diſpoſed of by his Engliſh Truſtees, towards augmenting ten poor livings in England, on condition that ſome other perſon for each hundred pound ſo advanced ſhould pay in one hundred pounds more, in order to obtain from the governors of Queen Anne's bounty, two hundred pounds towards the augmenting ſuch poor livings; and he left it to his Truſtees what livings ſhould be ſo augmented.

(3) Prerog. Office in Ireland.

imputed to Primate Boulter [*I*], yet he was a zealous and active, and the chief inſtrument in forwarding the undertaking, which he lived to ſee carried into execution with conſiderable ſucceſs. Theſe are a part, and only a part, of the Primate's public charities, which have come to our knowledge. As to his private ones, they were ſo ſecretly conducted, that it is impoſſible to give any particular account of them: in general it may be confidently aſſerted, that they were very great, and ſuitable to his noble mind; and we have it affirmed by thoſe who were in truſt about him, that he never ſuffered an object to leave his houſe unſupplied, and he often ſent them away with conſiderable ſums, according to the judgment he made of their merits and neceſſities.——In relation to his political virtues, and the arts of government, when his health would permit him he was conſtant in his attendance at the Council-Table, and it is well known what weight and dignity he gave to the debates of that Board. As he always ſtudied the true intereſt of Ireland, ſo he judged, that the diminiſhing the value of the gold coin would be a means of increaſing ſilver in the country, a thing very much wanted; in order to effect which, he eſpouſed and ſupported a ſcheme at the Council-Table, which raiſed the clamours of unthinking people againſt him [*K*]: But experience has demonſtrated the wiſdom of his proceedings. He was ten times one of the Lords Juſtices, or Chief Governors of Ireland [*L*]; which office he adminiſtered oftener than any other Chief Go-

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[*I*] *The original projection of the ſcheme for Charter working ſchools not to be imputed to Primate Boulter.*] The firſt riſe of this ſcheme was thus effected, and from ſmall and inconſiderable beginnings.—In the year 1717, Dr. Henry Maule, Biſhop of Cloyne, afterwards of Dromore, and laſtly Biſhop of Meath, being at that time only a beneficed Clergyman, promoted a private ſociety in Dublin for the encouragement of the Engliſh common charity-ſchools, for teaching poor children to read and write, and inſtructing them in the principles of religion and virtue. Many good clergymen and well-diſpoſed laymen joined in the deſign, and the late Archbiſhop of Tuam, Dr. Synge, came among them, and gave a countenance to the undertaking. The members ſubſcribed only half a crown a quarter. They had anniverſary ſermons, ſome of which were printed and ſpread abroad, and by their influence many charity-ſchools were erected in town and country. In 1730 a propoſal was drawn up by Dr. Maule, being then Biſhop of Cloyne, and Mr. Dawſon, a Clergyman, who was at that time Curate of St. Michan's, intitled, *An Humble Propoſal for obtaining his Majeſty's Royal Charter to incorporate a Society for promoting Chriſtian Knowledge amongſt the poor Natives of the Kingdom of Ireland.* Printed, Dublin, 1730. What gave a foundation to this propoſal was, the obſervations the Society had made on the great ſucceſs of a legally eſtabliſhed charter for propagating the Goſpel in foreign parts; and that Scotland had grafted on the ſame model, and obtained a charter to enable them to receive two thouſand pounds a year in land, and money to any ſum, for promoting the like deſign. This propoſal made its way into the Court of St. James's by the means of the late Marquis of Montandre, Maſter of the Ordnance in Ireland, and was well reliſhed by his Majeſty. The ſame year many Biſhops and gentlemen of diſtinction met together at the Lord Primate's, to concert means for forwarding a petition to the King upon the occaſion, which was then drawn up, and ſigned in the Parliament-houſe a few days after, and, being laid before his Majeſty, was graciouſly received; and, after the uſual references, a charter was paſſed on the 24th of October, 1733, conſtituting the Duke of Dorſet, then Lord-Lieutenant, the Lord Primate, all the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, the Judges of the ſeveral Courts, the Prime Serjeant, Attorney and Solicitor-General, and moſt of the Nobility and prime Gentry of the kingdom, into a Corporation and Body Politic to endure for ever, by the name *of the Incorporated Society in Dublin for promoting Engliſh Proteſtant Schools in Ireland.* The Charter was opened with ſolemnity in the Council-Chamber on the 6th of February, 1733. The Lord-Lieutenant was elected Preſident, and the Lord Primate Vice-Preſident and Treaſurer. A ſubſcription was immediately ſet on foot, to which the late Earl of Kildare contributed five hundred pounds, and many others leſs ſums. The Lord Primate was the main inſtrument of forwarding this good work, not only by his advice and counſel, but by his money. He paid all the fees for paſſing the Charter through the ſeveral offices out of his own purſe, ſubſcribed twenty-three pounds a year, and afterwards paid upwards of four hundred pounds towards the building of a working-ſchool on the lands of Santry, near Dublin. Beſides all this, the Society were often obliged to his Grace for their neceſſary ſupport; who, to his annual and occaſional benefactions, frequently added that of being their conſtant reſource upon all emergencies, by anſwering the draughts made on him as Treaſurer, when he had no caſh of the Society in his hands, which amounted to conſiderable ſums. It was unhappy for the Society that his Grace made his Will in 1729, before the erection of the Charter, and was taken off with ſo ſhort a warning, that he had not the power of altering it. For undoubtedly he would have been a noble benefactor to a ſcheme, which in his life-time he had ſo much at heart.

[*K*] *Eſpouſed a ſcheme that raiſed the clamours of unthinking people.*] The ſcarcity of ſilver coin in Ireland was exceſſively great for ſome years preceding that of 1737, occaſioned by the ſinking of the current value of gold coin in England ſome years before, the ſame having been reduced there ſix-pence in each guinea, which made it more advantageous to dealers to ſend over ſilver than gold in payment of the balance of trade which lay againſt Ireland. To remedy this inconvenience, the Primate ſupported a ſcheme introduced at the Council-table to reduce the value of gold coin in Ireland three-pence in each guinea, and other pieces in proportion, in order to bring ſilver and gold nearer a par in value, and by that means to put a ſtop to the practice of ſending ſilver abroad. This ſcheme was carried into execution by proclamation on the 10th of September, 1737; and experience has ſhewed that it had the intended effect, both by making ſilver more plentiful in the kingdom, and keeping down exchange to a more certain and moderate rate. The populace, however, encouraged by ſome dealers in exchange, who were the only loſers by the alteration, grew clamorous, and laid the ruin of their country (as they ignorantly or maliciouſly called it) at the Primate's door. Many libels and bitter invectives were written againſt him upon the occaſion, as if he were the author of woes, which were only felt in imagination. Conſcious of his own integrity, he deſpiſed the fooliſh noiſe; the people, in a ſhort time, recovered their ſenſes, and the Primate has left an example, almoſt unparalleled in hiſtory, of a perſon, who, from a ſtate of diſtaſte and odium, recovered as high a degree of popularity, as has fallen to the ſhare of any ſubject.

[*L*] *He was ten times one of the Lords Juſtices or chief Governors of Ireland.*] He enjoyed that office in 1726, with the Lord Chancellor Weſt, and William Conolly, Eſq. In 1728 with the Lord Chancellor Windham, and the ſaid Mr. Conolly. In 1730 with the ſaid Chancellor, and Sir Ralph Gore, Bart. Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. In 1732 with the ſame. In 1733 with the Lord Chancellor Windham. In 1734 with the Lord Chancellor Windham, and Henry Boyle, Eſq; Speaker of the vernor ſince the commencement of the Engliſh power in Ireland. He embarked for England on the ſecond of June 1742, and after two days illneſs died at his houſe in St. James's

Houſe of Commons. In 1736 with the ſame. In 1738 with the ſame. In 1740 with the Lord Chancellor Joceline, and Mr. Boyle; and in 1741 with the ſame.

H——s.

⁂ [In 1769, were publiſhed, at Oxford, in two volumes 8*vo*, ‘ Letters written by his Excellency ‘ Hugh Boulter, D. D. Lord Primate of all Ireland, ‘ *&c.* to ſeveral Miniſters of State in England, and ‘ ſome others. Containing an Account of the moſt ‘ intereſting Tranſactions which paſſed in Ireland ‘ from 1724 to 1738.’ The originals, which are depoſited in the Library of *Chriſt Church* in *Oxford*, were collected by *Ambroſe Philips*, Eſq; who was Secretary to his Grace, and lived in his houſe during that ſpace of time in which they bear date. They are entirely letters of buſineſs, and are all of them in Dr. Boulter's hand-writing, excepting ſome few, which are fair copies by his Secretary. The editor juſtly remarks, that theſe letters, which could not be intended for publication, have been fortunately preſerved, as they contain the moſt authentic hiſtory of *Ireland*, for the period in which they were written: ‘ a period, he adds, which will ever do honour to ‘ his Grace's memory, and to thoſe moſt excellent ‘ Princes *George* the Firſt and Second, who had the ‘ wiſdom to place a confidence in ſo worthy, ſo able, ‘ and ſo ſucceſsful a Miniſter; a Miniſter who had ‘ the rare and peculiar felicity of growing ſtill more ‘ and more into the favour both of the King and of ‘ the people, until the very laſt day of his life (4).’ From this collection, which throws farther light on the character and conduct of the Archbiſhop, we ſhall ſelect ſuch particulars as ſeem moſt deſerving of notice.

One of the earlieſt attempts made by the Primate, after his arrival at Dublin, was to encourage a ſubſcription among the Biſhops and ſuperior Clergy, towards augmenting the fund ariſing from the firſt-fruits, and, by that means, more effectually providing for the wants of their poorer brethren. It doth not appear whether he was ſucceſsful in this application (5). His prudent advice, with reſpect to Wood's halfpence, is conſpicuous in ſeveral of his letters (6). Notwithſtanding Dr. Boulter's real zeal for the welfare of Ireland, he thought that the benefit of that country, and the ſervice of his Majeſty, would beſt be ſecured by chiefly promoting perſons from England to places of high truſt and authority. This point, of maintaining and ſupporting the Engliſh intereſt, is what he preſſes again and again upon the Miniſters of State at home (7). It was, likewiſe, his Grace's opinion, that thoſe who oppoſed the meaſures of Government (of the rectitude of which he was himſelf fully convinced) ought not to find their account in it, or be bribed to a compliance for the future. In a letter, written to the Duke of Newcaſtle, Nov. 16, 1725, after the Oppoſition had obtained a victory over the Court, in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, the Archbiſhop writes thus: ‘ Whatever ‘ uneaſineſs is created here by any turbulent or deſigning perſons, whilſt his Majeſty and his Miniſters think proper any ways to employ me in the ‘ public ſervice, will, at leaſt, light as heavy upon ‘ me as any body here: but I am very willing to undergo my ſhare of any ſuch trouble at any time, if ‘ no new encouragement is given to ſuch doings by ‘ buying-off any diſcontented perſons here. For if ‘ any body is bought off, there will always ariſe a ‘ ſucceſſion of people to make a diſturbance every ſeſſion; and there wants no accident here to furniſh a ‘ bottom of popularity, every one having it always ‘ in his power to grow popular, by ſetting up for the ‘ *Iriſh*, in oppoſition to the *Engliſh* intereſt. And ‘ there is no doubt but ſome occaſion of things going ‘ as they have, has been an unwillingneſs in too ‘ many to ſee an *Engliſh* Adminiſtration well eſtabliſhed here; and an intention to make all the ‘ *Engliſh* already here, uneaſy; and to deter others ‘ from coming hither. But if thoſe who have places ‘ here, and yet have joined in the late meaſures, are ‘ remembered after the ſeſſions; and if nobody finds ‘ his account in having headed the oppoſition now ‘ made to his Majeſty's ſervice, I do not doubt but ‘ the face of affairs will here gradually alter, and we ‘ may hope that the next ſeſſions will be more eaſy ‘ and ſucceſsful (8).’ The ſame point is ſtrongly urged by the Primate in another letter (9). Indeed, his zeal in this reſpect, his conſtant recommendation of the Engliſh intereſt, and the invariable ſteadineſs with which he ſupported the meaſures of Government, will, perhaps, in the eſtimation of the merely Iriſh Patriot, detract ſomewhat from the honour of his memory. It appears, however, that, in all theſe inſtances, he acted with the utmoſt integrity, and with a view to the benefit of Ireland itſelf. The ſentiments of Dr. Boulter having been ſuch as we have ſeen, it will not be ſurpriſing that he did not regard Dr. Swift in a very favourable light. The Archbiſhop, in one of his letters, thus expreſſes himſelf concerning that eminent man. ‘ The general report is, that Dean Swift deſigns for *England* in a ‘ little time; and we do not queſtion his endeavours ‘ to miſrepreſent his Majeſty's friends here, wherever ‘ he finds an opportunity: but he is ſo well known, ‘ as well as the diſturbances he has been the fomenter ‘ of in this kingdom, that we are under no fear of ‘ his being able to diſſerve any of his Majeſty's faithful ſervants by any thing that is known to come ‘ from him: but we could wiſh ſome eye were had to ‘ what he ſhall be attempting on your ſide of the ‘ water (10).’ Notwithſtanding the obligations which our Prelate conferred on the Engliſh government by his activity and ſupport, he was remarkably moderate and prudent in his recommendation of perſons to preferment (11); and when he was ill-uſed, in the ſettling of a new liſt of Privy Councellors in Ireland, in 1726, he ſignified his ſenſe of it in very gentle terms (12). Dr. Boulter was ſingularly active in the firſt ſeſſion of the Iriſh Parliament, after King George the Second came to the throne. More uſeful bills were paſſed at that time than had before been obtained for many ſeſſions together; and his Grace was the framer of moſt, if not of all theſe bills, ſeveral of which had a particular reſpect to the welfare of the Church, and of the Proteſtant Religion (13). The Archbiſhop's zeal for promoting the Iriſh Charity Schools, and his almoſt unparalleled benefactions to the poor in ſeaſons of ſcarcity, are properly noticed by our learned predeceſſor; and therefore we ſhall only here add, that farther evidences of Dr. Boulter's excellent diſpoſitions in theſe reſpects, occur in his letters. There will be found, likewiſe, in them, a full and complete detail of the methods he purſued, and the pains taken by him, to procure a regulation of the coinage of Ireland. This was regarded, by the Lord Primate and his friends, as the moſt uſeful, and, on that account, the moſt important tranſaction of his life. And yet, it is ſcarcely conceivable, conſidering the clearneſs of the caſe, what a bitter oppoſition was made by Dean Swift, by the bankers and others. Nay, his Grace was poorly aſſiſted, and even was oppoſed, by ſome who ought to have been his ſupporters, from reaſon, from intereſt, and from the duty they owed to their country and to government. Such a malignant ſpirit was raiſed on this occaſion, that it was thought proper to lodge at the Archbiſhop's houſe an extraordinary guard of ſoldiers. When the Primate had ſucceeded in the buſineſs of reducing the gold coin, Dr. Swift, it is ſaid, hung out a black flag on the top of his church of St. Patrick's, and cauſed a dumb peal to be rung, with the clappers of the bells muffled; but this peal turned out, in the end, to be the funeral or paſſing bell to his own political reputation (14). During the conteſt, the following copy of verſes was written by ſome friend of the Dean's.

AY and NO, a Tale from *Dublin*.

‘ At *Dublin*'s high feaſt ſat Primate and Dean,
‘ Both dreſs'd like Divines, with band and face
‘ clean—
‘ Quoth *Hugh* of *Armagh*, “ The mob is grown
“ bold:”
“ Ay, ay,” quoth the Dean, “ the cauſe is old
“ gold.”

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(4) Boulter's Letters, Vol. i. Advertiſement, p. vii, viii.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 5, 6.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 8, *&c.*

(7) *Ibid.* p. 21, 22, 23. 31, 32. 172, 173. 273.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 53, 54.

(9) *Ibid.* p. 67.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 62. The Letter was written on the 10th of February, 1725-6.

(11) See his Letters, *paſſim.*

(12) *Ibid.* Vol. i. p. 73. 75. 84.

(13) *Ibid.* p. 172—240.

(14) *Ibid.* Vol. ii. p. 161. 243. 246.

James's Place, on the twenty-ſeventh of September following, to the ineſtimable loſs of Ireland, leaving to his ſucceſſors an example that is ſcarcely imitable. He was buried in

“ No, no,” quoth the Primate, “ if cauſes we ſift,
“ This miſchief ariſes from witty Dean *Swift*.”
‘ The ſmart one replied, “ ’There's no wit in the caſe,
“ And nothing of that ever troubled your Grace.
“ Though with your ſtate-ſieve your own notions you ſplit,
“ A *Boulter* by name is no *Bolter* of wit.
“ It is matter of weight, and a mere money-job;
“ But the lower the coin, the higher the mob.
“ Go tell your friend *Bob*, and the other great folk,
“ That ſinking the coin is a dangerous joke—
“ The *Iriſh* dear joys have enough common ſenſe,
“ To treat gold reduced like *Wood*'s copper pence.
“ It is pity a Prelate ſhould die without law;
“ But if I ſay the word—take care of *Armagh* *.”

The effect of the regulation of the coin was immediately felt, in having guineas, half-guineas, and piſtoles very common, inſtead of four-pound pieces; and ſilver was in much greater plenty than it had been before (15). As this affair was peculiarly important, and forms ſo remarkable an incident in our good Prelate's life, we ſhall, for the better underſtanding of it, inſert a letter written by him to Sir Robert Walpole.

SIR, Dublin, May 25, 1736.

‘ MY Lord Lieutenant takes over with him an application from the government and council here for lowering the gold made current here, by proclamation, and raiſing the foreign ſilver.

‘ My Lord Carteret has formerly talked with you about the diſtreſs we were then under for want of ſilver, and ſome ſteps were then taken to lay that evil and the remedy before his Majeſty; but the oppoſition then made by the bankers, and the change of the Lord Lieutenant, was the occaſion of the deſign dropping at that time. But as the evil has ſince increaſed, and has been by ſome of the beſt underſtanding and moſt diſintereſted perſons fully laid before my Lord Duke of Dorſet, he has been ſo kind as to join with the Privy Council here, in a repreſentation of our deplorable caſe for want of ſilver, and what we apprehend to be the proper remedies for our preſent calamity.

‘ It is certain that ſilver is ſo ſcarce with us, that the loweſt price uſually paid for 20 *s.* in ſilver, is 4 *d.* premium; but it is more commonly in the north (which is the ſeat of our linen manufacture) 6 *d.* and 7 *d.* in the pound. And the occaſion of this want of ſilver is, that our ſeveral ſpecies of gold made current here by proclamation, paſs for more ſilver here than they do in England, *e. g.* a guinea paſſes here, where an Engliſh ſhilling goes for 13 *d.* at 23 *s.* Iriſh, or 21 *s.* Engliſh and 3 *d.*

‘ A moidore, which is worth about 27 *s.* in England, paſſes here for 30 *s.* Iriſh, or 27 *s.* Engliſh and 9 *d.* and the reſt of our gold is in the main in proportion to the value of the moidore. And whilſt this is our caſe, no man in trade will carry a moidore from hence, to inſtance in one piece of gold, if he can get ſilver, when he loſes 9 *d.* by the moidore as ſoon as he lands at Cheſter; nor will he bring from Cheſter 27 *s.* Engliſh, when he can gain 9 *d.* by bringing a moidore.

‘ And to expreſs this in greater numbers; if a merchant brings with him 100 *l.* from London; if he brings it over in *Engliſh* ſilver, that will be 108 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* here, which ariſes from the ſhilling paſſing here for 13 *d.*; but ſtill that is the ſame money under another name: if he brings it in guineas, he will put them off at 109 *l.* 10 *s.* 4 *d.* Iriſh; if in moidores or other Portugal gold, he will put it off at 111 *l.* 2 *s.* 2 *d.* So that by bringing over what is only 100 *l.* in England, in guineas, he will gain 1 *l.* 3 *s.* 8 *d.*; and by bringing it over in moidores, &c. he will gain 2 *l.* 15 *s.* 6 *d.*; and on the contrary, by taking over guineas to pay 100 *l.* Engliſh on the other ſide of the water, he will loſe 1 *l.* 3 *s.* 8 *d.* and by taking over moidores, &c. to pay 100 *l.* there, he will loſe 2 *l.* 15 *s.* 6 *d.* And as the merchant in all his importations and exportations will mind his gain, the effect of this is, that no trader will take gold out of this country if he can help it, but ſilver; nor moidores, &c. if he can get guineas.

‘ So that in our preſent ſtate our ſilver daily decreaſes, and the gold grows upon us. And the diſtreſs the want of ſilver muſt occaſion to our manufacturers, labourers, ſmall retailers, and in all the leſſer tranſactions of trade and buſineſs, I need not expatiate upon.

‘ But this is not our only calamity, but unfortunately the value of the new ſpecies of Portugal gold has been ſo ſettled here, that there is 2 *d.* profit in bringing over a 4 *l.* piece, as we call the larger ſpecies of new Portugal gold, rather than two 40 *s.* pieces; and 2 *d.* profit in bringing over a 40 *s.* piece, rather than two 20 *s.* pieces; and ſo on with reſpect of the ſilver pieces of that ſpecies; beſides which, as the leaſt want of weight in the foreign pieces of gold, or even their not turning the ſcale, carries an abatement of 2 *d.* a piece, there may be a loſs of 2 *d.* in every leſſer piece on that account, and conſequently ſo much greater as the number of ſmaller pieces is to make up a greater of the ſame value, *e. g.* upon eight 10 *s.* pieces, there may be a loſs of eight 2 *d.* for not turning the ſcale, when there is a loſs but of 2 *d.* if the 4 *l.* piece does not turn the ſcale: ſo that it is to the profit of the merchant to import the larger pieces of gold rather than the ſmaller; and they have gone on uſing this advantage, till half the money we have at leaſt is in 4 *l.* pieces, which are of no ſervice at the market and in all the leſſer tranſactions of trade; and the next ſpecies with us is the 40 *s.* piece; and to be ſure, above three quarters of our money is in thoſe two ſpecies, and without ſome remedy we ſhall in two or three years have ſcarce any money but 4 *l.* pieces.

‘ And there is another inconvenience that follows from our ſcarcity of ſilver, that we ſuffer from 2 to 2½ *per cent.* in the exchange, and are really paid ſo much leſs in the price of what we ſell to foreign merchants, and loſe ſo much in paying for what goods we buy from abroad.

‘ And it is certain that all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of this country, who live in England, loſe from 2 to 2½ *per cent.* in the remittances of their money to England, which is uſed as a popular argument againſt the propoſed reduction, that the abſentees will get ſo much *per cent.* by it; whilſt they will not conſider that the nation at preſent loſes five times as much in the export and import of goods, as the abſentees will gain by this reduction of the exchange.

‘ Now the remedy we propoſe in our repreſentation to his Majeſty, is a very eaſy and very obvious one, that we may have leave to reduce our gold, to go for as much Engliſh ſilver as it is worth, in proportion to the guinea going for 21 *s.* Engliſh; and accordingly we have calculated what we reckon the ſeveral ſpecies of gold ought to go for, according to their weight and fineneſs, in Iriſh money, valuing an Engliſh ſhilling at 13 *d.* Iriſh; and to get rid as much as we can of the larger pieces of foreign gold, we have ſet the leſſer pieces about a penny a-piece above their value in reſpect of the larger piece above them. And this reduction of the gold is the more reaſonable, becauſe gold has in effect reduced itſelf the 6 *d.* in the pound we propoſe in our ſcheme, ſince 6 *d.* is about the middle price that is paid to get 20 *s.* in ſilver.

‘ There is no doubt but it would be abſolutely right when we are reducing, to reduce the Engliſh ſhilling to 12 *d.* which it went for here before the recoining of the ſilver in King William's time; but as the ſhilling is in effect the meaſure of all payments, and as the Engliſh ſhilling has gone ſo long for 13 *d.* and as moſt of our preſent rents have been ſettled, and our debts contracted, whilſt that ſhilling paſſed for 13 *d.* we think that cannot be done without an act of parliament to ſettle an anſwerable reduction in the rents and debts.

‘ Our bankers and remitters here continue to make great oppoſition to this reduction, ſince our preſent

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(*) Supplement to Swift's Works, p. 584.

(15) *Ibid.* p. 247. For the whole of the Primate's Tranſactions relative to the Coinage of Ireland, ſee his Letters, with ſome intervals, from Vol. i. p. 246, to Vol. ii. p. 247.

in Weſtminſter-Abbey, where a ſtately monument hath been erected to his memory.—His character reſults from the relation given of him: yet we muſt add a few particulars more, which have not fallen under any of the heads mentioned. His deportment was ſtayed and grave, his aſpect venerable, and his temper meek and humble. He was always open and eaſy of acceſs both to rich and poor. He was ſteady to the principles of liberty both in Religion and Politics. His learning was univerſal, yet more in ſubſtance than ſhew; nor would his modeſty permit him to make any oſtentation of it. He always preſerved ſuch an equal temper of mind that hardly any thing could ruffle; and I have heard a gentleman of great worth and integrity (who had lived fourteen years in his family as his domeſtic Chaplain) affirm, that in all that time he never ſaw him diſcompoſed but once, and that upon a very provoking occaſion; yet that he recovered his uſual ſerenity and good humour in leſs than three minutes. He always maintained a ſteady reſolution of ſerving his country, *i. e.* Ireland, which he often called by that name; and he readily embraced every thing propoſed for the good of it, though by perſons remarkable for their oppoſition to him: and when the moſt public-ſpirited ſchemes were introduced by him, and did not meet with the reception they deſerved, yet he never took offence at the partial proceedings of ſome few, who liked nothing that came from him; but was glad when any part of his advice for the public good was purſued, and was always willing to drop ſome points, that he might not loſe them all; often ſaying, ‘ he would do all the good to Ireland he could, though they did not ſuffer ‘ him to do all he would.’ His life was moſtly ſpent in action, and therefore it is not to be expected that he ſhould have left many remains of his learning behind him; nor do we know of any thing he hath written, excepting a few Charges to his clergy at his viſitations, which are grave, ſolid, and inſtructive. It has been ſaid indeed, that in his

‘ inequality of gold and ſilver is an article of great profit to thoſe through whoſe hands all the money of this nation paſſes; and we make no doubt but they will, by their partners and correſpondents in England, make what oppoſition they can to the ſcheme propoſed by the council; and we apprehend they may think it worth while to advance money, if they can find perſons to take it among the number through whoſe hands this affair muſt paſs, to obſtruct it; and that many merchants who deal in Ireland will join with them, to keep up the advantage they have by the exchange being always from 2 to 2½ *per cent.* againſt us.

‘ But as we are almoſt on the brink of ruin, by the preſent unhappy ſtate of our money, and as by the farther want of ſilver, and the increaſe of our larger pieces of gold, our linen manufacture muſt ſoon decay, and our inland trade be at a ſtand; I moſt earneſtly beg of you to give us your utmoſt aſſiſtance on this occaſion to have our gold reduced, and put us in a poſſibility of carrying on our trade and manufactures, by having a tolerable proportion of ſilver, without which we muſt ſoon be a ruined nation.

‘ I have now explained our reaſons and views in the ſcheme we propoſed for reducing gold, but if we have been any ways miſtaken in our calculations, thoſe errors will be eaſily corrected by the abler hands this affair muſt paſs through in England.

‘ In relation to the other branch of our ſcheme, about raiſing the price of foreign ſilver, I believe there will be great room for amendment. It was a ſcheme more come into to gratify the bankers and merchant remitters, who clamoured for it, and by what I can learn, they have miſinformed us about the price of foreign bullion, which they affirmed to be 5 *s.* 4½ *d.* Engliſh *per* ounce; whereas I am ſince told it has not been above 5 *s.* 3 *d. per* ounce for two years paſt; but this will be before thoſe who know how the fact is.

‘ The great thing we want is, the reduction of our gold, which I beg we may obtain leave to do by your powerful intervention.

‘ The importance of the affair to this nation, and your goodneſs, will, I hope, excuſe the length of this letter. I am,

‘ My Lord, &c.’ (16)

Various other particulars may be collected from the Letters we have ſo often referred to, all of which will ſerve farther to ſhew Dr. Boulter's wiſdom, temper, and good conduct in the management of affairs. Perhaps there never was a man who better exemplified the maxim recommended by the late Lord Cheſterfield to his ſon, *Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re.* It is ſaid, in the text, that the Primate was ten times one of the Lords Juſtices, or Chief Governors of Ireland: but we are informed, by the editor of his Letters, that, when he died, he was then for the thirteenth time in that high office (17). Among other inſtances of his Grace's benevolent diſpoſition, we cannot omit to mention his generoſity to Dr. Welſted, a Phyſician, who had been an old friend, and fellow collegian with him at Oxford. This worthy Gentleman having fallen into decay in the latter part of his life, the Archbiſhop, though he was no relation, gave him, at the leaſt, two hundred pounds a year, till his death. Nor did his Grace's kindneſs to the Doctor's family end with his deceaſe. The Primate maintained a ſon of the Doctor's, as a commoner, at Hart-Hall in Oxford; and would effectually have provided for him, if the young Gentleman had not died before he had taken a degree. Dr. Welſted was one of the editors of the *Oxford Pindar*, and eſteemed an excellent Greek ſcholar. He had been choſen a Demy of Magdalen College, at what Dr. Hough called the *Golden Election* (18).

The Monument, erected for the Archbiſhop in 1748, in Weſtminſter-Abbey, contains the following inſcription:

To the Memory of
Doctor HUGH BOULTER,
Late Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, and Primate of
All Ireland;
A Prelate ſo eminent
For the Accompliſhments of his Mind,
The Purity of his Heart,
And the Excellency of his Life;
That it may be thought ſuperfluous
To ſpecify his Titles,
Recount his Virtues,
Or even erect a Monument to his Fame.
His Titles he not only deſerv'd, but adorn'd:
His Virtues are manifeſt in his good Works,
Which had never dazzled the Public Eye,
If they had not been too bright to be concealed.
And, as to his Fame,
Whoever has any Senſe of Merit,
Any Reverence for Piety,
Any Paſſion for his Country,
Or any Charity for Mankind,
Will aſſiſt in preſerving it fair and ſpotleſs:
That when Braſs and Marble ſhall mix with
The Duſt they cover,
Every ſucceeding Age
May have the Benefit of his illuſtrious Example.
He was born Jan. 4th, 1671,
* He was conſecrated Biſhop of *Briſtol*, 1719,
He was tranſlated to the Archbiſhopric of
Armagh, 1724,
And from thence to Heaven,
Sept. 27, 1742.

K.]

younger

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(16) *Ibid.* Vol. ii. p. 155—161.

(17) Advertiſement, prefixed to Boulter's Letters.

(18) Letters, *ubi ſupra*, Vol. i. p. 94. Note.

* We have corrected theſe dates; Dr. Boulter's conſecration and tranſlation being each of them placed a year too ſoon in the public Inſcription.

younger days he was the author of four or five occaſional papers in the Free-Thinkers, publiſhed for the encouragement of loyalty, virtue, and religion; but we cannot affirm this particular with any degree of certainty. In ſhort, his conſtant buſineſs in this world was to do good to mankind.

BOURCHIER or **BOWSCHYRE** (*a*) or **BOWCER** (*b*) (**Thomas**), Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the ſucceſſive reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., Edward V., Richard III., and Henry VII., was ſon of William Bourchier Earl of Ewe in Normandy, and the Counteſs of Stafford [*A*], and brother of Henry Earl of Eſſex (*c*). He had his education at Oxford, and was Chancellor of that univerſity three years, *viz.* from 1434 to 1437. His firſt dignity in the Church was that of Dean of St. Martin's in London; from which, on the ninth of March 1434, he was advanced, by Pope Eugenius IV., to the See of Worceſter [*B*]: but his conſecration was deferred to the twentieth of April 1435, by reaſon (as is ſuppoſed) of a defect in age. He had not ſat a full year, before he was elected by the Monks of Ely Biſhop of that See, and confirmed therein by the Pope: but, the King refuſing his conſent, Bourchier did not dare to comply with the election, for fear of incurring the cenſure of the laws, which forbad, under very ſevere penalties, the receiving the Pope's Bull without the King's leave. Nevertheleſs, ſeven or eight years after, the See of Ely ſtill continuing vacant, and the King conſenting, he was tranſlated thither, the twentieth of December 1443 (*d*). The author of the *Hiſtoria Elienſis* (*e*) ſpeaks very diſadvantageouſly of him during his reſidence on that See [*C*], which was ten years twenty-three weeks and five days. At laſt he mounted to the pinnacle of Church preferment, being elected Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the room of John Kemp, the twenty-third of April 1454. This election was the more remarkable, in that the Monks were left entirely to their liberty of choice, without any interpoſition either from the Crown or the Papal Chair. On the contrary, Pope Nicolas Vth's concurrence being readily obtained, the Archbiſhop was inſtalled with great ſolemnity. In the month of December following, he received the red hat from Rome, being created Cardinal-Prieſt of St. *Cyriacus in Thermis* (*f*). The next year, he was made Lord High Chancellor of England, but reſigned that office in October the year following (*g*). Soon after his advancement to the See of Canterbury, he began a viſitation in Kent, and made ſeveral regulations for the government of his dioceſe [*D*]. He likewiſe publiſhed a conſtitution for reſtraining the exceſſive abuſe of Papal Proviſions [*E*]. This Archbiſhop deſerved highly of the learned world, for being the principal inſtrument in introducing the noble art of Printing into England [*F*]. He was ſtrangely

(*a*) Dies Obituales Archiep. Cantuar. *apud* Wharton. Anglia Sacra, Vol. i. p. 63.

(*b*) Hiſtoria Elienſis, *apud* Wharton, *ibid.* Vol. i. p. 671.

(*c*) Hiſt. Elienſis, *ibid.*

(*d*) Continuatio Hiſt. de Epiſc. Wigorn. *apud* Wharton. *ubi ſupra*, p. 537.

(*e*) *Ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) Canonicus Lichfeldenſ. de Succeſſione Archiep. Cantuar. *apud* Wharton. Vol. i. p. 123.

(*g*) Wharton, *ibid.* p. 795.

[*A*] *He was ſon of William Bourchier, Earl of Ewe in Normandy, and the Counteſs of Stafford.*] If this genealogy be right, Biſhop Godwin muſt be miſtaken in ſaying he was the ſon of Henry Earl of Eſſex. *Patre is natus eſt Henrico Bourchier Eſſexiæ Comite* (1). Fuller tells us, this Prelate's father Sir William Bourchier was created Earl of Ewe in Normandy by King Henry V., and that it is ſuppoſed the Archbiſhop was born at Hawſted in Eſſex, one of the family-ſeats of the Bourchiers (2), or Bourgchiers, of whom Robert Bourgchier was Chancellor of England in the time of Edward III., from whom, Camden tells us (3), an honourable ſeries of Earls and Lords are deſcended.

[*B*] *He was advanced by Pope Eugenius* IV. *to the See of Worceſter.*] The author of the *Continuation of the Hiſtory of the Biſhops of Worceſter* (4) informs us, that, upon the death of Thomas Polton, Biſhop of Worceſter, Pope Eugenius, then ſitting in the Council of Baſil, conferred that Biſhopric, by right of Proviſion, on Thomas Brouns, Dean of Saliſbury, and wrote letters to King Henry, deſiring his approbation thereof. The King, on the contrary, ſent letters to Thomas Brouns, commanding him to renounce the Proviſion, otherwiſe he would never ſuffer him to obtain any Biſhopric in England, much leſs that of Worceſter. At the ſame time he wrote to the Pope, abſolutely refuſing his conſent to the Proviſion, and offering this compromiſe, that if his Holineſs would advance Bourchier, who was his kinſman, to the See of Worceſter, he conſented that Thomas Brouns might be promoted to that of Rocheſter. The Pope, not daring to oppoſe the King of England during the ſitting of a General Council, complied with the propoſition; and by this means Bourchier obtained the Biſhopric of Worceſter.

[*C*] *The author of the* Hiſtoria Elienſis *ſpeaks very diſadvantageouſly of him during his reſidence on that See.*] He tells us, this Biſhop of Ely cruelly oppreſſed the Church in collecting the rents of his Biſhopric; that he falſely impriſoned ſeveral of their tenants, and refuſed to deliver them up by indenture to their bailiff, according to the form and cuſtom of their lands; that, by the advice of John Hay his Seneſchal, he amerced the Prior and ſeveral of the Monks in large fines; and that, excepting the day of his inſtallation, he never once celebrated Maſs or Divine Service in his cathedral church (5). What credit is to be given to this author, who was himſelf a Monk at that time in that very church, and how far he may have aggravated the truth, muſt be left to the reader's judgment.

[*D*] *He made ſeveral regulations for the government of his dioceſe.*] To mention the moſt material; he decreed, Firſt, 'that thoſe Religious, who threw 'off the habit of the Cloiſter, and entered upon Pa'rochial Cures, ſhould be puniſhed as revolters from 'their order.' Secondly, 'that benefices ſhould not 'be let to farm without conſent of the Biſhop.' And Thirdly, 'that marriages ſhould not be celebrated, 'nor wills made, without two witneſſes at the leaſt.' Theſe, with ſome other conſtitutions for the reformation of the Clergy and Laity, he ordered to be publiſhed at Paul's-Croſs (6).

[*E*] *He paſſed a conſtitution for reſtraining the exceſſive abuſe of Papal Proviſions.*] The avarice and partiality of the Court of Rome, in conferring benefices, were at this time carried to an extravagant height. For if men brought money and ſtrong recommendations, that Court uſually overlooked the conſiderations of probity and merit. The weight of theſe grievances put the univerſity of Oxford upon addreſſing the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to ſtep in to their relief, who made a Synodical Conſtitution, 'that for 'the future no perſon ſhould be admitted to Holy 'Orders, without a teſtimonial from the Archdeacon 'of the place, or the Chancellor of the univerſity, 'or his deputy.' This expedient, though at firſt it gave ſome hopes of reformation, proved inſignificant through the mercenary diſpoſition of the Biſhop's officers, who were generally too much in haſte for their fees to wait for any teſtimonials of this kind (7).

[*F*] *He was the principal inſtrument in introducing the noble art of Printing into England.*] This diſcovery being

(1) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Archiep. Cantuar. an. 1454.

(2) Worthies of England, Eſſex, p. 324.

(3) Britannia, by Biſhop Gibſon, laſt edit. col. 421.

(4) *Apud* Wharton. Anglia Sacra, Vol. i. p. 537.

(5) Hiſtoria Elienſis, *apud* Wharton, *ibid.* p. 671, 672.

(6) Concil. T. XIII. col. 1394. *apud* Collier, Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. i. p. 674.

(7) Wood's Hiſt. & Antiq. of the Univerſity of Oxford, B. i. p. 224.

ſtrangely impoſed upon by the ſpecious pretences of Richard Duke of Glouceſter, when he undertook to perſuade the Queen to deliver up the Duke of York, her ſon, into the Protector's hands [*G*]. He preſided over the Church thirty-two years [*H*], in the moſt troubleſome times of the Engliſh government [*I*]. He gave to the church of Canterbury a fine image or repreſentation of the Trinity, of ſolid gold, adorned with precious ſtones, and a complete ſet of ſacerdotal veſtments (*h*); to his ſucceſſor two thouſand marks, to compenſate for dilapidations; to the church of Worceſter an image of the Virgin Mary, of ſilver gilt, to the value of ſixty-nine pounds (*i*); to the church of Ely two hundred marks for repairing the ſteeple (*k*); and to the univerſity of Cambridge 120 pounds [*K*]. This great Prelate performed the marriage ceremony between Henry VII. and the daughter of Edward IV.; ſo that, as Dr. Fuller obſerves (*l*), *his hand firſt held that ſweet poſie, wherein the white and red roſes were tied together.* And

(*k*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Archiep. Cantuar. an. 1454.

(*h*) Dies Obitual. Archiep. Cantuar. *ubi ſupra.*

(*i*) Wharton, *ubi ſupra.*

(*l*) Worthies of England, Eſſex p. 324.

being ſo beneficial to learning, and its introduction among us reflecting ſo much honour on this Prelate's name, a ſhort account of it may not be unacceptable in this place. You are to know then, that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury being informed that the inventor, Toſſan, *alias* John Guthenberg, had ſet up a Preſs at Harlem, was extremely deſirous that the Engliſh might be made maſters of ſo beneficial an art. To this purpoſe he perſuaded King Henry VI. to diſpatch one Robert Tournour, belonging to the wardrobe, privately to Harlem. This man, furniſhed with a thouſand marks, of which the Archbiſhop ſupplied three hundred, embarked for Holland, and, to diſguiſe the matter, went in company with one Caxton, a merchant of London, pretending himſelf to be of the ſame profeſſion. Thus concealing his name and his buſineſs, he went firſt to Amſterdam, then to Leyden, and at laſt ſettled at Harlem; where having ſpent a great deal of time and money, he ſent to the King for a freſh ſupply, giving his Highneſs to underſtand, that he had almoſt compaſſed the enterprize. In ſhort, he perſuaded Frederic Corſelli, one of the Compoſitors, to carry off a Set of Letters, and embark with him in the night for London. When they arrived, the Archbiſhop, thinking Oxford a more convenient place for printing than London, ſent Corſelli down thither. And, leſt he ſhould ſlip away before he had diſcovered the whole ſecret, a guard was ſet upon the Preſs. And thus the Myſtery of Printing appeared ten years ſooner in the univerſity of Oxford than at any other place in Europe, Harlem and Mentz excepted. Not long after there were preſſes ſet up at Weſtminſter, St. Alban's, Worceſter, and other monaſteries of note. After this manner Printing was introduced into England, by the care of Archbiſhop Bourchier, in the year of Chriſt 1464, and the third of King Edward IV (8).

(8) Wood, *ibid.* p. 226, 227.

[*G*] *He undertook to perſuade the Queen to deliver up the Duke of York into the Protector's hands.*] Richard Duke of Glouceſter, who, upon the death of his brother King Edward IV., had been appointed by the Council Protector of the realm, and ſecretly aſpired to the Crown, having got into his power the young King Edward V., endeavoured likewiſe to ſecure the Duke of York his brother, whom Queen Elizabeth their mother, jealous of Richard's treacherous deſigns, had lodged for ſanctuary in Weſtminſter-Abbey. The Protector, to gain his point, made a ſpeech to the Council, charging the Queen with ſiniſter intentions in flying with her ſon to a ſanctuary, and repreſenting, that it was highly fitting the young Prince ſhould be lodged and educated in the King his brother's Court; and therefore he moved, that ſome perſon of diſtinction and intereſt with the Queen might be ſent to perſuade her to put the Duke of York into their hands. The Council approving the motion, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury was pitched upon as the propereſt perſon to undertake the buſineſs. This Prelate, ſuſpecting no foul practices, waited upon the Queen, and did his utmoſt to prevail with her to deliver up her ſon, aſſuring her that nothing was intended in the whole affair but what was honourable and juſt. But the Queen, whoſe fears were alarmed by her affection, and who ſeems to have dived farther into the Protector's deſigns, was by no means ſatisfied with the Archbiſhop's reaſons for her parting with her ſon. She expreſſed her fears and apprehenſions in the ſtrongeſt terms, and declared ſhe had not courage to put the young Duke into Richard's hands, who was already poſſeſſed of his brother, and who, if both the children ſhould miſcarry, might probably lay claim to the Crown. The Archbiſhop, perceiving the Queen's diſtruſt of the Protector, and averſion to a compliance, thought it beſt to put the matter upon a ſhort iſſue. He told her, that if ſhe pleaſed to truſt her ſon with himſelf, or any other Lord of the Council, he would pawn both body and ſoul for his ſecurity; but if ſhe was unalterably reſolved to the contrary, he would forbear ſoliciting, and give her Highneſs no farther trouble; adding withal, that he thought the Queen had a mean opinion of the honeſty or underſtanding of himſelf and the reſt of the Council; and that her ſuſpicion amounted to a charge of treachery or want of common-ſenſe. The Queen, ſeeing the Archbiſhop diſconcerted, and ready to take his leave, and conſidering that it was impracticable to remove her ſon to any other place, concluded it more adviſable to comply, than ſubmit to force; for by voluntarily delivering up the young Duke, and committing him to their truſt, ſhe thought the honour and inclination of the Lords would be faſter engaged for his preſervation (9). The behaviour of Archbiſhop Bourchier on this occaſion ſhews plainly, that he was too credulous, and that he was perfectly over-reached by the Protector.

(9) See Sir Tho. More's Life and Reign of Edw. V. *apud* Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. i. p. 486—491. See alſo Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. of Great Britain, B. vii. Vol. i. p. 685.

[*H*] *He governed the Church thirty-two years.*] Godwin tells us, this was three years longer than Archbiſhop Chichley ſat, and that Bourchier had enjoyed the prelacy fifty-one years from the time of his firſt conſecration; a longer term (he obſerves) than was to be found in the hiſtory of any other Engliſh Biſhop. *Diuturnitate præſidendi Chichleium tres annos ſupergreſſus, ſedit archiepiſcopus annos* 32, *vixit autem poſt primam conſecrationem annum unum ſupra quinquaginta. Inter Anglos noſtros non reperi quenquam, qui unquam epiſcopatum tam diu geſſerit* (10).

(10) Godwin, *ubi ſupra.*

[*I*] —— *in the moſt troubleſome times of the Engliſh government.*] Namely, thoſe of Henry VI., and Edward IV.; the former of whom, though accounted a moſt religious Prince, yet, through an inactivity unworthy of a monarch, ingloriouſly loſt the kingdom of France, which his father had conquered; and Edward, by his attempts to dethrone Henry, plunged his country in a civil war, which laſted many years, nor had an end, till, a little before the death of this Prelate, by the happy marriage of Henry VII. with Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Edward, the factions of York and Lancaſter were extinguiſhed, and a ſolid peace reſtored. *Majora præſtiturum Bourchierum facile crediderim, niſi in tempora incidiſſet turbulentiſſima, Henrici nimirum ſexti et Edwardi quarti, quorum ille, ob pietatem vir habitus ſanctiſſimus, ob inertiam tamen inter peſſimos reges numerandus (nam Galliam a patre ſabactam amiſit turpiter, ac poſtea deinde Angliæ etiam regno excidit) Edwardus vero paterque ejus, Henricum evertere ſatagentes, inteſtino bello multos per annos patriam graviſſimè afflixerunt. Neque id finem habuit, priuſquam, paulo ante obitum hujuſce præſulis, feliciſſimo connubio Henrico Richmundano cum Elizabetha Edwardi filia primogenita conjuncto, Lancaſtrenſium et Eboracenſium factiones extinctæ, ac pax tandem ſolida et diu exoptata coaluit* (11).

(11) *Id. ibid.*

[*K*] *He gave to the univerſity of Cambridge* 120 *pounds.*] This ſum, together with 100 pounds given by Dr. Billingford, Maſter of Benet-college, were laid up in a particular cheſt (called from thence *Bourchier's and Billingford's cheſt),* to be lent, as occaſion required, to poor ſcholars (12). Wharton tells us (13), it was thirty years after the Archbiſhop's death before the univerſity of Cambridge could recover this legacy of his executors.

(12) *Id. ibid.*

(13) Angl. Sacra, Vol. i. p. 795.

he had the happineſs to be contemporary with many Prelates of the moſt diſtinguiſhed birth in the Engliſh Hiſtory [*L*]. He was certainly a man of good learning [*M*]; though nothing written by him has come down to us; if we except a few Synodical Decrees (*m*). Dart tells us (*n*), he founded a Chantry, which was afterwards ſurrendered to King Henry VIII. Archbiſhop Bourchier died at his palace of Knowle, on Thurſday the thirtieth of March 1486 (*o*), and was buried on the north ſide of the Choir, by the high altar, in a tomb of marble (*p*), on which is an inſcription mentioned below [*N*].

[*L*] *He was contemporary with many Prelates of the nobleſt birth in the Engliſh hiſtory.*] This obſervation belongs to the author of the *Worthies of England*, who has enumerated thoſe Prelates. Take it in his own words. ‘ I know not what generous planet had then ‘ influence on the Court of Rome; this I know, ‘ that England never ſaw ſuch a concurrence of noble Prelates, who, as they were Peers by their places, were little leſs by their deſcent. I behold ‘ their birth a good buttreſs of epiſcopacy in that age, ‘ able in Parliament to check and cruſh any antiprelatical project by their own relations. But let ‘ us count how many were contemporaries with Thomas Bourchier, from his firſt conſecration at Worceſter to the day of his death; John Stafford, ſon ‘ to the Earl of Stafford, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; ‘ Robert Fitz-Hugh ——— Biſhop of London; Henry Beaufort, ſon to John Duke of Lancaſter, Biſhop ‘ of Wincheſter; William Gray, ſon to the Lord ‘ Gray of Codnor, Biſhop of Ely; Marmaduke Lumley, extracted from the Lord Lumley, Biſhop of ‘ Lincoln; Richard Beauchamp, brother to the Lord ‘ Saint Amand, Biſhop of Sarum; Lionel Woodvile, ‘ ſon to the Earl of Rivers, Biſhop of Sarum; Peter ‘ Courtney, extracted from the Earl of Devon, Biſhop ‘ of Exeter; Richard Courtney, of the ſame extraction, Biſhop of Norwich; John Zouch, deſcended of the Lord Zouch, Biſhop of Landaff; ‘ George Nevile, Brother to the Make-King Earl ‘ of Warwick, Archbiſhop of York; William Dudley, ſon to the Lord Dudley, Biſhop of Durham; ‘ and William Piercy, ſon to the Earl of Northumberland, Biſhop of Carliſle (14).’

[*M*] *He was a man of good learning.*] Pits informs us, that this Prelate was more than once intruſted with an enquiry into Hereſies, and that he wrote his opinion about theſe things to the Pope and the Court of Rome; that *Johannes Burienſis* dedicated to him his work againſt Reginald Peacock; and that it appears from Polydore Virgil and Onuphrius Panvinius, that he wrote ſeveral pieces; but what they were, excepting ſome Synodical Conſtitutions, neither he nor they could find. From all which this author collects, that Bourchier was a learned man. *Doctrinam hominis ex eo colligimus, quod examen hæreticorum non ſemel illi fuerit concreditum, et quod ſuper his rebus ad ſummum pontificem et curiam Romanam ſuam ſententiam in ſcriptis miſerit. Item quod Joannes Burienſis ſuum opus contra Reginaldum Pæcoccum ſeu Pavonem ei nuncupaverit. Cæterum ex Polydoro Virgilio et Onuphrio Panvinio colligi poteſt, eum multa ſcripta edidiſſe, ſed quænam illa fuerint, præter decreta quædam Synodalia, et me latet, et illos* (15).

[*N*] *The inſcription on his tomb.*] It is as follows (16). *Hic jacet Reverendiſſimus in Chriſto Pater et Dominus, D. Thomas Bourchier, quondam Sacroſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ et S. Cyriaci in Thermis Cardinalis, et Archiepiſcopus hujus Eccleſiæ, qui obiit trigeſima die Martii*, 1486, *cujus animæ propitietur Deus. Amen.* Which inſcription is in old text characters, and engraved round the verge of the monument; in Engliſh thus: ‘ Here lies the moſt Reverend Father in ‘ Chriſt and Lord, the Lord Thomas Bourchier, ‘ ſome time Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, ‘ and of *St. Cyriacus in Thermis*, and Archbiſhop of ‘ this Church, who died the thirtieth day of March, ‘ in the year of our Lord 1486, on whoſe ſoul God ‘ have mercy. Amen.’ B.

⁂ [Thomas Bourchier, beſides being the ſon of William Bourchier, Earl of Ewe in Normandy, was related in blood to the nobleſt families in the kingdom, and was himſelf great-grandſon to Edward the Third. Ann, his mother, was daughter of Thomas of Woodſtock, Duke of Glouceſter, ſixth ſon of that monarch. This lady was eldeſt ſiſter, and one of the co-heirs of Humfrey Plantagenet Duke of Buckingham, and had been herſelf firſt married to Edmund Stafford, Earl of Stafford: ſo that ſhe was a Lady of one of the greateſt houſes, and dignified with ſome of the moſt illuſtrious titles of this kingdom: for ſhe was Counteſs of Hereford, Eſſex, Ewe, Northampton, Buckingham, and Stafford. When ſhe died, which was in the 17th of Henry the Sixth, 1438, ſhe appointed her ſon Thomas, then Biſhop of Worceſter, to be one of the executors of her will (17).

The courſe of our Prelate's preferments, before he was appointed to the ſee of Worceſter, was as follows: On the 24th of May, 1424, he was admitted to the prebend of Colwich, in the cathedral church of Lichfield; and he occurs Dean of the collegiate church of St. Martin-le-Grand, in London, in 1428. He is ſaid to have been educated in Nevil's Hoſtle in Oxford, of which univerſity he was Chancellor from 1433 to 1437, and in the former of theſe years he was created Maſter of Arts. In 1432, we find him Prebendary of Weſt Thurrock, in the free chapel of Haſtings; and on the 25th of July, 1433, he was collated to the prebend of Coryngham, in the church of Lincoln (18). It was on the 9th of December, in the ſame year, that he was elected Biſhop of Worceſter; but, upon account of the difficulties raiſed by Pope Eugenius the Fourth, the bulls of proviſion were not granted till late in the following year. The temporalties of the ſee of Worceſter were given by the King to Thomas Bourchier, on the 15th of April, 1435; but, by reaſon of his want of age, his conſecration was deferred till the 15th of May, 1436 (19). From this account, for which we are indebted to the learned and accurate Mr. Bentham, our Readers will perceive how much our predeceſſor has been miſled in his dates. There is ſome little difference, among writers, about the time during which our Archbiſhop continued Lord Chancellor of England. He was conſtituted to that high office on the 7th of March, 1455; and, according to Rymer, reſigned it on the 11th of October, 1456; but, according to Dugdale, on the ſame month, and ſame day of the month, 1457 (20). The controverſy is of the leſs importance, as the Archbiſhop appears to have done nothing worthy of particular notice during his Chancellorſhip.

According to Godwin, who is followed by Mr. Bentham, Thomas Bourchier was not created a Cardinal till the 18th of September, 1464; and his hat was delivered to him, with great ſolemnity, by the Archbiſhop of Ravenna, on the 9th of December in the ſame year (21). Our learned predeceſſor, in copying from the Canon of Lichfield, in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, hath dated this event ten years too ſoon.

The concern which Cardinal Bourchier had in introducing the art of printing into England, and the ſtory of Frederic Corſellis's exerciſing the art at Oxford, have been conſidered in our firſt volume (22).

There is only one inſtance, in the Engliſh hiſtory, of any perſon's having been a Biſhop longer than Thomas Bourchier. The excellent Dr. John Hough, who was conſecrated to the ſee of Oxford, May 11, 1690, and died Biſhop of Worceſter, May 8, 1743, in the 93d year of his age, was a Biſhop nearly fifty-three years (23).

The obſervation from Godwin, in note [*I*], that Henry the Sixth ingloriouſly loſt the kingdom of France, which his father had conquered, is inconſiderately expreſſed. That kingdom was loſt, indeed, in Henry the Sixth's reign; but this was when he was very young, and could not be his fault.

Archbiſhop Bourchier's benefactions are ſtated more accurately by Mr. Bentham than they are above. He gave to the prior and convent of Chriſt Church in Canterbury, the alien priory of Cranfield in Eſſex, a grant of which he had obtained from the crown in the time of Edward the Fourth. To the church of

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(*m*) Pits, de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. in Append. p. 914.

(*n*) Hiſt. of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, p. 162.

(*o*) Wharton, *ubi ſupra.*

(*p*) Godwin, *ubi ſupra.*

(14) Fuller, *ubi ſupra.*

(15) Pits, de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. in Append. p. 914.

(16) Dart's Hiſt. of the Cathedral of Canterbury, p. 162.

(17) Bentham's Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely, p. 173.

(18) *Ibid.*

(19) *Ibid.*

(20) Bentham, *ubi ſupra*, p. 175.

(21) *Ibid.* Godwin de Præſul. p. 129. Richardſon's edition.

(22) See Atkins' Richard. Vol. i. p. 323. 2d edit.

(23) Bentham, *ubi ſupra.*

Canterbury, beſides the image of the Trinity, he bequeated twenty-ſeven copes of red tiſſue. The ſum which he left to his ſucceſſor, in recompence for dilapidations, was 2000 l. It was about 125 pounds which he bequeathed to each of the univerſities, to be kept in cheſts, for the ſupport of the poor ſcholars. The cheſt at Cambridge, which was united with Billingford's, was in being in 1601, when 100 l. was borrowed out of it for the uſe of the univerſity; but this fund was afterward embezzled, through the iniquity of the times. The Archbiſhop left, alſo, legacies to ſeveral monaſteries (24).

(24) *Ibid.* p. 175, 176.

The proofs which are brought in note [*M*], of our great Prelate's learning, are ſomewhat problematical. An inquiry into hereſies might be intruſted to him in virtue of his office, and ſo long as ſuch great power was in the church, much knowledge was not required. The dedication of a book to him is a very inſufficient evidence of his literature. Tanner, indeed, hath given him a place in his *Bibliotheca*; but it is only on account of a few letters, inſtructions, and addreſſes to his clergy, which appear to have been merely official (25).

(25) Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p. 116.

The learned Mr. Cole, in the Appendix to Bentham's Hiſtory and Antiquities of Ely, hath corrected Wharton's account of our Archbiſhop's arms, and has made ſome curious obſervations on the coat armour of the great eccleſiaſtics. ' The arms,' ſays he, ' aſſigned him (Thomas Bourchier) in *Angl. Sacr.* p. 671, are not exact. His right bearing is in a window of Fulbourn All Saints church near Cambridge, and enſigned with a mitre: as alſo in a window of Littlebury Church in Eſſex: ſo that we may be ſure theſe are his arms put up in his lifetime; viz. *Quarterly*; *firſt and fourth, arg. a croſs engrailed, gu. inter four water-bougets, ſab. Second and third, gul. a feſſe, arg. inter ten or twelve billets or; all within a bordure azure.* The border was added to his paternal coat, becauſe he was an eccleſiaſtic; not in derogation, as Mr. Thynne vainly imagines, but as an honourable difference in regard to his ſacred character. Mr. Thynne, Lancaſter Herald, in 1605, has a ſmall tract intitled, " The Dutye and Office of an Heraulde of Armes,' publiſhed by Mr. Hearne, among many other treatiſes, under this title; " A Collection of curious Diſcourſes written by eminent Antiquaries:' I ſhall tranſcribe ſo much of it as relates to the clergy's bearing coat armour; not out of any value I conceive it is worth, but to confute his fooliſh conjecture: it is p. 255, where on the margin is wrote, " Armes granted to the cleargy ought not to deſcend to their children." He then proceeds thus: " Armes appointed for Biſhopps ought not to deſcend to their children, for they are not within the compaſſe of the lawes of armes; which only taketh notice of Biſhopps as officers of the church, and not as military men, or perſons to be employed in offices or affaires of layemen: though ſome of them have been very great ſouldiers. For both *canons and examples* do forbidde the ſame; ſince in temporall actions in tyme paſt it was aleaged againſt them. For it was objected to Hubert Walter Archbiſhop of Canterburye, being chiefe juſtice and chauncellor in the time of King John, that he intermeddled in laye cauſes, and dealte in blood: as alſoe the ſame was layed againſt the other cleargimen, for haveing of offices in the Exchequer, and the King's howſe, when ſome of them were clerckes of the kitchin, ſome treaſurer of the howſehold, &c. Yea, ſo much did our aunceſtors derogate from the armes of Biſhopps, as that the Biſhopps which were intereſſed in the arms of their aunceſtors might not beare the armes of his howſe without ſome notorious difference, not anſwerable to the difference of other younger brethren: as did the Biſhopp of Lincolne, Henry Burgherſhe; Thomas Arundell; the Archbiſhopp of Yorke, Richard Scroope; the Biſhopp of Norwiche, Henry Spencer, and many others, who did not beare the common differences of armes of younger ſonnes; but great and notorious differences; as borders, ſome engrayled, ſome with myters, or ſuch lyke, *&c.*" Thus far Mr. Thynne: to whom it may be replied, that it is no wonder, that both *canons* and *examples* are againſt the bearing of coat armour by the ſons of clergymen: ſince it was an abſurdity even to have ſuppoſed it: the clergy, by the *canons*, being prohibited to marry, and conſequently ſuppoſed to have no children: therefore it can never be thought ſtrange that there are no *examples* of that ſort. As to the objections againſt Archbiſhop Hubert Walter, and other eccleſiaſtics, who meddled too much perhaps in ſecular matters, and more than was conſiſtent with their function as churchmen; though this may be ever ſo true, yet it makes nothing to the argument of their being diſqualified to bear armories: what was objected againſt theſe ſorts of clergymen, was, not their bearing coat armour, or family enſigns of honour, but executing ſecular offices, in prejudice to their primary inſtitution and deſtination in the church. Nor is what he ſays, in reſpect to the derogation from the clergy's arms, leſs abſurd: the differences born by them in their ſhields, as I conceive, are rather to be looked upon as honourable, than diſgraceful, or derogatory. Nor can it be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that being of an order and profeſſion, which was more eſpecially held ſacred in thoſe times, to which the writer refers, would be ſo far held diſgraceful, as to leſſen or derogate from natural rights and parental privileges. Is it credible, for inſtance, that Thomas Bourchier, Biſhop of Ely, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Cardinal, who would take place of his elder brother, the Earl of Eſſex, merely on account of his dignity in the church; ſhould yet be thought ſo much to diſgrace, or derogate from the honour of his family, as not to be ſuffered to bear his father's coat armour, becauſe he was an eccleſiaſtic? It is ridiculous to ſuppoſe it. Accordingly we ſee in Fulbourn and Littlebury church-windows, that he gave his full family arms, within a bordure azure: not as any abatement of honour, as it is reaſonable to imagine; but rather as an additional and acquired mark of honourable diſtinction, added to his paternal coat, as being of ſo great dignity in the church. Another inſtance of which we have in the bearing of biſhop Arundel's arms (26)].' K.

(26) Bentham, *ubi ſupra*, Appendix, p. 44, 45.

⁂ [BOWYER (William) (*), the moſt learned Printer of the age, was born in White Fryars, London, on the 17th of December, 1699. His father, whoſe name was alſo William, was of diſtinguiſhed eminence in the ſame profeſſion; and his maternal grandfather (Icabod Dawks) was employed (†) in printing the celebrated Polyglott Bible of Biſhop Walton. At a proper age, he was placed, for grammatical education, under the care of Mr. Ambroſe Bonwicke [*A*], a Non-juring Clergyman of known piety and learning, who then lived at Headley, near Leatherhead in Surry. Here Mr. Bowyer made ſuch advances in literature as reflected the higheſt credit both on himſelf and his preceptor; for whoſe memory, to his lateſt years, he entertained the ſincereſt reſpect; and to whoſe family he always remained an uſeful friend. The attachment, indeed, was mutual; and the following inſtance of the good ſchool-maſter's benevo-

(*) The materials of this article are taken from ' Anecdotes, Biographical and Literary, of the late Mr. William Bowyer,' written by Mr. J. Nichols; who hath obligingly favoured us with the uſe of an interleaved copy (prepared by him for a new edition, to be prefixed to a quarto volume of Mr. Bowyer's ' Miſcellaneous Tracts),' and given us his friendly aſſiſtance in other reſpects.

(†) From the year 1652 till 1657. Origin of Printing, p. 136.

[*A*] *Under the care of Mr. Ambroſe Bonwicke.*] This gentleman was born on the 29th of April, 1652, and went to St. John's College, Oxford; in which college he was appointed Librarian in 1670. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1673; was ordained in 1680, and elected Maſter of *Merchant Taylors* School on the 9th of June, 1686. The college of *St John's* petitioned in 1689, that he might be continued maſter of the ſchool for life; but, at Chriſtmas, 1691, he was turned out for refuſing to take the oath of allegiance. A curious correſpondence of his, with Mr. *Blechynden*, on this occaſion, is ſtill in MS. in the hands of Mr. Nichols (1).

(1) Anecdotes Biographical and Literary, concerning Mr. Bowyer, 8vo, p. 1. Note.

lence made an indelible impreſſion on the mind of his pupil. On the 30th of January, 1712-13, the whole property of the elder Mr. Bowyer was deſtroyed by a dreadful fire; on which occaſion, Mr. Bonwicke, with great generoſity, and no leſs delicacy (endeavouring to conceal its being his own act of kindneſs), took upon him, for one year, the expences of his ſcholar's board and education (*a*). In June, 1716, young Mr. Bowyer was admitted as a ſizar at St. John's College, Cambridge; of which college Dr. Robert Jenkin was at that time maſter. The Doctor had been a benefactor to the elder Mr. Bowyer in the ſeaſon of his calamity; and the ſon, at the diſtance of ſixty years, had the happineſs of returning the favour to a relation of the worthy maſter, in a manner by which the perſon obliged was totally ignorant to whom he was indebted for the preſent he received. Mr. Bowyer continued at Cambridge under the tuition of the Rev. Dr. John Newcome (*) till June, 1722, during which time it is probable that he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts; and it appears that he was deſirous of obtaining a Fellowſhip, though it is not certain that he ever ſtood a candidate for that honour (*b*). Notwithſtanding an habitual ſhyneſs of diſpoſition, which was unfavourable to him at his firſt appearance, the regularity of his conduct, and his application to ſtudy, procured him the eſteem of many very reſpectable members of the univerſity. Here it was that he formed an intimacy with Mr. Markland and Mr. Clarke, of whom an account will be given under their proper articles. With theſe two learned friends Mr. Bowyer maintained a regular correſpondence through life; and their letters contain a treaſure of polite literature and ſound criticiſm (*c*). On the death of Mr. Bonwicke (*d*), his grateful ſcholar had an opportunity of requiting, in ſome meaſure, the obligations he had received, by officiating, for a time, in the capacity of a ſchool-maſter, for the benefit of the family [*B*]. When Mr. Bowyer had diſcharged this act of kindneſs, he entered into the printing buſineſs, together with his father; and one of the firſt books which received the benefit of his correction, was the complete edition of Selden by Dr. David Wilkins, in three volumes folio. This edition was begun in 1722, and finiſhed in 1726; and Mr. Bowyer's great attention to it appeared in his drawing up an (†) epitome of Selden 'de Synedriis,' as he read the proof-ſheets. In 1727, the learned world was indebted to him for an admirable ſketch of William Baxter's Gloſſary of the Roman Antiquities. The ſketch was called a 'View of a Book, intitled, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*. 'In a Letter to a Friend.' A ſingle ſheet, 8vo. Very few copies were printed; and, having never been publiſhed, it is ſeldom found with the Gloſſary. Dr. Wotton and Mr. Clarke were highly pleaſed with this firſt public proof given by Mr. Bowyer of his literary abilities [*C*].

(*a*) Anecdotes, Biographical and Literary, of the late Mr. William Bowyer, Printer, p. 1—3.

(*) Afterwards Maſter of the College, and Dean of Rocheſter.

(*b*) Anecdotes, *ubi ſupra*, p. 3.

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 3—5.

(*d*) Oct. 20, 1722.

(†) This and the little piece next mentioned are *now printing*, in a volume of his 'Miſcellaneous Tracts.' From the information of Mr. Nichols.

On the 20th of December, 1727, he loſt an affectionate mother, upon which occaſion he received a letter of pious conſolation, from Mr. Chiſhull, the learned editor of the Antiquitates Aſiaticæ (*e*).

(*e*) Anecdotes, p. 7.

Very highly to his own, and his father's ſatisfaction, he entered, on the 9th of October, 1728, into the marriage ſtate, with Miſs Anne Prudom, his mother's niece. His happineſs, however, with this accompliſhed woman, laſted but little more than three years; he being deprived of her, by death, on the 17th of October, 1731. Of two ſons, whom he had by her, William died an infant, and Thomas ſurvived him. His friends Mr. Clarke and Mr. Chiſhull wrote him very affectionate and Chriſtian letters on this melancholy event (*f*). In 1729, he uſhered into the world a curious treatiſe, intitled, 'A Pattern for young Students in the Univerſity, ſet forth in the Life of 'Mr. *Ambroſe Bonwicke*, ſome time Scholar of *St. John's College*, *Cambridge*.' This little volume was generally aſcribed to our learned printer, though it was in reality the production of Mr. Ambroſe Bonwicke the elder. About the ſame time, it appears, from a letter of Mr. Clarke, that Mr. Bowyer had written a pamphlet againſt the Separatiſts; but neither the title nor the occaſion of it are at preſent recollected. Through the friendſhip of the Right Honourable Arthur Onſlow, he was, likewiſe, appointed, in 1729, printer of the Votes of the Houſe of Commons; an office which he held, under three ſucceſſive Speakers, for nearly fifty years. In 1731, he took part in a controverſy occaſioned by a ſermon of Mr. Bowman's, a Clergyman in Yorkſhire, intitled, 'The Traditions of the Clergy deſtructive of Religion: with an Inquiry into 'the Grounds and Reaſons of ſuch Traditions.' This performance, which was charged with containing ſome of the ſentiments that had been advanced by Dr. Tindal, in his 'Rights of the Chriſtian Church;' and by Mr. Gordon, in his 'Independent 'Whig,' excited no ſmall degree of offence; and ſeveral anſwers were written to it,

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 7—9.

[*B*] *For the benefit of the family.*] In January, 1724-5, Mr. James Bonwicke, ſon of Mr. Ambroſe Bonwicke, knowing Mr. Bowyer's integrity and friendſhip, appointed him executor to his will, and bequeathed to him a ſmall cabinet of coins. The ſame cabinet Mr. Bowyer afterwards left, by his own will, to his highly and juſtly eſteemed friend, Dr. Heberden (2).

(2) Anecdotes, p. 5.

[*C*] *Dr. Wotton and Mr. Clarke were highly pleaſed, &c.*] 'Your account,' ſays Mr. Clarke, 'of Baxter's Gloſſary, has pleaſed the Doctor (Dr. Wotton) 'exceedingly, and it is his opinion that we ſhall ſee 'your own preſs produce nothing better than what 'you put into it. It is exactly to his taſte; and books 'which have the greateſt variety of matter, require 'the greateſt judgment to give a proper view of 'them. After his opinion, you need not aſk, nor 'can I think it worth the while to mention, my own. 'This is the firſt view which you have given the public of yourſelf. The only fault I find with it is, 'that it is not ſo large as the life: the more we 'ſee of it, the better we ſhall like it (3).'

(3) *Ibid.* p. 6.

and ſtrictures made upon it *(g)*, both of a ſerious and ludicrous nature. Mr. Bowyer, upon this occaſion, printed a pamphlet, called, 'The Traditions of the Clergy not 'deſtructive of Religion. Being Remarks on Mr. Bowman's Sermon; expoſing that 'Gentleman's Deficiency in *Latin* and Greek, in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and true Rea'ſoning.' The diſpute, like many others of a ſimilar kind, is now ſunk into oblivion *(h)*. In 1731 he printed, and it is believed *tranſlated* (*), Voltaire's Life of Charles XII. of Sweden; of which an *eighth* edition, *with a complete Index*, was printed in 1755. In 1733, he publiſhed 'The Beau and Academick (†),' two ſheets in *4to*; a tranſlation from 'Bellus Homo & Academicus, *&c.*' a Poem recited that year at the Comitia in the Sheldonian Theatre. On the 7th of July, 1736, Mr. Bowyer was admitted into the Society of Antiquaries; and he was an active, as well as an early member of that reſpectable body. He regularly attended their meetings, and frequently communicated to them matters of utility and curioſity [*D*]. In conjunction with Dr. Birch, he was, alſo, materially concerned in inſtituting 'The Society for the Encouragement of 'Learning [*E*].' On the 27th of December, 1737, Mr. Bowyer loſt his father, at the age of ſeventy-four; and it is evident, from his ſcattered papers, that he ſeverely felt this affliction; applying to himſelf the beautiful apoſtrophe of Æneas to Anchiſes, in Virgil:

> ——— "Hîc me, pater optime, feſſum
> "Deſeris, heu! tantis nequicquam erepte periclis?"

His friend Mr. Clarke again addreſſed to him a letter of ſympathy and conſolation *(i)*. In 1742, he publiſhed a tranſlation of Trapp's Latin Lectures on Poetry, with additional Notes. In tranſlating this work, he had not only the advice, but the aſſiſtance, of his friend, Mr. Clarke: and yet this Gentleman had no high opinion of the original performance. He thought it a very ſuperficial book; and was particularly offended with Trapp for affecting to find fault with Voſſius, on every little occaſion. Mr. Bowyer, about this time, corrected and put into a proper form, a very uſeful ſchool-book, called "Selectæ ex profanis Scriptoribus Hiſtoriæ." The prefaces to this book, which was firſt compiled in France, were tranſlated by our author *(k)*.

(g) Gent. Mag. Vol. i. p. 333. 336. 419. Vol. ii. p. 622. 960.

(h) Anecdotes, *ubi ſupra*, p. 9—12.

(*) From information of Mr. Nichols.

(†) *Ibid.*

(i) Anecdotes, p. 12, 13.

(k) Ibid. p. 15, 16.

Though it is not our intention, in general, to take notice of the works printed by Mr. Bowyer, excepting when he himſelf contributed to them by prefaces, notes, or other additions, yet we ſhall mention his having been the printer, in 1742, of the additional book of the Dunciad; as he received, on this occaſion, teſtimonies of regard both from the great poet, and his learned commentator. Among other friendly expreſſions of Dr. Warburton, he ſays, 'I have never more pleaſure when there (in London), 'than when I loll and talk to you at my eaſe, *de qualibet ente*, in your dining-room:' And again, 'The Greek I know will be well printed in your edition, *notwithſtanding* '*the abſence of Scriblerus.*' The ſame celebrated writer had long before told Mr. Bowyer, 'No one's thoughts will have greater weight with me than your own, in whom I have 'experienced ſo much candour, goodneſs, and learning.' It is not, however, to be concealed, that a difference afterwards aroſe between them, in which, as is commonly the caſe, each party was confident that he was right. Mr. Bowyer, who thought himſelf ſlighted, uſed often to remark, that, 'after the death of the Engliſh Homer, the 'letters of his learned friend wore a different complection.' 'But, perhaps,' as Mr. Nichols candidly and judiciouſly obſerves, 'this may be one of the many inſtances, 'which occur through life, of the impropriety of judging for ourſelves in caſes which 'affect our intereſt or our feelings *(l)* [*F*].'

(l) Ibid. p. 16, 17.

In 1744, Mr. Bowyer is ſuppoſed to have written a ſmall pamphlet on the preſent ſtate of Europe, taken principally from Puffendorff. In 1746, he publiſhed 'the Life 'of the Emperor Julian,' tranſlated from the French of M. Bleterie, and improved

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[*D*] *Communicated to them matters of utility and curioſity.*] This he did in the double capacity of a printer and a member of the ſociety. Among other communications, was a letter to Mr. Gale, occaſioned by an inſcription on *Vitellius*, found at *Bath* in Auguſt 1736; the ſubſtance of which is printed in his preface to the "Veteres Poetæ citati, *&c.*" of Leedes, annexed to *Kuſter* "De vero Uſu Verborum Medio"rum, 1753." A Diſſertation of Mr. Bowyer's, on the *Gule* or *Yule* of our Saxon anceſtors, is ſtill in manuſcript (*). The Letter to Mr. Gale, the Diſſertation on the Yule, and the *Memorial* mentioned in note [*E*], will appear in the volume of Mr. Bowyer's Miſcellaneous Tracts (†).

(*) Anecdotes, p. 12.

(†) From information of Mr. Nichols.

[*E*] *The Society for the Encouragement of Learning.*] This Society, the commencement of which may be dated Feb. 3, 1737, printed, in the courſe of three years contract with their bookſellers, no more than four books; Dr. Stuart 'De Motu Muſculari;' Sir William Kelth's 'Hiſtory of Virginia;' Mr. Carte's 'Letters,' and Profeſſor Stuart's 'Ne'ceſſity of Revelation;' none of which were very large or expenſive. Sir Thomas Roe's 'Negocia'tions' were publiſhed by them in 1740; 'Maxi'mus Tyrius' in the ſame year; Ælianus 'De 'Animalibus,' in 1743; Tanner's 'Notitia Mo'naſtica,' in January, 1743-4; and Newton's 'Quadrature of Curves,' in September, 1745. By 'A Memorial of the preſent State of Affairs of the 'Society,' dated April 17, 1746, it appears that they had incurred ſo conſiderable a debt as to be deterred from proceeding any farther. The 'Biblio'theca Britannica' of Biſhop Tanner was, however, completed under their patronage, and made its appearance in 1748 (4).

(4) Anecdotes, p. 12, 13.

[*F*] *In caſes which affect our intereſt or our feelings.*] Mr. Bowyer had a great ſenſibility of temper with regard to any neglects which were ſhewed him by his literary friends, in the way of his buſineſs. This did not proceed from a principle of avarice, but from a conſciouſneſs of the reſpect which was due to him from his acquaintance, as the firſt of his profeſſion: for he expreſſed his reſentment as ſtrongly in caſes where profit could be no material object, as he did in more important inſtances. Dr. Squire, then Dean of Briſtol, not having appointed him to print a ſermon which had been preached before the Houſe of Commons, on the general faſt day, Feb. 13, 1761, Mr. Bowyer wrote to the Doctor, upon the occaſion, an expoſtulatory letter. Nor was this the only evidence he gave how much he was offended, when he thought that a ſlight had been put upon him from a quarter where he imagined he had a natural claim to favour (5).

(5) *Ibid.* p. 26, 27.

with twelve pages of curious notes, and a genealogical table. The notes were not entirely Mr. Bowyer's, but were drawn up, in part, by Mr. Clarke and other learned men. The tranſlation, which appears to have been done by *Women* (*), was made under our author's immediate inſpection (*m*). It is well known that M. Bleterie's Life of Julian is a very judicious, as well as entertaining work; wherein the writer hath avoided the extremes into which many have run, in their accounts of that Emperor (†) [*G*]. On the 2d of Auguſt, 1747, Mr. Bowyer entered a ſecond time into the matrimonial ſtate, with a moſt benevolent and worthy woman, Mrs. Elizabeth Bill, by whom he had no children. In 1749, he had the honour of ſharing, with Dr. Burton, in the invectives moſt liberally beſtowed by Dr. King, in his ‘ Elogium Famæ inſerviens Jacci Etonenſis, ſive Gigantis: or, the Praiſes of Jack of Eaton, commonly called Jack the ‘ Giant (*n*).’ Dr. King's abuſe was probably owing to his having heard that our learned printer had hinted, in converſation, his doubts concerning the Doctor's Latinity. Mr. Bowyer drew up ſtrictures in his own defence, which he intended to inſert at the concluſion of a preface to Monteſquieu's Reflexions, &c. but, in conſequence of Mr. Clarke's advice, they were omitted (*o*). In 1750, a prefatory critical diſſertation, and ſome valuable notes, were annexed, by our author, to Kuſter's Treatiſe ‘ De vero Uſu Verborum Mediorum;’ a new edition of which work, with farther improvements, appeared in 1773. He wrote, likewiſe, about the ſame time, a Latin preface to Leedes's ‘ Veteres Poetæ citati, &c.’ Being ſoon after employed to print an edition of Col. Bladen's tranſlation of Cæſar's Commentaries, that work received conſiderable improvements from Mr. Bowyer's hands, and the addition of ſuch notes in it as are ſigned TYPOGR. In the ſubſequent editions of this work, though printed by another perſon, and in our author's life-time, the ſame ſignature, contrary to decorum, and even juſtice, was ſtill retained. In 1751, he wrote a long preface to Monteſquieu's ‘ Reflexions on the Riſe and Fall of the Roman Empire;’ tranſlated the Dialogue between Sylla and Socrates; made ſeveral corrections to the work from the Baron's ‘ Spirit of Laws;’ and improved it with his own notes. A new edition, with many new notes, was printed in 1759. He gave, likewiſe, to the public, in 1751, the firſt tranſlation that was made of Rouſſeau's paradoxical Oration, which gained the prize at the Academy of Dijon, in 1750; and which firſt announced that ſingular genius to the attention and admiration of Europe. On the publication of the third edition of Lord Orrery's ‘ Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Swift,’ in 1752, Mr. Bowyer wrote and printed, but never publiſhed, ‘ Two Letters from Dr. Bentley ‘ in the Shades below, to Lord Orrery in a Land of thick Darkneſs.’ The notes ſigned B, in the ninth quarto volume of Swift's Works, are extracted from theſe Letters. In 1753, he endeavoured to allay the ferment occaſioned by the Jew Bill; with which view, he publiſhed, in quarto, ‘ Remarks on the Speech made in Common Coun‘ cil, on the Bill for permitting Perſons profeſſing the Jewiſh Religion to be naturalized, ‘ ſo far as Prophecies are ſuppoſed to be affected by it.’ The deſign of this ſenſible little tract, which was written with ſpirit, and well received by thoſe who were ſuperior to narrow prejudices, was to ſhew, that whatever political reaſons might be alleged againſt the bill, Chriſtianity would in no degree be prejudiced by the indulgence propoſed to be granted to the Jews. In the ſame year, ſome of Mr. Bowyer's notes were annexed to Biſhop Clayton's tranſlation of a ‘ Journal from Grand Cairo to Mount ‘ Sinai, and back again.’ In 1754, with a view of leſſening his fatigue, he entered into partnerſhip with a relation; but ſome diſagreements ariſing, the connection was diſſolved in 1757, and he reſumed the active part of buſineſs (*p*). Upon the death of Mr. Richardſon, in 1761, Mr. Bowyer, through the patronage of the late Earl of Macclesfield (*q*), was appointed printer to the Royal Society; and, under the friendſhip of five ſucceſſive Preſidents, had the ſatisfaction of continuing in that employment till his death. In the ſame year (1761), appeared ‘ Verſes on the Coronation of their late ‘ Majeſties, King George the Second and Queen Caroline, October 4, 1727, ſpoken ‘ by the Scholars of Weſtminſter School (ſome of them now the Ornaments of the Na‘ tion) on January 15th following, being the Day of the Inauguration of Queen Eli‘ zabeth, their Foundreſs; with a Tranſlation of all the Latin Copies: The whole placed ‘ in Order of the Tranſactions of that important Day. Adorned with the Coronation ‘ Medals of the Royal Pair, and a Buſt of our preſent King. To which is ſubjoined ‘ the Ceremonial of the auguſt Proceſſion, very proper to be compared with the

(*) By the ingenious Miſs Williams, aſſiſted by two ſiſters of the name of Wilkinſon, as we have been informed by Mr. Nichols.

(*m*) Anecdotes, p. 18.

(†) There is reaſon to believe, that this year (1746) Mr. Bowyer was author of ‘ A Diſ‘ ſertation: in ‘ which the Ob‘ jections of a ‘ late Pamphlet ‘ to the Writings ‘ of the Anci‘ ents, after the ‘ Manner of Mr. ‘ Markland, are ‘ clearly anſwer‘ ed: thoſe Paſ‘ ſages in Tully ‘ corrected; on ‘ which ſome of ‘ the Objections ‘ are founded. ‘ With Amend‘ ments of a few ‘ Pieces of Cri‘ ticiſm in Mr. ‘ Markland's ‘ Epiſtola Criti‘ ca.’ Anecdotes, p. 52.

(*n*) Mr. Bowyer had juſt before printed the Songs in Jack the Giant Queller.

(*o*) Anecdotes, *ubi ſupra*, p. 21—23.

(*p*) P. 21—25.

(*q*) The firſt Earl of Macclesfield had been a benefactor to Mr. Bowyer, ſen. after his loſs by fire.

[*G*] *In their accounts of that Emperor.*] In a letter ſent by Mr. Bowyer to the London Courant, he thus expreſſed himſelf concerning M. Bleterie's performance: ‘ The very name of an Apoſtate carries with it ‘ ſo frightful an idea, that we think it inconſiſtent ‘ with every virtue; and preſently conclude, that ‘ the man who has deſerted Chriſtianity, has abandoned humanity likewiſe. Others take the con‘ trary turn; and having found a prince of diſtin‘ guiſhed ſenſe, whoſe mind was not open to the ‘ conviction of Revelation, magnify every excellence ‘ in *him*, to the diſcouragement of *that*. Both ex‘ tremes this author hath happily avoided. The ‘ reader will find here an agreeable contraſt of very ‘ different properties; an Emperor and a Philoſopher, ‘ intrepid in war, and yet ſuperſtitiouſly fearful of ‘ omens; credulous, and yet an infidel; perſuaded ‘ of the truth of miracles, and yet rejecting the evi‘ dence of them; a hero, and yet a bigot in religion; ‘ and in that too of forbearing principles, and yet ‘ intent upon eſtabliſhing his own; a rational en‘ quirer, and yet devoted to prieſts and ſophiſts; a ‘ ſatiriſt, and yet good-natured: in ſhort, an aſſem‘ blage (as the author expreſſes it) of eminent qua‘ lities ill-ſorted, which, with a variety of incidents ‘ and advantages that attended him, give the hiſtory ‘ of his life, founded on the ſtricteſt truth, all the ‘ appearance of fiction (6).’

(6) Anecdotes, p. 20, 21.

‘ approaching one (*r*); and a Catalogue of the Coronation Medals of the Kings ‘ and Queens of England.’ The original part of this pamphlet was entirely Mr. Bowyer’s: the Latin Verſes were tranſlated partly by him, but principally by Mr. Nichols [*H*]. Our learned printer’s next publication was of a more ſerious and weighty nature. It came out in 1763, and was an excellent edition of the Greek Teſtament, in two volumes, 12*mo*, under the following title: ‘ Novum Teſtamentum Græcum, ad Fidem Græcorum ſolum Codicum MSS. nunc primum ‘ impreſſum, adſtipulante Joanne Jacobo Wetſtenio, juxta Sectiones Jo. Alberti ‘ Bengelii diviſum; et nova Interpretatione ſæpius illuſtratum. Acceſſere in altero ‘ Volumine Emendationes conjecturales Virorum doctorum undecunque collectæ.’ This ſold with great rapidity; though Mr. Bowyer, in his advertiſements of it in the public papers, was pleaſed to add, that it boaſted neither elegance of type nor paper, but truſted to other merits. The conjectural emendations are a very valuable addition to the Greek Teſtament, and were extremely well received by the learned. In a letter of thanks, from the Preſident and Fellows of Harvard College, in Cambridge, New-England, to Mr. Bowyer, in 1767, for ſeveral benefactions of his to that College, they expreſs themſelves as follows: ‘ It is a particular pleaſure to us to mention your ‘ very curious edition of the Greek Teſtament, in two volumes, with critical notes, and ‘ many happy conjectures, eſpecially as to the punctuation, an affair of the utmoſt importance as to aſcertaining the ſenſe. This work, though ſmall in bulk, we eſteem ‘ as a rich treaſure of ſacred learning, and of more intrinſic value than many large volumes of the commentators (*s*).’ A ſecond edition of the Conjectures on the New Teſtament, with very conſiderable enlargements, was ſeparately publiſhed, in one volume, octavo, in 1772 (*t*). Biſhop Warburton having cenſured a paſſage in the former edition, Mr. Bowyer ſent him a copy of this book, with a conciliatory letter [*I*]. In 1765, at the requeſt of Thomas Hollis, Eſq; whoſe munificence to literature will be enlarged upon in a future article, our author wrote a ſhort Latin preface to Dr. Wallis’s ‘ Grammatica Linguæ Anglicanæ.’ A larger Engliſh preface, which was written by him, and intended for that work, ſtill remains unprinted (*). Some copies of this book were ſent by him to the Rev. Mr. Clarke, jun. when Chaplain to the Earl of Briſtol at Madrid, to be given to the Spaniſh literati. Towards the latter end of the ſame year, in conſequence of overtures from a few reſpectable friends at Cambridge, Mr. Bowyer had ſome inclination to have undertaken the management of the Univerſity preſs, by purchaſing a leaſe of its excluſive privileges. He went, accordingly, to Cambridge for this purpoſe; but the treaty proved fruitleſs, and he did not much regret the diſappointment. In the beginning of 1766, by engaging in a partnerſhip with Mr. Nichols, he was again enabled to withdraw, in ſome degree, from that cloſe application, which had begun to be prejudicial to his health. His new aſſociate had been trained by him to the profeſſion, and had aſſiſted him ſeveral years in the management of buſineſs (*u*). He was very happy in this connection; and Mr. Nichols hath already afforded ſeveral valuable proofs of his zeal in the cauſe of literature, and of his ſolicitude to tread in the ſteps of his worthy and learned friend and partner. In that year (1766) Mr. Bowyer wrote an excellent Latin preface to ‘ Joannis Harduini, Jeſuitæ, ad Cenſuram Scriptorum veterum Prolegomena. Juxta ‘ Autographum.’ In this preface he gives an account of the nature of the work, and of the manner in which it had been preſerved. Mr. De Miſſy’s Remarks on the celebrated Jeſuit’s extraordinary production were publiſhed about the ſame time, in a letter to Mr. Bowyer, written in Latin. In 1767, he was appointed to print the Journals of the Houſe of Lords, and the Rolls of Parliament. The noble Peer to whom he was indebted

(*r*) Anecdotes, *ubi ſupra*, p. 28, 29.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 27—29. 32. 36.

(*t*) A new and correct edition of this Greek Teſtament, with the Conjectures, in 4*to*, is now printing by Mr. Nichols, under the inſpection of the learned and friendly Dr. Owen.

(*) It will appear in his Miſcellaneous Tracts. From the information of Mr. Nichols.

(*u*) Anecdotes, *ubi ſupra*, p. 28, 33, 34.

[*H*] *Partly by him, but principally by Mr. J. Nichols.*] Perhaps a few ſpecimens of the epigrams may not be unacceptable to our readers.

On the Favours.

[An original, by the preſent Duke of Leeds.] (*)

‘ Thy name, great Prince, inſcribed in ſilk behold,
‘ On glittering favours rough with woven gold.
‘ The man erect diſplays it on his creſt,
‘ The ſofter fair one wears it at her breaſt.
‘ Thus Britain her united wiſh imparts,
‘ Thine are the wiſeſt heads, and trueſt hearts.’

On the Opening of the Proceſſion.

[A Tranſlation by Mr. Nichols.] (*)

‘ Firſt in proceſſion of the pompous day,
‘ With fragrant flowers a matron marks the way:
‘ Next trumpets, kettle-drums, a various band,
‘ Too hard, too many, in a verſe to ſtand:
‘ Then peers, earls, dukes, their different lights
‘ diſplay,
‘ And laſt both Majeſties – Meridian day!
‘ To ſmall beginnings what great things we owe,
‘ Since one old woman leads up ſuch a ſhow!’

On the Diamonds and Coronets.

[A Tranſlation by Mr. Bowyer.] (*)

‘ In mimic ſcenes, where counterfeits will paſs,
‘ The crowns are tinſel, and the diamonds glaſs.
‘ No fictions here profane the ſacred roof,
‘ The heroes’ virtues, and their gold are proof.
‘ Nobles and gems diſplay a flood of light;
‘ Their blood unſtain’d, as is their water bright.’

On the Scepter borne by the Queen.

[An original, by the Hon. Spencer Cowper, afterwards Dean of Durham.] (*)

‘ See Caroline ſuſtain the ivory dove,
‘ An emblem not of greatneſs, but of love,
‘ Conſcious that ſacred vows, and beauty’s ſmiles,
‘ Make ſweets of power ſuperior to its toils.
‘ More proud her Monarch’s heart than throne to
‘ ſhare,
‘ Let the Queen-conſort ſtill be regent there (7).’

[*I*] *With a conciliatory letter.*] Dr. Warburton’s Divine Legation had received no ſmall advantage from Mr. Bowyer’s corrections; and this even in an edition which was neceſſarily given to another preſs. In 1761, he was employed to print his Lordſhip’s ‘ Doctrine of Grace.’ A ſecond edition being ſoon wanted, and Mr. Bowyer not having been intruſted with the care of it, he prepared a ſeries of letters to the Biſhop, in his own defence; of which, together with a few he had formerly received from that great writer, he afterwards printed *twelve copies*. However, there is the beſt authority for aſſerting, that, notwithſtanding any little altercations which happened, Dr. Warburton always retained a ſincere regard for our author (8).

(*) From the information of Mr. Nichols.

(*) *Ibid.*

(*) *Ibid.*

(*) From the information of Mr. Nichols.

(7) Gent. Mag. for 1761, p. 422.

(*) Of which, *ten* have ſince been deſtroyed. J. N.

(8) Anecdotes, *ubi ſupra*, p. 30, 31.

for this appointment, and his gratitude to whom is teſtified in the inſcription (hereafter inſerted) which he left behind him, to be placed in Stationers Hall, was the Earl of Marchmont. Mr. Bowyer was now compelled, from the want of ſufficient room, to exchange *White Fryars* for *Red Lion Paſſage*; and it was not without reluctance that he quitted a reſidence to which he had been accuſtomed from his infancy. His new printing-houſe was opened with the ſign of his favourite Cicero's Head; under which was inſcribed, ' M. T. CICERO, A QUO PRIMORDIA PRELI,' in alluſion to the well-known early editions of Tully's Offices. Having printed this year Mr. Clarke's excellent and learned work on ' The Connexion of the Roman, Saxon, and Engliſh Coins,' he wrote ſome notes upon it, which are interſperſed throughout the volume with thoſe of the author. Part of the Diſſertation on the Roman Seſterce was, likewiſe, Mr. Bowyer's production; and the Index, which is an uncommonly good one, and on which he did not a little pride himſelf, was drawn up entirely by him (*w*). On the 14th of January, 1771, he loſt his ſecond wife, who died at the age of ſeventy. His old friend, Mr. Clarke, who had adminiſtered conſolation to him, on a ſimilar occaſion, nearly forty years before, again addreſſed him with tenderneſs on this event. In the Philoſophical Tranſactions for 1771, was printed a very ingenious ' Enquiry into the Value of the ancient Greek ' and Roman Money,' by the late Matthew Raper, Eſq. The opinions advanced by this reſpectable gentleman, on theſe ſubjects, not coinciding with thoſe of Mr. Bowyer, he printed a ſmall pamphlet, intitled, ' Remarks, occaſioned by a late Diſſertation on ' the Greek and Roman Money.' The pamphlet was intended as an appendix to Mr. Clarke's Treatiſe on Coins. The opinions of many excellent writers in Germany and France having been ably controverted in that elaborate work, Mr. Bowyer tranſmitted a copy of it to the French King's library, and inſcribed his little appendix,

" REGI CHRISTIANISSIMO
" GULIELMUS BOWYER, TYPOGRAPHUS ANGLICANUS.

" Judicium ut ſubeat magis æquum candidiuſve,
" Quî poni potuit commodiore loco?"

He was very deſirous that Mr. Clarke's book ſhould be tranſlated and reprinted in France; and he took ſome pains, though without ſucceſs, to get it accompliſhed (*x*). In 1773, three little Tracts were publiſhed by him, under the title of ' Select Diſ- ' courſes: 1. Of the Correſpondence of the Hebrew Months with the Julian, from the ' Latin of Profeſſor Michaelis. 2. Of the Sabbatical Years, from the ſame. 3. Of ' the Years of Jubilee; from an anonymous Writer, in Maſſon's Hiſtoire Critique de ' la Republique des Lettres.' In 1774, he corrected a new edition of Schrevelius's Greek Lexicon, to which he hath added a number of words (diſtinguiſhed by an aſteriſk) he had himſelf collected in the courſe of his own ſtudies. Conſiderable additions, which are ſtill in manuſcript, were made by him to the Lexicons of Hederic and of Buxtorf, the Latin ones of Faber and of Littleton, and the Engliſh Dictionary of Bailey; and he hath left behind him many other proofs of his critical ſkill in the learned languages [*K*]. In 1774, was publiſhed ' The Origin of Printing, in two Eſſays. 1. The Subſtance of ' Dr. Middleton's Diſſertation on the Origin of Printing in England. 2. Mr. Meerman's Account of the Invention of the Art at Harlem, and its Progreſs to Mentz, ' with occaſional Remarks; and an Appendix.' Of this valuable Tract we have taken particular notice under the article of RICHARD ATKINS (*y*). The original idea of it was Mr. Bowyer's; but it was completed by Mr. Nichols. The two learned friends, whoſe aſſiſtance is acknowledged in the preface, were the Rev. Dr. Henry Owen, and the late Mr. Cæſar De Miſſy. Though this work appeared without a name, it was immediately judged to be Mr. Bowyer's. It was well received in the world of letters, and juſtly ſpoken of in terms of great commendation, both at home and abroad [*L*]. A ſecond edition, with very conſiderable improvements, was publiſhed in 1776. When Mr. Nichols was engaged in printing the ' Original Works of Dr. King of the Com- ' mons,' and the ' Supplement to Swift,' Mr. Bowyer, by ſuggeſting uſeful hints, and adding ſome illuſtrations, aſſiſted him in both theſe undertakings. Our eminent Printer now

(*w*) Anecdotes, *ubi ſupra*, p. 34—36.

(*x*) P. 37, 38.

(*y*) Biographia Britannica, Vol. i. p. 323, 324, 2d Edit.

[*K*] *Proofs of his critical ſkill in the learned languages.*] ' His Greek and Latin Grammars in gene- ' ral, and particularly ſuch of them as he had in com- ' mon uſe when at ſchool and at college, are filled ' with ſuch curious explanatory notes as bear the moſt ' convincing marks of conſummate critical know- ' ledge in thoſe languages: and that knowledge he ' applied in a ſpecial manner to the advancement of ' ſacred learning. It was his conſtant cuſtom, in the ' courſe of his reading, to note down every thing ' which he thought might contribute to illuſtrate any ' paſſage of ſcripture, eſpecially of the Greek Teſta- ' ment. In purſuance of this method, it is hardly ' to be conceived what a number of uſeful and curi- ' ous remarks ſtand inſerted in the margin of his the- ' ological books, which may greatly contribute to ' improve future editions. Two books in particular ' he beſtowed much pains upon, viz. Leigh's " Cri- " tica Sacra," and Dugard's " Lexicon Græci Teſ- " tamenti Alphabeticum;" both which he hath left ' behind him accurately corrected, and much en- ' larged. Theſe he often wiſhed, in his later days, ' he had been able to publiſh for the uſe of ſchools, ' and the benefit of young ſtudents in divinity. The ' firſt of them, full of critical notes, is now in the ' poſſeſſion of Dr. Owen; and the latter in the hands ' of Mr. Nichols (9).' Mr. Bowyer left, alſo, ſeveral manuſcript notes on Middleton's Life of Cicero, Duncan's and Bladen's Cæſar, Theocritus, Horace, Pope, and an amazing number of critical remarks on the Old and New Teſtament (10). With regard to Faber's Lexicon, mentioned above, he had ſome intention of republiſhing it in a more commodious manner, by changing its preſent radical form into an alphabetical one (11).

[*L*] *In terms of great commendation both at home and abroad.*] When the work firſt appeared, the writer of this article had occaſion to ſpeak of it, in the following terms: ' Of the many treatiſes concerning the ' origin of printing, there are few, if any, which ' will be found more ſatisfactory than the preſent; ' and

(9) Anecdotes, *ubi ſupra*, p. 40.

(10) From information of Mr. Nichols.

(11) Anecdotes, *ubi ſupra*.

now drew to the end of his literary career, which he cloſed with a new edition, in 1777, of Dr. Bentley's 'Diſſertation on the Epiſtles of Phalaris.' Dr. Bentley was a writer whom he had always held in the higheſt eſtimation. In the republication of this great critic's Diſſertation, Mr. Bowyer hath inſerted the remarks which had occurred to him, in the courſe of many years attention to the ſubjects there treated of; and he hath aſcribed them to the reſpective authors from whoſe books or perſonal communication they were ſelected. He was much indebted, on this occaſion, to the friendly aſſiſtance of Dr. Salter (*z*) and Dr. Owen (*a*).

(*z*) The late Maſter of the Charter-houſe.

(*a*) Anecdotes, *ubi ſupra*, p. 39—44.

Mr. Bowyer had always been ſubject to a bilious colic; and during the laſt ten years of his life, he was afflicted with the palſy and the ſtone. But, notwithſtanding theſe infirmities, he preſerved, in general, a remarkable chearfulneſs of diſpoſition; and received great ſatisfaction from the converſation of a few literary friends, by whom he continued to be viſited. The faculties of his mind, though ſomewhat impaired, were ſtrong enough to ſupport the labour of almoſt inceſſant reading, which had ever been his principal amuſement; and he regularly corrected the learned works, and eſpecially the Greek books, which came from his preſs. This he did till within a very few weeks of his death; which happened on the 18th of November, 1777, when he had nearly completed his 78th year. The publications of Mr. Bowyer are an incontrovertible evidence of his abilities and learning; to which may be added, that he was honoured with the friendſhip and patronage of many of the moſt diſtinguiſhed ornaments of his age. We already have had occaſion to mention the Earls of Macclesfield and Marchmont, Dr. Wotton, Mr. Pope, Mr. Chiſhull, Mr. Clarke, Mr. Markland, Biſhop Warburton, the Right Honourable Arthur Onſlow, Mr. Hollis, Dr. Salter, Mr. De Miſſy, Dr. Owen, and Dr. Heberden. To theſe, among other reſpectable names, might be added thoſe of Archbiſhop Secker, Biſhop Kennet, Biſhop Tanner, Biſhop Sherlock, Biſhop Hoadly, Biſhop Lyttelton, Biſhop Pearce, Biſhop Lowth, Biſhop Barrington, Biſhop Hurd, the late Lord Lyttelton, the preſent Lord Sandys, Dean Prideaux, Doctors Robert and John Freind, Dean Freind, Dean Milles, Dean Percy, the very learned Dr. Taylor Chancellor of Lincoln, Dr. Barnard, Dr. Powell, Dr. Wilkins, Mr. Maittaire, Meſſrs. R. and S. Gale, Mr. Browne Willis, Mr. Spelman, Mr. Morant, Dr. Ducarel, Mr. Pegge, Mr. Garrick, and moſt of the diſtinguiſhed ſcholars and antiquaries of his time (*). His connection with Richard Gough, Eſq; ſo well known by his eminent acquaintance with Britiſh topography and antiquities, is apparent from his laſt will; where his obligations to Dr. Jenkin, Dean Stanhope, and Mr. Nelſon, are acknowledged. He correſponded with the ingenious and learned Dr. Francis Blackburne, Arch-deacon of Cleveland. And the late excellent Dr. Robert Clayton, Biſhop of Clogher, ſo highly eſteemed his friendſhip, that he not only honoured him by a regular epiſtolary intercourſe, but preſented him with the copy-right of all his valuable writings (*b*). Mr. Bowyer ſtood unrivalled, for more than half a century, as a learned printer; and ſome of the moſt maſterly productions of this kingdom have undoubtedly appeared from his preſs (*c*). To his literary and profeſſional abilities, he added an excellent moral character. His regard to religion was diſplayed in his publications, and in the courſe of his life and ſtudies; and he was particularly diſtinguiſhed by his inflexible probity, and an uncommon alacrity in aſſiſting the neceſſitous. His liberality in relieving every ſpecies of diſtreſs, and his endeavours to conceal his benefactions, reflect great honour on his memory. Though he was naturally fond of retirement, and ſeldom entered into company, excepting with men of letters, he was, perhaps, excelled by few in the talent of juſtly diſcriminating the real characters of mankind. He judged of the perſons he ſaw by a ſort of intuition; and his judgments were generally right. From a conſciouſneſs of literary ſuperiority, he did not always pay that attention to the bookſellers which was expedient in the way of his buſineſs. Being too proud to ſolicit the favours in that way which he believed to be his due, he was often diſappointed in his expectations. On the other hand, he frequently experienced friendſhips in caſes where he had much leſs reaſon to have hoped for them; ſo that, agreeably to his own expreſſion, 'in what he had 'received, and what he had been denied, he thankfully acknowledged the will of Heaven (*d*).' The two great objects of Mr. Bowyer's view, in the decline of his life, were to repay the benefactions his father had met with, and to be himſelf a benefactor to the meritorious of his own profeſſion. Theſe purpoſes are fully diſplayed in his laſt will; for which reaſon, and becauſe it illuſtrates the turn of his mind in other reſpects, we ſhall inſert it at large below [*M*]. Mr. Bowyer, agreeably to his own direction, was

buried

(*) From information of Mr. Nichols.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 25.

(*c*) Anecdotes, *paſſim.*

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 45.

'and there is no one that contains ſo much information in the ſame compaſs. The author profeſſes 'only to give the ſubſtance of two books; but he 'goes much farther. He has interſperſed, through 'the whole piece, a number of valuable notes, which 'will greatly increaſe the general ſtock of knowledge 'upon the ſubject, and correct the miſtakes of the 'works he has abridged: this is remarkably the caſe 'with Dr. Middleton's Diſſertation. Without pretending to exhibit a *complete Hiſtory* of the Origin of 'the Art, our author ventures to aſſert, that he has 'here given a clearer account of it than is to be met 'with in any book hitherto publiſhed in England; 'and we are fully ſatisfied of the truth of his 'aſſertion. We apprehend, that the public is indebted, for this valuable account of the origin and 'progreſs of the art of printing, to one of the laſt of 'our learned printers; a race of men whom we have 'obſerved, with concern, to be almoſt extinct in Europe, or at leaſt in our own country.'

The account that was given in the Monthly Review, was literally tranſlated in the Journal des Scavans, for April 1775. It was not then known, that the public was principally indebted for the "Origin "of Printing" to Mr. Nichols.

[*M*] *We ſhall inſert at large below.*] 'I WILLIAM 'BOWYER, Printer, Citizen, and Stationer, of 'London, being mercifully warned by the decays of

'age,

buried at Low-Leyton, in Eſſex; where a neat monument is erected, in the church, to

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‘age, and by the loſs of almoſt all my friends, am fully ſenſible that I have not long an abiding here: And therefore make this my laſt Will and Teſtament; and diſpoſe of thoſe worldly goods with which it has pleaſed God to intruſt me, in the following manner: My Farms in Yorkſhire, which were entailed on my only ſon Thomas, will, at my deceaſe, fall-in to him; and that at Naveſtock in Eſſex, which he has given to me by paſſing a fine and recovery, I hereby return, give, and deviſe, to him, his heirs and aſſigns, for ever, together with the land ſince added to it by Lord Waldegrave's donation in lieu of my right of commonage. I GIVE AND BEQUEATH to my ſaid ſon twenty pounds *per annum* in the Bank Long Annuities, which now ſtand in our joint names. I GIVE AND BEQUEATH the ſum of ſix thouſand pounds, Four *per Cent.* Conſolidated Bank Annuities, to be placed in the joint names of him my ſon and my executors hereafter named, *in truſt*, that my ſaid ſon may receive the dividends thereof for his life, for his ſole uſe; with this expreſs proviſo, that my ſaid executors ſhall not conſent to the ſelling or alienating any part thereof, or of the ſaid dividends thereof, during my ſaid ſon's life; but that he may, by his Will, diſpoſe of it to whom he pleaſes; or, in caſe he marries with the conſent of my executors in writing, that he may make ſuch ſettlement of it, for the benefit of himſelf, his wife, and children, as he ſhall think proper: and, in caſe he marries with ſuch conſent, I give and bequeath to him the further ſum of three thouſand Pounds, Four *per Cent.* Conſolidated Bank Annuities. *I alſo give* to my ſaid ſon all my houſehold goods, furniture and utenſils not in partnerſhip, except my old bureau in the little back room, which I give to Mr. John Nichols, my preſent partner in buſineſs, to ſurvey and preſerve my papers in. *I likewiſe give* to my ſon all my Plate; except the ſmall ſilver cup (*) which was given to my father (after his loſs by fire) by Mrs. James, and which *I give* to the Company of Stationers in London, hoping they will preſerve it as a memorial. I GIVE AND BEQUEATH to Mr. John Henry Browne and Mr. Nathaniel Conant, two of my executors hereinafter named, five hundred pounds each. If I die within five Miles of London, I deſire to be buried at Low Leyton in Eſſex, where the reſt of my friends are laid, in as private a manner as poſſible, with a hearſe, and a coach and four; attended only by the above-named Mr. John Nichols, and my neighbour Mr. Nevile Fether, to whom I give twenty pounds. And now, having committed my body to the earth, I would teſtify my duty and gratitude to my few relations, and numerous benefactors after my father's loſs by fire. I GIVE AND BEQUEATH to my couſin Scott lately of Weſtminſter, brewer, and to his ſiſter, fifty pounds each. I GIVE AND BEQUEATH to my relation Mr. Thomas Linley and his wife one thouſand pounds Four *per Cent.* Conſolidated Annuities, to be transferred to them, or to the ſurvivor of them; and which I hope they will take care to ſettle, at their deaths, for the benefit of their ſon and daughter. *Another Relation* I have; whom, as he wants not my aſſiſtance, I draw a veil over. I GIVE to the two ſons and one daughter of the late Reverend Mr. Maurice of Gothenburg in Sweden, who married the only daughter of Mr. Richard Williamſon bookſeller (in return for her father's friendſhip to mine), one thouſand pounds Four *per Cent.* Conſolidated Annuities, to be divided equally between them, and to be transferred (after deducting what I have already advanced, or ſhall advance, on their account, in my life-time, ſuch account to be aſcertained by my books of account) to whom they ſhall order for that purpoſe. I GIVE AND BEQUEATH to Mrs. Catharine Markland, ſiſter to my late worthy friend Mr. Jeremiah Markland, three hundred and fifty-one pounds(*), deducting from that ſum whatever I ſhall from this time advance to her in my life-time, ſuch account to be aſcertained by my books of account. I GIVE AND BEQUEATH to Doctor Henry Owen, of St. Olave's, Hart-ſtreet, one hundred pounds; to Mr. Lockyer Davis, one hundred pounds; to Mr. James Dodſley, one hundred pounds; to Mr. Nathaniel Thomas of White Fryars, fifty pounds; and to Mr. Matthews, Attorney, of Stokeſley in Yorkſhire, to Mr. William Redknapp clerk to the Hudſon's Bay Company, to Mr. Edmond Stallard, and to Mr. Anthony Willan ſome time ſervant to the Right Honourable Arthur Onſlow, thirty pounds each; to Mr. John Farmer ſenior, who has wrought long with me, twenty pounds; and to my maid Martha Chadley, if ſhe be living with me at my deceaſe, ſix hundred pounds.—Among my father's numerous benefactors, there is not, that I can hear of, one alive: to ſeveral of them I made an acknowledgment. But one reſpectable body I am ſtill indebted to, the univerſity of Cambridge; to whom I give, or rather reſtore, the ſum of fifty pounds, in return for the donation of forty pounds made to my father at the motion of the learned and pious Maſter of Saint John's College, Doctor Robert Jenkin: to a nephew of his I have already given another fifty pounds(*), as appears by his receipt of the thirty-firſt of May, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy. *The benefactions* which my father received from Oxford I can only repay with gratitude; as he received them, not from the univerſity as a body, but from particular members. I GIVE thirty pounds (*) to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, in gratitude for the kindneſs of the worthy Doctor Stanhope (ſome time Dean of Canterbury) to my father; the remembrance of which amongſt the proprietors of his works I have long out-lived, as I have experienced by not being employed to print them: the like I might ſay of the works of Mr. Nelſon, another reſpectable friend and patron of my father's; and of many others. I GIVE to Doctor William Heberden my little cabinet of coins, with Hickes's *Theſaurus*, *Triſtan* and the odd volume, Spanheim's *Numiſmata*, Harduin's *Opera Selecta* in folio, *Nummi Populorum et Urbium* in quarto, and any other of my books he chooſes to accept: to the Reverend Doctor Henry Owen, ſuch of my Hebrew books, and critical books on the New Teſtament, as he pleaſes to take: to Richard Gough, Eſquire, in like manner, my books on topographical ſubjects: to the before-named Mr. John Nichols, all books that relate to Cicero, Livy, and the Roman Hiſtory, particularly the Cenotaphia of Noris and Pighius, my Grammars and Dictionaries, with Swift's and Pope's works: to my Son, whatever books (not deſcribed above) he thinks proper to take.—*And now I hope* I may be allowed to leave ſomewhat for the benefit of Printing. To this end, I give to the Maſter and Keepers or Wardens and Commonalty of the miſtery or art of a Stationer of the city of London, ſuch a ſum of money as will purchaſe two thouſand pounds, three *per Cent.* Reduced Bank Annuities, *upon Truſt*, to pay the dividends and yearly produce thereof, to be divided for ever equally amongſt three Printers, Compoſitors or Preſſmen, to be elected from time to time by the Maſter, Wardens, and Aſſiſtants, of the ſaid Company, and who at the time of ſuch election ſhall be ſixty-three years old or upwards, for their reſpective lives, to be paid half-yearly; hoping that ſuch as ſhall be moſt deſerving will be preferred. And whereas I have herein before given to my ſon the ſum of three thouſand pounds Four *per Cent.* Conſolidated Annuities, in caſe he marries with the conſent of my executors: now, I do hereby give and bequeath the dividends and intereſt of that ſum, till ſuch marriage takes place, to the ſaid Company of Stationers, to be divided equally between ſix other Printers, Compoſitors or Preſſmen, as aforeſaid, in manner as aforeſaid; and, if my ſaid ſon ſhall die unmarried, or married without ſuch conſent as aforeſaid, then I give and bequeath the ſaid capital ſum of three thouſand pounds to the ſaid Company of Stationers, the dividends and yearly produce thereof to be divided for ever equally amongſt ſix other ſuch old Printers, Compoſitors or Preſſmen, for their reſpective lives, to be qualified, choſen, and paid, in manner as aforeſaid.—*It has long been to* me matter of concern, that ſuch numbers are put apprentices as Compoſitors without any ſhare of ſchool-learning, who ought to have the greateſt: in hopes of remedying this, I give and bequeath to the ſaid Company of Stationers ſuch a ſum of money as will purchaſe one thouſand pounds Three *per Cent.* Reduced Bank Annuities, for the uſe of one Journeyman Compoſitor, ſuch as ſhall

(*) This cup, with a ſuitable inſcription on it, is depoſited among the Company's plate. *Gent Mag.* 1778, p. 572.

(*) To whom he had before given 149 l.; making in the whole 500 l. From information of Mr. Nichols.

(*) See Gent. Mag. 1778, p. 570.

(*) Since handſomely appropriated to the purchaſe of valuable books. *Ibid.*

to his father's memory and his own, with the following inſcripition, written by himſelf:

HUIC MURO AB EXTRA
VICINUS JACET
GULIELMUS BOWYER,
TYPOGRAPHUS LONDINENSIS,
DE CHRISTIANO ET LITERATO ORBE
BENE MERITUS;
AB UTROQUE VICISSIM REMUNERATUS:
QUIPPE CUNCTIS BONIS ET FORTUNIS SUIS
SUBITO INCENDIO PENITUS DELETIS,
MUNIFICENTIA SODALIUM STATIONARIORUM,
ET OMNIUM BONORUM FAVOR,
ABREPTAS FACULTATES CERTATIM RESTAURAVERE (*):
TANTI HOMINEM VITÆ INTEGRUM,
SCELERISQUE PURUM, ÆSTIMANTES,
UT INGENII PRÆMIO EXUTUM
REDONARENT MERCEDE VIRTUTIS:
VIRIDEM DEPOSUIT SENECTAM, DEC. 27,
ANNO { ÆTATIS 74.
ANNO { SALUTIS 1737.
PATRI, PATRONIS, POSTERISQUE EORUM,
IN PII ET GRATI ANIMI MONUMENTUM,
PONI CURAVIT FILIUS,
MORIENS NOV. 18, 1777;
ANNUM AGENS SEPTUAGESIMUM OCTAVUM.
Impenſis J. Nichols, 1778.

A Buſt † of him is placed in STATIONERS HALL; with a good Portrait of his Father (†), and another of his patron Mr. Nelſon (†). A braſs plate under the buſt is thus inſcribed in his own words, in conformity to a wiſh he had many years before communicated to his Partner:

To the united munificence of
THE COMPANY OF STATIONERS,
And other numerous Benefactors:
Who,
When a calamitous Fire, Jan. 30, 17$\frac{12}{13}$,
Had in one night deſtroyed the effects
Of WILLIAM BOWYER, Printer,
Repaired the loſs with unparalleled humanity:
WILLIAM his only ſurviving Son,
Being continued Printer of the Votes of the Houſe of Commons,
By his father's merits,
And the indulgence of three Honourable Speakers;
And appointed to print the Journals of the Houſe of Lords,
At near LXX years of age,
By the patronage of a noble Peer;
Struggling with a debt of gratitude which could not be repaid,
Left this Tablet to ſuggeſt
What worn-out nature could not expreſs.

EX VOTO PATRONI OPTIMI AMICISSIMI
PONI LUBENTER CURAVIT CLIENS DEVINCTUS
J. NICHOLS, MDCCLXXVIII (*e*).

'ſhall hereafter be deſcribed; *with this ſpecial Truſt*, 'that the Maſter, Wardens, and Aſſiſtants ſhall pay 'the dividends and produce thereof half-yearly to 'ſuch Compoſitor: the ſaid Maſter, Wardens, and 'Aſſiſtants of the ſaid Company ſhall nominate for 'this purpoſe a Compoſitor who is a man of good life 'and converſation, who ſhall uſually frequent ſome 'place of public worſhip every Sunday, unleſs pre'vented by ſickneſs, and ſhall not have worked on a 'Newſpaper or Magazine for four years at leaſt be'fore ſuch nomination, nor ſhall ever afterwards 'whilſt he holds this Annuity, which may be for life 'if he continues a journeyman: he ſhall be able to 'read and conſtrue Latin, and at leaſt to read Greek 'fluently with accents; of which he ſhall bring a 'teſtimonial from the Rector of St. Martin's Lud'gate for the time being: I could wiſh that he ſhall 'have been brought up piouſly and virtuouſly, if it 'be poſſible, at Merchant Taylors, or ſome other 'public ſchool, from ſeven years of age till he is 'full ſeventeen, and then to ſerve ſeven years faith'fully as a Compoſitor, and work ſeven years more 'as a journeyman, as I would not have this annuity 'beſtowed on any one under thirty-one years of age: 'if after he is choſen he ſhould behave ill, let him 'be turned out, and another be choſen in his ſtead.

'And whereas it may be many years before a Com'poſitor may be found that ſhall exactly anſwer the 'above deſcription, and it may at ſome times happen 'that ſuch a one cannot be found; I would have 'the dividends in the mean time applied to ſuch per'ſon as the Maſter, Wardens, and Aſſiſtants ſhall 'think approaches neareſt to what I have deſcribed. 'And whereas the above truſts will occaſion ſome 'trouble; I give to the ſaid Company, in caſe they 'think proper to accept the truſts, two hundred and 'fifty pounds.—I GIVE AND BEQUEATH all the reſt 'and reſidue of my perſonal eſtate, not herein before 'diſpoſed of, unto the ſaid Mr. John Nichols, for 'his own uſe and benefit. And I nominate and ap'point the ſaid John Nichols, John Henry Browne, 'and Nathaniel Conant (all of them being Livery'men of the Company of Stationers), Executors of 'this my Will; hereby declaring, that neither of 'them ſhall be anſwerable for the acts, deeds, or 'receipts of the others or other of them.

'In witneſs whereof, I have hereunto ſet my 'hand and ſeal, this thirteenth day of July, 'in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven 'hundred and ſeventy-ſeven.

'W. BOWYER.'

Another

(*) In grateful remembrance of this event, the elder Mr. Bowyer had ſeveral metal cuts engraved, repreſenting a phœnix riſing from the flames, with ſuitable mottoes; which were uſed by him and by his ſon as ornaments in ſome of the moſt capital books they printed. Anecdotes, p. 50.

(†††) Theſe were preſented to the Company of Stationers by Mr. Nichols.

(*e*) Anecdotes, p. 45. 50, 51.

Another epitaph, propoſed for Mr. Bowyer, and drawn up by an ingenious friend (*), hath been inſerted in the Gentleman's Magazine [*N*].

(*) The Rev. Mr. Edward Clarke, of Buxted, as we have been informed by Mr. Nichols.

[*N*] *Inſerted in the Gentleman's Magazine.*]

Memoriæ Sacrum
WILHELMI BOWYER,
Typographorum poſt Stephanos et Commelinos
Longe doctiſſimi:
Linguarum Latinæ, Græcæ,
et Hebraicæ
peritiſſimi:
Adeo ut cognoviſſe videatur
Naturæ atque orbis alphabetum.
Quot et quanta Opera
ab illius Prelo
Splendide, nitide, et, quod majus eſt,
Fide et integritate ſumma
Tanquam ex equo Trojano
Meri principes exierint;
Annales Typographici et nunc et olim
teſtati ſunt:
Et præcipuè quod acta diurna
Superioris Cameræ
Britannici Parliamenti
Suo Prelo, ſuæ fidei
Honorificè commiſſa fuerant.
Hæc Typographo debentur:
Sed quod ſe ſemper geſſit,
Ut virum decuit honeſtiſſimum,
Amiciſſimum et pium,
In ſui ipſius et familiæ decus,
Majorem laudem cedet.
Tanti Typographi et Hominis Memoriæ
Mœrens inſcripſit Saxum
olim Familiaris,
et nunc Amicus.
Obiit 18 die Novembris,
Annum agens ſeptuageſimum octavum,
Æræ Chriſtianæ 1777.] K.

BOYD, the name of a very ancient, noble, and once the moſt flouriſhing family in Scotland, the genealogy of which we ſhall give in the note [*A*], and begin this article with the firſt nobleman thereof, ROBERT BOYD, whoſe great abilities raiſed him to the higheſt pitch of grandeur, and whoſe life and actions therefore deſerve particular notice. How, or where, he paſſed the firſt years of his life, or what age he was at the time of his father's death, is uncertain; but towards the end of the reign of King James II. of Scotland, he began to make a conſiderable figure in the world. He was a man of great penetration and ſound judgment, knew mankind as well as any one of his time, was courteous and affable in his behaviour, by which means he acquired the eſteem and confidence of all ranks of people, as well as of his Prince, by whoſe favour he was created a Baron, and called to Parliament, by the name and title of Lord Boyd of Kilmarnock. What added to his grandeur, was his alliance with many other great and noble families, and the large additions he had made to his own paternal inheritance. The firſt time we find his Lordſhip engaged in any public employment, was in the year 1459, when he was, with ſeveral Prelates, Lords, and Barons, ſent to Newcaſtle with the character of Plenipotentiaries, to prolong the truce with England, juſt then expired, which they did for nine years (*a*). Upon the unhappy death of King James II. in 1460, the Lord Boyd was made Juſticiary (*b*), and named one of the Lords of the Regency, in whoſe hands the adminiſtration of affairs was lodged during the minority of the young King (*c*). Buchanan is miſtaken in ſaying, that the Lord Boyd was at this time Lord Chancellor of Scotland; for that office was then held by the Lord Evandale, as appears plainly by a charter ſtill extant, under the great ſeal of King

(*a*) Rymer's Fœd. Angl. Tom. ii. p. 423.

(*b*) Charta penes Comitem de Wigton.

(*c*) Crawfurd's Lives of the great Officers of State in Scotland, p. 313. Buchanan and Scott's Hiſt. of Scotland.

[*A*] *The genealogy of which we ſhall give in the notes.*] With regard to the antiquity of this family, the Scotch genealogiſt, Mr. Crawfurd (1), obſerves, that the common bearing of the Boydes and Stewarts (2), has given ground to a conjecture that they are branched from the Royal Family of Stewart; long before the name of Stewart was uſed by the younger ſons of that illuſtrious family; but upon what occaſion they aſſumed this name, he does not take upon him to ſay. The firſt who aſſumed the ſirname of Boyd, is ſaid to be Robert the ſon of Simon, third ſon of Allan, Lord High Steward of Scotland, in the year 1111 (3); and in right of this Robert, from whom the Kilmarnock family is lineally deſcended, this branch of the name of Boyd claims to be chief, and acted as ſuch when chieftainſhip was in repute in that part of the country; but for more than a century and an half, chiefs in that part of Scotland neither have nor claim any other advantage than that of precedency.

Hiſtorians have left a blank in the genealogy of the family, from the laſt mentioned Robert Boyd, in the year 1111, to a deſcendant of his, called Sir Robert Boyd, who, in the year 1263, gave ſignal proofs of his valour and military ſkill, in that famous battle of the Largs, fought between the Scots and Norwegians who had made a deſcent in that part of the country; for which he obtained a grant from the crown of ſeveral lands in the ſhire of Cunningham (4). He was ſucceeded by another Sir Robert, who added no ſmall luſtre to the family, by his loyalty, exerciſing his valour, like his predeceſſor, in defence of his King and country; and, like him, happening to live in an age when virtue was the only way to preferment, he received as a reward of his ſervices and ſignal merit, the lands of *Kilmarnock*, from Robert the firſt, then King of Scotland, to whom he moſt faithfully adhered in all the viciſſitudes of fortune that befel him (5). Theſe lands have continued ever ſince in the family, and given the title of Earl to four of them, the laſt of whom was the unfortunate Lord who ſuffered death for treaſon and rebellion to his King and Country.—To this Sir Robert ſucceeded his ſon Sir Thomas (6), a man eminent for learning and piety, and who diſcharged ſeveral employments of great truſt and honour, to the ſatisfaction both of his King and Country; and was ſucceeded by his ſon Sir Thomas, who inherited his father's virtues as well as his wealth. He married one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir John Gifford of Yeſter, in the ſhire of Tweedale, by which marriage Sir Thomas got a third part of the barony of Yeſter (7); and was ſucceeded by Thomas his ſon, who held places of great truſt under the crown, and was eſteemed a man of ſuch weight in his country, that he was received by the Engliſh as one of the hoſtages for the ranſom of King James the Firſt (8). He married Jane, a daughter of the family of Montgomery, and dying in 1432, was buried at Kilmarnock, where the portraiture of himſelf and his Lady are to be ſeen in ſtone, as big as the life, and an inſcription, only ſhewing when they died (9). Sir Thomas was ſucceeded by a ſon of his own name, who did not long ſurvive his father, for he was killed at Craignaught-hill, by Sir Alexander Stewart, in 1439, in revenge for the Lord Darnley's death, whom Sir Thomas Boyd had killed (Buchanan ſays treacherouſly) (10) in a feud, ſome time before. Hiſtorians make no other mention of this Sir Thomas, than that he was the father of the great *Robert Boyd*, the Lord Chamberlain, who is the principal ſubject of this article.

(1) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 242.

(2) The arms of the Boyds are; Saphire, a Feſs, Checque, Pearl, and Ruby: and thoſe of the Stewarts; Topaz, a Feſs, Checque, Pearl, and Saphire. There is no doubt but the Boyds are a branch of the family of Stewart, and Mr. Niſbet ſays expreſsly they are, though they never took the ſurname of Stewart. Niſbet, Vol. i. p. 54.

(3) Britiſh Compendium, Vol. iii. p. 315. Crawfurd's Hiſt. of Renfrew, p. 55.

(4) Crawfurd, *ubi ſupra*.

(5) Charta penes Comitem de Kilmarnock. Niſbet's Syſtem of Heraldry, in the Remarks on Ragman Roll, p. 33.

(6) Charta in Rot. Rob. II. ad ann. 1374, per Tho. Fleming of Fulwood.

(7) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 242. Charta penes Marchionem de Tweedale.

(8) Britiſh Compendium, p. 315.

(9) Hiſtorical Collection by Mr. Timothy Pont, in the hands of Sir Robert Sibbald, M. D. MS.

(10) Buchanan, Hiſt. of Scotland, Vol. ii. p. 7.

James III., dated 23 Jan. 1461, which is witneſſed by *Andrea Domino Evandale Cancellario Noſtro* (*d*). Nor was the Lord Boyd ever in the poſt of Chancellor. His Lordſhip had a younger brother who had received the honour of Knighthood, and was ſtiled Sir Alexander Boyd of Duncow, a man in great credit and favour with the King, whom he was appointed to teach the rudiments of military diſcipline, in the knowledge of which he was reckoned to exceed all others. As the Lord Boyd had a large ſhare in the adminiſtration of public affairs, by virtue of his office, ſo his brother Sir Alexander, by his conſtant acceſs to the King's perſon, had a great influence over his youthful inclinations, inſomuch that the two brothers found means to engroſs moſt of the places and preferments about the Court, to their own family and friends. Sir Alexander began to inſtil into the young King, then twelve years old, notions of manhood and liberty, inſinuating that he was now capable of governing without the help of guardians and tutors, and that he might free himſelf from their reſtraint. This advice was readily liſtened to, and the King reſolved to take upon himſelf the government, which, however, was no other than transferring the whole power, from the other Regents, to the Boyds. The King was at this time at Linlithgow, where the Lord Kennedy, another of the Regents, had a watchful eye over him: ſo it was neceſſary to remove his Majeſty to Edinburgh, to take upon him the Regal Government. This the Boyds effected, partly by force and partly by ſtratagem, as the reader may ſee in the note [*B*]; and having got the King to Edinburgh, the Lord Boyd began to provide for his own ſafety, and to avert the danger which threatened him and his friends, for what they had done in the face of an Act of Parliament; and accordingly prevailed upon the King to call a Parliament at Edinburgh, in October 1466; which having then met, the Lord Boyd fell down upon his knees before the throne, where the King ſat, and in a long and elaborate harangue, complained of the hard conſtruction put upon the King's removal from Linlithgow, and how ill his ſervice to the King in bringing him to Edinburgh was interpreted by his enemies, who threatened that the adviſers of that affair ſhould one day ſuffer puniſhment for the ſame; humbly beſeeching his Majeſty to declare his own ſenſe and pleaſure thereupon, and that if he conceived any ill-will or diſguſt againſt him for that journey, that he would openly declare it, that ſo the calumnies of his detractors might be prevented (*e*). The King, after adviſing a little with the Lords, made anſwer (*f*), that the Lord Boyd was not his adviſer, but rather his companion in that journey; and therefore that he was more worthy of a reward for his courteſy, than of puniſhment for his obſequiouſneſs or compliance therein; and this he was willing to declare in a public Decree of the Eſtates, and thereby to ſilence his enemies; and in the ſame Decree proviſion ſhould be made, that this matter ſhould never be prejudicial to the Lord Boyd or his companions. His Lordſhip then deſired, that this Decree might be regiſtered in the Acts of the Aſſembly, and confirmed by Letters Patent under the Great Seal. This was alſo complied with, and the Declaration was recorded in the books of Parliament, and an inſtrument importing the ſame thing was granted to his Lordſhip under the Broad Seal, and is ſtill extant in the King's archives at Edinburgh. The Act of Approbation to the Lord Boyd and his friends, is alſo publiſhed in the Appendix to Mr. Crawfurd's Lives of the great Officers of State in Scotland. At the ſame time alſo the King, by advice of his Council, gave him Letters Patent, whereby he was conſtituted ſole Regent, and had the ſafety of the King, his brothers, ſiſters, towns, caſtles, and all the juriſdiction over his ſubjects, committed to him, till the King himſelf arrived to the age of twenty-one years (*g*). And the Nobles then preſent ſolemnly promiſed to be aſſiſtant to the Lord Boyd, and alſo to his brother, in all their public actions, and that they would be liable to puniſhment, if they did not carefully, and with faithfulneſs, perform what they then promiſed. To this ſtipulation, or promiſe, the King alſo ſubſcribed (*h*). Mr. Crawfurd obſerves upon this occaſion, that though the Lord Boyd was veſted with ſuch great powers, yet, in juſtice to the memory of ſo great a man, he acknowledges (*i*) (what, he ſays, no authors have done before him, becauſe they did not look into the Records), that his Lordſhip's nomination to this great dignity and truſt, was not done by a private *junto*, nor unduly or unfairly obtained, but openly and in full Parliament, and, as the King himſelf declares, *ex Conſenſu cæterorum Dominorum noſtri Concilii* (*k*). Great as his Lordſhip was, he had not,

(*d*) Charta penes Ducem de Montroſs.

(*e*) Records of Parliament.

(*f*) Buchanan, Vol. ii. p. 66, 8vo.

(*g*) Charta in Rotulis Jacobi III.

(*h*) Buchanan, Vol. ii. p. 67, 8vo.

(*i*) Lives of the Lords Great Chamberlains of Scotland, p. 314.

(*k*) Records of Parliament.

[*B*] *Partly by ſtratagem, and partly by force, as the reader will ſee in the notes.*] It was in this manner: The Boyds having ordered an hunting match for the King, on the 10th of July 1466, they, with ſome other friends, inſtead of purſuing the chaſe, turned into the road leading to Edinburgh, in which they had not gone far, before the Lord Kennedy, who ſuſpected this to be a game of ſtate, came up with them, and laying his hands upon the bridle of the King's horſe, requeſted him to return again to Linlithgow, and bid him beware of thoſe guides who thus treaſonably attempted to carry him away; for by a late ſtatute it was declared high-treaſon to ſeize upon or carry away the perſon of the King, without the expreſs conſent of the Eſtates aſſembled in Parliament. But the Boyds thought the King's perſon would guard them from the penalty of the law, and that an after-ſtatute, which they doubted not of obtaining, would cancel the former. With this aſſurance, Sir Alexander Boyd, as if he meant to reſent the inſolence offered the King, after ſome angry words, gave the Lord Kennedy a blow with his hunting ſtaff, who thereupon went off, and left them to purſue their journey to Edinburgh (11). By this affair, not altogether juſtifiable on the part of the Boyds, the ſeeds of enmity were ſown between the two families, which grew up to the great detriment of the nation; and at laſt, to the total ruin and deſtruction of one of them.

(11) Crawfurd's Lives of the Chancellors, p. 314. Buchanan, Scott, &c. Act of Approbation to the Lord Boyd, &c. in the Records of Parliament.

not, however, yet arrived to the ſummit of his glory: the honours he had already received only paved the way to ſtill greater: for having now the whole adminiſtration in his hands, it was not long before he had an opportunity of getting into one of the greateſt offices in the kingdom, which was that of Lord Great Chamberlain of Scotland. The Lord Boyd's commiſſion for this great office *(l)* (which Mr. Crawfurd has ſeen in the hands of the Earl of Kilmarnock), was *pro vita*, and paſſed the Great Seal, upon the twenty-fifth of Auguſt 1467. It is neceſſary to obſerve, that though the Lord Boyd, now Lord Chamberlain, ſeemed to have the ſole power and management of every thing himſelf, yet the Parliament had referred ſome particular matters which were of the higheſt concern and importance to the State *(m)*, ſuch as the marriage of the King, his ſiſter, and his brothers the Duke of Albany and Earl of Mar, to the joint determination of the Lord Boyd and others named and authoriſed by the Parliament for that purpoſe. This, however, did not hinder the Lord Chamberlain from making a very bold ſtep, ſtill farther to aggrandize his family. This was no leſs than the procuring the Lady Mary Stewart, the late King's eldeſt daughter, in marriage for his ſon Sir Thomas Boyd, and which, by his intereſt and addreſs with the King, he found means to accompliſh, notwithſtanding the care and precaution of the Parliament. The Lord Boyd's ſon was a moſt accompliſhed gentleman, and this match and near alliance to the Crown, added to his own diſtinguiſhed merit, raiſed him to a nearer place in the affection as well as confidence of his Sovereign, by whom he was ſoon after created Earl of Arran *(n)*, perhaps to render the match more equal in point of rank with his royal bride, with whom he alſo obtained many lands *(o)*, and, ſays Mr. Crawfurd *(p)*, was himſelf conſidered as the fountain from whence all honours and preferments muſt flow. The Lord Chamberlain, by this great acceſſion of honour to his family, now ſeemed to have arrived at the higheſt pinnacle of power and grandeur, and this, in appearance, raiſed upon ſo firm a baſis as not to be eaſily ſhaken. The King, we have ſeen, was his declared friend and patron; great part of the Nobility in league with him; the adminiſtration of the whole government in his hands; his brother in no leſs eſteem and favour with the King; and the future greatneſs of his poſterity ſecured by his ſon's marriage into the royal family. But ſuch is the inſtability of human affairs, and ſo deceitful are the ſmiles of fortune, that what ſeemed to be a prop and eſtabliſhment of the power and greatneſs of this family, proved the very means of its overthrow, by ſtirring up its moſt bitter enemies to ſeek and determine its deſtruction. About this time, a marriage having been concluded, by Embaſſadors ſent into Denmark for that purpoſe, between the young King of Scotland, and Margaret, a daughter of the King of Denmark; the young Earl of Arran was pitched upon, as a Nobleman every way qualified for ſo honourable and magnificent an embaſſy, to go over to Denmark, to eſpouſe the Daniſh Princeſs in the King his brother-in-law's name, and to conduct her to Scotland. The Earl of Arran, judging all things ſafe at home, willingly accepted this honour; and, in the beginning of the autumn of the year 1469, ſet ſail for Denmark with a proper convoy, and a noble train of friends and followers *(q)*. This was a fatal ſtep to the downfal of this illuſtrious family, for the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl's father, being now much abſent from the Court in the neceſſary diſcharge of his office, as well as through age and infirmities, which was the caſe alſo of his brother Sir Alexander Boyd; the Earl of Arran had no ſooner ſet out on his embaſſy, than thoſe enemies which envy alone, that inſeparable attendant on power and greatneſs, had raiſed him, ſet about contriving his ruin, and that of his family. The ſeeds of enmity, long ſince ſown between the Kennedies and the Boyds, though hitherto unproductive of any bad conſequences, now began to ſhoot out with greater vigour. Every art that malice could ſuggeſt was tried to alienate the King's affection from the Boyds. Every public miſcarriage was laid at their door; and the Kennedies induſtriouſly ſpread abroad reports, to inflame the people likewiſe againſt them. They repreſented to the King, that the Lord Boyd had abuſed his power during his Majeſty's minority; that his matching his ſon, the Earl of Arran, with the Princeſs Mary, was ſtaining the royal blood of Scotland, was an indignity to the Crown *(r)*, and the prelude to the execution of a plot they had contrived of uſurping even the ſovereignty itſelf; for they repreſented the Lord Chamberlain as an ambitious, aſpiring man, guilty of the higheſt offences, and capable of contriving and executing the worſt of villanies *(s)*: with what juſtice, Hiſtory does not inform us. Buchanan *(t)* is the only one that ſays the Boyds were the occaſion of the King's degeneracy into all manner of licentiouſneſs, by their indulgence of his pleaſures. The King, however, young, weak, credulous, and wavering, and naturally prone to jealouſy, began to be alarmed, gave way to the importunities of his new counſellors, and being beſides flattered by them with the proſpect of filling his coffers out of the unhappy victims confiſcated eſtates, the conſequence of their conviction, he quickly became the tool of the loweſt revenge, and was prevailed on to ſacrifice, not only the Earl of Arran, but all his family, to the malice and reſentment of their enemies, notwithſtanding their own and their anceſtors great ſervices to the Crown, and in ſpite of the ties of blood which united them ſo cloſely. At the requeſt of the adverſe faction, the King ſummoned a Parliament to meet at Edinburgh the twentieth of November 1469 *(u)*, before which the Lord Boyd, the Earl of Arran,

though

(l) Charta penes Comitem de Kilmarnock.

(m) Black Acts of Parliament.

(n) Chart. in Rot. Jac. III. Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 243.

(o) Charta in pub. Archives.

(p) Lives of the Lords Chamberlains, *ut ſupra*.

(q) Buchan. Scott, &c. Britiſh Compendium, p. 315.

(r) Abercromby from Ferrerius, p. 387.

(s) Crawfurd's Lives of the Chamberlains, p. 316.

(t) Hiſt. Vol. ii. 69—93.

(u) Crawfurd's Lives, &c. p. 316.

though in Denmark, and Sir Alexander Boyd of Duncow, were ſummoned to appear, to give an account of their adminiſtration, and anſwer ſuch charges as ſhould be exhibited againſt them. The Lord Boyd was aſtoniſhed at this ſudden blow, againſt which he had made no proviſion, and betook himſelf to arms (*w*); at leaſt appeared with ſuch attendance of armed men, as obliged the government to draw ſome forces together for its own defence: but the match being ſo unequal, the weaker party thought fit to diſband, and his Lordſhip finding it impoſſible to ſtem the torrent, and having no confidence in the Parliament, which he knew his enemies found ways and means to model for their own miſchievous purpoſes, and deſpairing of ſafety, took an opportunity to make his eſcape into England; but his brother, Sir Alexander, being then ſick, and truſting to his own integrity, was brought before the Parliament, where he, the Lord Boyd, and his ſon the Earl of Arran, were, at his Majeſty's inſtance, indicted of high-treaſon, for having laid hands on the King, and carried him, againſt an Act of Parliament, and contrary to the King's own will, from Linlithgow to Edinburgh, in the year 1466. Sir Alexander alleged in his defence, that they had not only obtained the King's pardon for that offence in a public convention, but it was even declared a good ſervice by a ſubſequent Act of Parliament (*x*), and he deſired that a copy of that pardon might be tranſcribed out of the Parliament rolls; but this was denied him, and no regard was had to it, becauſe it was obtained by the Boyds when in power, and maſters of the King's perſon (*y*): and it was alleged, that the record only expreſſed that the King forgave him his perſonal reſentment, which did not exempt them from the puniſhment of the law (*z*). Upon the whole, the crime being proved againſt them, they were found guilty by a jury of very noble Lords and Barons (*a*), and ſentence of condemnation pronounced againſt them as in caſes of high-treaſon: Sir Alexander Boyd, being preſent, was condemned to loſe his head on the Caſtle-Hill of Edinburgh, which ſentence was executed accordingly. The Lord Boyd had, without doubt, undergone the ſame fate, if he had not made his eſcape into England, as before related, where, however, he did not long ſurvive his great reverſe of fortune, which he might well lay to heart in his old age. He died at Alnwick in the year 1470. The Earl of Arran, though abſent, and that upon the King's and the public buſineſs, was declared a public enemy, without being granted a hearing, or allowed the privilege which every man has a right to, of defending himſelf; and all their eſtates were confiſcated (*b*). Things were in this unhappy ſituation, when the Earl of Arran arrived from Denmark, with the eſpouſed Queen, in the Frith of Forth. Before he landed he had received intelligence of the wreck and ruin of his family; for his Lady, upon the firſt news of the approach of the Daniſh fleet, made immediately to her beloved Lord, and informed him there were no hopes of re-admiſſion to the King's favour, his enemies having ſtopped all paſſages thereto (*c*). When he found it was not ſafe to ſet foot on his native ſhore, he reſolved to retire into Denmark, and without ſtaying to attend the ceremonial of the Queen's landing, or to trouble his weak and ungrateful maſter and brother with the account of his embaſſy, he took the opportunity of one of thoſe Daniſh ſhips which convoyed the Queen, and were under his command, and embarking his Lady, ſet ſail for Denmark, where arriving, he met with a noble reception, ſuitable to his high birth and real merit. From thence he travelled through Germany into France, where he prevailed, according to Mr. Crawfurd (*d*), with Lewis XI., to endeavour his reconciliation with King James, but in vain. Buchanan ſays (*e*), he could not obtain the French King's mediation at all: however this be, it is certain he left the French Court, and went to pay a viſit to Charles Duke of Burgundy, who received him moſt graciouſly, and being then at war with his rebellious ſubjects, the unfortunate Lord offered him his ſervice, which the Duke readily accepted, and finding him to be a brave and wiſe man, he honoured and ſupported him and his Lady in a manner becoming their rank. But the meaſure of their afflictions was not yet full. The King their brother not yet ſatisfied with the miſeries of their family, wrote over to Flanders to recal his ſiſter home; but knowing the great love ſhe bore her huſband, and fearing ſhe would not be induced to leave him, he cauſed others to write to her, and give her hopes that his anger towards her huſband might be appeaſed, and that if ſhe would come over and plead for him in perſon, there was no doubt but ſhe might prevail with her brother to pardon him, and reſtore him again to his favour (*f*). The Counteſs of Arran, flattered with theſe fair hopes, reſolved to try if her preſence and intreaties could not move her brother to compaſſion. She returned, and was no ſooner arrived in Scotland, than the faithleſs King began to urge her to a divorce from her huſband, cruelly detained her from going back to him, and cauſed public citations, atteſted by witneſſes, to be fixed up at Kilmarnock, the capital ſeat of the Boyds before their fall, wherein Thomas Earl of Arran was commanded to appear in ſixty days, which he not doing, his marriage with the King's ſiſter was declared null and void, and a divorce made (according to Buchanan), the Earl ſtill abſent and unheard; and the Lady Mary was compelled, by the King, to marry James Lord Hamilton, a man much inferior to her former huſband both in point of birth and fortune. This tranſaction was in the year 1474; and the Earl of Arran, now in the laſt ſtage of his miſeries, and borne down with the heavy load of his misfortunes, ſoon after died

(*w*) Crawfurd, *ubi ſupra.*

(*x*) Act of Parliament ſtill extant in the Records.

(*y*) Extract of the whole Trial copied from the Records by Sir Lewis Stewart of Kirkall.

(*z*) Buchanan, Vol. ii. p. 70, &c.

(*a*) Extract of the Trial, *ut ſupra.*

(*b*) Buchanan, *ubi ſupra.*

(*c*) *Ibid.*

(*d*) Lives of the Chancellor, &c. p. 317.

(*e*) *Ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) Buchanan, *ut ſupra.*

died at Antwerp [C], and was honourably interred there, at the expence of the Duke of Burgundy, who likewiſe erected a ſuperb monument to his memory, with an inſcription ſuitable to the great character he left behind him (g). The Lord Chamberlain Boyd, father of the Earl of Arran, by Marion his wife, daughter of Sir Robert Maxwell of Calderwood, had alſo iſſue two other ſons, Alexander and Archibald, and a daughter who married the Earl of Angus, Chancellor to King James IV. But after the fall of the Boyds, the Barony and Lordſhip of Kilmarnock fell to the Crown, and there continued till the year 1482, when the King taking compaſſion upon the innocent children of the late Earl of Arran, and out of the love he bore his ſiſter the Counteſs, reſtored James her ſon to the barony of Kilmarnock, and the other lands of his anceſtors, and to the title of Lord Boyd (h): but he dying without iſſue (Boëthius (i) ſays he was killed by the Lord Montgomery), the lordſhip of Kilmarnock returned again to the Crown, and the line was carried on by Alexander Boyd, ſecond ſon of the Lord Chamberlain Boyd, and brother of the late Earl of Arran [D]. This Alexander, through the intereſt of the Earl of Angus his brother-in-law, and for his own dutiful behaviour, was, by King James IV., made Baily and Chamberlain of Kilmarnock for the Crown (k), was reſtored to part of that lordſhip, and had alſo a grant of the lands of Bordland (l). Robert, his eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded, and was a perſon in great favour with King James V., whom he faithfully ſerved both at home and abroad (m); wherefore that Prince beſtowed on him the whole lordſhip of Kilmarnock, the twentieth of May 1536 (n). He afterwards had, by grant of the Earl of Arran, Governor of Scotland during the minority of Queen Mary, many other lands that had formerly belonged to his anceſtors, and at the ſame time is returned heir, to James Boyd of Kilmarnock, his father's brother's ſon (o). In the perſon of his ſon Robert, the next generation ſaw the honour of the family revive: he was a nobleman of great parts, and poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, all thoſe hereditary qualifications which had rendered his family illuſtrious. The troubles of the times during the unhappy reign of that unfortunate Princeſs, Queen Mary, gave him a ſufficient opportunity of exerting his great talents. That Princeſs, in the year 1549, had been graciouſly pleaſed to recognize his title to the honour of Lord Boyd, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal (p); and he continued to be greatly truſted by her, to whom he faithfully adhered, and preſerved his loyalty in the worſt of times, and till the almoſt total ſuppreſſion of her intereſt; aſſiſting her with his counſels, and riſking his life in her defence as often as he had an opportunity, though he condemned the imprudent meaſures which involved the Queen in the diſaſters of her reign, as well as the violent meaſures purſued by the ſubjects againſt her: and upon her marriage with Bothwell, in 1567, he had actually entered into an aſſociation with other Lords, to puniſh the King's murderers, and diſſolve the Queen's marriage, according to Rapin (q); but Scott ſays, to defend the infant Prince her ſon, from his mother and ſtep-father (r): yet this was only on account of her religion, in which he differed from her, and was one of thoſe who adviſed her to iſſue a proclamation, to de-

(g) Buchanan, *ut ſupra.*

(h) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 243.

(i) Hector Boëthius's Hiſt. of Scotland, tranſlated by Bellandine, book xii. c. v. edit. 1536.

(k) Rymer's Fœd. Angl. ad annum 1505.

(l) Black Acts of Parliament. Charta in pub. Archives, ad ann. 1494. Charta in Rot. Jac. IV.

(m) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 244.

(n) Charta in pub. Arch. Jac. V.

(o) Charta penes Com. de Kilmarnock, dat. 23 Oct. 1544.

(p) Charta penes Com. de Kilmarnock, ad ann. 1549.

(q) Rapin's Hiſt. of England, Vol. viii. p. 359, 8vo.

(r) Scott's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 408.

[C] *This was tranſacted in the year* 1474, *and the Earl of Arran died ſoon after.*] We have related this ſtory of Lady Arran's divorce, from Buchanan, becauſe he is very particular in his relation of it, and the thing itſelf is very probable, though far from certain; for Boëthius (12) ſays, that the daughter of King James the Second, after the death of Lord Boyd (meaning the Earl of Arran), married the Lord Hamilton; and Mr. Bellandine the tranſlator of Boëthius was actually living at the very time; and Buchanan did not write till a century after; and poſſibly he might frame this ſtory on purpoſe to ingratiate himſelf with his patron the Earl of Murray, who was a great enemy to the Hamiltons, and might be pleaſed to have it recorded of that family, that its greatneſs, and alliance with the Blood Royal, was founded in adultery. The hiſtorian Mr. Scott (13) (who in general copies Buchanan), concerning this affair, only ſays, that the King detained the Counteſs of Arran from returning to her huſband, and urged her to ſue for a divorce, to which ſhe would not conſent; but ſays nothing of her being compelled to marry Lord Hamilton, and adds that Lord Arran finding himſelf bereft of his Lady, contracted great grief and died; and ſhe remained a widow till the year 1474, which expreſſion implies, that her huſband had been dead ſome time before: but this is not probable, if we conſider, that the Earl of Arran did not arrive in Scotland from his Daniſh embaſſy, till the year 1470, after which he retired to Denmark, from thence travelled through Germany into France, at both of which courts he might ſtay a conſiderable time; and at laſt went to the Duke of Burgundy's court, where he ſerved in the wars, and his Lady bare him a ſon and a daughter there, and at length returned to Scotland: all which could not well be brought about much ſooner than the year 1474; ſo that the Counteſs of Arran muſt have married Lord Hamilton not long after her arrival in Scotland; and as it is certain, Lord Arran did not die till after ſhe came there, and was refuſed leave to return back, it muſt have been very ſoon after (if not before) the Earl's death that ſhe married Hamilton: and as ſhe was an affectionate wife to her firſt huſband, it was perhaps rather by compulſion than choice that ſhe married a ſecond ſo ſoon; or probably, a divorce was intended and actually begun by the King her brother, though not completed before Lord Arran's death: for the fact is very agreeable to the character of that prince, who was very unforgiving, and retentive of injuries, and to be ſure would never ceaſe perſecuting the unhappy Earl of Arran, as long as he lived. The author of the Britiſh Compendium (14) places the Earl's death in 1470, but this appears, from the above account, to be a great error.

(12) Hector Boëthius's Hiſt. of Scotland, tranſlated by Bellandine, printed in 1536, book xii. chap. v.

(13) Hiſtory of Scotland.

(14) Page 71.

[D] *The line was carried on by Alexander Boyd, ſecond ſon of the Lord Chamberlain.*] Mr. Crawfurd, in his Peerage of Scotland (15), and from him other writers, are miſtaken in ſaying that, upon the death of Lord Arran's ſon without iſſue, the line was continued by Sir Alexander, ſon of Sir Alexander Boyd of Duncow, brother of the Lord Chamberlain, and that from him are deſcended the Earls of Kilmarnock: for the Lord Chamberlain left two other ſons beſides Lord Arran, who, according to the order of ſucceſſion, had a right of precedency before the ſon of Sir Alexander Boyd of Duncow, who was only the younger brother of the Lord Chamberlain; and it appears beyond doubt, that Alexander, the ſecond ſon of the Lord Chamberlain, continued the line; for in a grant which he afterwards had of the lands of Bordland, he is ſtiled *Filius Roberti quondam Domini Boyd* (16). Mr. Crawfurd has acknowledged this himſelf in his Lives of the Chancellors (17).

(15) Page 243.

(16) Charta in pub. Archives, ad ann. 1494.

(17) Page 317, in the notes.

clare all tolerations formerly granted to Roman Catholics null and void, and to grant no farther freedom to them than private worſhip. However, he continued to ſerve her, and was made one of the Lords of her Privy Council the ſame year, 1567 (*s*), and was pitched upon by the Queen to treat with the rebel Lords about compoſing their differences, but they refuſed to treat with her. The Lord Boyd commanded a part of the Queen's army at the battle of Langſide, where ſhe was defeated in 1568. Upon the Queen's retiring into England, and Commiſſioners being appointed by Queen Elizabeth, and the Lord Murray Regent of Scotland, to hear and determine the controverſy between the Queen of Scots and her ſubjects, Lord Boyd was appointed one of the Queen's Commiſſioners, to meet and vindicate her character. His Lordſhip was alſo employed in the fatal affair of the intended marriage of the Duke of Norfolk with Queen Mary, and was one of her Commiſſioners upon all occaſions, and in all meetings with her opponents, till the year 1571, when, according to the Hiſtorian before cited (*t*), the Earl of Morton, at that time Regent, found means to tempt the Lord Boyd, together with the Earl of Argyle, to deſert the Queen's party: for Morton having then ſeveral church-lands in his gift, offered a large ſhare thereof to be divided between thoſe Lords, which they accepted of, and joined the King's party. At the ſame time the Earl of Argyle was divorced from his Lady, and married to the Lord Boyd's daughter. If this account of Mr. Scott's be true, it may very well be urged in Lord Boyd's defence, that the Queen's affairs were at this time ſo deſperate, that it was ſcarcely in the power of her moſt loyal ſubjects to do her any ſervice, and that his Lordſhip was amongſt the laſt of her friends, who ſubmitted to the Regency during her ſon's minority; and in ſo doing, he only made a virtue of neceſſity, by complying with the times and humour of the people, who had ſet her infant ſon upon the throne without any regard to the mother's title. After this, his Lordſhip acted as one of the Regent's Commiſſioners in the treaty of Perth, and was one of the Lords that ſubſcribed the articles of that treaty. In 1578, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners to treat with the Engliſh about ſuppreſſing the incurſions of the borderers (*u*). In 1581, he, with ſome other Lords, having joined in a confederacy to remove the Duke of Lenox, who was a Papiſt, from Court; in order to this, they ſeized the King and confined him at Ruthven Houſe, where they in a manner compelled him to baniſh the Duke: but Lord Boyd had liked afterwards to have loſt his life for this, and was obliged to go over to France (*w*), from whence returning in 1585, he was pardoned, and was the ſame year, with the Earl of Bothwell and another, ſent Embaſſador into England to conclude a league in defence of the Proteſtant religion (*x*), and for a firm and laſting peace between the two realms, which they concluded and ſigned (*y*) [*E*]. This Nobleman died in 1589, aged 72, and was interred with his anceſtors in the church of Kilmarnock, under a fair tomb, with the following ſtrange verſes by way of epitaph, as in note [*F*], which, however, ſhew the great ſervice and importance he was of to his country. He married Margaret, daughter and ſole heireſs of George Colquhone of Glins, by which marriage he made a conſiderable addition to his paternal inheritance. By her he had iſſue ſeveral daughters, one of whom married the Earl of Eglington; and a ſon named Thomas, who ſucceeded him (*z*). He married Marion, the daughter of Matthew Campbel of Loudon, anceſtor to the Earl of that name, by whom he had iſſue a daughter, who married James Hamilton, Earl of Abercorn; and a ſon named Robert, who married the daughter of Mark Ker, Earl of Lothian, and died before his father, but left two ſons, Robert, who ſucceeded his grandfather; and James, who afterwards alſo came to the eſtate. This Robert married Chriſtian, daughter to Thomas Hamilton Earl of Haddingtoun, by whom he had iſſue Robert, who ſucceeded him, and was a nobleman of great hopes and parts, and died without iſſue much regretted, in 1640 (*a*). He was ſucceeded by James his uncle, who, dying in 1654, was ſucceeded by William his ſon (*b*), who gave early proofs of his abilities, and that he inherited all the ſhining qualities of his progenitors. He was eſteemed a man of wit and learning, which recommended him to the gay Court of King Charles II. He was remarkably active in the intereſt of that Monarch, when there was the leaſt proſpect of his Reſtoration; for which, and ſome ſervices he did the Crown afterwards, he was created Earl of Kilmarnock, by Letters Patent, bearing date Auguſt 7, 1661 (*c*). He married Janet, daughter to William Cunningham, Earl of Glencairn, and died in the year 1692. He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon William, who ſurvived his father but a few months, leaving

(*s*) Scott's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 408.

(*t*) Scott, p. 449.

(*u*) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 244.

(*w*) Scott, p. 489.

(*x*) Scott, p. 496.

(*y*) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth.

(*z*) Britiſh Compendium, p. 316.

(*a*) Balfour's Annals.

(*b*) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 245. Charta in Cancellaria S. D. N. Regis.

(*c*) Charta in Rot. Carol. II. Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 245.

[*E*] *Which league they concluded and ſigned.*] The occaſion of this league was this: The Pope, Kings of France and Spain, and other Potentates of the Church of Rome, had entered into a league to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion; upon which Queen Elizabeth ſent Sir Thomas Wotton her Ambaſſador to Scotland, to propoſe a league offenſive and defenſive with the King, in the cauſe of Religion; upon which King James having convened the Eſtates of the Kingdom, at St. Andrews, the ſame was agreed to, and Embaſſadors appointed to go to Berwick and meet thoſe from the Queen, who mutually ratified and ſigned the ſame (18), conſiſting of thirteen articles.

(18) Scott's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 493.

[*F*] *As in note* [*F*].]

Here lies yat godly, noble, wiſe Lord Boyd,
  Who Kirk and King and Commons all ecor'd,
Which were, while they this jewel all enjoy'd,
  Maintain'd, govern'd, and council'd by that Lord.

His ancient Houſe ſo of't peril'd, he reſtor'd,
  Twice ſix, and ſixty years he liv'd; and ſine,
By death the third of January devor'd,
  In anno thrice five hundred, eighty-nine (19).

(19) Monumental Inſcriptions in the church of Kilmarnock.

iſſue William, the third Earl of Kilmarnock, and Thomas Boyd, a gentleman eminent in the profeſſion of the Civil and Municipal Law of Scotland, who, for his diſtinguiſhed merit, was promoted to the honour of Lord Advocate. William, the third Earl of Kilmarnock, was no leſs diſtinguiſhed for his abilities than the reſt of his predeceſſors: he was remarkably zealous in the Parliament of Scotland, for the famous Act called the Act of Security. He was ſomewhat wavering in his conduct with regard to the Union; and affected, in the beginning of that affair, to join the party headed by the Marquis of Tweedale, who were diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Squadrone Volante*, on account of their pretending to join neither of the parties, but to caſt the balance between them; but the Earl at laſt left that party, and joined thoſe who promoted the Union. In the rebellion in 1715, he was very active in the ſervice of the government. He died in November 1717, leaving iſſue by Eupheme his wife, daughter to William Lord Roſs, William, the fourth and laſt Earl of Kilmarnock *(d)*, the unfortunate Nobleman, who, by deviating from the ſteps of his illuſtrious anceſtors, fell a ſacrifice to the juſtice of his country. We ſhall not long detain the reader with this Nobleman's Hiſtory, as there is nothing remarkable recorded of him, till the laſt unhappy period of his life, having, till then, lived rather in a private ſtation, without publicly concerning himſelf either with civil or military affairs. His Lordſhip was but thirteen years old when his father died, and diſcovered betimes a genius not unequal to his birth. He found the family eſtate pretty much encumbered, and great part of the patrimony alienated, and by no means anſwerable to his Lordſhip's generous and noble diſpoſition. It was his Lordſhip's misfortune, to be too ſoon let looſe among the gaieties and pleaſures of life. As he grew up, inſtead of applying himſelf to the dry amuſements of ſtudy, he launched out into the world in purſuit of pleaſures which were more expenſive than his fortune could ſupport, and by this means conſiderably reduced his eſtate, which, from the moſt probable conjecture, was the true reaſon of his taking up arms againſt the King. And indeed, his Lordſhip himſelf owns in his confeſſion to Mr. Foſter *(e)* (while under ſentence), that his rebellion was a kind of deſperate ſcheme, proceeding originally from his vices, to extricate himſelf from the diſtreſs of his circumſtances; for he ſays, 'the true root of all was his careleſs and diſſolute life, by which 'he had reduced himſelf to great and perplexing difficulties; that the exigency of his 'affairs was in particular very preſſing at the time of the rebellion; and that, beſides 'the general hope he had of mending his fortune by the ſucceſs of it, he was alſo tempted 'by another proſpect of retrieving his circumſtances, by following the Pretender's 'ſtandard.' It does not appear that his Lordſhip was in the original deſign of the rebellion: on the contrary, he declares both in his ſpeech at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, and in his petition to the King after his ſentence *(f)*, that it was not till after the battle of Preſton Pans that he became a party in it *(g)*, having, till then, neither influenced his tenants or followers to aſſiſt or abet the rebellion, but, on the contrary, influenced the inhabitants of the town of Kilmarnock, and the neighbouring boroughs, to riſe in arms for his Majeſty's ſervice, which had ſo good an effect, that two hundred men from Kilmarnock very ſoon appeared in arms, and remained ſo all the winter at Glaſgow and other places. It is ſaid, that when the Earl joined the Pretender's ſtandard, he was received by him with great marks of eſteem and diſtinction; was declared of his Privy-Council, made Colonel of the guards, and promoted to the degree of a General (though his Lordſhip himſelf ſays, he was far from being a perſon of any conſequence among them). How he behaved in theſe ſtations (quite new to him, and foreign from his former manner of life), we cannot determine; but common fame ſays, he behaved with courage and reſolution till the fatal battle of Culloden, when the Earl was taken, or rather ſurrendered himſelf, priſoner, to the King's troops, though involuntarily, and with a deſign to have facilitated his eſcape: for his Lordſhip acknowledged to Mr. Foſter *(h)*, whilſt under ſentence, that when he ſaw the King's dragoons, and made towards them, he thought they had been Fitz-James's horſe; and that if he could have reached them by mounting behind one of the dragoons, his eſcape would have been more certain, than when he was on foot. This it was proper to mention, becauſe his Lordſhip, in his ſpeech to the Houſe of Lords *(i)*, had made a merit of having ſurrendered himſelf, at a time when he ſaid he could eaſily have made his eſcape, and in which he owned, when in a ſtate of repentance, that he had not ſpoken truth. His Lordſhip was, after he had been taken ſome time, brought to the Tower, and on Monday the twenty-eighth of July, 1746, was, together with the Earl of Cromertie, and Lord Balmerino, conducted to Weſtminſter-Hall, and at the bar of the Lord High-Steward's court, there erected for that purpoſe, arraigned, and pleaded guilty to his indictment, ſubmitting himſelf to his Majeſty's mercy and clemency. On the Wedneſday following, the three Lords were again brought from the Tower to receive ſentence, when the Lord Kilmarnock being aſked by the Lord High-Steward, if he had any thing to offer why ſentence of death ſhould not be paſſed upon him, his Lordſhip, addreſſing himſelf to his Grace and the whole auguſt aſſembly, then conſiſting of an hundred and thirty-ſix Peers, delivered an eloquent ſpeech *(k)*, after which, ſentence of death was pronounced upon him, and he returned to the Tower. After this, he preſented petitions to the King, the Prince of Wales, and Duke of Cumberland *(l)*, wherein he ſet forth his

(d) Britiſh Compendium, p. 317.

(e) See Mr. Foſter's Account of the Behaviour of Lord Kilmarnock, p. 10, 11.

(f) Appendix to Mr. Foſter's Account, &c. No. 3. p. 45.

(g) Proceedings in the Houſe of Peers againſt Lord Kilmarnock, &c. p. 31.

(h) Mr. Foſter's Account, *ut ſupra*.

(i) See the Proceedings in the Houſe of Peers, &c. *ut ſupra*.

(k) In the Proceedings of the Houſe of Peers, &c. publiſhed by S. Billingſley.

(l) In the Appendix to Mr. Foſter's Account, &c. No. 3, 4, 5.

his family's conſtant attachment to the Revolution intereſt, and that of the illuſtrious Houſe of Hanover; his father's zeal and activity in ſupport of both in the rebellion in 1715, and his own appearing in arms (though then but young) under his father, and the whole tenor of his conduct ever ſince that time. But the ſervices of his forefathers could not ſatisfy the public demand for juſtice, nor avail him ſo far as to procure him pardon. He was beheaded on Tower-Hill, Auguſt 18, 1746, and was interred in the Tower church, with this inſcription upon his coffin, viz. *Gulielmus Comes de Kilmarnock, decollat.* 18 *Auguſti*, 1746, *ætat. ſuæ* 42. His Lordſhip's whole deportment, from the time he was condemned till his execution, was exceedingly becoming and ſuitable to one in his unhappy circumſtances; and as he gave the moſt lively marks of a ſincere humiliation and repentance for all his miſcarriages, ſo his behaviour in the hour of death was reſigned, but ſtrictly decent and awful, free from an extreme dejectedneſs, yet not eager and rapid to meet death. It may therefore be ſaid, that he died with a *becoming reſolution*; for, as his Lordſhip himſelf obſerved with as much truth as goodneſs, that for a man who had led a diſſolute life, and yet believed the conſequences of death, to put on an air of daringneſs and abſolute intrepidity, muſt argue him either to be very ſtupid or very impious (*m*). He was a Nobleman of fine addreſs and polite behaviour; his perſon was tall and graceful; his countenance mild, but his complexion pale; and he had abilities, which, if they had been properly applied, might have rendered him capable of bringing an increaſe of honour to his family, inſtead of ruin and diſgrace. His Lordſhip lived and died in the public profeſſion of the Church of Scotland, and left behind him a widow (who was the Lady Anne Livingſton, daughter of James Earl of Linlithgow and Callander (attainted in 1715), with whom he had a conſiderable fortune) and three ſons, the eldeſt of whom his Lordſhip had educated in the principles of duty and loyalty to his Majeſty, and in whoſe ſervice he fought againſt the rebels. With this diſmal cataſtrophe of the laſt unhappy Earl of Kilmarnock, we are to cloſe our memoirs of this illuſtrious family, having followed it through ſeveral centuries, from the earlieſt account of it to the preſent time. We have traced it from its firſt riſe or dawn, to its meridian height of glory: we have then ſeen it the ſport of fortune, ſink into obſcurity, emerge out of it again, and by degrees reſume its ancient ſplendor; and glad ſhould we have been to have ſtopped at this happy period, and not have ſeen the luſtre of ſo great a family ſullied by ſo foul a crime as that of rebellion; to have ſeen in one fatal day, the richeſt blood contaminated, and which for ages has ran untainted in an illuſtrious channel; to have ſeen a Nobleman, who could boaſt a train of anceſtors, as long and as noble as moſt families, and amongſt whom were men ſingularly eminent for their loyalty, and conſpicuous for their virtue, thus degenerate from their noble principles, and fatally purſue meaſures that involved himſelf and family in ruin. B——M.

⁂ [We are aſſured, on the beſt authority, that our predeceſſor is miſtaken, in repreſenting Mr. Thomas Boyd, the brother of the third Earl of Kilmarnock, as having been Lord Advocate of Scotland. This aroſe from a miſapprehenſion of Crawfurd's meaning, in his Peerage. Crawfurd ſpeaks of Mr. Boyd as an advocate, which was underſtood to ſignify *the Advocate*; as the King's Advocate for Scotland is termed. The fourth Earl of Kilmarnock's abilities are rated too high in the preceding article; his parts having been rather below, than above the common ſtandard. His Lordſhip was, indeed, a ſhewy man, and made a good appearance at county meetings, where dignity of manner, addreſs, and politeneſs, can ſupply the defects of underſtanding.

The luſtre of this great family hath again been revived, though not with the ſame title. James Lord Boyd, eldeſt ſon of the unfortunate Nobleman laſt mentioned, ſucceeded, upon the death of Mary Counteſs of Errol, in 1758, to her eſtate and honours, his mother having been undoubted heir of line of that noble family, and he was the fourteenth Earl of Errol (*n*). He died on the 3d of June, 1778, leaving iſſue.] K.

⁂ [BOYD (MARK ALEXANDER), an ingenious and accompliſhed Scotchman in the 16th century, who has been repreſented as nearly, if not entirely, equal to the admirable Crichton, was born in Galloway, on the 13th of January, 1562 (*a*). He was of the illuſtrious family of the Boyds, of whom an account has been given in the preceding article; his father, Robert Boyd, having been the eldeſt ſon of Adam Boyd of Pinkhill, who was the third ſon of Alexander Boyd before mentioned, and grandſon of Robert, Great Chamberlain of Scotland (*b*). The mother of our Mark Alexander Boyd was a Gordon, and he came into the world with teeth (*c*). Having loſt his father in his infancy, the care of his education devolved upon his uncle James, Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, who put him under the tuition of two grammarians of that city. He was, however, of ſo high and intractable a ſpirit, that he was very troubleſome to his tutors, and did not derive much advantage from their inſtructions; though the greatneſs of his genius was ſuch, that he acquired, even againſt his will, the rudiments of the Latin and Greek tongues. At length, having quarrelled and fought with his maſters, he burnt his books in a paſſion, and ſwore that he renounced learning for ever. While he was yet a youth, he went to court, and endeavoured to puſh his intereſt

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(*m*) Mr. Foſter's Account, &c.

(*n*) Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, p. 255. 378.

(*a*) Sir Robert Sibbald's Prodromus Hiſtoriæ NaturalisScotiæ, lib. iii. pars ſecunda, p. 2.

(*b*) Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, p. 376.

(*c*) Sibbald, *ubi ſupra*, p. 2.

there; but the vehemence and boldneſs of his temper precipitated him into a number of riotous quarrels, and involved him once in a duel; from all which he had the good fortune to eſcape with ſafety, and even with honour (d). Upon the death of his uncle, the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, his other relations, who found themſelves wholly incapable of controuling the impetuoſity of his ſpirit, contrived to ſend him abroad with his own conſent. By this means, they hoped that the fervour of his mind would gradually abate; and they recommended to him to engage in the wars of the United Provinces. He himſelf, however, preferred thoſe of France; and went to Paris, with a ſmall ſtock of money, which he quickly loſt by gaming. This event ſeems to have brought him to reflection. But what particularly excited his emulation, and ſtimulated his deſire to excel in the liberal arts and ſciences, was the attention and regard which he obſerved to be paid, by the French nobility and military men, to the King's profeſſors. He determined, therefore, to apply himſelf to literature, and to make as great a progreſs in it as the force of his genius, and the opportunities of inſtruction, would permit. Accordingly, he became the hearer of the principal teachers, at that time, in Paris; and purſued his ſtudies, by night and by day, ſo cloſely, and with ſo much ardour, that, from the alteration produced in his countenance, and the neglect of his dreſs, he could ſcarcely be known by his acquaintance. What he chiefly propoſed to excel in was the knowledge of the law; for which reaſon he went firſt to Orleans, and thence to Bourges, that he might attend upon the lectures of Cujacius, the principal civilian of the age. To this profeſſor Mr. Boyd ſo effectually recommended himſelf, by the reverence he paid him, and the admiration he expreſſed for him, that he gained his particular friendſhip. Cujacius's regard to our ingenious young Scotchman was not a little heightened by his ſeeming to adopt that noted civilian's taſte in Latin poetry. The profeſſor was peculiarly fond of the antiquated ſtyle of Ennius, and ſome other of the earlier Roman poets; whoſe manner was ſo happily imitated by Mr. Boyd, that Cujacius conſidered him as formed by nature for this ſpecies of writing; though, in fact, nothing was more contrary to his genius and taſte. To this circumſtance was owing his application to Latin poetry, the more pure and elegant kind of which he afterwards cultivated with ſo much ability and ſucceſs. The plague ſoon after raging in France, he quitted Bourges for Lyons; from which he was ſoon driven, by the ſpreading of the ſame calamity to that place, into Italy, where he made ſome ſtay. Being obliged, on account of a fever, to remove from that country, he was principally diſtreſſed at his loſing the aid and advice of a particular friend, Cornelius Varus, a Florentine; to whom, as he often declared, he was more indebted in his literary purſuits than to any other perſon in the world.

Upon the revival of the civil war in France, thinking it no leſs honourable to excel in arms than in literature, he ſerved a conſiderable time both in the cavalry and infantry, and obtained a high degree of military reputation. After the army, which had been brought from Germany to the aſſiſtance of the Bourbon party, had been deſtroyed, he went to Tholouſe, where he was freely admitted to the converſation of the learned men, with whom that city abounded, and where he continued to proſecute the ſtudy of the law. From that place he made a journey into Spain; but his health not permitting him to ſtay long there, he returned to Tholouſe, where he reſided till the Guiſes were aſſaſſinated, at the aſſembly of the ſtates at Blois. Tholouſe having, about this time, by the means of a popular inſurrection, fallen into the hands of the faction of the League, Mr. Boyd, who had given aſſiſtance to ſuch of his friends as adhered to the royal cauſe, was thrown into priſon; and, from the hatred of the Jeſuits towards him, was in great danger of his life. When he had obtained his liberty, which was granted him at the ſolicitations of the learned men of Tholouſe, he went firſt to Bourdeaux, and thence to Rochelle. In this laſt journey he was attacked by robbers, and with difficulty eſcaped being aſſaſſinated by them, after having loſt all the property he had with him. Diſliking the air of Rochelle, he retreated to the borders of Poictou, where he enjoyed an agreeable rural retirement; devoting his time partly to polite literature, and partly to the aid of his friends, when they were occaſionally expoſed to the incurſions of their enemies. He ſo equally applied himſelf to the ſtudy of learning and war, that it was not eaſy to ſay which he moſt preferred (e). Among men of the ſword he appeared to be the accompliſhed ſoldier, and as eminently the ſcholar among thoſe of the gown. In his perſon he was tall, compact, and well proportioned; his countenance was beautiful, ſprightly, and engaging; and there was a ſingularly noble air in his diſcourſe, aſpect, voice, and geſture (f). He was polite, pleaſant, acute, courteous, a ready ſpeaker, and entirely free from envy and avarice. He could eaſily bear with the boaſting of the ignorant, but extremely diſliked the abuſive manner of writing which prevailed ſo much among the learned of his time. He thought it unworthy of a Chriſtian, in a literary controverſy, to throw out any thing, either in ſpeech or writing, which ſhould hurt the reputation of an adverſary. In injuries of an atrocious nature, he choſe to do himſelf juſtice by having recourſe to the laws of arms. Among the ancients, Xenophon was his favourite as a philoſopher, Cæſar as an hiſtorian, and Virgil as a poet; from which we may judge that his taſte was ſimple and elegant. Another proof of it is, that he very much ſtudied the Greek poets. So

(d) Sir Robert Sibbald's Prodromus Hiſtoriæ Naturalis Scotiæ, Lib. iii. pars ſecunda, p. 3. Granger's Biog. Hiſt. of England, Vol. i. p. 266. 2d edition.

(e) Sibbald, *ubi ſupra.*

(f) *Ibid.* Granger, *ubi ſupra.*

admirably was he ſkilled in the Greek language, that he could write, dictate, and converſe in it, with copiouſneſs and elegance. He deſpiſed the Centos, which were then not a little in faſhion; and ſaid, that however learned the authors of them might be, they were dull and ignorant men. To an excellent genius he joined a happy memory, and an admirable judgment (*g*). So lively and extenſive were his abilities, that he could readily dictate to three ſcribes in as many different languages, and upon different ſubjects. Beſides his Epiſtles after the manner of Ovid, and his Hymns, which will hereafter be mentioned, he wrote a variety of Latin poems that never ſaw the light. He was the author of Notes upon Pliny, and publiſhed an excellent little book, addreſſed to Lipſius, in defence of Cardinal Bembo and the ancient eloquence. He tranſlated, likewiſe, Cæſar's Commentaries into Greek, in the ſtyle of Herodotus; but would not permit his tranſlation to appear in public. He afterwards applied himſelf to the cultivation of poetry in his native language, and arrived to ſuch excellence in it, that he deſerved to be put on a level with Petrarch and Ronſard (*h*). In all his compoſitions, genius was more apparent than labour. Such were the elevation of his mind and the ſtrength of his ambition, that he always aimed at greater things than he could attain; and hence it was that he neglected ſeveral opportunities, which were offered him, of being advantageouſly ſettled; and led a wandering kind of life abroad, during fourteen years (*i*).

This is the account given us of Mark Alexander Boyd, by a contemporary, whoſe manuſcript fell into the hands of Sir Robert Sibbald. Sir Robert has added, that Mr. Boyd, at length, returned into Scotland, where he ſoon after died, of a ſlow fever, in April, 1601 *, at Pinkhill, his father's ſeat, in the 38th or 39th year of his age; and was buried with his anceſtors in the church of Dalie † (*k*). Among the manuſcripts which he left behind him, the following were in Sir Robert Sibbald's poſſeſſion: ‘ In Inſtitutiones Imperatoris Commenta.’ 1591, folio. ‘ L'Eſtat du Royaume ‘ d'*Eſcoſſe* à preſent.’ fol. ‘ Politicus, ad *Joannem Metellanum*, Cancellarium *Scotiæ*.’ ‘ Scriptum de Juriſconſulto, ad *Franciſcum Balduinum*.’ ‘ Poeta, ad *Cornelium Varum* ‘ *Florentinum*.’ ‘ Poemata varia.’ ‘ Epiſtolæ.’ Though the writer of Boyd's life aſſerts, that he publiſhed his Notes upon Pliny, the treatiſe addreſſed to Lipſius, and ſome other pieces, the only works of his which have fallen into our hands *, are his ‘ Epiſtolæ Heroidum,’ and his ‘ Hymni.’ Theſe are inſerted in the ‘ Delitiæ Poe‘ tarum Scotorum,’ printed at Amſterdam, in two volumes, 12*mo*, in 1637; and a great character hath been given of them by ſeveral authors. His biographer queſtions whether any of the ancients have excelled him in elegiac poetry, and is poſitive that none of the *Latins* have equalled his Hymns (*l*). Olaus Borrichius, an eminent critic, in his ‘ Diſſertationes Academicæ de Poetis,’ ſays, ‘ In Marco Alexandro Bodio, Scoto, ‘ redivivum ſpectamus Naſonem; ea eſt in ejuſdem Epiſtolis Heroidum, lux, candor, ‘ dexteritas.’ The ſame critic ſpeaks as highly of Boyd's Hymns (*m*). That our learned Readers may judge for themſelves of his poetical talents, we ſhall inſert a ſpecimen or two below [*A*]. Our Author inſcribed his ‘ Epiſtolæ’ to King James the

Sixth

(*g*) Sibbald, *ubi ſupra.*

(*h*) *Ibid.* Granger, *ubi ſupra.*

(*i*) Sibbald, *ubi ſupra.*

* Dempſter, very erroneouſly, places Boyd's death in 1592.

† It ſhould, we believe, be *Darlie.*

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 4. Granger, *ubi ſupra.*

* By the favour of Dr. Samuel Johnſon.

(*l*) Sibbald, *ubi ſupra.*

(*m*) Granger, *ubi ſupra*, p. 267, Note.

[*A*] *We ſhall inſert a ſpecimen or two below.*] Boyd's Epiſtles of the Heroines are, from Atalanta to Meleager, Callioneira to Diomedes, Silvia to Mars, Antigone to Hemon, Lamia to Demetrius, Euridice to Orpheus, Clytia to Phœbus, Lavinia to Turnus, Philomela to Tereus, Sophoniſba to Maſſiniſſa, Paulina to Mundus, Julia to Auguſtus, and Octavia to Antonius; and are concluded with the Tears of Venus for the Death of Adonis. Upon a curſory, rather than a critical reading of theſe poems, we ſeemed as well, if not better, pleaſed with the Epiſtle of Euridice to Orpheus, and the Tears of Venus, than with any others of them. The ‘ Lachrymæ Veneris,’ which will probably be thought peculiarly pleaſing and pathetic, we ſhall tranſcribe in this place.

‘ Ite diu gratæ Veneri, procul ite Columbæ,
  ‘ Non ego carpento vector ut ante meo.
‘ Deliciæque meæ virides areſcite myrti,
  ‘ Sertaque turbatæ debita nulla comæ.
‘ Proque mea myrto, feralis virga cupreſſi,
  ‘ Proque meis avibus, noctua, corve, veni.
‘ Tuque puer vacuam calamis depone pharetram,
  ‘ Poſt tibi qui cudet ſpicula rarus erit.
‘ Eque tuis alis primas cum ſanguine pennas
  ‘ Velle, Cupidinea cætera ſcribe manu.
‘ Scribe meas lachrymas, hoc indelebile carmen,
  ‘ Et pennâ et tepido ſanguine pinge tuo.
‘ Ah abiit mea lux! obiit formoſus Adonis:
  ‘ Ah! viduæ Veneris cura perivit Adon.
‘ Ictus dente jacet gelidis in montibus apri,
  ‘ Et notat infælix inguen, et ora cruor.
‘ Haud aliter Tyrio tinguntur lilia cocco,
  ‘ Haud aliter minio raſile pallit ebur.
‘ Oſcula frigenti libamus plura marito,
  ‘ Nulla ſed exanimis baſia ſentit Adon.
‘ Et ſuper exſangui miſere ſuſpiria fundo,
  ‘ Quid refert? Luctu non redit ille meo.
‘ Vulnus Adon, fateor, grave habet, ſed non minus
    ‘ illo
  ‘ Ah! ego ſub niveo pectore vulnus alo.
‘ Nudus Adon jacet hic viridis ſub fronde cupreſſi,
  ‘ Nuda pedes mœrens per juga Cypris eo.
‘ Si tibi perfoſſo decurrit ab inguine ſanguis;
  ‘ Et ſanguen nobis elicuere rubi.
‘ Si tibi cæruleæ pallent in corpore venæ;
  ‘ En tua nunc tecum pallet amica Venus.
‘ Hei mihi! quod Stygiam ſimul et tranare paludem
  ‘ Non licet, æternam me pudet eſſe Deam.
‘ Corde meo gemitus, oculis decurrite lymphæ,
  ‘ Ubertim tremulæ currite lachrymulæ.
‘ Ah! abiit mea lux, obiit formoſus Adonis:
  ‘ Ah! viduæ Veneris cura perivit Adon.
‘ Flete meos caſus, labentia flumina, fontes,
  ‘ Oceani nymphæ, mater amica mare.
‘ Flete ſimul mecum Dryades, nitidæque Napææ,
  ‘ Naiades, et cultu Flora petulca tuo.
‘ Dumque Venus lachrymat, decedant pabula campo,
  ‘ Ad Veneris quæſtus exue ſylva comas.
‘ Dum Cytherea dolet, pharetram deponat Apollo,
  ‘ Linque pater fulmen, Pan quoque pone pedum.
‘ Endymion lunæ vileſcat, Juno tonanti
  ‘ Et Jaſius Cereri, et Arcadi nympha Deo.
‘ Parce Ceres ſegetem fæcundo credere campo.
  ‘ Dum Cytherea dolet, quæ tibi meſſis erit?
‘ Parce Bromi vites alto committere ſulco,
  ‘ Nulla fluent ſicco vina cruenta lacu.
‘ Parcite paſtores vaccas ſubmittere tauris,
  ‘ Ipſa Venus lachrymo, tum mihi ſcribit amor.
‘ Hæc quoque ſæve puer dum pingis amara, libellum
  ‘ Scribendo ſalſa dilue ſemper aquâ.

‘ Et

Sixth of Scotland (James the Firſt of England), whom he repreſents as ſuperior to Pallas and Mars:

“ Primus in orbe Deus, qui jungis Pallada Marti,
“ Et facias ut titulis cedat uterque tuis (*n*).”

This is certainly carrying flattery to the height of poetical fiction: for whatever may be ſaid of King James's wiſdom, his warmeſt advocates muſt be ſilent with regard to his valour. Mr. Granger hath aſſerted that Boyd is mentioned by none of our Engliſh writers (*o*); but in this reſpect, that ingenious and worthy Biographer is miſtaken. Biſhop Tanner has made a ſhort article concerning our accompliſhed Scotchman, and hath informed us, that, beſides his Epiſtles and Hymns, he publiſhed two books of

‘ Et mecum repetas; obiit formoſus Adonis,
‘ Ah! viduæ Veneris cura perivit Adon.
‘ Pulcher Adon: puerilis Adon: pudibunde puelle
‘ Quam malè venator tántus amator eras!
‘ Lumina tolle tamen licet immorientia ſomno,
‘ Iſta ſemel Paphiæ baſia noſce tuæ.
‘ Quod ſupereſt, animæ Veneri legiſſe labello
‘ Sit decor, et gemitus ebibat illa tuos.
‘ Inque ſinus dominæ nudus dilabere, ceſtus
‘ Cede: vel immites experiere manus.
‘ Care mane, mea cura mane, mea vita maneto,
‘ Summa ſemel Paphiæ baſia noſce tuæ.
‘ O Erebi leges, et jura potentis Averni!
‘ Et quæ munitæ ſtant adamante viæ.
‘ Arbiter inferni populi, cui militat ingens
‘ Cerberus, et craſſa partitor udus aqua;
‘ En tibi delicium Veneris, formoſus Adonis
‘ Frigidus infernas excubat ante fores.
‘ Nulla locis unquam, repetas ab origine regni,
‘ Pallidulis Erebi clarior umbra fuit!
‘ Nobilis Euridice fidibus repetenda mariti,
‘ Bella quidem, puero quid tamen illa meo?
‘ Raptaque Tænario Cereris tibi filia curru,
‘ Digna fuit Thalamo, nil tamen illa meo.
‘ Juro meum ceſtum, puerique Cupidinis arma,
‘ Hunc ſimul abripiens, omnia bella rapis.
‘ Corde meo queſtus, oculis decurrite lymphæ,
‘ Ubertim tremulæ currite lachrymulæ.
‘ Ah! abiit mea lux, obiit formoſus Adonis,
‘ Ah! viduæ Veneris cura perivit Adon.
‘ Æquoris intumeant undæ, flent aëre venti,
‘ Perpetuo madeat pallidus imbre dies:
‘ Quo Venus Aſſyrio ſtruit hæc monumenta marito,
‘ Ducitur extincto quo pia pompa viro.
‘ Rumpe puer tumulo ſuper hoc tua tela, Cupido,
‘ Et lachryma, tua dum ſpicula rumpis Amor.
‘ Deme tuis, Hymen, ſertum geniale capillis,
‘ Nec niteat triſti candida tæda tibi.
‘ Ite, ſat eſt. Charites componite membra mariti,
‘ Vulnera formoſis crudæ laventer aquis.
‘ Intonſi fluitent nivea cervice capilli,
‘ Immadeat Tyrio myrtea rore coma.
‘ Suave Paleſtina diſtillet arundine nectar,
‘ Nardus Achæmenio ſpiret odora cado.
‘ Poſtremo poſiti ſcribe hoc in margine carmen
‘ Marmoris: Hic Veneris vir jacet albus Adon.
‘ Siſte puer ſanguen, tua ne quoque funera cernam,
‘ De tabula feſſam, dum fleo, tolle manum (1).’

The Hymns of Boyd are in heroic verſe. They are ſixteen in number; and, excepting the three laſt, which are called the Spear, the Sword, and the Helmet, derive their titles from ſome flower, herb, or plant. They are denominated the Roſe, the Violet, the Lily, the Crocus, the Hyacinth, the Poppy, the Marygold, the Petilius (*), Spikenard, the Winter Savory, Flax, the Flower de Lys, and Fennel. Theſe are not fanciful titles, but indicate the real ſubjects on which the ſeveral poems are written. Moſt of them are inſcribed to ſome particular patron or friend, and ſerve to ſhew that Boyd's connections were very reſpectable. Among the reſt, he hath addreſſed a Hymn to Patrick Sharpe, one of his two preceptors at Glaſgow (2), whom he had uſed ſo ill when a boy; and the addreſs is couched in terms of great affection and gratitude:

‘ Te duce, ſi primum Parnaſſi cornua vidi,
‘ Ac Aganippæo perfudi labra liquore,
‘ Non tantum voces, non triti carmen amici,
‘ Nec tenuem florem, nec olentis brachia thymbræ, at
‘ Accipito hanc animam meque intra pectora con-
‘ de (3).’

It may not be improper to inform our Engliſh readers, that the title of Hymns, given by Boyd to his poems, does not imply their being of a devotional nature; and that, in fact, there is nothing in them of that kind. We ſhall inſert the ‘ Papaver,’ as a ſpecimen of our Author's genius in this part of his writings.

‘ Vitis Echioniæ turgentem in palmite gemmam,
‘ Ac epota apibus redolentis nectara thymbræ,
‘ Unica Romuleæ Maro dat vis ignea cannæ.
‘ Nos Boreæ fœtus, et terræ tempta Britannæ
‘ Eluvies, gradimur lentè, tenuique labello
‘ Helleſpontiaci veneramur rura Priapi.
‘ At quoniam juveni patuit Patareus Apollo
‘ Et Palla et pecten, puroque volubilis auro
‘ Fibula, et æterno fragrantes rore capilli;
‘ Ipſæ fores feriit, noſtras pede pulcher Apollo.
‘ Ad juvenis nomen revirenti Delia lauro
‘ Annuit, et nivei cecinere ad ſidera cygni.
‘ Sed quibus articulis tecum, quo vimine nectam
‘ Fœdus amicitiæ? Studio ne jacter inani.
‘ Nam neque marrubium, et croceæ velamen acanthæ,
‘ Nec rutæ radii, nec olentis brachia thymbræ
‘ Te digna, aut ſterili fœcundior intybus arvo.
‘ Ergo tibi ſerimus tanto Cereale papaver
‘ Securi agricolæ, ſeu te medicantia tangant
‘ Semina; deciduæ ſeu frondis gratia, nulli
‘ Inferior, triſtem ſi non ſpiraret odorem.
‘ Principio varia eſt natura papaveris, horto
‘ Aut fluit irriguo; aut gleba lætatur inerti.
‘ Sponte ſua venit hoc, flaviſque accreſcit ariſtis:
‘ Aut pingit luteo deſerta novalia cocco.
‘ Illud at agricolæ, ac hortenſia ſuſcitat arma,
‘ Et cratem arbuteám, et dentati robora raſtri.
‘ Ignavo quoties inculta papavera campo
‘ Ruſticus eripiens medicinæ ſevit ad uſum,
‘ Præpinguemque fimum et fontanum induxerit
‘ imbrem,
‘ In terram toties agnato pondere cervix
‘ Fœta fluit, matremque iterum delabitur arvum.
‘ Huic compacta calix, pinguique virentia ſucco
‘ Tegmina, et aſperſi tenui candore capilli.
‘ Unam nec ſervant cirrata papavera formam,
‘ Sed variæ ſpecies, olli color igneus, olli
‘ Candidus. Aſſyrias imitantur plurima conchas,
‘ Olli deciduum folium, ſed fronde tenaci
‘ Hoc viret, et tenui ſudans ſe diluit unda.
‘ Sunt quorum ſiliquæ rictus imitantur apertos
‘ Repentis colubri; veteres dixere papaver
‘ Cornutum, quando præeunt nova cornua frondem.
‘ Hoc tantum, Ioniæ ſi fas fidiſſe poetis,
‘ A radice fluit, graviterque evellitur arvo.
‘ Cætera diſcuſſo naſcuntur ſemine, Taurus
‘ Cum redit, et clauſum cornu recludit Olympum.
‘ Eſt quoque deſertis, ſine lege, quod errat in arvis,
‘ Et tenui ſiliquâ, et rufa, ſed caule tenaci,
‘ Quam dixere Rheam, vitiato accommoda lumbo
‘ Radix, et duro vino contrito lieni.
‘ Utque nihil lateat, neque deſint jura colono;
‘ Tempora quo linum, ſterileſque ſeruntur avenæ,
‘ Atque fabæ, et milium, non tunc Cereale papaver
‘ Spargere dedecori, forſan cum vere rubenti
‘ Livida Lucanos pingunt violaria campos.
‘ Ut far committunt ſulcis, cum ſeptimus imber
‘ Defluit, ut ſeritur gelido ſiligo Novembri, ut
‘ Bruma croco potior; ſic primo vere papaver
‘ Obruitur: magno potis ut turgeſcere fœtu.
‘ At ſunt qui ſtipulam ſubjecta exurere flamma,
‘ Vel ſarmenta jubent, et ibi ſilveſtre papaver
‘ Inſerere, ut glebâ ſenſim miteſcat amicâ.
‘ Sed pene unius perfeci penſa diei
‘ Invitantque leves epota papavera ſomnos (4).’

(*n*) Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum, Tom. i. p. 142.

(*o*) Granger, *ubi ſupra*, p. 268.

(1) Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum, Tom. i. p. 178—181.

(*) We believe the Petilius is a kind of wild roſe.

(2) Sibbald's Prodromus, Lib. iii. Part ii. p. 2.

(3) Delitiæ, *ubi ſupra*, p. 195.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 190, 191.

Epigrams (*p*). Sir Robert Sibbald, in the plates annexed to his Prodromus, hath given a print of Boyd, which confirms the accounts of the handſomeneſs of his perſon. Around the print is the following inſcription, alluding to his being ſet at liberty at Thoulouſe; ‘ Alexander Bodius, Bonit. Chriſti, Liber Æt. 33, 1596;’ and at the bottom are theſe lines:

‘ Hic ego qui tacitus video meliora proboque,
‘ Non odioſa ſequor (*q*).’

(*p*) Bibliotheca Britannico Hibernica, p. 109.

(*q*) Feb. 10.

There is, likewiſe, prefixed to the ‘ Prodromus,’ a ſhort copy of verſes, by our Author, upon Scotland [*B*]; which Sir Robert Sibbald probably extracted from the manuſcripts in his poſſeſſion, unleſs he might take it from the Epigrams ſaid to have been publiſhed by Boyd. We ſhall conclude this article with the poetical encomium which was made upon him ſoon after his death by John Johnſtone, in his “ Heroes Scoti.”

‘ Heroum genus, antiquo de ſtemmate avorum,
  ‘ Quos tulit heroum martia terra parens,
‘ Qui dedit heroas divina carminis arte,
  ‘ Græcia queîs fælix, queîs cluit et Latium:
‘ Quique paci cultu divas dedit heroinas
  ‘ Quas fama illuſtres ſecula cana ferunt.
‘ Ipſe animis heros, et dio frontis honore,
  ‘ Heu! nunc extinctum decolor umbra notat.
‘ Quid mirere igitur Bodium hic ſpectarier? Inter
  ‘ Heroas meruit jure tenere locum (*r*).’] K.

(*r*) Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum, Tom. i. p. 698.

[*B*] *By our Author upon Scotland.*] The verſes are as follows:

‘ Nobilis Arctoo locus eſt vicinior igni,
  ‘ Quem mare reflexis undique cingit aquis;
‘ Quem tamen Arctoum ſidus nec frigore tentat,
  ‘ Nec ſacer admiſſis Cynthius urit equis:
‘ Cui decus et nomen Phario de ſanguine Scota,
  ‘ Intulit, et Cereris ſemina, jura, Deos.
‘ Terra ferax, pecoris dives, fœcunda metallis:
  ‘ Nec tamen artificum deſidioſa manu.
‘ Ingenio facilis, ſed ad horrida promptior arma:
  ‘ Nec plus, quam belli, relligionis amans.’

BOYLE (Richard), one of the ableſt Stateſmen in the laſt century, who not only raiſed himſelf to the higheſt offices, and to the dignity of the peerage in Ireland, by his perſonal merit, but obtained alſo a very unuſual addition to theſe honours, being generally ſtiled the *great Earl* of Cork. He was deſcended from an ancient and honourable family, that had been long ſeated in Herefordſhire; ſome think before the Conqueſt (*a*) [*A*]: But his father, Roger Boyle, being a younger brother, and marrying Joan, the daughter of Robert Naylor of Canterbury, Eſq; ſettled in Kent, where his ſecond ſon Richard was born, October 3, 1566 (*b*). He was educated firſt at Canterbury, then ſent to Cambridge by the care of his mother, having loſt his father before he was ten years of age; ſtudied there for ſome time in Bennet-college, from whence he removed to the Middle Temple, propoſing to have made the law his profeſſion (*c*); but his mother dying, and having little or no dependance, he, in ſome meaſure, dropped that deſign, and entered into the ſervice of Sir Richard Manwood, Chief-Baron of the Exchequer. He did not remain long in that ſtation; for finding he ſhould riſe very ſlowly thereby, he reſolved to travel in order to better his fortune, which, as himſelf

(*a*) Letter from Dr. John Beale to M. Samuel Hartlib.

(*b*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

(*c*) Queen Elizabeth's Worthies, MS.

[*A*] *Seated in Herefordſhire, as ſome think before the Conqueſt.*] It has been a common opinion, and as ſuch is laid down in ſome Memoirs, that the noble Family of Boyle ſprung from Sir Philip Boyle, a knight of the Kingdom of Arragon in Spain (1), who came over to England, and ſignalized himſelf in a tournament held in the reign of King Henry VI. Thus much of truth there is in that notion, that the Family of Boyle is of great antiquity in Spain (2), and that this Sir Philip was of that family, yet no anceſtor of the Earl of Cork, whoſe line may be traced much higher with great certainty. It is thought that this ſirname was anciently written Biuvile, and by degrees was changed or corrupted into Boyle. The firſt account we have of them is, that they were ſeated at Pixely Court near Leadbury, in the county of Hereford, of which Humphry de Biuvile was Lord, as is recorded in Dooms-day Book, *tit.* 28. *Terra Humfridi de Biuvile in Radelau Hund. Humfridus de Biuvile tenet de rege Pichelei Auſtil tenuit.* Theſe words *Auſtil tenuit*, in the general conſtruction of Antiquaries, import that it was in the time of Edward the Confeſſor (3). Lodowick Boyle, who lived in the reign of King Henry III., was father of John Boyle, and he of James, who had iſſue Lodowick, whoſe ſon was ſucceeded by James his ſon and heir, father of Lodowick Boyle of Bidney, and of the Friers in the city of Hereford, in the reign of King Henry VI. (4) This Lodowick married Elizabeth daughter of William Ruſſel, Eſq; and had iſſue a daughter, Eleanor, married to Watkin Ruſſel, and two ſons, John Boyle, Eſq; who had the eſtate in Herefordſhire, and Roger Boyle, ſecond ſon (5). This Roger married Jane, daughter of Thomas Pattiſhal of the county of Hereford, and had iſſue John Boyle of Hereford, Roger ſecond ſon, and Michael Boyle of London third ſon, who left a numerous iſſue; whereof, Richard his ſecond ſon was Biſhop of Cork and Roſs; being allowed alſo to keep the See of Cloyne in Commendam; was afterwards Archbiſhop of Tuam, and died March 19, 1644 (6). He left iſſue, Michael Boyle Archbiſhop of Armagh, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who died aged 93, in the year 1702, and was father to Murrough Boyle, created Lord Viſcount Bleſſington (7). Michael, another ſon of the ſaid Roger, was Biſhop of Waterford and Liſmore; and Sir George Boyle his fourth ſon died without iſſue (8). Roger Boyle, the ſecond ſon, married Jean daughter of John Naylor of Canterbury, in the county of Kent, and had iſſue John Boyle, Biſhop of Cork and Roſs, in Ireland; Richard Boyle, ſecond ſon, Earl of Cork, of whom I am to treat; Hugh Boyle, third ſon, who died without iſſue; and a daughter married to Sir Pierce Power of Ireland, Knt. (9) a numerous and fortunate line.

(1) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 2.

(2) Herera, Hiſtor. de las Indias Occidentales, Decad. i. lib. ii. cap. xiii. p. 68.

(3) Letter from Dr. John Beale to Mr. Samuel Hartlib.

(4) Viſat. Com. Hereford. in Bibl. Harleian. 90 A. p. 72, 73. Seager's Baron. MS. in Bibl. Cot.

(5) Genealogies of Families omitted in the Baronage, MS. p. 131.

(6) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 622.

(7) Baronag. Hibern. p. 291.

(8) Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, p. 64.

(9) Collins's Peerage, Vol. ii. p. 358, 359.

tells us, was very ſlender, when he left England (*d*) [*B*]. He landed at Dublin, June 23, 1588, and having good recommendations, was very ſoon brought into buſineſs, acting ſometimes in one part of the country, ſometimes in another, but reſiding chiefly in Dublin, where he was held in very great eſteem by the principal perſons employed in the Government, and was very ſerviceable to many of them in penning memorials, caſes, and anſwers, which gave him vaſt opportunities of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the kingdom, and of the ſtate of public affairs (*e*), of which he very well knew how to make a right uſe. In 1595 he married Joan, the daughter and coheireſs of William Anſley of Pulborough, in the county of Suſſex, Eſq; with whom he had five hundred pounds *per annum* in land, which was the beginning of his fortunes (*f*). As he was of a very frugal diſpoſition, and had a head very well turned for making an eſtabliſhment in a country where land was cheap, and he had money to lay out, he quickly laid the foundation of an eſtate: but interfering in ſome of his purchaſes with powerful men there, they began to inſinuate things to his prejudice at home, which forced him to go over to England, where he not only got over all the difficulties they had thrown in his way, but returned with freſh credit, and much greater honour into Ireland (*g*) [*C*]. Sir George Carew (afterwards Earl of Totneſs) being appointed Reſident of Munſter, Mr. Boyle was, by the Queen, ſent over with him as Clerk of the Council in that province, and the Preſident knowing how well he ſtood with her Majeſty, was remarkably kind to him (*h*). He was very ſoon made Juſtice of the Peace and of the Quorum, through the whole province, conſtantly attended the active Lord Preſident in all his expeditions, and by intercepting Florence M‘Carthy's letters, written to promote rebellion, while

[*B*] *Was very ſlender when he left England.*] This great man, when in the height of his proſperity, took pleaſure to look back upon his ſlender beginnings; and that they might be truly known to poſterity, he thought fit, on the 23d of June 1632, to commit the moſt memorable circumſtances of his life to writing, under the title of *True Remembrances* (10); and it is from theſe, we have many particulars that otherwiſe would have eſcaped notice, and amongſt them, this that follows in his own words.

‘When firſt I arrived at Dublin in Ireland, the 23d of June 1588, all my wealth then was twenty-ſeven pounds three ſhillings in money, and two tokens which my mother had given me, viz. a Diamond Ring, which I have ever ſince, and ſtill do wear; and a Bracelet of gold worth about ten pounds; a Taffety Doublet cut with and upon Taffety, a pair of Black Velvet Breeches laced; a new Milan Fuſtian ſuit, laced and cut upon Taffety; two Cloaks, competent Linen, and neceſſaries; with my Rapier and Dagger: and ſince, the bleſſing of God, whoſe Heavenly providence guided me hither, hath enriched my weak eſtate in the beginning with ſuch a fortune, as I need not envy any of my neighbours, and added no care or burthen to my conſcience thereunto.’

[*C*] *Much greater honour into Ireland.*] We have various accounts of this tranſaction, which, though it may ſeem private in its nature, yet has been very juſtly accounted a very remarkable proof of Queen Elizabeth's wiſdom, as well as a ſingular inſtance of the true genius and ſpirit of her government (11). It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in none of the accounts I have ſeen, the year in which it happened has been fixed; but from the circumſtances mentioned in the following relation taken from the noble perſon's own Remembrances before mentioned, it appears clearly to have been in the ſpring of the year 1598.

‘When God had bleſſed me, ſays he (12), with a reaſonable fortune and eſtate, Sir Henry Wallop of Wayers, Sir Robert Gardiner, Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, and Sir Richard Bingham, Chief Commiſſioner of Connaught, being diſpleaſed for ſome purchaſes I had made in the province; they all joined together by their lies, complaining againſt me to Queen Elizabeth, expreſſing that I came over a young man without any eſtate or fortune, and that I had made ſo many purchaſes as it was not poſſible to do, without ſome Foreign Prince's purſe to ſupply me with money; that I had acquired divers caſtles and abbies upon the ſea-ſide fit to receive and entertain Spaniards; that I kept in my abbies fraternities and convents of Friers in their habits, who ſaid Maſs continually; and that I was ſuſpected in my religion, with divers others malicious ſuggeſtions; whereof having ſome ſecret notice, I reſolved to go into Munſter, and ſo into England, to juſtify myſelf: but before I could take ſhipping, the general rebellion in Munſter broke out, all my lands were waſted, as I could ſay, that I had not one penny of certain revenue left me, to the unſpeakable danger and hazard of my life; yet God preſerved me, as I recovered Dingle and got ſhipping there, which tranſported me to Briſtol, from whence I travelled to London, and betook myſelf to my former chamber in the Middle Temple, intending to renew my ſtudies in the Law, till the rebellion were paſſed over. Then Robert Earl of Eſſex was deſigned for the government of this kingdom, into whoſe ſervice I was recommended by Mr. Anthony Bacon: Whereupon his Lordſhip very nobly received me, and uſed me with favour and grace, in employing me in the iſſuing out his Patent and Commiſſion for the government of Ireland; whereof Sir Henry Wallop having notice, and being conſcious in his own heart that I had ſundry papers and collections of Michael Kettlewel's, his late Under-Treaſurer, which might diſcover a great deal of wrong and abuſe done to the Queen in his late accounts, and ſuſpecting if I were countenanced by the Earl of Eſſex, that I might bring theſe things to light, which might much prejudice or ruin his reputation or eſtate; although I vow to God, until I was provoked, I had no thought of it: Yet he, utterly to ſuppreſs me, renewed his former complaints againſt me to the Queen's Majeſty. Whereupon, by her Majeſty's ſpecial directions, I was ſuddenly attacked and conveyed cloſe priſoner to the Gate-houſe; all my papers ſeized and ſearched, and although nothing could appear to my prejudice, yet my cloſe reſtraint was continued till the Earl of Eſſex was gone to Ireland, and two months afterwards; at which time, with much ſuit, I obtained the favour of her Sacred Majeſty, to be preſent at my anſwers, where I ſo fully anſwered and cleared all their objections, and delivered ſuch full and evident juſtifications for my own acquittal, as it pleaſed the Queen to uſe theſe words, viz. *By God's death, theſe are but inventions againſt this young man, and all his ſufferings are for being able to do us ſervice, and thoſe complaints urged to foreſtal him therein: But we find him to be a man fit to be employed by ourſelves, and we will employ him in our ſervice; and Wallop and his adherents ſhall know, that it ſhall not be in the power of any of them to wrong him, neither ſhall Wallop be our Treaſurer any longer.* Thereupon ſhe directed her ſpeech to her Lords in Council there preſent, and commanded them preſently to give her the name of ſix men out of which ſhe might chooſe one to be Treaſurer of Ireland, her election falling upon Sir George Carew of Cockington. And then the Queen aroſe from Council, and gave orders not only for my preſent enlargement, but alſo diſcharged all my charges and fees during my reſtraint, and gave me her royal hand to kiſs, which I did heartily, humbly thanking God for that deliverance.’

(*d*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

(*e*) Hiſtorical Reflections, by R. Vowel, p. 191.

(*f*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. ii. p. 359.

(*g*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

(*h*) See that noble Perſon's Account of his own Adminiſtration, intituled, *Hibernia Pacata.*

(10) The MS. of this ſhort piece was formerly in the hands of Mr. Smith, Apothecary, in the Strand, who lived long with the Honourable Robert Boyle, Eſq.

(11) Queen Elizabeth's Worthies, p. 93.

(12) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

entertained in the Preſident's houſe, did the State eminent ſervice, and juſtified the confidence repoſed in him (*i*). On December 14, 1599, died his firſt Lady in childbed of a ſtill-born ſon, to his great grief, but he preſerved the eſtate ſhe brought him (*k*). The war againſt the Iriſh continued all this time, and as they were now openly aſſiſted by the Spaniards, ſeemed more dangerous than ever; but by the prudence, vigilance, and ſkill of the Lord Deputy (Blount) Montjoy, and Sir George Carew, they were hindered from atchieving any thing of conſequence, and at laſt, upon the 24th of December 1601, the Iriſh and their Spaniſh auxiliaries were totally routed near Kingſale, with the loſs of 1200 killed, and 800 wounded (*l*). The Preſident of Munſter, knowing how welcome this news would be to Queen Elizabeth, diſpatched Mr. Boyle therewith to England, who performed his buſineſs with almoſt incredible expedition (*m*) [*D*]. Upon his return into Ireland, which was in the month of June following, he found the Lord Preſident ready to attack the ſtrong caſtle of Donboy, near Beerhaven, which he accordingly performed on the eighteenth, took it by ſtorm, and put all the garriſon, conſiſting of one hundred and forty-three choſen men out of the whole Iriſh army, to the ſword. He afterwards reduced the weſtern part of the province, and leaving proper garriſons in them, ſet out on his return to Cork (*n*). As they were on the road together, the Lord Preſident told Mr. Boyle, it was his intention to ſend him over again into England, in order to procure the Queen's leave for his return; and, that their buſineſs might go on together, he adviſed Mr. Boyle to purchaſe all Sir Walter Raleigh's eſtate in that iſland, promiſing him, if he approved this propoſal, to do him all the ſervice therein which lay in his power (*o*). Mr. Boyle accepted the commiſſion readily, and embraced the advice thankfully, came over ſpeedily, and tranſacted his affairs very ſucceſsfully [*E*]. He made no long ſtay in England; but having procured a licence for the Lord Preſident to return, he carried it to him in Munſter, and then accompanied him back to Dublin, where he was to embark for England. In their journey thither, the Lord Preſident took notice to him, that having now acquired ſo conſiderable an eſtabliſhment, it would be prudent for him to think of another marriage (*p*), by which he might have iſſue to inherit it. This propoſal alſo was readily embraced, and the Lady, who was the daughter of Sir Geoffery Fenton, being likewiſe mentioned, the Lord Preſident undertook the negociation with her father, and proſecuted it ſo effectually, that they were contracted in his preſence, March 9, 1602, to the great ſatisfaction of all parties (*q*). The marriage, however, was not immediately ſolemnized, which perhaps might be occaſioned by the great change that in a few days happened, as well to them in their reſpective ſtations, as to the nation in general, by the death of Queen Elizabeth. His friend and patron, Sir George Carew, was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland; his father-in-law was continued in his place of Secretary of State; and himſelf received from his patron's hand the honour of knighthood, July 23, 1603,

(*i*) Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, Vol. i. p. 432.

(*k*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances*.

(*l*) Pacata Hibernia, p. 233.

(*m*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 15.

(*n*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. i. p. 450.

(*o*) Earl of Corke's *True Rememb ances*.

(*p*) *Id. ibid.*

(*q*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances*.

[*D*] *With almoſt incredible expedition.*] This deciſive battle was fought upon a Thurſday, which was Chriſtmas Eve. Some more Spaniards were landed a day or two after in Ireland, but finding their friends were beaten, thought fit to retire (13). This, and the Preſident's return to Cork, might probably hinder Mr. Boyle from ſetting out till the twenty-eighth. The account he gives us of his journey, and of the conſequences of it, are very ſingular and entertaining; and at the ſame time it is but neceſſary to ſhew how expreſsly it is laid down in his own words, in order to be ſatisfied as to the fact, which, as Mr. Budgell obſerved, nothing but the Earl of Cork's authority could make one believe (14).

'I attended the Lord Preſident in all his employ-'ments, and waited upon him all the whole ſiege of 'Kinſale, and was employed by his Lordſhip to her 'Majeſty, with the news of that happy victory, in 'which employment I made a ſpeedy expedition to 'the Court; for I left my Lord Preſident at Shannon 'Caſtle, near Cork, on Monday morning about two 'of the clock, and the next day being Tueſday, I 'delivered my Packet, and ſupped with Sir Robert 'Cecil (being then Principal Secretary of State) at 'his houſe in the Strand; who after ſupper held me 'in diſcourſe till two of the clock in the morning, and 'by ſeven that morning called upon me to attend 'him to the Court, where he preſented me to her 'Majeſty in her bed-chamber; who remembered me '(calling me by my name, and giving me her hand 'to kiſs), telling me ſhe was glad that I was the 'happy man to bring the firſt news of that glorious 'victory; and after her Majeſty had interrogated 'with me upon ſundry queſtions very punctually, 'and that therein I had given her full ſatisfaction in 'every particular, ſhe again gave me her hand to 'kiſs, and recommended my diſpatch for Ireland, 'and ſo diſmiſſed me with grace and favour.'

[*E*] *Came over ſpeedily, and tranſacted his affairs very ſucceſsfully.*] It muſt have been in the Winter of 1602 that Mr. Boyle returned into England, bringing with him two letters from the Lord Preſident, one addreſſed to Sir Robert Cecil (then Secretary, afterwards Earl of Saliſbury), in which his merit and abilities were much magnified, together with a requeſt that he would aſſiſt in forwarding the propoſed bargain with Sir Walter Raleigh; the other to Sir Walter himſelf, recommending Mr. Boyle as a fit purchaſer, and adviſing him to part with a concern, which, though it made a large ſound, was ſo far from producing any thing, that, to his, the Lord Preſident's knowledge, it coſt Sir Walter two hundred pounds a year to ſupport his titles (15). Theſe letters produced a meeting between Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Mr. Boyle, in which, by the mediation of the former, the purchaſe was concluded, and the aſſurances perfected. *This*, ſays our Noble Author, *was the third addition and riſe to my eſtate* (16). A great augmentation it muſt have been; for, according to the loweſt computation, Sir Walter Raleigh's eſtate conſiſted of twelve thouſand acres in the counties of Cork and Waterford (17), which, from the foregoing account, it is evident enough that he bought at a very low rate; and living upon the ſpot, being already a rich man, having a head the beſt turned that ever man had for ſuch improvements, and coming immediately after into great power, there is no doubt that he very ſoon made thoſe lands highly valuable. Indeed there are direct and full proofs of the matter of fact, and that within the compaſs of a very few years, this eſtate was not only well tenanted, but the beſt ſettled and abſolutely in the moſt thriving condition (18) of any eſtate in Ireland. He might, therefore, well call it the third addition to his fortune, accounting what he acquired by marriage, the firſt; and his preferment in Munſter, the ſecond; though probably this purchaſe was more profitable than both.

(13) Pacata Hibernia, p. 233.

(14) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances*.

(15) This was conferred on him by Queen Elizabeth for his ſervices in Ireland.

(16) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances*.

(17) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. i. p. 352. Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 29.

(18) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. in the Preface.

the very day he celebrated his ſecond marriage (*r*). He aſſures us himſelf, that intereſt had no ſhare in this marriage, and that he never ſo much as thought of a fortune; but, however, Sir Geoffery Fenton, the Lady's father, gave him that very day, of his own motive, one thouſand pounds in gold (*s*). We have another very ſingular circumſtance in relation to this marriage, mentioned on the authority of the Counteſs of Warwick, his Lordſhip's daughter, which, though attended with many difficulties, may poſſibly be, and probably is, true (*t*) [*F*]. His fortune now began to proceed more briſkly than before, and almoſt every day produced new acceſſions, either of dignity or eſtate. He owed the baſis and foundation of his greatneſs to the kindneſs of Queen Elizabeth, but all the ſuperſtructure was raiſed under King James. Thus, in 1606, he was ſworn at the Council-Board at Dublin a Privy-Counſellor for Munſter; but the then Lord-Preſident Dunkard refuſed to admit him to that office notwithſtanding, but was at laſt forced to ſubmit (*u*). He was, by this promotion, put into a condition of conſulting his own and the public intereſt at the ſame time, as he had a vaſt property in this province. He was very induſtrious in ſettling and improving his eſtates, taking due care to let his lands to Engliſh Proteſtants only, and to erect, as occaſion required, ſeveral towns and boroughs, nay, and ſome caſtles too, for their ſecurity (*w*). Intending the promotion of the affairs of that kingdom, as well as his own private concerns, he thought proper to make a journey over the beſt part of that province, in which he was a Counſellor, and then made a journey to Dublin for the inſtructions of the then Governors, after which he embarked for England, and having given a very ſatisfactory account to his Majeſty of the ſtate of things in Ireland, he returned thither in the month of February 1612, and was on the fifteenth of the ſaid month ſworn a Privy-Counſellor of State for the kingdom of Ireland, by the Lord Deputy Chicheſter, in Chicheſter-houſe, by the King's expreſs command, as a reward for his good ſervice in giving ſo clear and perfect a relation of the ſtate of the public (*x*). He continued the ſame diligence and activity in his ſtation, and thereby ſo conciliated the affections of all ranks of people, and was of ſo great aſſiſtance to thoſe entruſted with the Government, that his Majeſty thought fit to raiſe him to the dignity of the Peerage, which he accordingly did, September 29, 1616, by the ſtile of Baron of Youghall, in the county of Cork (*y*), and four years after, as a farther mark of royal favour, he was created, October 6, 1620, Viſcount Dungarvan and Earl of Cork (*z*). His credit with two Sovereigns, appeared

[*F*] *Though attended with many difficulties very probably may be, and poſſibly is, true.*] We have this ſtory in a ſermon, where the preacher poſitively aſſerts, that he had it from the mouth of the lady at whoſe funeral he delivered this diſcourſe: his relation runs thus (19): 'Mr. Boyle (after Earl of Cork), who 'was then a widower, came one morning to wait 'upon Sir Geoffery Fenton, at that time a great officer of ſtate in the kingdom of Ireland; who being 'engaged in buſineſs, and not knowing who it was 'that deſired to ſpeak with him, a while delayed 'him acceſs; which time he ſpent pleaſantly with 'his young daughter in her nurſe's arms. But when 'Sir Geoffery came and ſaw whom he had made ſtay 'ſomewhat long, he civilly excuſed it: But Mr. 'Boyle replied, he had been very civilly entertained, 'and ſpent his time much to his ſatisfaction in courting his daughter, if he might obtain the honour to 'be accepted for his ſon-in-law. At which Sir Geoffery, ſmiling to hear one who had been formerly 'married, move for a wife carried in arms and under 'two years old, aſked him if he would ſtay for her? 'to which he frankly anſwered he would, and Sir 'Geoffery as generouſly promiſed him he ſhould then 'have his full conſent; and they both kept their 'words honourably; and by this virtuous lady he 'had thirteen children.' We have beſides this, another direct evidence to the material part of the fact, viz. the ingenious and judicious John Evelyn, Eſq; who, in a private letter to a friend of his, expreſſes himſelf thus (20): 'That Mr. Boyle coming 'to adviſe with Sir Geoffery Fenton, now knighted, 'finding him engaged with another client, and ſeeing a pretty child in the nurſe's arms, entertained 'himſelf with them till Sir Geoffery came to him, 'making his excuſe for cauſing him to wait ſo long; 'Mr. Boyle pleaſantly told him he had been courting a young lady for his wife; and ſo it fortuned, 'that ſixteen years after Mr. Boyle made his addreſſes 'in good earneſt, and married the young lady.' The obſervation made upon this by the Rev. Mr. Birch, is very pertinent and judicious (21). 'Both 'theſe accounts, ſays he, are attended with very 'great difficulties; eſpecially that of Dr. Walker, 'which is abſolutely irreconcileable with the Earl of 'Cork's own narrative, from which it appears that 'his firſt Lady died on the 14th of December 1599; 'and that he married his ſecond, Sir Geoffery Fenton's daughter, the 25th of July 1603; ſo that it is 'impoſſible that while he was a widower, he ſhould 'enter into any engagements for the latter, while ſhe 'was in her nurſe's arms, and under two years old; 'ſince there was only an interval of three years and 'eight months between the death of his firſt wife, 'and his marriage with the ſecond.' As to Dr. Walker, he was a man of a very lively and fertile imagination, and therefore I lay no ſtreſs at all upon the circumſtances with which he tells the ſtory; and which, as they are manifeſtly falſe and abſurd, ſo I ſee no reaſon to charge them on the Counteſs of Warwick, who very probably told the naked truth of this ſtory, viz. *That the Earl of* Cork, *her father, courted the Lady by whom he had all his children, in her nurſe's arms*, and this might be very true. As to what Mr. Evelyn ſays, it is alſo very agreeable to the Earl of Cork's ſhort notes of his own life; for as he went over in 1588, and did not marry this lady till the Summer of the year 1603, this admits of between 15 and 16 years from the time he might firſt ſee the lady he afterwards married; and if ſhe was then a little more than two years old, ſhe might be near eighteen when he married her: neither was there any great diſproportion between their ages, ſince he was then in his *thirty-ſeventh* year. Beſides, it is not at all improbable, that his old maſter, the Lord Chief Baron Manwood, might recommend him when he went to Ireland to Sir Geoffery Fenton; and if ſo, this interview might happen within a ſhort time after his coming to Dublin; and thus all the difficulties relating to the principal matter of fact are clearly removed, and the ſtory, as it is told by Mr. Evelyn, ſhewn to be both poſſible and probable. But it may be objected, that at leaſt this reſts upon ſuppoſition, and that if the lady was older at the time of her marriage, all that I have laid down falls to the ground. But then this objection alſo is as much founded on ſuppoſition, for I think it is impoſſible to prove that this lady was older. The inſcription upon the fine tomb that was erected for her in St. Patrick's Church, at Dublin, might have cleared up this, if any mention had been made therein of the lady's age (22); but as there is not, we can come at no greater certainty in this reſpect, than what ariſes from the foregoing conjectures.

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to be rather increaſed than diminiſhed under a third: for Charles I. had not ſat long upon the throne, before he manifeſted his kindneſs and regard for this noble Peer, in a manner very unuſual and extraordinary, by conferring titles of honour on his younger ſons, even in their infancy (*a*), not only in tacit conſideration of the Earl's great ſervices rendered to the Crown, and his acting like a good patriot in that iſland, but ſo expreſſed, as the royal motives to thoſe ſingular marks of diſtinction [*G*]. He perſiſted ſtill in the ſame courſe, omitted nothing that could contribute to the ſecurity or improvement of the Engliſh and Proteſtant intereſt in that iſland, and therefore it was thought proper, as well as conducive to the public ſatiſfaction, on the departure of the Lord Deputy Falkland, to make him, in conjunction with the Lord Viſcount Loftus of Ely, one of the Lords Juſtices; and he was accordingly ſo conſtituted, October 26, 1629 (*b*), and held that high office ſeveral years. The ſplendour of his public charac-

(*a*) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 363.

(*b*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 53.

[*G*] *As the royal motives to theſe ſingular marks of diſtinction.*] The caſe of theſe honours ſtood thus: The Lord Falkland being Lord Deputy of Ireland, and the Earl of Cork's great friend, he repreſented his ſervices to the Crown and Nation in ſo fair a light, that King Charles was pleaſed to ſend his letter to the Deputy, dated the 30th of November 1627 (23), in the third year of his reign, directing him to confer the honours of Baron and Viſcount upon the Earl's ſecond ſurviving ſon Lewis, though he was then only eight years old. This letter ran thus: ‘Having taken into our gracious conſideration the many eminent virtues and abilities of our right well beloved couſin Richard Earl of Cork, and his ſingular good deſerving, as well in planting thoſe remote parts of our dominions with ſeveral Engliſh colonies, in ſettling true religion, and introducing civility and government there, where he found barbariſm and ſuperſtition, and in the erecting of ſeveral churches, towers, caſtles, and other buildings, at his own charge, for the perpetual ſecurity of thoſe countries, and our good ſubjects inhabiting in them; as alſo in zealouſly purſuing all good cauſes tending to the advancement of our moſt important ſervices there; and underſtanding that he hath many younger ſons, whom he bred in true religion and virtuous diſcipline, thereby making them worthy and profitable members of that ſtate. We are pleaſed for his and their encouragement to beſtow extraordinary marks of our favour upon them, and by that effect (by theſe our letters) to confer upon his ſecond ſon Lewis Boyle, Eſq; the honour, dignity, ſtile and title of a Baron and Viſcount of that our kingdom, requiring and authoriſing you thereby, forthwith to cauſe our Letters Patent to be paſſed unto him, in conſideration of his ſervices done, and to be done, unto us and our crown; thereby to create, conſtitute, and ordain him Baron of *Bandon-Bridge*, and Viſcount Boyle of *Kinalmeaky* in the county of *Cork*, to hold and enjoy to him and his heirs male of his body, and for default of ſuch iſſue male, the ſaid honours to be and remain to the heirs male ſucceſſively of the body of the ſaid Richard Earl of Cork, begotten, or to be begotten, and to the heirs male of their bodies, and for default of ſuch heirs male deſcending of the body of the ſaid Earl, then the ſame to be and remain to the heirs male of him the ſaid Richard Earl of Cork for ever; and it is our further pleaſure, that you forthwith confer upon the ſaid Lewis Boyle the honour of Knighthood.’

The Lord Deputy, by whoſe intereſt and interceſſion this favour was obtained, as well for his own juſtification, as in regard to the honour of this noble Earl, takes care to enumerate the many and great ſervices by him performed in his Fiat, dated the 28th of February 1627, which in Engliſh runs thus (24): ‘We taking notice of the excellent virtues and high faculties of Richard Earl of Cork, in advancing our affairs in Ireland, not only in Council, but in the government of the province of Munſter, in which he has ſhewed himſelf to be a perſon of high abilities, but alſo in many other works of great moment, viz. in building towns, and fortifying them with fair walls and towers, and filling them with Engliſh colonies, building churches, and reducing the people to civil obedience in eſtabliſhing religion, extirpating ſuperſtition, defending the paſſes of that country with caſtles, building many bridges for the convenience of the public, guarding the ports and maritime places of the ſaid province, againſt foreign enemies, in firſt introducing manufactures and mechanic arts into the province, and afterwards eſtabliſhing them by guilds and fraternities of artificers, to the plentiful increaſe of riches and civility, by planting and continually ſupporting leaders and other men experienced in arms from England, to the number at leaſt of fifteen hundred, and to the perpetual ſecurity and defence of thoſe parts, and all this he did at his own expence, and by his own induſtry; all which tends not only to the preſent utility and ornament of thoſe parts, but to the perpetual ſecurity and defence of them really indeed excellent, and which it is difficult to ſay, whether the like were ever undertaken by any other ſubject in times paſt. In contemplation of which, our Father adorned the ſaid Richard with many titles of honour, and placed him in the higheſt degree of nobility in Ireland, ſo that we have ſcarce any thing left us to heap upon our ſaid couſin, unleſs we derive honours to his ſons, and poſterity of his name to the perpetual elogy of his memory. And we being informed that our ſaid couſin has had a ſecond ſon named Lewis, a youth of great hopes, the true image of his father's genius, and in whom is eaſy to be ſeen a branch of that tree from whence he is ſprung. We alſo to ſhew our good diſpoſition to the ſaid Earl, and to give him ſome token of our favour, which may remain to poſterity in an indelible character, have thought proper to place the ſaid Lewis (for the ſake of his father), though in his tender years, among the nobles of this kingdom; and therefore by the advice of the Lord Deputy Faulkland, and according to the tenor of our Privy-Seal, dated at Weſtminſter, the 30th of November in the third year of our reign, have and do advance the ſaid Lewis Boyle to the ſtate, title, and honour of Baron of Bandon-Bridge, &c.’

At the ſame time, by virtue of the King's letters, the Lord Deputy by his Fiat of the ſame date conferred the title of a Baron on Roger the Earl's fifth ſon, by the ſtile and title of Lord Boyle of Broghill; and as this young Lord was only between ſix and ſeven years old, a few lines from that inſtrument (ſhewing the reaſon of that creation) may not be improper (25). ‘We conſidering the many acceptable ſervices done not only unto us and to our Father, but to all Ireland (eſpecially in Munſter), by Richard Earl of Cork, reſpecting alſo in him the nobility of his family, as being long made hereditary Lords, Viſcounts, and his daughters married into many noble families, and having received an account from our ſaid couſin, that he hath been bleſſed with another ſon called Roger, from whoſe genius and diſpoſition great things are to be hoped, and willing to grant more ample favours to our ſaid couſin, We, for the ſake of his father, have taken the ſaid Roger (as it were out of the cradle), to place him in a rank of honour, as a Baron of Ireland.’ It was the more neceſſary to take notice of this, becauſe of a very ſtrange and groundleſs miſtake in Mr. Budgell's memoirs of this family, who ſays, that this young gentleman, after his return from his travels, was made a Captain of horſe by the Earl of Northumberland, and Baron of Broghill by the intereſt of the Earl of Strafford, who had a mind to gain him to his party (26): Whereas it is very plain, that he had been raiſed to the Peerage very near ſix years before the Earl of Strafford went firſt to Ireland, who was ſo far from favouring any branch of the Cork family, that it is certain, he looked with an evil eye upon theſe very creations (27).

(23) Tranſcribed from the original, and communicated by a perſon of great worth and learning at Dublin.

(24) Tranſlated, tranſcribed, and communicated, by the ſame worthy perſon.

(25) Communicated by the ſame hand.

(26) Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 34, 35.

(27) Earl of Strafford's Letters, Vol. i. p. 240.

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the very day he celebrated his ſecond marriage (*r*). He aſſures us himſelf, that intereſt had no ſhare in this marriage, and that he never ſo much as thought of a fortune; but, however, Sir Geoffery Fenton, the Lady's father, gave him that very day, of his own motive, one thouſand pounds in gold (*s*). We have another very ſingular circumſtance in relation to this marriage, mentioned on the authority of the Counteſs of Warwick, his Lordſhip's daughter, which, though attended with many difficulties, may poſſibly be, and probably is, true (*t*) [*F*]. His fortune now began to proceed more briſkly than before, and almoſt every day produced new acceſſions, either of dignity or eſtate. He owed the baſis and foundation of his greatneſs to the kindneſs of Queen Elizabeth, but all the ſuperſtructure was raiſed under King James. Thus, in 1606, he was ſworn at the Council-Board at Dublin a Privy-Counſellor for Munſter; but the then Lord-Preſident Dunkard refuſed to admit him to that office notwithſtanding, but was at laſt forced to ſubmit (*u*). He was, by this promotion, put into a condition of conſulting his own and the public intereſt at the ſame time, as he had a vaſt property in this province. He was very induſtrious in ſettling and improving his eſtates, taking due care to let his lands to Engliſh Proteſtants only, and to erect, as occaſion required, ſeveral towns and boroughs, nay, and ſome caſtles too, for their ſecurity (*w*). Intending the promotion of the affairs of that kingdom, as well as his own private concerns, he thought proper to make a journey over the beſt part of that province, in which he was a Counſellor, and then made a journey to Dublin for the inſtructions of the then Governors, after which he embarked for England, and having given a very ſatisfactory account to his Majeſty of the ſtate of things in Ireland, he returned thither in the month of February 1612, and was on the fifteenth of the ſaid month ſworn a Privy-Counſellor of State for the kingdom of Ireland, by the Lord Deputy Chicheſter, in Chicheſter-houſe, by the King's expreſs command, as a reward for his good ſervice in giving ſo clear and perfect a relation of the ſtate of the public (*x*). He continued the ſame diligence and activity in his ſtation, and thereby ſo conciliated the affections of all ranks of people, and was of ſo great aſſiſtance to thoſe entruſted with the Government, that his Majeſty thought fit to raiſe him to the dignity of the Peerage, which he accordingly did, September 29, 1616, by the ſtile of Baron of Youghall, in the county of Cork (*y*), and four years after, as a farther mark of royal favour, he was created, October 6, 1620, Viſcount Dungarvan and Earl of Cork (*z*). His credit with two Sovereigns, appeared

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(22) See Borlaſe's Hiſtory of the Reduction of Ireland, p. 210.

to be rather increaſed than diminiſhed under a third: for Charles I. had not ſat long upon the throne, before he manifeſted his kindneſs and regard for this noble Peer, in a manner very unuſual and extraordinary, by conferring titles of honour on his younger ſons, even in their infancy (*a*), not only in tacit conſideration of the Earl's great ſervices rendered to the Crown, and his acting like a good patriot in that iſland, but ſo expreſſed, as the royal motives to thoſe ſingular marks of diſtinction [*G*]. He perſiſted ſtill in the ſame courſe, omitted nothing that could contribute to the ſecurity or improvement of the Engliſh and Proteſtant intereſt in that iſland, and therefore it was thought proper, as well as conducive to the public ſatisfaction, on the departure of the Lord Deputy Falkland, to make him, in conjunction with the Lord Viſcount Loftus of Ely, one of the Lords Juſtices; and he was accordingly ſo conſtituted, October 26, 1629 (*b*), and held that high office ſeveral years. The ſplendour of his public charac-

[*G*] *As the royal motives to theſe ſingular marks of diſtinction.*] The caſe of theſe honours ſtood thus: The Lord Falkland being Lord Deputy of Ireland, and the Earl of Cork's great friend, he repreſented his ſervices to the Crown and Nation in ſo fair a light, that King Charles was pleaſed to ſend his letter to the Deputy, dated the 30th of November 1627 (23), in the third year of his reign, directing him to confer the honours of Baron and Viſcount upon the Earl's ſecond ſurviving ſon Lewis, though he was then only eight years old. This letter ran thus: 'Having taken into our gracious conſideration the many eminent virtues and abilities of our right well beloved couſin Richard Earl of Cork, and his ſingular good deſerving, as well in planting thoſe remote parts of our dominions with ſeveral Engliſh colonies, in ſettling true religion, and introducing civility and government there, where he found barbariſm and ſuperſtition, and in the erecting of ſeveral churches, towers, caſtles, and other buildings, at his own charge, for the perpetual ſecurity of thoſe countries, and our good ſubjects inhabiting in them; as alſo in zealouſly purſuing all good cauſes tending to the advancement of our moſt important ſervices there; and underſtanding that he hath many younger ſons, whom he bred in true religion and virtuous diſcipline, thereby making them worthy and profitable members of that ſtate. We are pleaſed for his and their encouragement to beſtow extraordinary marks of our favour upon them, and by that effect (by theſe our letters) to confer upon his ſecond ſon Lewis Boyle, Eſq; the honour, dignity, ſtile and title of a Baron and Viſcount of that our kingdom, requiring and authoriſing you thereby, forthwith to cauſe our Letters Patent to be paſſed unto him, in conſideration of his ſervices done, and to be done, unto us and our crown; thereby to create, conſtitute, and ordain him Baron of *Bandon-Bridge*, and Viſcount Boyle of *Kinalmeaky* in the county of *Cork*, to hold and enjoy to him and his heirs male of his body, and for default of ſuch iſſue male, the ſaid honours to be and remain to the heirs male ſucceſſively of the body of the ſaid Richard Earl of Cork, begotten, or to be begotten, and to the heirs male of their bodies, and for default of ſuch heirs male deſcending of the body of the ſaid Earl, then the ſame to be and remain to the heirs male of him the ſaid Richard Earl of Cork for ever; and it is our further pleaſure, that you forthwith confer upon the ſaid Lewis Boyle the honour of Knighthood.'

The Lord Deputy, by whoſe intereſt and interceſſion this favour was obtained, as well for his own juſtification, as in regard to the honour of this noble Earl, takes care to enumerate the many and great ſervices by him performed in his Fiat, dated the 28th of February 1627, which in Engliſh runs thus (24): 'We taking notice of the excellent virtues and high faculties of Richard Earl of Cork, in advancing our affairs in Ireland, not only in Council, but in the government of the province of Munſter, in which he has ſhewed himſelf to be a perſon of high abilities, but alſo in many other works of great moment, viz. in building towns, and fortifying them with fair walls and towers, and filling them with Engliſh colonies, building churches, and reducing the people to civil obedience in eſtabliſhing religion, extirpating ſuperſtition, defending the paſſes of that country with caſtles, building many bridges for the convenience of the public, guarding the ports and maritime places of the ſaid province, againſt foreign enemies, in firſt introducing manufactures and mechanic arts into the province, and afterwards eſtabliſhing them by guilds and fraternities of artificers, to the plentiful increaſe of riches and civility, by planting and continually ſupporting leaders and other men experienced in arms from England, to the number at leaſt of fifteen hundred, and to the perpetual ſecurity and defence of thoſe parts, and all this he did at his own expence, and by his own induſtry; all which tends not only to the preſent utility and ornament of thoſe parts, but to the perpetual ſecurity and defence of them really indeed excellent, and which it is difficult to ſay, whether the like were ever undertaken by any other ſubject in times paſt. In contemplation of which, our Father adorned the ſaid Richard with many titles of honour, and placed him in the higheſt degree of nobility in Ireland, ſo that we have ſcarce any thing left us to heap upon our ſaid couſin, unleſs we derive honours to his ſons, and poſterity of his name to the perpetual elogy of his memory. And we being informed that our ſaid couſin has had a ſecond ſon named Lewis, a youth of great hopes, the true image of his father's genius, and in whom is eaſy to be ſeen a branch of that tree from whence he is ſprung. We alſo to ſhew our good diſpoſition to the ſaid Earl, and to give him ſome token of our favour, which may remain to poſterity in an indelible character, have thought proper to place the ſaid Lewis (for the ſake of his father), though in his tender years, among the nobles of this kingdom; and therefore by the advice of the Lord Deputy Faulkland, and according to the tenor of our Privy-Seal; dated at Weſtminſter, the 30th of November in the third year of our reign, have and do advance the ſaid Lewis Boyle to the ſtate, title, and honour of Baron of Bandon-Bridge, &c.'

At the ſame time, by virtue of the King's letters, the Lord Deputy by his Fiat of the ſame date conferred the title of a Baron on Roger the Earl's fifth ſon, by the ſtile and title of Lord Boyle of Broghill; and as this young Lord was only between ſix and ſeven years old, a few lines from that inſtrument (ſhewing the reaſon of that creation) may not be improper (25). 'We conſidering the many acceptable ſervices done not only unto us and to our Father, but to all Ireland (eſpecially in Munſter), by Richard Earl of Cork, reſpecting alſo in him the nobility of his family, as being long made hereditary Lords, Viſcounts, and his daughters married into many noble families, and having received an account from our ſaid couſin, that he hath been bleſſed with another ſon called Roger, from whoſe genius and diſpoſition great things are to be hoped, and willing to grant more ample favours to our ſaid couſin, We, for the ſake of his father, have taken the ſaid Roger (as it were out of the cradle), to place him in a rank of honour, as a Baron of Ireland.' It was the more neceſſary to take notice of this, becauſe of a very ſtrange and groundleſs miſtake in Mr. Budgell's memoirs of this family, who ſays, that this young gentleman, after his return from his travels, was made a Captain of horſe by the Earl of Northumberland, and Baron of Broghill by the intereſt of the Earl of Strafford, who had a mind to gain him to his party (26): Whereas it is very plain, that he had been raiſed to the Peerage very near ſix years before the Earl of Strafford went firſt to Ireland, who was ſo far from favouring any branch of the Cork family, that it is certain, he looked with an evil eye upon theſe very creations (27).

(*a*) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 363.

(*b*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 53.

(23) Tranſcribed from the original, and communicated by a perſon of great worth and learning at Dublin.

(24) Tranſlated, tranſcribed, and communicated, by the ſame worthy perſon.

(25) Communicated by the ſame hand.

(26) Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 34, 35.

(27) Earl of Strafford's Letters, Vol. i. p. 240.

ter could not, however, defend him from a ſevere ſtroke of fortune in his private capacity; for on the ſixteenth of February he loſt his Counteſs, by whom he had been the father of fifteen children, and for whom he had the moſt tender and ſincere affection (c). He cauſed her body to be interred with great ſplendour and magnificence in the cathedral church of St. Patrick in Dublin, where he erected a moſt pompous monument to her memory, which, long afterwards, he was, to his great ſorrow and mortification, obliged to pull down and remove (d) [H]. As yet, however, his favour was ſo entire, that he procured a patent for the high office of Lord Treaſurer of Ireland, into which he was ſworn, November 9, 1631, and by a felicity peculiar to himſelf, for which there was no precedent, and which has proved no precedent to any thing of a like kind, he had intereſt enough to obtain, that this high poſt ſhould be made hereditary in his family (e). As this was the greateſt, ſo it was one of the laſt honours he received; for in July 1633 (f), Thomas Lord Wentworth was declared Deputy of Ireland, and ſoon after went over into that iſland, and took upon him the government. While the Earl held the poſt of one of the Lord Juſtices, he promoted, amongſt other things, the procuring Proteſtants to come over and ſettle there from England, with zeal and ſucceſs. He, from the ſame principle, contributed alſo to ſet the frauds of the Popiſh Prieſts in their true light, by cauſing St. Patrick's purgatory, a deluſion which a long belief had rendered venerable, to be expoſed as a trick and an impoſture, as it really was, to all the world (g). He laboured alſo to ſuppreſs the inſolency of that faction, by diſpoſſeſſing them of ſome new maſs-houſes which they had opened in Dublin, without, and indeed againſt law; and by other methods, which raiſed ſome clamour againſt him; but as plainly appears, from a letter written to him by Lord Keeper Coventry, his ſervices were well received, and he was encouraged to proceed in the ſame courſe, as indeed he did, ſo long as he remained in poſſeſſion of authority (h). This letter, therefore (as hitherto unpubliſhed), we have thought expedient to place in the Notes, for the information and ſatisfaction of the reader [I]. But this was far from being

(c) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

(d) Strafford's Letters, Vol. i. p. 298.

(e) Catalogue of Honours conferred in Ireland.

(f) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 55.

(g) *Id. ibid.* p. 54.

(h) Borlaſe's Reduction of Ireland, p. 210.

[H] *He was to his great ſorrow and mortification obliged to pull down and remove.*] This Lady was privately interred on the 27th of February 1629-30, but her funeral was publicly ſolemnized on the 11th of March following, ſoon after which, the Earl of Cork purchaſed from the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's church, the inheritance of the upper part of the chancel where the vault was, in which the bodies of her grandfather by the mother's ſide, the Lord Chancellor Weſton, and of her father Sir Geoffery Fenton, were laid, over which the Earl her huſband cauſed a fine marble tomb to be erected (28). This preſently gave offence to ſome people, who ſuggeſted that it ſtood where the altar ought to ſtand, of which they complained to the King, who mentioned it to Dr. Laud, then Biſhop of London; who after the Lord Wentworth was made Lord Deputy of Ireland, and himſelf Archbiſhop of Canterbury, moved him that it might be inquired into, as it was, and this affair made afterwards a very great noiſe. The Earl of Cork procured a letter from Dr. Uſher, then Lord Primate of Ireland, and alſo from Dr. Launcelot Bulkeley, then Archbiſhop of Dublin, juſtifying, that the tomb did not ſtand in the place of the altar, and that inſtead of being an inconvenience, it was a great ornament to the church; which letters Archbiſhop Laud tranſmitted to the Lord Deputy, and at the ſame time acquainted him that they did not give himſelf any ſatisfaction. The poſtſcript to this letter, dated Lambeth, March 11, 1634, is very remarkable, and ſhews both the riſe and the falſehood of the common opinion, as if it was the Lord Deputy, afterwards Earl of Strafford, ſet this matter on foot out of prejudice to the Earl of Cork, and being very ſhort, I ſhall tranſcribe it (29). 'I had almoſt forgot to tell you, that all this buſineſs about demoliſhing my Lord of Cork's tomb is charged upon you, as if it were done only becauſe he will not marry his ſon to my Lord Clifford's daughter, and that I do it to join with you; whereas the complaint came againſt it to me out of Ireland, and was preſented by me to the King before I knew that your Lordſhip was named for Deputy there. But jealouſies know no end.' The Archbiſhop afterwards wrote in very ſtrong terms to the Earl of Cork himſelf, in which he affirms the ſame thing, and deals very roundly with his Lordſhip upon that and other ſubjects, adviſing him to leave the whole to the Lord Deputy and the Archbiſhops. As to the iſſue of the affair, it appears clearly from a letter of the Lord Deputy Wentworth's, dated Auguſt 23d, 1634, to the Archbiſhop, in which he delivers himſelf thus (30): 'I have iſſued a commiſſion according to my warrant, for viewing the Earl of Cork's tomb: the two Archbiſhops and himſelf, with four Biſhops, and the two Deans and Chapters were preſent when we met, and made them all ſo aſhamed, that the Earl deſires he may have leave to pull it down without reporting further into England; ſo as I am content if the miracle be done though Mohammed do it, and there is an end of the tomb before it come to be entombed indeed.—And for me that my Lord Treaſurer do what he pleaſe; I ſhall ever wiſh his ways may be thoſe of honour to himſelf, and diſpatch to my maſter's affairs; but go it as it ſhall pleaſe God with me, believe me, my Lord, I will be ſtill *thorow* and *thorowout* one and the ſame, and with comfort be it ſpoken by myſelf, and your Grace's commendations.' I have placed all theſe facts together, becauſe they relate to the ſame ſubject, and though they happened at different times, they could not well be divided without rendering them dark and obſcure; whereas they are perfectly clear and well connected as they now ſtand, and fully explain a point, of which there are many hints, but no diſtinct account in any of the hiſtories of thoſe times. It may not be amiſs to add, that though the tomb has been taken away above a century, yet the inſcription that was upon it is ſtill extant; but as we have given the ſubſtance of it already, it may ſuffice if we inform the reader where it is to be found at large (31).

(28) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.* Borlaſe's Reduction of Ireland, p. 210. Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. ii. p. 263.

(29) Earl of Strafford's Letters, Vol. i. p. 211.

(30) Earl of Strafford's Letters, Vol. i. p. 298.

(31) Collins's Peerage, Vol. ii. p. 263.

[I] *In the Notes, for the information and ſatisfaction of the reader.*] As ſoon as this noble Peer found himſelf at the head of the government in Ireland, he reſolved to put the laws in execution againſt Papiſts, as being ſenſible, that good laws were of very little importance, by being made, if they were not alſo carried into effect; and therefore he directed that the ſtatute in the 2d of Queen Elizabeth for proſecuting ſuch Papiſts as did not come to church, ſhould be given in charge at all the aſſizes, and he alſo thought fit to direct ſome maſs-houſes to be ſhut up, and ſome prieſts that had taken great liberties to be impriſoned; and of theſe proceedings, at the ſame time that he gave notice, as the duties of his office required, to the Secretaries of State in England, he (32) alſo wrote privately to the Lord Keeper, upon whoſe friendſhip he very much depended, who ſent him the following epiſtle in return, in which as he promiſes him what ſervice lay in his power, ſo it muſt be remembered to his honour, that he very religiouſly kept his word, and was at all times and in all circumſtances the Earl of Cork's faſt friend ſo long as he lived,

(32) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 54.

being the only material ſervice that he rendered the State, during the time he was at the head of it. He was very inſtrumental in putting the army, which was of prodigious conſequence in that country, upon a right foot, and ſecuring for it a regular and competent ſubſiſtence, and in tranſplanting a multitude of barbarous Iriſh *Septs* or *Clans*, out of the fruitful and well cultivated province of Leinſter, into the wilds and deſerts of the county of Kerry (*i*). He was alſo diligent and active in his office as Lord High-Treaſurer, and was at great pains in endeavouring to procure a mint to be ſettled in that kingdom, his reaſons for which, that they may be preſerved, which may perhaps be a means of procuring them their due weight, as they were never printed before, appear in the notes (*k*) [*K*]. On the coming over of the Lord Deputy Wentworth, though ſome civilities paſſed between them, and they ſoon after engaged in a family-treaty for the marriage of the Lord Viſcount Dungarvan with the daughter of Lord Clifford of Laneſborough (*l*), to whom the Deputy was nearly related, yet a coldneſs quickly aroſe, which ſwelled by degrees into unkindneſs and hatred on both ſides. The Lord Deputy came over full of an opinion, that the Earl of Cork had too much power and too great intereſt: therefore he ſet himſelf immediately to leſſen both, and encouraged all who ſhewed an inclination to oppoſe him; which, amongſt many other controverſies between him and other perſons in office, produced one with the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, of which we are able to ſay ſomething more than has been hitherto known (*m*) [*L*].

Abundance

(*i*) Letter from the Lords Juſtices to the Lord Deputy, containing the State of Ireland, dated Dublin Caſtle, Feb. 26, 1631.

(*k*) See the new Tranſlation of Sir J. Ware's Works, Vol. ii. c. xxxii.

(*l*) Strafford's Letters, Vol. i. p. 74.

(*m*) See the methods practiſed to reduce the power of the Lord Treaſurer's Office, in Ware's Works, Vol. ii. c. xxxii.

lived, though it coſt him ſome ill will from other great men who had not the ſame opinion of the Earl that he had.

The Lord Keeper Coventry to the Earl of Cork.

‘ MY very good Lord, I have received your Lordſhip's letters of the 9th of this month, whereby you have been pleaſed to give me private advertiſement of that which by your general letters to my Lords of the Council, was yeſterday imparted to the board, concerning the late paſſages at Dublin, touching thoſe ſuperſtitious houſes, which, with ſuch inſolence and tumults, were ſought to be maintained in that chief city of the kingdom, againſt the laws, his Majeſty's ſtrict proclamation, and the policy of the public ſtate and government. Wherein, as your Lordſhip will perceive, by the general letters from hence in anſwer of yours, how graciouſly his Majeſty (who was preſent in Council at the firſt reading of them) did and doth accept that good ſervice, and how ready the Lords were to give you the juſt applauſe and commendation of your own well deſerving in it; ſo muſt I, in particular, acknowledge the reſpect you were pleaſed to ſhew me in your private letters, and return your Lordſhip many hearty thanks for the ſame: And if there ſhall fall out occaſion hereafter for your making me beholden to you in the like kind, for any thing that ſhall concern his Majeſty's ſervice, your Lordſhip ſhall find me careful to do you right to his Majeſty and the Lords, and in all reſpects towards your Lordſhip, to ſhew myſelf, your Lordſhip's very aſſured to do you ſervice,

THO. COVENTRY.

Durham houſe, 31 January, 1629.

It is very probable, that this letter encouraged the Earl of Cork, as one of the Lords Juſtices, to proceed farther in this way, notwithſtanding the people even at Dublin were ſo inſolent, as to ſet at liberty by force a Prieſt he had committed (33). He, therefore, ſhut up fifteen new religious houſes, and ſeized them to the King's uſe, as he did another principal houſe of theirs in the Back-Lane in Dublin, which was granted to the college; and thereupon a rector and ſcholars were ſent thither, and lectures ſet up, to which the Lords Juſtices came ſometimes (34); but in Lord Wentworth's time this houſe was recovered by its owners in a legal way, and afterwards let to the ſame uſe, which was made one of the articles of impeachment againſt him (35).

[*K*] *As they were never printed before, appear in the notes.*] In all the reigns from the conqueſt of Ireland, in that of Henry II., there was money coined in Ireland down to that of Queen Elizabeth, when the money coined for them was tranſmitted from England: theſe pieces were ſtampt with a harp, and from thence were called harpers, but they were not of pure ſilver, and of the value only of nine-pence. In the two laſt years of her reign, ſhe ſent over pieces in which the mixture of ſilver was ſo ſmall, that what the people were commanded by proclamation to receive for a ſhilling, was worth no more than twopence halfpenny (36). King James and King Charles reſtored the harpers to their original value, but eſtabliſhed no mint, to procure which, the Lord Treaſurer tranſmitted the following reaſons to England.

Reaſons why a Mint ſhould be in Ireland.

‘ Firſt, it is the fountain and the life of trade.

‘ Secondly, if there be money coined here, it will be a great cauſe to keep it in England, and to enrich both Kingdoms.

‘ Thirdly, few ſubjects have the means which they of this Kingdom have, to bring in Bullion; becauſe the moſt part of their traffic is victual; ſo that (we think) if there were any impoſition laid upon them, they would be very willing to bring in the tenth or fifth part in Bullion for ſuch commodities as they carry forth; to the ſetting forward of ſo good a work, being certain of ſuch a rate as now it is in England.

‘ Fourthly, for want of this mint the merchant is diſcouraged for bringing Bullion into this Kingdom, becauſe we are not able to make a return, unleſs we tranſport the ſame into England to the mint there, which is an adventure contrary to the laws of the land, ſo that we cannot give a price anſwerable to their expectation.

‘ Fifthly, as concerning the charge that the undertakers of ſo noble a work ſhall be at, his Majeſty (we conceive) will be willing that the fifths, which ſhall accrue and ariſe to himſelf, ſhall firſt go to ſatisfy the undertakers, in full ſatisfaction for their diſburſements, towards that buſineſs, which (we conceive) in a ſhort time will be regained again.

‘ Sixthly, this mint will be a means to bring over men of ſkill, and tools and inſtruments fitting to ſeek and make tryal of mines in this Kingdom, which we ſuppoſe may hereafter be found; and we ſuppoſe the mine here already found will be a help; and likewiſe this mint will be a means to bring in an aſſay and touch in this kingdom, that we may work at a certainty, according to the aſſay of England, which without an *aſſay-maſter* we cannot.’

22d October, 1632.

The reader will obſerve, that mention is made in theſe reaſons of ſilver mines diſcovered in Ireland, which, by the King's authority, one Captain Whitmore was impowered to work, and the Earl of Strafford had great hopes of them, but at laſt they came to nothing (37); but it is not probable this had any influence on the propoſal for a mint, which I ſuppoſe failed rather by our Earl's loſs of power, and credit at court.

[*L*] *To ſay ſomewhat more than has been hitherto known.*] It was very natural for the chief governors of Ireland to be extremely diſpleaſed with the Earl's having obtained the office of Lord High-Treaſurer in fee; and, therefore, ſince this act was not to be undone, they ſtudied to reduce the power of the Lord Treaſurer, in which they have ſucceeded very well.

But

(33) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 54.

(34) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 15.

(35) Ruſhworth's Trial of the Earl of Strafford, p. 27. 63.

(36) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. ii. p. 212.

(37) Strafford's Letters, Vol. i. p. 218—224.

Abundance of ſuits were ſtirred up againſt him by the ſame means; and beſides the cutting inſult offered to him in obliging him to demoliſh his Lady's tomb, though he would willingly have built a ſcreen before it, he ſuffered daily new mortifications (*n*). The Lord Deputy, afterwards Lord Lieutenant and Earl of Strafford, continued firm in his purpoſe, and took care to keep thoſe, upon whoſe aſſiſtance he depended moſt in England, in a continual ſtate of jealouſy as to the Earl of Cork, which he did not find very hard to do, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury being already a declared adverſary to the Earl, on the ſcore of ſuppoſed injuries done to the Church (*o*); and Secretary Cooke ſeems to have approved the deſign of raiſing the King's revenue at any rate; ſo that after all his long ſervices to the Crown, and notwithſtanding all the improvements made for promoting the Engliſh Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland, the Earl of Cork was, for

(*n*) See this point further explained in note [*N*].

(*o*) See Archbiſhop Laud's ſharp Letter to the Earl of Cork, in Strafford's Letters, Vol. i. p. 222.

But the firſt ſtep was not quite ſo fortunate, ſince the Treaſurer prevailed in this conteſt; upon which he wrote to Mr. John Weſt, an officer of great knowledge in England, from whom he received the following clear and deciſive anſwer; which, for ſome reaſons contained therein, is not quite ſo clear as it otherwiſe might have been (38).

(38) Communicated by the ſame worthy perſon from Ireland.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Cork, &c.

‘RIGHT Honourable and my ſingular good Lord, I have received your Lordſhip's letter by the hands of Mr. Sidnam, wherein I found your Lordſhip's kind remembrance of the care I took for the recovery of the health of the young lady your Lordſhip's ſweet daughter, which it pleaſed God to give a bleſſing unto, to my great comfort, your Lordſhip's noble favours to me binding me hereto. I am much troubled that I received your Lordſhip's letters in a time wherein I was compaſſed with ſo many extremities which had fallen upon me, as the ſtone and the gout, holding me with violence and intolerable pain in my right thigh, which I broke, waiting on my old maſter King James, at Guildford in Surry; and laſtly, a great weakneſs in my ſight, which old age and much reading have brought upon me, having no other remedy for all this but patience, which it hath pleaſed God to grant me, and in his goodneſs I hope will more and more afford me.

‘As touching the anſwering thoſe queſtions which are contained in your Lordſhip's letter, viz.

‘Firſt, whether within the verge of the Exchequer, and coming from the Exchequer-Chamber into the Court of Exchequer, the Lord Treaſurer or the Chancellor of the Exchequer have precedency, and ſo in their going out which of them goeth foremoſt ſo long as they are within the court?

‘*The Lord* Treaſurer *without any queſtion hath the precedency, and is chief officer of that court*; *and in the Exchequer Chamber hath the firſt place*; *but in the* Exchequer Court *the* Chancellor *ſitteth uppermoſt, as it hath been always reputed.*

‘*Secondly*, Where they are placed within the court, and whether Mr. Chancellor or Lord Treaſurer taketh the upper hand?

‘*This is anſwered in the firſt queſtion.*

‘*Thirdly*, Upon Engliſh bills preferred in the Exchequer, to whom they are directed, with the words of the title or direction, whether it be to the Lord Treaſurer, and Chancellor, and Barons; or to the Chancellor, Lord Treaſurer, and Barons?

‘*To the Lord* Treaſurer, Chancellor, *and* Barons.

‘*Laſtly*, Whether upon Engliſh bills preferred in that court; the ſubpœna requireth appearance to be, coram Cancellario, Theſaurario, & Baronibus, and under whoſe teſt thoſe ſubpœnas go, and all other proceſs upon Engliſh bills?

‘*All the* ſubpœnas *are returnable* coram Baronibus, *and* teſt. *the* Chief Baron.

‘*The* ſubpœnas, ad audiend' judic' *upon hearing of cauſes in the Exchequer Chamber are* coram Theſaurario, Cancellario, & Baronibus, teſt. *the Lord* Chief Baron.

‘And thus having briefly anſwered the aforeſaid queſtions, and not being able to enlarge my firſt aim further at this time, by reaſon of ſome of my friends abſence out of town, with whom I meant to have had ſome conference, eſpecially touching the Chancellor's ſitting above the Lord Treaſurer in the open Court, the Lord Treaſurer always going before him at the riſing - - - of the Court. When I ſhall have further ſatisfied myſelf herein, I will make bold to give your Lordſhip further ſatisfaction therein; for I am ſtrong of opinion, that it is not by way of any precedency, but to make the Lord Treaſurer's greatneſs the more eminent, by ſitting in the midſt as it were, having the Chancellor on the right hand, and the Chief Baron on the left, and this is my conceit; but hereafter your Lordſhip ſhall underſtand more. And this with the remembrance of my humble duty and ſervice to your Lordſhip, I reſt for ever your Lordſhip's humble ſervant,

JO. WEST.’

19th December, 1635.

His Lordſhip was ſo very ſolicitous about this affair, that he wrote by the ſame meſſenger to Sir Julius Cæſar on the ſame ſubject, from whom he received the following clear and deciſive anſwer; as I have taken it from the original in his own handwriting, communicated by a perſon of worth in Ireland.

The Maſter of the Rolls (in England) to the Lord Treaſurer in Ireland.

Right honourable and my very good Lord,

‘I Have received your Lordſhip's by Mr. Sidnam, in the firſt whereof, I find many of your moſt honourable favours both to myſelf, and my nephew July Smith, as likewiſe, to his father before him, being once your Lordſhip's chaplain, for all which I moſt humbly thank your Lordſhip, and will endeavour on my part by all poſſible means to requite the ſame. And I humbly beſeech your Lordſhip to continue your favour towards my nephew July Smith, for his preferment hereafter, as occaſion ſhall happen; and I pray your Lordſhip to reſt aſſured, that I will always be thankful for the ſame. Now touching your Lordſhip's four queſtions; I know not your uſage of Ireland, but I will anſwer in that I know, as being above twenty-one years ſince, a Chancellor of the Exchequer in England myſelf, for the ſpace of eight years at leaſt.

‘I. That the Lord Treaſurer of England hath the precedency of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, both in the Exchequer and all places whereſoever.

‘II. That in their ſitting in the Exchequer; albeit, the Chancellor ſits on the right hand of the Lord Treaſurer upon the bench, yet the Lord Treaſurer ſitteth above him, for that he ſitteth next to the King's arms in the Exchequer-Court, and in the Exchequer-Chamber ſitteth alone upon the high bench, and the Chancellor upon the bench of the right hand, and the Lord Chief Baron with the reſt of the Barons on the Bench on the left hand.

‘III. That when there is a Lord Treaſurer in being, the Engliſh bills in the Exchequer-Chamber are preferred to the Lord Treaſurer, Chancellor, and Barons, and not to the Chancellor, Lord Treaſurer, and Barons.

‘IV. That the ſubpœnas upon Engliſh bills preferred, in that court require the appearance to be coram Theſaurario, Cancellario, & Baronibus, and not coram Cancellario, Theſaurario, & Baronibus; and under the teſt of the Lord Chief Baron: And if it pleaſe your Lordſhip, thus much will be teſtified under the hands of all the ancient Clerks of the Exchequer, who marvel very much that any one ſhould doubt thereof; and I moſt humbly take my leave, your Lordſhip's humble ſervant,

JUL. CÆSAR.

Received as the former letter was, Jan. 13, 1635.

ſeven

ſeven years together, abandoned to the reſentments of a man, much inclined, and no leſs able, to hurt him [*M*]. But it was not many years before a new change happened, which delivered the Earl from this oppreſſion, and in ſome meaſure put his antagoniſt in his power. The Earl of Strafford being impeached of high-treaſon in England, and the Earl of Cork being there in the ſpring of 1641, when that Lord was put upon his trial, the Earl being brought by order of the Houſe of Commons to ſupport their charge, he gave evidence againſt him *(p)*; which, though that great perſon took very much amiſs, ſo far as to proceed to very injurious inſinuations, yet the Earl of Cork declared, he did not come to England with any deſire or deſign to injure or proſecute him for things paſt; and, as a proof, owned that he had brought no papers or proofs over with him; but being in town and ſummoned, he thought himſelf obliged to obey, ſubmit to be examined, and tell the truth (*q*). He returned to Ireland ſoon after, and had not been there long before that fatal rebellion broke out, which was ſo detrimental to this, and ſhameful to that, country. It was very ſudden and unſuſpected, as may appear from the firſt account the Earl of Cork had of it, who, in caſe it had been ſooner detected, would ſcarcely have been found from home at ſo critical a juncture, when both the public, and all his private concerns, were at ſtake (*r*). This account, however, is unqueſtionably true [*N*]. It does not appear, from any memorials now extant,

(p) Ruſhworth's Trial of the Earl of Strafford at large, p. 175, 176. 181.

(q) The Earl's own Account at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, *ibid.* p. 228.

(r) Letter to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in England, dated Youghall, Aug. 25, 1642.

[*M*] *Much inclined, and no leſs able, to hurt him.*] The controverſy between theſe two noble perſons, is a very curious and a very uſeful piece of hiſtory. We have ſeveral touches of it in ſome of the beſt books extant, in relation to thoſe times; and there are ſome hints of it, even in our general hiſtories; but we have no where any accounts, either of the riſe of this miſunderſtanding, or how far it proceeded; and therefore it may not be amiſs to examine it a little more particularly. There ſeems to have been ſeveral cauſes of the Earl of Strafford's diſlike of the Earl of Cork; but I will name only three. His Lordſhip was Deputy of Ireland, many months before he went over thither, and in that ſpace of time he wrote ſeveral letters to the Lords Juſtices, of whom the Earl of Cork was one; and in theſe it plainly appears, that he was not a little offended with ſome points of their conduct, in which he thought his maſter's orders (but ſent by his advice) were not reſpectfully enough obeyed (39). Another cauſe of his diſlike was, the authority and intereſt of the Earl of Cork, which he makes no ſcruple of declaring in his letters, that he was determined to bring down, as ſuppoſing that if he could humble the great Earl of Cork, no body in that country could give him much trouble (40). A third reaſon was, that he looked upon the Earl of Cork, as a man chiefly promoted by the Lord Viſcount Falkland, who had proved no friend to Strafford. and whoſe friends therefore he diſliked (41). We have mentioned in the text, various inſtances of the pains taken to diſquiet the Earl of Cork, and we ſhall add ſome others here: as for inſtance, the forcing the Earl to appear at the Council-Table, in relation to an affair of no great conſequence: threatening him with impriſonment in caſe he diſobeyed the Lord Deputy's orders, and all this openly in the ſight and hearing of ſuch as attended the Council-Table, with a view to leſſen his general credit and eſteem (42): the cauſing informations to be preferred againſt him by the Attorney-General, in order to deprive him of part of his eſtate; which, in one caſe, was carried ſo far, that the Earl was content to give fifteen thouſand pounds to procure his pardon, and to have all the proceedings taken off the file (43): by bearing very hard upon families, to which he was nearly allied, and perſons who ſtood in cloſe relation to him; ſuch as the Lord Chancellor Lofthouſe, Viſcount Ely, the Earl of Kildare, and others: the refuſing him licence to go over to England when his affairs required it, merely to prevent his raiſing up a contrary intereſt at Court (44): but above all, Strafford's prejudice againſt the Earl of Cork, appears plaineſt from his own letters, in which he avowedly propoſes to obtain a vaſt ſum of money for the Revenue, by informations brought againſt this Nobleman, provided no favour was ſhewn him by the King, but he was left totally in the Lord Deputy's hands (45): laſtly, the countenancing ſuch as ſet up againſt him, or in any way endeavoured to diſturb him in his peace, or in his poſſeſſions. Yet with regard to one inſtance of this kind that is commonly mentioned, it ſeems to be pretty much out of the caſe; I mean, the ſuit ſet on foot by Dr. John Atherton, Biſhop of Waterford and Liſmore, who, though he was promoted by the Earl of Strafford, as himſelf acknowledged upon a very ſolemn occaſion, yet I do not find, that he relied much upon the Lord Deputy's protection; ſince, on the 27th of June 1637 (46), he was contented to join with the Earl in a petition to the Lord Deputy and Council, the prayer of which was, that they would appoint arbitrators to decide their controverſies, which was accordingly done; and the Biſhop of Derry and the Maſter of the Wards were aſſigned upon this petition; and they afterwards made the report, by which it appeared, that the Earl had never purchaſed any thing directly from the Church, but from other perſons for valuable conſiderations forty years before, when he was not ſo well acquainted with the ſtate of Ireland, and that for the ſake of Religion; and becauſe through the alienations of former Biſhops, there was not then above fifty pounds a year left to the See, the Earl was content to forego a part of his rights; in conſequence of which, the arbitrators awarded Liſmore and the lands belonging thereto, to the Earl; and Ardmore with other lands to the Biſhop (47): ſo that there ſeems to be no juſt cauſe, in reſpect to this matter, either to blame the Earl of Strafford for ſupporting Biſhop Atherton againſt the Earl, or to ſuggeſt, as ſome have done, that the Earl of Cork had too great a hand in bringing him to the gallows, that he might be free from the law-ſuits he had brought againſt him in right of his See; for theſe, as we have ſhewn, were over before, and conſequently the Earl had leſs to fear from him, than from any of his ſucceſſors. But notwithſtanding theſe differences between the two noble Earls, it is certain, that Strafford had a great kindneſs for the Lord Viſcount Dungarvan, the Earl of Cork's eldeſt ſon, and was very inſtrumental in his marriage with the Earl of Cumberland's daughter, by which the family acquired their Engliſh honours (48). He was likewiſe a very good friend to the Archbiſhop of Tuam, the Earl of Cork's near kinſman (49), and to his ſon-in-law the Lord Goring, ſon to the Earl of Norwich (50).

⁂ [It is certain, that the Earl of Strafford behaved in a very arrogant and haughty manner to the Earl of Cork; and that the conduct of the Lord Deputy was ſuch, as it could not reaſonably be expected any man of ſpirit would patiently ſubmit to, and eſpecially a man of ſo much worth and merit as the noble ſubject of this article. His Lordſhip gave evidence at Strafford's trial, that when he had commenced a ſuit at law, in a caſe in which he apprehended himſelf to be aggrieved, the Earl of Strafford, in the moſt arbitrary manner, forbad his proſecuting his ſuit, ſaying to him, 'Call in your writs, or if 'you will not, I will clap you in the caſtle; for I 'tell you, I will not have my orders diſputed by law, 'nor lawyers (*).' Strafford was deſirous that all perſons in Ireland ſhould be obliged to ſubmit implicitly to his will, and the pleaſure of his maſter; and employed the moſt violent and unjuſtifiable methods for that purpoſe; and, therefore, it is no ſubject of ſurpriſe, that a man of ſuch rank and ſpirit as the Earl of Cork was, ſhould not live upon good terms with a Lord-deputy of ſuch a character.] T.

[*N*] *This account, however, is unqueſtionably true.*] The Iriſh Rebellion was ſo very cloſely carried, and ſome

(39) Strafford's Letters, Vol. i. p. 77.

(40) *Ibid.* p. 305, 306.

(41) *Ibid.* p. 135.

(42) Ruſhworth's Trial of the Earl of Strafford, p. 175, 176.

(43) Anſwer of the Earl of Strafford to the fourth article of the Commons Impeachment.

(44) Strafford's Letters, Vol. i. p. 309.

(45) See his Letter upon this ſubject.

(46) Collections relating to Ireland, by P. W. p. 396.

(47) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 58.

(48) See the article of BOYLE (RICHARD) Earl of Burlington and Cork.

(49) See his Letter to the Earl of Strafford, amongſt that Earl's Letters, Vol. ii. p. 356.

(50) Strafford's Letters, Vol. i. p. 155.

(*) Trial of Strafford, as publiſhed in Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. iv. p. 175.

tant, that the Earl of Cork had ſerved in his youth; and yet, in his attendance on Sir George Carew, he muſt have ſeen a good deal of ſervice. He addreſſed himſelf, however, now it was neceſſary, to this new trade of a ſoldier, as if it had been his old profeſſion; and it is almoſt incredible, how great a figure he made therein. The caſtle of Liſmore, his capital ſeat, he rendered a fortreſs capable of impoſing reſpect on the Iriſh; his ſervants were armed and diſciplined immediately; he repaired to Youghall, which was but a weak place, in perſon; and ſummoning all his tenants to ſerve under his ſons, whom he put at their head without delay, he ſaw himſelf, before Chriſtmas, at the head of a little army of five hundred horſe and foot, well armed, well diſciplined, and in good order, of his own people, under himſelf and his four ſons, and which, perhaps, was no very pleaſing circumſtance, all in his own pay (s). He now reaped the benefit of his own great induſtry and caution in planting his country with Engliſh only; for they adhered to him ſteadily; and his appearance in Munſter was ſo formidable, that it was the laſt part of the kingdom which the rebels ventured to attack. It is indeed worthy of memory, how he diſpoſed and regulated his little force, ſo as to make it anſwer ſo many purpoſes. His eldeſt ſon, the Lord Viſcount Dungarvan, he ſent with a fine troop of horſe, to join the Lord Preſident St. Leger; his ſecond ſon, the Lord Viſcount Kynelmeaky, was appointed to defend his own town, for his father had given it him, of Bandonbridge, well ſeated, well fortified, and well peopled, there being in it upwards of ſeven thouſand ſouls, Engliſh Proteſtants, and not a ſingle Papiſt in the place (t). His ſon Roger, Lord Broghill, was left in Liſmore-caſtle to defend it; and his ſon Francis, the youngeſt that was able to act, remained with himſelf. In this poſture he continued many months, gaining frequent advantages over the rebels, from whom, in leſs than the ſpace of a year, his forces took ſeveral ſtrong caſtles, and killed them upwards of three thouſand men (u). But he paid his own troops all this time regularly, and when his money was gone, converted his plate into coin, thinking it better beſtowed in defending his lands, than in being buried in the earth to keep it out of the hands of the Iriſh. At laſt, however, his forces, his treaſure, and his patience, were almoſt worn out, which forced him to write to the Speaker of the Engliſh Parliament in very preſſing terms, and to lay the condition of the province open in the moſt moving manner poſſible (w). But what is very extraordinary, and deſerves to be for ever remembered to the honour of this noble perſon, when every body almoſt deſpaired of the public ſafety, and were afraid of exaſperating the rebels, he had the courage to think of puniſhing them for their offences, and that too in a legal way: neither was this in a few caſes, or againſt particular perſons, more eaſy to be brought to juſtice, or who might be ſuppoſed to have given immediate cauſe of reſentment to this noble perſon, but generally (x). Bills were found, by juries free from all exception, againſt the Viſcounts, Roch, Mountgarret, Ikerrin, and Muſkerry; the Lords, Dunboyne, Caſtelconnel, and the heir of Lord Cahir, Theobald Bourke, Baron of Loughmere; and Richard Butler, Eſq; of Kilcaſh, brother to the Earl of Ormond, with all perſons

(s) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 95.

(t) From his own Letter to the Speaker, Lenthall.

(u) Taken from the ſame Letter.

(w) See that Letter in Orrery's Letters, p. 4.

(x) Orrery's Letters, p. 5.

ſome of thoſe concerned in it, were ſuch deep Politicians, that they found ways and means not only to blind ſuch as were moſt ſincerely attached to the Engliſh and Proteſtant intereſt, but, which is very extraordinary, made them ſubſervient to their pernicious deſigns. The proſecution of the Earl of Strafford was driven on by them, and part of the Iriſh Committee ſent over to proſecute him in England, were Papiſts. But the moſt ſingular turn of all was, that they hindered 4000 men from being ſent to Spain, becauſe of the great danger the nation might be in, from having ſo many men returned upon them, perfectly well diſciplined, and who knew every creek and corner of the country, out of a country always an inveterate enemy of England; but at bottom they wanted theſe very men to join them in the rebellion, as they afterwards did (51). By this thorough diſſimulation, they had acquired ſuch a degree of credit, that they were in hopes of ſeeing the military ſtores, and what quantity of arms were in the hands of the Government, and where placed; by giving out, that ſome of the Lord *Strafford's* creatures had framed a plot for blowing up the Parliament, and in this they had certainly ſucceeded, if Sir John Borlaſe, who was one of the Lords Juſtices and Maſter of the Ordnance, had not wiſely and ſtoutly refuſed it (52). But the fulleſt proof of the ſecurity of the Proteſtants, and the art of the Papiſts, will appear by the following ſingular account of the firſt notice the Earl of Cork had of the rebellion, which we have from the Rev. Mr. Morrice, Chaplain to the firſt Earl of Orrery, who probably had it from that Lord's own mouth; we ſhall give it in his own words, obſerving only, that the day on which this tranſaction happened was the 27th of October 1641 (53). ‘ About two or three days after Lord Broghill's arrival in Ireland, he waited on his father at Caſtle-Lyons, where the Earl of Barrimore, who had married Lord Broghill's ſiſter, had invited them to dinner. They met at Caſtle-Lyons, Lord Muſkerry, and ſome others of the Iriſh nation, all Papiſts, with whom they were very free and familiar: but it happened while they were at dinner, that a gentleman came to my Lord of Cork with letters, who before he could be perſuaded to ſit down, deſired to ſpeak with his Lordſhip in private, and then, with horror in his face, told him, that the Iriſh had been in Rebellion three days; that they had committed many outrages and cruelties upon the Engliſh, and that in all the country from Linſter down towards Clonmel (through which he had paſſed) the Iriſh Rebels were in arms, ſo that he was forced to chooſe all the bye-ways he could find, that he might bring thoſe ſad tidings to his Lordſhip. My Lord of Cork would diſcover no ſurprize at this *diſmal* news, but deſired him to ſit down to dinner, and ſay nothing. As ſoon as dinner was over, my Lord of Cork opened his packet, wherein he found proclamations to warn the Engliſh to be on their defence, declaring withal, that Rebellion, and the diſcovery of it. His Lordſhip communicated the account to the company then preſent; but Lord Muſkerry ſeemed to make light of it, and treated it as a ridiculous thing without truth or foundation: however, they all forthwith prepared to return to their ſeveral homes, and my Lord of Cork ſent notice of the tidings he had received, together with a proclamation to Sir William St. Leger, then Lord Preſident of Munſter, and went back with his company to Liſmore. After the Earl of Cork was gone, Lord Muſkerry alſo returned home, ſtill perſiſting there was no ſuch thing as a riſing either then in being, or intended to be; but the next account was, that Lord Muſkerry himſelf was up in Rebellion in the weſtern parts, with many thouſands of Iriſh.’

(51) Hiſt. of the Reduction of Ireland, p. 72.

(52) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 71.

(53) Memoirs of Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, by the Rev. Mr. Morrice, p. 6.

of note or figure, either laity or clergy, who dwelt, or had committed acts of rebellion in the counties of Cork or Waterford, to the number of eleven hundred, which bills of indictment his Lordſhip tranſmitted to England, ſignifying, at the ſame time, his reſolution to proſecute all theſe perſons to an outlawry *(y)*. One would have imagined, that this muſt have provoked the rebels to have employed their then ſuperior forces againſt the province of Munſter in general, and the country of the great Earl of Cork more eſpecially; but Sir William St. Leger, then Preſident, kept them in awe as long as he lived, though he had but a very inconſiderable force (*z*). On his death, the Proviſional Command was conferred, by common conſent, upon the Lord Inchiquin, who had married the Preſident's daughter; the rebels, either having conceived ſome hope becauſe he was of an old Iriſh family, or beyond meaſure exaſperated at his acting againſt them, marched with a numerous army to attack him; and September 3, 1642, they came to a battle at Liſcarrol, in which the rebels were defeated, and the only perſon of note killed on the ſide of the Engliſh, was the Viſcount Kynelmeaky, whoſe body was interred in the tomb erected by the Earl of Cork for his family at Youghall (*a*). His father ſhewed his conſtancy in ſupporting this misfortune with firmneſs, and was not more affected with his private, than with the public, calamity [*O*]. He continued his ſervices to the kingdom with the ſame warmth and ſpirit, though he was no longer in a condition to do ſuch mighty things as at the beginning, his eſtate being waſted and deſtroyed, his towns converted into garriſons, his houſes into caſtles, his tenants in arms in the field, his ſervants doing duty in his preſence, and his very goods diſpoſed of to pay them. But what he could do he did, and continued his ſons in arms, riſking his whole family on the ſame bottom with the Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland (*b*). Yet how well ſoever he kept up his ſpirits in appearance, his inward concern, joined to the infirmities incident to old age, and the want of reſt and quiet, made him break apace; and as if there had been ſome ſecret connection between this nobleman's fortune and that of his adopted country, he went to his grave on the very day (as is ſaid) that the ceſſation was concluded with the Iriſh at Sigginſtown, *viz.* Sept. 15, 1643 (*c*). He was interred in his own chapel, in his pariſh church at Youghall, near the noble monument he had raiſed for his family, which is with great care and decency preſerved to our times, with the inſcriptions in relation to the honours he acquired, and the noble and numerous poſterity he left behind him *(d)*. His name is mentioned with honour by ſuch as beſt underſtood the Hiſtory of Ireland, and who conſidered him as one of the greateſt promoters of the Engliſh intereſt, that ever ſettled in that iſland [*P*]. His
wonderful

(y) His Letter to the Speaker (Lenthall) before cited.

(z) Borlaſe's Hiſt. p. 209.

(a) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. ii. p. 363.

(b) See his own Letters to the Speaker, the Marquis of Ormond and Lord Goring.

(c) Borlaſe's Hiſt. p. 209.

(d) Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, p. 64.

[*O*] *Was not more affected with his private, than with the public calamity.*] In this battle, which was very glorious for the Engliſh, who, with a force far inferior to that of the enemy, defeated them entirely; the Earl of Cork had four ſons all at the head of troops of his own raiſing, viz. his eldeſt ſon, the Lord Viſcount Dungarvan; Lewis, Lord Viſcount Kynelmeaky; Roger, Lord Broghill, and Francis, afterwards Lord Shannon. They all diſtinguiſhed themſelves, as became men deſcended from an ancient Engliſh family; and Lord Kynelmeaky falling on the ſpot, his brother Francis, though not full twenty years of age, moſt gallantly reſcued his body and his horſe out of the hands of the rebels; of which fact we are aſcertained by a letter under the Earl of Cork's hand, to the Marquis of Ormond, dated from Youghall, October 7, 1642 (54), in order to procure the company of foot which the deceaſed Viſcount had commanded, for his elder brother Dungarvan; and the troop of horſe which he alſo had, for his younger brother Francis. In this letter written on ſo melancholy an occaſion, and ſo ſoon after ſo great a loſs, the Earl ſhews a Roman magnanimity, and takes comfort for his ſon's death, from the glorious manner of his dying. His Lordſhip had, alſo, occaſion to diſcover the ſame ſteadineſs of mind, in reſpect to his ſon-in-law the Earl of Barrimore, who died September 29, in the ſame year, that is, about three weeks after the battle of Liſcaroll, of whom he tells the Marquis of Ormond, that he left a diſtreſſed wife with four children, an incumbered and disjointed eſtate, all his country and livelihood being little better than waſted, which induced him to ſolicit that generous nobleman, then commander in chief of the forces in Ireland, to continue the command of a troop of horſe to the Earl's eldeſt ſon, for the better upholding of ſuch an ancient and honourable family (55). I mention this the rather, becauſe it clearly ſhews the care taken by the Earl of Cork, to render the private eſtabliſhments of his family beneficial to the public, as they eminently were during the time of the great rebellion in Ireland, as the reader may eaſily collect from the account that will be hereafter given, of the manner in which his Lordſhip diſpoſed of all his daughters (56).

(54) Orrery's Letters, p. 9.

(55) *Ibid.* p. 5.

(56) See this explained in note [*R*].

[*P*] *One of the greateſt promoters of the Engliſh intereſt, that ever ſettled in that iſland.*] It is ſo natural, as well as ſo common a thing, for men ſo diſtinguiſhed by their actions, as to merit a place in hiſtory, to be repreſented therein under very different characters, that we cannot at all wonder this ſhould happen to the Earl of Cork. He has, however, this advantage, that he is openly and heartily commended by thoſe who deſigned that their labours ſhould ſee the light; and that the reflections on his character are chiefly to be met with in the private letters of men who were his declared enemies, or in hiſtories written ſince his time upon the credit of ſuch memoirs. In proof of this, we ſhall obſerve, that an author well acquainted with Iriſh hiſtory, gives us the following character of, and a curious particular relating to, his Lordſhip, which is no where elſe mentioned (57). 'He was a 'perſon for his abilities and knowledge in the affairs 'of the world eminently obſervable, in as much as '(though he was no Peer of England) he was admitted to ſit in the Lords houſe upon the wool'ſacks, *ut conciliarius*, and for all the eſtate he ar'rived at (which was the greateſt in the memory of 'the laſt age), none ever taxed him with exorbi'tances, but ſuch as thought Princes had too little, 'and religious men not enough.' Sir Richard Cox (58), who was both a very knowing and a very impartial writer, and could not but be perfectly well acquainted with the matters of fact which he mentions, ſpeaks of this noble perſon in the following terms. 'The noble Earl of Cork, Lord High-Treaſurer, 'was one of the moſt extraordinary perſons, either 'that or any other age hath produced, with reſpect 'to the great and juſt acquiſitions of eſtate that he 'made, and the public works that he began and 'finiſhed, for the advancement of the Engliſh in'tereſt, and the Proteſtant religion in Ireland, as 'churches, alms-houſes, free-ſchools, bridges, 'caſtles, and towns, viz. *Liſmore, Tallow, Clogh'nakilty, Iniſkeen, Caſtletown, and Bandon* (which 'laſt place coſt him fourteen thouſand pounds); in'ſomuch, that when Cromwell ſaw theſe prodigious 'improvements, which he little expected to find in '*Ireland*, he declared, *that if there had been an Earl* '*of* Cork *in every province, it would have been im-*
'*poſſible*

(57) Borlaſe's Hiſt. p. 209.

(58) In his excellent Introduction to the ſecond volume of his Hiſt. of Ireland.

wonderful riſe, his vaſt eſtate, his prodigious improvements, his amazing influence, and that ſpirit of œconomy and magnificence, which were ſo happily united in his manner of living, made him admired by the native Iriſh, to whom he owes the diſtinction or ſirname of *the great* Earl of Cork, by which he is amongſt them always mentioned (*e*). A compariſon between his beginning and concluſion is worth the making, not only in honour to his memory, and of the country which produced ſo extraordinary a man, but even of human nature, in reſpect to which ſuch productions are rare. Such a compariſon has been made with great force of wit and judgment, but being hitherto unpubliſhed, we cannot certainly conclude this article better, than by giving it a place here (*f*) [*Q*]. As he enjoyed, while living, what are eſteemed the moſt deſirable and ſubſtantial bleſſings in this world, an honourable ſtation for himſelf, and a very extenſive power of doing good to others; ſo at his demiſe he left a family numerous and honourable, and may be truly ſaid, to have been no more diſtinguiſhed by his good fortune in his life-time, than by the felicity of his deſcendents, many of whom will be ſubjects of ſucceeding articles, and all deſerve very well to be remembered (*g*) [*R*].

(*e*) Budgell's Memoirs, p. 25.

(*f*) Worthies of Queen Elizabeth, MS.

(*g*) Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, p. 64.

' *poſſible for the Iriſh to have raiſed a rebellion.* And whilſt he was carrying on theſe ſolid works, he lived in his family at a rate of plenty that exceeded thoſe who conſumed great eſtates in the laviſh ways of ill-ordered exceſs. His *motto*, *God's providence is my inheritance*, ſhews from whence he derived all his bleſſings, the greateſt of which was, the numerous and noble poſterity he had to leave his eſtate unto.' The noble Earl himſelf aſſures us, as the reader has ſeen before, that though he raiſed ſuch a fortune, as left him no room to envy any of his neighbours, yet he did it without care or burthen to his conſcience (59); and one may reaſonably preſume, from the whole tenor of his life and converſation, that he was not a man capable of doing baſe or black actions without burthening his conſcience; nor is it at all probable, that if he had known himſelf guilty of any ſuch actions, he would have committed ſuch a paragraph as that before referred to, amongſt the reſt of his true remembrances, to the peruſal of his poſterity; ſince this could have no other effect than to leſſen their reſpect for his memory, and engage them to doubt the truth of all that he had written. One might add to this, numberleſs teſtimonies from his own letters (60), which, according to the circumſtances of time, viſibly ſhew, that the procuring, promoting, maintaining, extending, or recovering the Engliſh intereſt in Ireland, was the great buſineſs of his life, from his firſt drawing in the air of that iſland, to the time that he breathed his laſt in that kingdom.

(59) See before in note [*B*].

(60) Many of them preſerved in the Collections of the Earl of Strafford's and Lord Orrery's Letters.

[*Q*] *We certainly cannot conclude this article better, than by giving it a place here.*] There is hardly a reign in the Engliſh hiſtory, more fruitful in great events, or under which flouriſhed greater men, than that of Queen Elizabeth, who was the firſt author of our Earl's fortune. This circumſtance has put ſeveral upon recording the famous perſons flouriſhing in her time, and I once ſaw part of a very large work, bearing the title of *Queen Elizabeth's Worthies*. It was divided into ſeveral books, one of which contained the *Stateſmen* of her reign, and among the reſt, Richard Boyle Earl of Cork, though he was not ſo created, till after her deceaſe, part of whoſe character was delivered in theſe words: ' He was a perſon of very early as well as very great abilities, and had all the helps requiſite to aſſiſt the parts which he had received from nature; for part of his breeding he had under a learned clergyman in Kent; part in the univerſity of Cambridge, where he was remarkable for early riſing, indefatigable ſtudy, and great temperance; the remaining part of his education in the Temple, where he acquired ſuch a knowledge of the Law, as, though undervalued by himſelf, was much eſteemed by others, and enabled him to form ſo true a judgment of ſuch caſes as fell under his conſideration, that he was very ſeldom deceived in them. He went over to Ireland with fewer pounds in his pocket, than he acquired thouſands a year; he was then about two-and-twenty, had a graceful perſon, and all thoſe accompliſhments requiſite to make a young man ſucceed in a country which was ſo much a ſcene of action. He rendered himſelf uſeful to Sir Geoffery Fenton, who was long a Privy-Counſellor, and held ſeveral great offices in Ireland, to which it was thought he chiefly attained by looking narrowly into the conduct of thoſe, who were intruſted with the government, in reference to which, he held a conſtant correſpondence with the Cecils, and it is believed that Mr. Boyle was one of his agents, which expoſed him to the reſentment of ſome great men, by whoſe procurement he was put into the Gate-houſe, when he firſt came over to England, ten years after his going to Ireland. But this proved more detrimental to them than to him; for his friends in England, procuring him a hearing before the Queen in Council, he there, in clearing himſelf, laid open their miſmanagement ſo plainly, and ſupported all that he advanced with ſuch pregnant proofs, that he was not only diſcharged, but preferred; and as the account he gave, procured Sir George Carew, deſcended from one of the firſt conquerors of Ireland, a great employment, ſo that worthy knight, whoſe merit afterwards raiſed him to a higher title, was ever a conſtant friend to Mr. Boyle. He, likewiſe, became known about this time, to the renowned Sir Walter Raleigh, from whom he purchaſed his ſhip, called the Pilgrim; in which, well laden with arms and ammunition, he returned to Ireland, where himſelf and his cargo were equally welcome. He thenceforward grew apace in reputation and fortune firſt, and then in places and titles of honour, which he affected not, until he was well able to maintain them; for he was in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age when he received the honour of knighthood, and in his fiftieth, when he attained to be a Baron. He made large purchaſes in Ireland, but not till he was able to improve them; and though he paid money for his lands, yet the rents that he received from them were the fruits of his own prudence, and he grew rich on eſtates which had ruined their former poſſeſſors; and increaſed his wealth, not by hoarding, but by ſpending; for he built and walled ſeveral towns at his own coſt; but in places ſo well ſituated, that they were ſoon filled with inhabitants, who, though their rents were moderate, quickly repaid him the money he had laid out, with intereſt; and he as readily laid it out again; ſo that in the ſpace of forty years he acquired to himſelf, what in ſome countries would have been eſteemed a noble principality, and as they came to years of diſcretion, he beſtowed eſtates upon his ſons, and married his daughters into the beſt families in that country; ſo that his power and credit were continually increaſing, and he was generally eſteemed, beloved by the Engliſh, and reſpected and obeyed by the natives: the former admired his wiſdom, the latter ſtood amazed at his magnificence: For, as he had the power and property, ſo he had the ſoul and ſpirit of a Prince; and his caſtle of Liſmore looked rather like the palace of a ſovereign, than the reſidence of a private man, whoſe eſtate was of his own raiſing. He outlived moſt of thoſe who had known the meanneſs of his beginning; but he delighted to remember it himſelf, and even took pains to preſerve the memory thereof to poſterity, in the motto which he always uſed, and which he cauſed to be placed upon his tomb, viz. *God's providence is our inheritance.* He died in the 78th year of his age, having ſpent his laſt, as he did the firſt years of his life, in the ſupport of the Crown of England againſt Iriſh Rebels, and in the ſervice of his country.'

[*R*] *And all deſerve very well to be remembered.*] The Earl of Cork, by his ſecond lady, had fifteen children, viz. ſeven ſons and eight daughters (61). I. Roger, born Auguſt 1, 1606, at Youghall, died at Says-Court at Deptford in Kent, October 10, 1615. II. Alice, born at Youghall, March 20, 1607; married to David Barry, Earl of Barrimore. III. Sarah, born

(61) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances.* Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, p. 64. Collins's Peerage, Vol. ii. p. 366.

born at Dublin, March 29, 1609; married to Sir Thomas Moor, ſon and heir of the Viſcount Drogheda, afterwards to Robert, Lord Digby. IV. Lettice, born April 25, 1610; married to George Goring, ſon to the Earl of Norwich. V. Joan, born June 14, 1611; married to George, Earl of Kildare, firſt Earl of Ireland, Auguſt 15, 1628. VI. Richard, born at Youghall, October 21, 1612; married to the Lady Elizabeth, daughter and heireſs of Henry, Earl of Cumberland. VII. Catherine, born March 22, 1614; married to Arthur Jones, Viſcount Ranelagh. VIII. Geoffry, born at Youghall, April 10th, 1616; and died the ſame year. IX. Dorothy, born December 31, 1617; married to Sir Arthur Loftus, ſon and heir to the Viſcount Ely. X. Lewis, born May 23, 1629; created Viſcount Kynelmeaky in 1628; married Elizabeth, daughter of William Earl of Denbigh, he was killed in the battle of Liſcaroll, September 3, 1642; but his widow was created Counteſs of Guildford, in her own right, by King Charles II. XI. Roger, born April 25, 1621. XII. Francis, born June 25, 1623, created afterwards Lord Viſcount Shannon. XIII. Mary, born November 11, 1624; married to Charles, Earl of Warwick, a lady ſo kind to the poor, that it was ſaid her huſband *had left his eſtate to charitable uſes*; ſhe died April 12, 1678; and it was at her funeral, that Dr. Anthony Walker preached the ſermon before-mentioned (62). XIV. Robert, born January 25th, 1626. XV. Margaret, born in Channel-Row, Weſtminſter, April 30, 1629, who died unmarried. C.

(62) See the note [F].

BOYLE (Richard), Earl of Burlington and Cork, ſon to the former, a Nobleman of unblemiſhed loyalty in rebellious, and of untainted integrity in times of the greateſt corruption. He was born at the college of Youghall, Octob. 20, 1612 (*a*), his father being then Sir Richard Boyle, and in the beginning of his proſperity. The ſponſors, at the baptiſm of this noble perſon of whom we are now ſpeaking, were, the Earl of Thomond, Sir Thomas Aldworth, Mr. Thomas Ball of London, merchant, and Lady Anne Parſons. We have no diſtinct account of the place or manner of his education; but there is not the leaſt queſtion of his having all the care taken of him in this reſpect due to his quality, ſince the Earl his father was very ſtrict and ſerious in that particular. (*b*). It is alſo very probable he diſtinguiſhed himſelf remarkably in the proſecution of his ſtudies, as the Lord Falkland, when Deputy of Ireland, conferred on him, at his father's houſe at Youghall, the honour of knighthood, Aug. 13, 1624 (*c*), when not quite twelve years old. We have no account of the manner in which the next ſeven years of his life were ſpent; but as the Earl himſelf was ſometimes in England, and ſometimes in Ireland, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, the Lord Dungarvan was ſeldom abſent from him. But when he drew towards twenty, the Earl thought proper to finiſh his education by ſending him abroad, which he did under a very diſcreet and prudent Governor, with an allowance of one thouſand pounds a year, June 4, 1632 (*d*). He paſſed through Flanders, France, and Italy, and after two years ſtay and upwards, returned home a graceful and accompliſhed young Nobleman, which induced the Lord Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, to promote earneſtly a match between him and the Lady Elizabeth, daughter and ſole heireſs to Henry Lord Clifford, afterwards Earl of Cumberland, which, though it met with ſome difficulties and impediments, was at laſt concluded, and the marriage with great pomp ſolemnized, in the chapel of Skipton caſtle in Craven, July 5, 1635 (*e*), which was a very great addition to the ſplendour of the family and to its intereſts [*A*]. By this marriage he came to be very well known and received at Court, where his conduct gained him the eſteem of the Miniſters, and the love of all who were about it. He was particularly loyal and dutiful to the King (Charles I.); for he took, according to the letter, the injunctions given him on this head by his parents and preceptors; and having in the fulneſs of his heart given his Majeſty warm aſſurances of this kind, he made it the buſineſs and ſtudy of his life to come up to them (*f*). He raiſed, in the firſt troubles of the North, a gallant troop of horſe, at the head of which he propoſed, under the Earl of Northumberland, to ſerve againſt the Scots, in the army raiſed to chaſtiſe their firſt rebellion (*g*). He gained much honour by this ſtep, and many friends, even amongſt thoſe who were not much affected towards his father. On the breaking out of the bloody and inhuman rebellion in Ireland, he was immediately in arms and in action. He did not only command troops, but raiſed them, and for a long time paid them; yet he treated them always as if they

(*a*) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances.*

(*b*) See the Life of the Hon. Robert Boyle, Eſq; prefixed to his Works, p. 7.

(*c*) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances.*

(*d*) Rev. Mr. Morris's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, p. 1.

(*e*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. i. p. 346.

(*f*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 32.

(*g*) Life of the Hon. Robert Boyle, prefixed to his Works, p. 10.

[*A*] *Great addition to the ſplendour of the family, and to its intereſts.*] It is not with any intention of ſpeaking here at large, of the ancient and noble family of Clifford, that we give this note upon the marriage of the Lord Dungarvan, becauſe this belongs to, and will come in, its proper place; and all that we have to do here is to point out to the reader, what accrued to the family of Boyle by this marriage. George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the reign of Queen Elizabeth by ſeveral naval expeditions, in which he hazarded both his perſon and his fortune, deceaſed October 30, 1605 (1); leaving iſſue by his Counteſs Margaret, third daughter of Francis Earl of Bedford, an only daughter, Anne, who firſt married Robert Earl of Dorſet, by whom ſhe had two daughters; and afterwards Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery (2). To this Lady Anne, the Earl her father, by his laſt will and teſtament, bequeathed the ſum of fifteen thouſand pounds as a portion, leaving all his eſtates to Sir Francis Clifford his brother, on whom the dignity was entailed; but in caſe of the failure of his heirs male, to his daughter Anne before mentioned (3). This Francis, Earl of Cumberland, took to wife Griſſold, daughter of Thomas Hughs of Uxbridge, in the county of Middleſex, Eſq; widow of Edward Nevil, Lord Bergavenny (4), by whom he had his ſon Henry, and two daughters. The eldeſt of theſe daughters, Margaret, married Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Viſcount Wentworth, and Earl of Strafford; the ſecond, Frances, married Sir Gervaſe Clifton, by whom ſhe had ſeveral children (5). His ſon Henry, Lord Clifford of Laneſborough, or rather Lonſborough, in the county of York, married Frances, only daughter of Robert Cecil, Earl of Saliſbury, and Lord High-Treaſurer of England, by whom he had iſſue an only daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, born at the caſtle of Skipton in Craven (6), who in the twenty-ſecond year of her age was married to the noble perſon of whom we are ſpeaking; her grandfather, Francis, Earl of Cumberland, being then living, and a widower; ſo that ſhe was conſidered as the preſumptive heireſs of this branch of the Clifford family, as the Lady Anne was of the elder houſe (7); which ſufficiently diſtinguiſhes the deſcents of theſe two families, and that is all that we propoſed in this note.

(1) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. i. p. 345.

(2) Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, p. 63.

(3) Dugdale, *ubi ſupra.*

(4) See the Pedigree of the Clifford Family, in Dugdale.

(5) Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, *ubi ſupra.*

(6) MS. Memoirs of the Clifford Family, cited by Dugdale, and now in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Leiceſter.

(7) Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, *ubi ſupra.*

had a nearer relation to him than what was created by ſervice, and often put them in mind that they were not ſoldiers of fortune, but men in arms for the protection of their country (*b*). He was in ſeveral ſieges and rencounters, more eſpecially in the action at Liſcarrol; but he never ſtruck in with thoſe, who thought the beſt way to promote the Proteſtant cauſe, was to carry on the war ſo as to render the Papiſts deſperate. It was on the contrary principle that he concurred with, and even adviſed, the Marquis of Ormond, in the affair of the ceſſation; and that being agreed to, in September 1643 (*i*), he ſet himſelf to procuring the King that aſſiſtance, from the hopes of which he had conſented to this meaſure. He was ſo zealous in this affair, that, at his own requeſt, his regiment was made part of the Iriſh brigade ſent to his Majeſty's relief, and his Lordſhip, now Earl of Cork, commanded it in perſon (*k*). He was received at Oxford, by the King, with all poſſible marks of favour and attention, and every body ſpoke of his behaviour in the terms that it deſerved. In conſideration, therefore, of theſe timely and effectual ſervices, as well as of thoſe rendered by his deceaſed father-in-law, he was raiſed to the dignity of Baron Clifford of Laneſborough, by patent (*l*) [*B*]. He continued to wait upon the King as long as any one place held out for him in England, and was then forced to compound for his eſtate with the powers in being, which he did for 1631 pounds (*m*): but going beyond the ſeas before he had perfected his compoſition, advantage was taken of this; and the Houſe of Commons, in January, appointed a Committee to conſider of the debt owing by the Earl of Cork, which drew on his Lordſhip many and great inconveniencies (*n*). He ſatisfied this demand, however, and then went over to live as quietly as he could upon his eſtate in Ireland; though from the hardſhips of the times, and his own generous temper, he was ſoon, notwithſtanding his large paternal fortune, brought under great difficulties, to which the people then in authority, in the year 1651, added new burthens; which obliged his Counteſs (himſelf diſdaining it) to ſupplicate Cromwell for redreſs, which ſhe did by an admirable letter, which lets us into the circumſtances of his Lordſhip at that time, and therefore deſerves the reader's notice (*o*) [*C*]. By this application, and the intereſt of Lord Broghill,

(*b*) Antient and Preſent State of the county of Waterford, p. 58.

(*i*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol ii. p. 133.

(*k*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, p. 469.

(*l*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. i. p. 346.

(*m*) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 678.

(*n*) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 237.

(*o*) Collection of Letters from and to Cromwell, *&c.* publiſhed by Mr. Nickolls, p. 84.

[*B*] *Raiſed to the dignity of Baron Clifford of Laneſborough, by patent.*] In order to ſhew how well this patent, which was the foundation of the Engliſh honours to which this noble family have attained, was merited from the crown, we ſhall take notice of ſome remarkable facts that deſerve to be remembered. Francis, Earl of Cumberland, died in 1641, and was ſucceeded in that title by Henry, Lord Clifford, his ſon, father to the Viſcounteſs of Dungarvan (8). This Henry Earl of Cumberland was a man of a peaceable diſpoſition, of a noble and generous temper, and truly loyal to the king his maſter; to whom, in the beginning of the troubles, he repaired at York, and ſigned the famous Declaration dated from thence, June 13, 1642, at which time he was ſo much beloved in his country, that, at the general requeſt of all the loyal part of the county of York, the ſupreme command in military affairs was committed to this noble Peer (9): and that he was not in any degree biaſſed by the love of authority, and the ſplendour of ſuch a commiſſion, appears clearly by the character the noble hiſtorian gives of him; who ſays, that he was a man of great honour and integrity, and lived with very much acceptation and affection from the gentlemen and the common people, but was not in any degree of a martial temper. He adds, the great fortune of the family was divided, the larger part carried away by an heir female, and his father had ſo waſted the remainder, that the Earl could not live with that luſtre, or draw ſo great a dependence upon him, as his anceſtors had done: but ſo much the more that it was repugnant to his nature, and incompatible with his circumſtances, the loyalty of the Earl appeared in accepting of this commiſſion, which he kept as long as it was neceſſary for the king's ſervice, and no longer; but willingly reſigned it to the Earl of Newcaſtle, who was fitter for the employment, and upon whom, for that reaſon only, his Majeſty beſtowed it (10). This worthy Earl deceaſed, December 11, 1643, being the fifth Earl of Cumberland of his family, and his Counteſs died (11) the February following. In the ſame month the Earl of Cork, heir in right of his wife to the eſtates of this family, landed at Cheſter, and marched his forces into Dorſetſhire, after which, as is mentioned in the text, he repaired to Oxford, and for his own and his father-in-law's great ſervices was created Baron Clifford of Laneſborough in the county of York (12), November 4, 1644, in the 20th year of the reign of King Charles I, and ſo became the firſt Peer of his family in England.

(8) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. i. p. 345.

(9) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, fol. edit. p. 76.

(10) *Id. ibid.* p. 282, 283.

(11) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. i. p. 346.

(12) Collins's Peerage, Vol. ii. p. 370.

[*C*] *And therefore deſerves the reader's notice.*] This letter occurs in a collection, lately publiſhed, of papers that were formerly in the hands of the famous John Milton, which no doubt afford us a far better picture of thoſe unhappy times, than hitherto we had received; becauſe private letters, more eſpecially on ſuch particular occaſions, ſhew the true and genuine ſentiments of people's minds, and the ſtate of things, without falſehood or diſguiſe: but to come to the piece itſelf.

The Counteſs of Cork's letter to the then Lord General, Oliver Cromwell (13).

My Lord,

‘IF this prove an unſeaſonable time to move you in any private buſineſs, I do only hope for your pardon upon what neceſſitates me thereto, which is my Lord's deprivement of that benefit and favour you were pleaſed formerly to grant him (by licenſing his return, and enjoyment of his eſtate in Ireland), by an order of late iſſued from the Commiſſioners-General to the Commiſſioners of the Revenue, for to ſtop ſome levies of monies intended by my Lord, in and about Bandon. This order, grounded merely upon an information (as appears by a copy of it herewith preſented to your Excellency), was, by theſe later Commiſſioners, ſtretched beyond what it will literally bear; for they have extended it to the ſtopping of my Lord's rents in all places, and in ſuch a time, as the lands were juſt then to be ſet for the enſuing year; ſo that 'tis to be doubted, they will for the moſt part lie waſte, if ſome redreſs be not had ſpeedily, the tenants ſtanding at gaze, not knowing what to do. To declare the ground of all this buſineſs, which I may very properly term a miſtake, I do here, with much truth, inform your Lordſhip, that about February laſt my Lord was ſo infinitely preſſed for money by his creditors, that he was reduced to the neceſſity of trying all ways to raiſe ſome for the allaying their fury, or elſe to give up his perſon to a languiſhing impriſonment here; whereupon he ſent over among his friends and tenants, deſiring a quarter's rent advance, only to give ſome ſtop to the perſecutions againſt him by his creditors here, and to come more ſpeedily among them, in hopes to live quietly there, and ſettle his affairs ſo as to bring more tenants upon the lands for the common good, and his own private advantage. This was all the myſtery, which was no way done in ſecret, for my brother Broghill was therewith acquainted; as for any other matter that may be laid to my Lord's charge, as having been of the King's party,

(13) Papers of State addreſſed to Oliver Cromwell, *&c.* publiſhed by Mr. John Nickolls, p. 84, 85.

‘ your

hill, the Earl was freed from theſe grievances; the weight of which, however, did not hinder him from contributing all he could to the Reſtoration, and ſupplying his Majeſty, King Charles II., with conſiderable ſums of money, till that could be brought about *(p)*. In gratitude for, and to preſerve the memory of, theſe ſervices, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed, by letters patent bearing date March 20, in the ſixteenth year of his reign, A. D. 1663, to raiſe him to the dignity of Earl of Burlington or Bridlington, in the county of York *(q)*. A melancholy accident that happened not long after in his family, afforded a new opportunity for the King to manifeſt his affection for this noble Peer, whoſe ſecond ſon, Richard, then a volunteer on board the fleet commanded by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, was killed by a cannot ſhot, June 3, 1665, in the battle of Solebay *(r)*: for, upon the thirteenth of March, 1666, his Majeſty conſtituted him Lord Lieutenant of the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, of the city of York, and county of the ſame. This he enjoyed during all that reign, and from the year 1679, with the addition of being alſo Cuſtos Rotulorum *(s)*. Under King James II., he held the ſame employments as long as he thought proper to hold them; but when he found that unfortunate Prince expected him to make ſuch uſes of thoſe offices as manifeſtly tended to overthrow the Conſtitution, he very magnanimouſly reſigned them, upon which the lieutenancy was given to Lord Thomas Howard, a very zealous and buſy Papiſt *(t)*. His Lordſhip, upon the coming over of the Prince of Orange, went heartily into the meaſures he thought conducive to ſettling the Government and redreſſing grievances, but neither ſought or accepted employment. However, July 16, 1689, in the firſt year of their reign, their Majeſties King William and Queen Mary called his only ſon, Charles Lord Clifford of Laneſborough, by writ, up to the Houſe of Peers *(u)*, an honour which he did not live long to enjoy, dying October 12, 1694 *(w)*. Our noble Peer, whoſe parts qualified him for the moſt active, naturally inclined to peaceful and leſs pompous offices, in which he gained the reſpect and eſteem of the gentry his neighbours, as his affability and beneficence charmed the common ſort, ſo that his influence was general, as appeared from the univerſal concern expreſſed by all ranks of people in Yorkſhire on his deceaſe, January 15, 1697-8, in the eighty-ſixth *(x)* year of his age, which exceeded any of the like nature that could be remembered [*D*]. He was ſucceeded in his honours by his grandſon Charles Lord Clifford, who was a very great favourite with King William, and much eſteemed by Queen Anne, being generally looked upon as one of the moſt accompliſhed Noblemen in the Britiſh dominions *(y)*. He died Feb. 9, 1703-4, and was ſucceeded by the late head of this illuſtrious family, Richard Earl of Burlington and Cork, and left beſides a numerous poſterity *(z)*, of which, as well as of the deſcendents of his father and grandfather, we ſhall give a very ſuccinct account in the notes, that this, and the ſubſequent articles, may

(p) See the Preamble to his patent.

(q) Collins's Peerage, Vol. ii. p. 367.

(r) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 820.

(s) Remarkables in the Reign of Charles II. p. 195.

(t) Sir John Rereſby's Memoirs, p. 256.

(u) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. ii. p. 368.

(w) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 33.

(x) Thoreſby's Hiſt of Leeds, p. 64.

(y) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 33.

(z) Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1704, p. 577.

'your Lordſhip will I hope herewith receive ſatisfaction, if you pleaſe to peruſe his diſcharge from Goldſmith's-Hall, which was upon Oxford articles, and clears him from all delinquency here; neither was the delinquent upon any higher ſcore than for attending the King's perſon; for he never had any command in England nor in Ireland, but by joint conſent of both King and Parliament, againſt the Iriſh rebels; and ſince his ſubmitting to the firſt ceſſation, is all that can be laid to his charge there (which is ſince wiped off, by the articles of Dublin); and for the making good of thoſe articles, the public faith of the Parliament is engaged, by whoſe authority they were made and concluded. I hope, upon your Lordſhip's reflection upon the whole matter, you will be pleaſed to interpoſe on my Lord's behalf with the Commiſſioners of Parliament in Ireland, that my Lord may receive the benefit of Dublin articles, and that you will vouchſafe us your Lordſhip's letters to my Lord Deputy and the Commiſſioners to that effect; all which I hope will be agreeable to your judgment and juſtice, it being only to relieve one (by the Parliament's own rules) who has ſuffered as much abroad by the Iriſh, and as much at home under my Lord Inchiquin's power, as any Engliſhman, until freed by thoſe articles, which having never ſince forfeited, I can't doubt of your Excellency's willingneſs to relieve us, but do of your leiſure, which that I may not for the future diſturb, in caſe delays ſhould be ſtill made of freeing my Lord's rents, I ſhould humbly beg a letter of recommendation from your Lordſhip to Mr. Scott, or ſome other friend of your Lordſhip's here, to whom I may addreſs, with hopes to be heard, which I have not hitherto been ſucceſsful in, that report your Lordſhip was pleaſed to recommend to the Houſe the day you left the town, having been never yet made, which I ſhould not here mention to the addition of your trouble, were it not that all remote reckonings are charged upon, and daily levied upon my poor eſtate here, threatening its utter ruin, and that of myſelf and ſix children. Thus your Lordſhip may, from our ſufferings in all places, diſcern it is not affectation but utmoſt extremity that ſends forth theſe complaints and requeſts, with no leſs unwillingneſs than neceſſity, preſented to your Excellency by your moſt humble ſervant,

E. CORK.'

[*D*] *Exceeded any of the like nature that could be remembered.*] It is very remarkable that this noble perſon was ſingularly happy in his private life, and in the circumſtances of his family; for as he married a lady of great birth, and who brought him a large fortune, ſo ſhe was in every other reſpect moſt agreeable (14): they were nearly of the ſame age, very like in their tempers, and, which is a thing unuſual amongſt perſons of their rank, lived happily together fifty-five years, and had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing a numerous poſterity (15). By this lady the Earl had two ſons mentioned in the text, and three daughters that lived to be married, viz. Lady Elizabeth to the Earl of Thanet; Lady Anne to the Earl of Sandwich; Lady Henrietta to the Earl of Rocheſter; by which two laſt daughters, the Earl of Cork ſaw many grand-children. His ſon and grandſon became both Peers of England in his lifetime (16), and were no leſs happy in their families, which circumſtances the reader may be pleaſed to conſider, with the following prayer of his father the great Earl of Cork, on his behalf, when he was not as yet married. After having marked the time of his birth, and the names of his godfathers and godmothers, he proceeds thus (17): *God grant he may ſerve and fear him religiouſly, and be a faithful ſubject and ſervant to the King's majeſty and his heirs, and live many years full of good* works

(14) From the information of the Honourable Mr. A. C. who knew both the Earl and his Counteſs.

(15) Collins's Peerage, Vol. ii. p. 368.

(16) Hiſtory of Europe, 1704, p. 577.

(17) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances*.

may prove the more intelligible [E]. The reader will eaſily diſcern the utility of this precaution, in regard to a houſe that has produced more great, more diſtinguiſhed, and more remarkable perſons, in a variety of characters, than almoſt any theſe nations have to boaſt, and which, as it was originally well eſtabliſhed by its founder, has continued flouriſhing ever ſince.

works and of virtuous children, and be a worthy pillar and patriot in this kingdom.

[E] *The ſubſequent articles may prove the more intelligible.*] We will begin here with Charles Lord Clifford, ſon to the firſt Earl of Burlington and Cork, who married firſt, Lady Jane, youngeſt daughter and co-heireſs of William Duke of Somerſet; by whom he had iſſue (18) Charles, who ſucceeded him, Henry, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1701, Secretary of State in 1710, and was afterwards created a Peer of this realm, by the title of Lord Carlton (19); Lady Elizabeth, who married James Earl of Barrimore; Lady Mary married to James, Duke of Queenſberry and Dover; and Lady Arabella to Henry Earl of Shelburne. By his ſecond Counteſs, Arethuſa daughter to George Earl of Berkley, he had only a daughter called after her mother, who married Mr. Vernon, ſon to Mr. Secretary Vernon (20). His eldeſt ſon Charles ſucceeded him in the Barony of Clifford, and ſat in the Houſe of Peers by that title, till, by the deceaſe of his grandfather, he became Earl of Burlington and Cork (21). He married Juliana, daughter and ſole heireſs to Henry Noel, ſecond ſon to Edward, Viſcount Campden, by whom he had iſſue, Richard, late Earl of Burlington; Lady Elizabeth, married to Sir Henry Bedingfield; Lady Juliana, to the Lord Bruce, afterwards Earl of Ayleſbury; Lady Jane, unmarried; Lady Henrietta, married to Henry Boyle, Eſq; grandſon to Roger, Earl of Orrery (22). Richard, the late Earl of Burlington and Cork, married March the 21ſt, 1721, the Lady Dorothy Savile, eldeſt daughter and co-heireſs to the late Marquis of Halifax, by whom he had three daughters. C.

(18) Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, p. 64.

(19) Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 191.

(20) Thoreſby, as above.

(21) Le Neve's Monument. Ang. Vol. IV. p. 70.

(22) Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 193.

BOYLE (Roger), Earl of Orrery, younger brother of Richard Earl of Burlington and Cork, and fifth ſon of Richard, ſtiled *the great* Earl of Cork (*a*); independently of deſcent and titles, was one of the moſt learned, able, and valiant perſons of the age in which he lived, and thereby a great inſtrument of good to his country and nation. He was born April 25, 1621 (*b*), and by the credit of his father with the Lord Deputy Falkland, he was, as we have already ſhewn, raiſed to the ſtate and dignity of Baron Broghill in the kingdom of Ireland, in 1628, when only ſeven years old (*c*). His education was at the college of Dublin, where he applied himſelf with ſuch diligence to his books, and ſo happily digeſted what he gathered from them, that he was very ſoon diſtinguiſhed as an early and promiſing genius, which induced his father to ſend him, about 1636, to make the tour of France and Italy, under the care of one Mr. Marcombes, and in the company of Lord Kynelmeaky his elder brother (*d*) [*A*]. After his return from his travels, he found all things in England in very great confuſion, and a war on the point of breaking out with Scotland, in which he was invited to ſerve with peculiar diſtinction, the Earl of Northumberland (*e*), who was appointed General and Commander in Chief of this expedition, putting him at the head of his own troop. But this flame being ſtifled for the preſent, his thoughts were turned another way; and as the old Earl of Cork loved to ſettle his children very early in the world, a marriage was propoſed for Lord Broghill with the Lady Margaret Howard, daughter to the Earl of Suffolk, which was quickly concluded, and his Lordſhip, with his new married Lady, went over together to Ireland (*f*), where they landed the very day the rebellion broke out in that kingdom, *viz.* October 23, 1641. An account

(*a*) Thoreſby's Hiſt. of Leeds, p. 64.

(*b*) Earl of Corke's *True Remembrances.*

(*c*) See the article of BOYLE (Richard) Earl of Cork, note [*G*].

(*d*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. i.

(*e*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 35.

(*f*) Orrery's Letters, p. 2, 3.

[*A*] *The care of one Mr. Marcombes, and in the company of Lord Kynelmeaky, his elder brother.*] We have ſeen, in our former article, that this was the method the Earl took to perfect his ſons, when they had run through the ordinary compaſs of a domeſtic education (1). It is very remarkable, that all his ſons travelled under the care of this Mr. Marcombes, who likewiſe attended the eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Orrery, of whom we are now ſpeaking; ſo that he had the forming of this noble line for more than one generation. It was very excuſable in a country clergyman, like Mr. Morrice, to write the gentleman's name as it was pronounced (2); but one cannot ſo eaſily pardon Mr. Budgell, who had ſo many opportunities of knowing better; the calling this governor of Lord Broghill, Mr. *Markham* (3), and thereby, if the Memoirs of this Houſe had not fallen into more careful hands, burying in oblivion the very name of a perſon to whom this noble family owed many, and thoſe ſingular, obligations, as the reader will ſee hereafter. But for the preſent we ſhall give his character as drawn by the pen of the honourable Mr. Robert Boyle, who was alſo under his care (4). ‘He was a man, who in his garb, his mien, and outſide, had very much of his nation, having been divers years a traveller and a ſoldier; he was well-faſhioned, and very well knew what belonged to a gentleman; his natural, were much better than his acquired parts, though divers of the latter he poſſeſſed, though not in an eminent, yet in a very competent degree; ſcholarſhip he wanted not, having in his greener years been a profeſſed ſtudent in Divinity; but he was much leſs read in books than men, and hated pedantry as much as any of the ſeven deadly ſins; thrifty he was extremely, and very ſkilful in the ſlights of thrift, but leſs out of avarice than a juſt ambition, and not ſo much out of love to money, as a deſire to live handſomely at laſt. His practical ſentiments in Divinity were moſt of them very ſound, and if he were given to any vice himſelf, he was careful, by ſharply condemning it, to render it uninfectious, being induſtrious, whatſoever he were himſelf, to make his charges virtuous: before company he was very civil to his pupils, apt to eclipſe their failings, and ſet off their good qualities to the beſt advantage; but in his private converſation he was cynically diſpoſed, and a very nice critic both of words and men, which humour he uſed to exerciſe ſo freely with Philaretus, that at laſt he forced him to a very cautious and conſiderate way of expreſſing himſelf, which after turned to his no ſmall advantage. The worſt quality he had was his choler, to exceſs of which he was exceſſively prone.’ Under the direction of this gentleman, the two Lords Kynelmeaky and Broghill, went to Paris, where they ſaw Lewis XIV. a child in his nurſe's arms: they travelled from thence to Geneva, where they ſpent a whole year in the houſe of the famous Mr. Deodati, which was of great advantage to them. They went from thence to Marſeilles, where both the young Lords embarked for Genoa, and ſoon after their arrival in that city were ſeized with the ſmall-pox, but of a very kindly ſort, from which they ſpeedily and happily recovered: they went afterwards to viſit ſome other cities in Italy, and then making the tour of Swiſſerland, returned through France into England (5).

(1) See the article of BOYLE (Richard) Earl of Burlington.

(2) Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. i.

(3) Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 35.

(4) Memoirs of his own Life under the name of *Philaretus*, by the Hon. Rob. Boyle.

(5) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. i.

has been already given of the manner in which the news came to his Lordſhip's family, and of their being immediately obliged to take up arms for their own and the public ſecurity. The poſt aſſigned Lord Broghill, was the defence of his father's caſtle of Liſmore, in which he behaved with all the ſpirit of a young, and all the diſcretion of an old, officer. An inſtance of the former he gave in a bold ſally he made for the ſuccour of Sir Richard Oſborn, who was beſieged in his own houſe by the rebels, till relieved by Lord Broghill, who raiſed the ſiege, and ſaved him and all his family *(g)*; and as ſtrong a proof of the latter, in adviſing Sir William St. Leger, then Preſident of Munſter, to act vigorouſly againſt the Iriſh, notwithſtanding they produced the King's commiſſion, which, though he was but twenty years of age, he had ſagacity enough to diſcern muſt be a forgery, as it afterwards proved (*h*) [*B*]. After that ceſſation in Ireland, of which an account is given in the former article, Lord Broghill determined to go over to England, and pay his duty to King Charles I. at Oxford, which he accordingly did; and in ſeveral audiences which he had of that Monarch, he repreſented to him ſo fully the true character of the Iriſh Papiſts, and the falſehood of all the pretences of the Committee they had ſent over to deceive and miſlead his Majeſty, that the King was entirely convinced the Iriſh never meant to keep the ceſſation; and, therefore, that it was againſt the true intereſt of the loyal ſubjects of that iſland to depend upon it (*i*). As a proof of this, he carried, on his return thither, a commiſſion to Lord Inchiquin, then Preſident of Munſter, to proſecute the rebels on that ſide; and upon receiving this commiſſion, he publiſhed a kind of Manifeſto, containing his reaſons againſt the ceſſation, and requiring the faithful ſubjects of Ireland to give their aſſiſtance to ſuppreſs the rebels in that province (*k*). Lord Broghill, however, had much too great an intereſt in that country, to content himſelf with barely exciting the Preſident of Munſter to what he judged his duty: he contributed alſo, as far as lay in his power, to the diſcharge of it himſelf; and when, by the King's command, the Marquis of Ormond ſurrendered Dublin, and whatever was in his power, to the Commiſſioners named by Parliament, both Lords, Inchiquin and Broghill, obeyed them, as the only means of promoting the Proteſtant intereſt. It was not long, however, before the former thought proper to alter his conduct, and quit the ſervice of the Parliament: but this did not influence Lord Broghill, who continued to act till the beheading of the King *(l)* induced him to leave his country and eſtate, as ruined paſt all hopes, and hide himſelf in the privacy of a cloſe retirement. How he came to alter this conduct, and ſtrike in with a

(*g*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(*h*) See this fully explained in the note [*B*].

(*i*) Memoirs of the wars in Ireland, p. 395.

(*k*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. iii.

(*l*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 31.

[*B*] *To diſcern muſt be a forgery, as it afterwards proved.*] As this was one of the firſt actions of a public nature, in which Lord Broghill diſtinguiſhed himſelf, ſo, perhaps, in the courſe of his whole life, there was none that did him greater credit; and, therefore, it is neceſſary that we ſhould enter into all the particulars of it. When the Lord Muſkerry entered Munſter, at the head of a great body of Iriſh rebels, the Lord Preſident St. Leger, with a ſmall body of Engliſh forces, marched to meet him, and would have given him battle; but he ſent a trumpet with one Mr. Walſh, who demanded to ſpeak with the Lord Preſident, to whom he was well known. When he gave him audience, his Lordſhip could not help expreſſing his ſurprize, that he, being a lawyer, ſhould engage himſelf among the rebels; to which Walſh anſwered, that they were no rebels; for that they had taken up arms for the King's ſervice, and lord Muſkerry had his Majeſty's commiſſion, which he offered to produce to him, if he might have leave to wait upon him again. The Lord Preſident communicated this to the Earl of Barrimore, Lord Broghill, and his brother. The other two Lords were much aſtoniſhed, but Lord Broghill, without heſitation, ſaid it was a cheat, that his Majeſty could have granted no ſuch commiſſion, and adviſed the Lord Preſident to be very cautious how he believed it; but, however, it was agreed that he ſhould promiſe the man a ſafe-conduct, and that their forces ſhould retire: Lord Muſkerry alſo, upon the return of Walſh, drew off his men, and the next morning Walſh appeared again in the Lord Preſident's quarters with a trumpet, who was immediately conducted to the Lord Preſident's houſe: where being received, Walſh renewed the ſame requeſt, that he might ſpeak with the Lord Preſident alone, and in private; which the other Lords oppoſed; but at laſt it was agreed, that one man ſhould ſtand at the door with a drawn ſword, and charged piſtols. This being done, Walſh produced a large parchment, wherein was a very formal commiſſion, drawn up for the Lord Muſkerry to raiſe four thouſand men, and the broad ſeal affixed to it. St. Leger, having read it over, diſmiſſed Walſh, and returned to the Lords, declaring to them that Muſkerry had really a commiſſion for what he did; and that he would diſmiſs his men, and ſtir no more in this buſineſs, ſaying he would die before he would be a rebel: whereupon the Lords all withdrew to their ſeveral homes, only Lord Broghill declared he could not but think it a cheat. But it ſeems the Lord Preſident took this matter ſo much to heart, that he never held up his head afterwards, but within a ſhort time died, and Lord Inchiquin was by the King appointed Preſident in his room (6). Many years after this, when his Lordſhip was become Earl of Orrery, and went to pay a viſit to the Duke of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, at Kilkenny, he there met with my Lord Muſkerry; and the very ſight of him putting the old affair in his head, he took an opportunity, one day when alone with Muſkerry, who happened then to be in a pleaſant open humour, to aſk him how the rebels obtained the commiſſion, which they had thus ſhewed to the then Lord Preſident St. Leger, under the King's great ſeal? Lord Muſkerry anſwered, *I will be free and unreſerved with you; it was a forged commiſſion, drawn up by Walſh and others, who having a writing, to which the great ſeal was fixed, one of the company very dexterouſly took off the ſealed wax from the label of that writing, and fixed it to the label of the forged commiſſion. Whilſt this was doing, an odd accident happened, which ſtartled all preſent, and almoſt diſconcerted the ſcheme. The forged commiſſion being finiſhed, while the parchment was handling and turning, in order to put on the ſeal, a tame wolf which lay aſleep by the fire, awakened at the crackling of the parchment, and running to it, ſeized it, and tore it to pieces, notwithſtanding all haſte and ſtruggle to prevent him; ſo that after all their pains they were obliged to begin a-new, and write it all over again.* Lord *Orrery*, ſtruck with the wickedneſs of this action, could not refrain expreſſing himſelf to that purpoſe to Lord *Muſkerry*, who, laughing, replied, *It would have been impoſſible to have held the people together without this device* (7). Such was the ſecret hiſtory of this fatal, this infamous, this execrable contrivance, which gained credit, purely from a ſuppoſition, that there could not be impudence and villany enough in men, to bring them to commit ſo foul and baſe an action, eſpecially in perſons well born, and who pretended to religion.

(6) Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, p. 7, 8.

(7) *Ibid.* p. 36.

party

party which he had always abhorred, and this too both ſuddenly and warmly, is accounted for, as well as it can be, in the notes [*C*]. As ſoon as his Lordſhip had ſettled the buſineſs of his command in Ireland with Cromwell, he went immediately over into that country, without any force but his commiſſion (*m*). This circumſtance ſhewed the great extent of his perſonal intereſt, and the height to which he had already raiſed his reputation. In a very ſhort time after his arrival, his friends came in, together with gentlemen that had ſerved under him; ſo that he had preſently a gallant troop of horſe for the guard of his perſon, and in a very inconſiderable ſpace raiſed a regiment of fifteen hundred men, with which he hovered about Waterford, till Cromwell, according to his promiſe, came thither alſo, and then, conformably to his engagement, Lord Broghill joined him (*n*). But notwithſtanding this apparent alteration in his Lordſhip's conduct, he ſtill retained ſo great a regard for his old friends, that one of the firſt exploits at the head of his new army, was relieving Carrick, where the noble Marchioneſs of Ormond was beſieged by the rebels (*o*). Cromwell puſhing on the war with his uſual impetuoſity, found himſelf obliged to rely upon this Lord for keeping all ſafe at leaſt, if not quiet, behind him; which, with great military prudence, he very happily performed, and grew thereby into eſteem with that General (*p*). But this, though conſiderable enough in itſelf, was, however, very far inferior to what he did at Maccroom, where, with two thouſand horſe and dragoons, without waiting for his foot coming up, he attacked a body of Iriſh, conſiſting of upwards of five thouſand, whom he totally defeated, and took their General, the titular Biſhop of Roſs, priſoner (*q*).

(*m*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. iv.

(*n*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 49.

(*o*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(*p*) See the article of CROMWELL (OLIVER), Lord Protector.

(*q*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. Part ii. p. 16. Hiſt. of the execrable Iriſh Rebellion, p. 240.

[*C*] *Is accounted for as well as it can be in the notes.*] Upon Lord Broghill's coming from Ireland, he withdrew to Marſton in Somerſetſhire, an eſtate which his father had purchaſed from Sir John Hippeſley, where he lived very cloſe for ſome time (8); but the ſight of the ſad ſituation of the country he was in, and the remembrance of the miſery of that which he had left, would not allow his thoughts any quiet. He was aſhamed to ſit the tame ſpectator of ſo much miſchief, without moving a finger to remedy thoſe diſorders, which overſpread his private property, at the ſame time that it overwhelmed the public (9). Theſe reflexions, after rolling ſome time in his breaſt, at length produced ſomething like a ſcheme of action, worthy a man of his parentage, parts, and principles. Warm with this new plan, he haſted to put it into execution. He had reſolved to attempt ſomething in favour of the King; and, accordingly, under pretence of going to the Spaw for his health, he determined to croſs the ſeas, and apply himſelf to King Charles II. for a commiſſion to raiſe what forces he could in Ireland, in order to reſtore his Majeſty, and recover his own eſtate. Having formed this reſolution, he deſired the Earl of Warwick, who had an intereſt in the prevailing party, to procure a licence for him to go to the Spaw. He pretended to the Earl that he intended nothing more by his journey than the recovery of his health; but let ſome of his friends of the royal party, in whom he thought he could confide, into the bottom of his deſign; and having raiſed a conſiderable ſum of money, came up to London to proſecute his voyage. The Committee of State, who ſpared no money to get proper intelligence, being ſoon informed of his whole deſign, determined to proceed againſt him with the utmoſt ſeverity. Cromwell was at that time General of the Parliament's forces, and a member of the Committee: It is allowed by his enemies, that he knew every perſon of great abilities in the three kingdoms. He was, conſequently, no ſtranger to Lord Broghill's merit; and reflecting that this young Nobleman might be of great uſe to him in reducing Ireland, he earneſtly intreated the Committee that he might have leave to talk with him, and endeavour to gain him, before they proceeded to extremities. Having, with great difficulty, obtained this permiſſion, he immediately diſpatched a gentleman to the Lord Broghill, to let him know that he intended to wait upon him. The Lord Broghill was ſurprized at this meſſage, having never had the leaſt acquaintance with Cromwell, and deſired the Gentleman to let the General know that he would wait upon his Excellency. But while he was expecting the return of the meſſenger, Cromwell entered the room; who, when mutual civilities had paſſed between them, told him in few words, that the Committee of State were apprized of his deſign of going over, and applying to Charles Stuart for a commiſſion to raiſe forces in Ireland; and that they were determined to make an example of him, if he himſelf had not diverted them from that reſolution. The Lord Broghill interrupted him, and aſſured him that the intelligence which the Committee had received was falſe; that he was neither in a capacity, nor had any inclination to raiſe diſturbances in Ireland; and concluded with intreating his Excellency to have a kinder opinion of him. Cromwell, inſtead of making any reply, drew ſome papers out of his pocket, which were the copies of ſeveral letters which the Lord Broghill had ſent to thoſe perſons in whom he moſt confided, and put them into his hands. The Lord Broghill, upon the peruſal of theſe papers, finding that it was to no purpoſe to diſſemble any longer, aſked his Excellency's pardon for what he had ſaid, returned him his humble thanks for his protection againſt the Committee, and intreated his directions, how he ought to behave in ſo delicate a conjuncture. Cromwell told him, that though till this time he had been a ſtranger to his perſon, he was not ſo to his merit and character; but that he had heard how gallantly his Lordſhip had already behaved in the Iriſh wars: And, therefore, ſince he was named Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the reducing that kingdom was now become his province, he had obtained leave of the Committee, to offer his Lordſhip the command of a general officer, if he would ſerve in that war: that he ſhould have no oaths or engagements impoſed upon him, nor be obliged to draw his ſword againſt any but the Iriſh rebels. The Lord Broghill was infinitely ſurprized at ſo generous and unexpected an offer: he ſaw himſelf at liberty, by all the rules of honour, to ſerve againſt the Iriſh, whoſe rebellion and barbarities were equally deteſted by the royal party, and the parliament: he deſired, however, the General to give him ſome time to conſider of what had been propoſed to him. Cromwell briſkly told him, that he muſt come to ſome reſolution that very inſtant; that he himſelf was returning to the Committee, who were ſtill ſitting, and if his Lordſhip rejected their offer, they had determined to ſend him to the Tower. The Lord Broghill finding that his liberty and life were in the utmoſt danger, and charmed with the frankneſs and generoſity of Cromwell's behaviour, gave him his word and honour, that he would faithfully ſerve him againſt the Iriſh rebels; upon which Cromwell once more aſſured him, that the conditions which he had made with him ſhould be punctually obſerved; and then ordered him to repair immediately to Briſtol, to which place forces ſhould be ſent him, with a ſufficient number of ſhips to tranſport him into Ireland. He added, that he himſelf would ſoon follow him, and was as good as his word in every particular. This ſtory we have from Mr. Morrice, who had it from the Earl of Orrery himſelf; and he adds, that it was very probable his Lordſhip's deſign was betrayed, out of pure love and affection, by his ſiſter Ranelagh: but how this love and affection enabled her to foreſee that Cromwell would interpoſe as he did, to take off the rope, which ſhe thus (as he ſuppoſes) put about his neck, is what our reverend author does not explain.

(8) Memoirs of the Interregnum after the King's death, p. 133.

(9) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 41—48.

This

This battle was fought May 10, 1650. Lord Broghill offered the Biſhop his life, if he would order thoſe who were in the caſtle of Carigdroghid to ſurrender, which he promiſed; but when he was conducted to the place, he perſuaded the garriſon to defend it to the laſt extremity. Upon this Lord Broghill cauſed him to be hanged (*r*), (though Mr. Morrice ſays the ſoldiers hanged him without (*s*) orders), and then commanded his heavy artillery to be brought up, which aſtoniſhed his own army exceedingly, they knowing he had not ſo much as a ſingle piece of battering cannon. He cauſed, however, ſeveral large trees to be cut, and drawn at a diſtance by his baggage-horſes: the beſieged judging, by the ſlowneſs of their motion, that they were of a vaſt ſize, capitulated before they came up, as his Lordſhip adviſed, threatening otherwiſe to give them no quarter (*t*). He relieved Cromwell at Clonmell, when, according to his confeſſion, nothing could otherwiſe have ſaved him: he aſſiſted both him and Ireton in all their expeditions; but becauſe he ſought to moderate the fury of the one, and mitigate the cruelty of the other, he incurred the ſuſpicion of both: nay, Ireton went ſo far as to ſay, *They could never be ſafe as long as* Broghill *lived* (*u*). His Lordſhip knew this, and did not want opportunities of paying them in their own coin, but he deſpiſed them; for his maxim was, to do what was right on all occaſions, and truſt GOD with the event. He went, therefore, to the aſſiſtance of Ireton at the ſiege of Limerick, which was the beſt defended place in Ireland, though he knew of his averſion for, and ill-will towards him; and it was chiefly by his means that deſign ſucceeded (*w*). For Ireton finding his force inſufficient to take it by ſtorm, and fearing that the Iriſh in the field would become ſtrong enough to give him battle, and relieve it before it could be reduced to a neceſſity of capitulating for want, he gave Lord Broghill detachments from four regiments of horſe, and twenty-ſix companies of foot, with orders to act in ſuch a manner, as to hinder the ſeveral bodies of Iriſh, ſtill in arms, from joining (*x*). In purſuance of this order, he marched with great expedition to attack his old antagoniſt Muſkerry, who, with three times his force, was moving towards the army lately raiſed by the Pope's Nuncio. The diligence his Lordſhip uſed was ſuch, that he came up with the enemy unexpectedly, drove in, amidſt a ſtorm of thunder and lightning, their advanced guards on their main body, which ſoon after he attacked. The Iriſh had all advantages, ground, numbers, and old officers from Spain, and had certainly been too hard for the Engliſh, but for a quick ſtratagem of Lord Broghill, who in the heat of action ſaid to thoſe about him, *Repeat what I ſay*, then raiſing his voice, cried out, *They run*, *they run*; which was ſoon ecchoed on all ſides (*y*). The firſt line of the Iriſh looked behind to ſee if their rear broke; thoſe in the rear, hearing the noiſe of their enemies, and ſeeing the faces of their friends, concluded it was ſo, and broke immediately; after which they were abſolutely defeated. This diſperſed the Iriſh, made way for the taking of Limerick, and put an end to the war there (*z*). After Cromwell became Protector, he ſent for Lord Broghill merely to have his advice, and we are told, that not long after his coming to England on that account, he made an attempt to engage the Protector to reſtore the old conſtitution, and ſecure himſelf, his family, and his friends, by marrying one of his daughters to the King (*a*). This extraordinary ſtory, as it reſts on the credit, ſo it ſhall be given to the reader in its author's own words [*D*]. He failed in that and ſome other ſchemes of the ſame nature;

but

(*r*) Borlaſe's Hiſt.

(*s*) Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. iv.

(*t*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. Part ii. p. 16.

(*u*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. iv.

(*w*) Hiſt. of the War in Ireland, p. 355.

(*x*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. Part ii. p. 67.

(*y*) Hiſt. of the War in Ireland, p. 359.

(*z*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. Part ii. p. 67. Hiſt of execrable Iriſh Rebellion, p. 283. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 154.

(*a*) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. i. p. 413.

[*D*] *This extraordinary ſtory, as it reſts on the credit, ſhall be given to the reader in the author's own words.*] It may be urged to countenance this ſtrange ſtory, that we have ſome dark hints of it from other perſons; that Lord Broghill was certainly the greateſt favourite Cromwell ever had, and in all ſeaſons a friend to his family; and that Mr. Morrice, in his way of telling his tale, evidently ſhews, that he had not a capacity for inventing it. Thus it runs (10): His Lordſhip had now and then opportunities of a ſecret correſpondence with ſome perſons about the King, by whom he had ſounded the King's inclinations, which were favourable to a deſign of making a match between his Majeſty and one of Cromwell's daughters (the Lady Frances, as I remember); to promote which, he had orders to do whatever lay in his power; and having his Majeſty's leave, he took a fit occaſion to move it to Cromwell, which he did in the following manner: He firſt acquainted Cromwell's wife and daughter with the deſign, and then cauſed a rumour of it to be ſpread abroad in the town; and one day, coming out of the city, and coming to Cromwell's cloſet, Cromwell immediately came to him, and walking with him alone, he aſked where he had been? My Lord anſwered, In the city; Cromwell aſked him what news there? My Lord anſwered, Very ſtrange news; Cromwell earneſtly enquiring what it was, my Lord detained him a while, only by repeating it was ſtrange news, and ſmiling at the ſame time; Cromwell, by the delay, became more earneſt to know it; my Lord, at laſt, replied, that perhaps he would be offended to hear it. Cromwell, not enduring any longer delay, aſſured him he would not, and therefore conjured him to tell it: upon that, in a jocular way, my Lord told him, all the news in the city was, that he was going to marry his daughter Frances to the King; Cromwell then, with a merry countenance, aſked him, And what do the fools think of it? My Lord then replied, all liked it, and thought it the wiſeſt thing he could do, if he could accompliſh it. Upon that, Cromwell made a ſtand, and looking ſtedfaſtly in my Lord's face, aſked him, And do you believe ſo too? His Lordſhip ſeeing him a little moved, ſaid he did believe it was the beſt thing he could do to ſecure himſelf. Cromwell then walked up and down the room, with his hands behind him, in a very thoughtful manner, and at laſt aſked my Lord, What reaſon he had to be of that belief? His Lordſhip repreſented to him how little he could confide in his own party, being, upon every occaſion, ſubject to murmur and repine; how unlikely it was for him to continue long in that grandeur; the very ſame perſons who ſet him up, being willing to pull him down; and, on the other hand, the King, in his great exigencies, would be ready enough to hearken to any propoſition, rather than live in exile; ſo that he might make his own terms with him, and be General of all the forces during life; the loyal party would readily join with him in the work; and if his daughter had children by the King (which was likely enough), he would thereby be endeared to King and Country, and would have ſuch intereſt in the crown,

that

(10) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. iv.

but he managed ſo dexterouſly, and ſhewed ſo true a deſire of ſerving both parties, without betraying either, that after Ireton's death, which happened before he left Ireland, he was ſcarcely ever ſuſpected by Cromwell, who made him his companion, and thereby fixed him for his friend (*b*). In the year 1656, it was propoſed to his Lordſhip by the Protector to go down to Scotland with an abſolute authority, either becauſe he ſuſpected Monk, or was willing to give the people of that country ſome ſatisfaction, who complained of his ſeverity; but Lord Broghill was very unwilling to receive this charge, and took it at laſt on theſe ſingular conditions (*c*). The firſt was, that he ſhould be left to himſelf, and receive no orders; the ſecond, that no complaints ſhould find credit or procure directions in his abſence; and the third, that he ſhould be recalled in a year (*d*). Theſe terms were agreed to and performed on both ſides: Broghill acted abſolutely enough; complaints came thicker againſt him than againſt Monk; but at the end of the year he came himſelf, diſproved them, and gave Cromwell ſuch ſatisfaction, as made him look on him as his beſt friend and the ableſt man in his ſervice (*e*). He was very acceptable to the Scots, and gained a great influence over them, by ſpeaking and acting moderately; but more eſpecially by his diſintereſtedneſs, and by proceeding according to the dictates of his own reaſon, and not at all from lights received, or friendſhips contracted, in that country (*f*). After he came back, he was, with Whitelock and Thurloe, admitted into all the confidence, that could be expected from a perſon in the Protector's circumſtances, who, if he had any cheerful moments, ſpent them in their company, where he appeared quite another perſon than in the ordinary courſe of his conduct, which was built on a policy peculiar to his condition, the people he had to deal with, and the critical conjuncture of the times (*g*). There were, no doubt, many in Cromwell's Court that envied and hated Lord Broghill, and did not fail to do him ill offices, but they had no effect: for the cuſtom Cromwell had of taking nothing upon truſt, and his experience of Lord Broghill's fidelity in times of the greateſt danger, hindered him from giving way to ſuſpicions: as, on the other hand, the circumſtances of thoſe times affording frequent opportunities, Lord Broghill loſt none of them, but with zeal and prudence took every advantage, and rendered important ſervices to his patron, the Protector (*h*) [*E*]. He ſtood high in his favour

(*b*) See the article CROMWELL (OLIVER), Lord Protector.

(*c*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. v. p. 336.

(*d*) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. iv.

(*e*) Memoirs of Oliver Cromwell, p. 395.

(*f*) Memoirs of the Earl of Caſſis, p. 33.

(*g*) Whitelock's Memoirs, p. 656.

(*h*) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, p. 414.

that nobody could ever attempt any thing againſt him, having a King his ſon-in-law, and heir apparent to the crown his grandſon, and the whole power of the nation in his own hands; by all which, his greatneſs would be for ever eſtabliſhed: Whereas, if he neglected theſe means, he could not expect to tranſmit his greatneſs to the next heir; and, perhaps, would hardly be able to preſerve it, during his own life. Cromwell gave great attention to thoſe reaſons; but, walking two or three turns, and pondering with himſelf, he told Lord Broghill, The King would never forgive me the death of his father. His Lordſhip deſired him to employ ſomebody to ſound the King in this matter, to ſee how he would take it, and offered himſelf to mediate in it for him; but Cromwell would not conſent, but again repeated, The King cannot, and will not, forgive the death of his father, and ſo left his Lordſhip, who durſt not tell him he had already dealt with his Majeſty in that affair. Upon this, my Lord withdrew, and meeting Cromwell's wife and daughter, they enquired how he had ſucceeded; of which having given them an account, he added, they muſt try their intereſt in him; but none could prevail; guilt lay ſo heavy upon him, that he thought there could be no reconciliation, and ſo that buſineſs broke off.

[*E*] *Rendered important ſervices to his patron the Protector.*] His Lordſhip always thought he owed his life to Cromwell; and that this induced him to be very faithful to him, and very careful of his intereſt, very clearly appears in every ſtep he took, both in England and in Ireland. But though Mr. Budgell (11) is pleaſed to compliment the Protector with an underſtanding ſuperior to that of Lord Broghill, yet I very much doubt whether he received any ſuch gift from nature; and I rather think the contrary, becauſe I find that he allowed his Lordſhip to take great liberties with him; commonly took his advice, and readily came in to his opinion, though oppoſite to his own. Theſe, though they are certainly teſtimonies of Cromwell's being a man of parts and good ſenſe, yet are they proofs at the ſame time, that Lord Broghill had greater parts, and better ſenſe: nor could it well be otherwiſe, conſidering the difference in their education, and the opportunities his Lordſhip had of knowing much more of the world. His adviſing the Protector to take the title of King (12), was certainly a proof that he wiſhed him well, though Mr. Morrice thinks otherwiſe; and perhaps his Lordſhip, after the Reſtoration, might not be diſpleaſed to have it ſo thought, whatever his ſentiments might be at the time of giving this advice. He always recommended legal meaſures to the Protector, and perſuaded him to behave mildly to all ſorts of people. The Protector himſelf was ſo ſenſible of this, that when he had intelligence of the Marquis of Ormond's being in London, he ſpoke of it to Lord Broghill, and gave him leave to make what uſe of it he pleaſed (13). It is true, that not long after he was angry with his Lordſhip about Lady Ormond, whoſe papers he had ſeized, and among them, ſome tender letters to her Lord, in which were dark hints of deſigns againſt his government. Lord Broghill knew his humour, and deſired to ſee thoſe papers; which being complied with, he proved to him that they were not the Lady Ormond's letters, but thoſe of another Lady, with whom the Marquis had both amorous and political intrigues; ſo that a converſation that began with warmth, ended in laughter; and his Lordſhip had a double pleaſure in undeceiving the Protector, and preſerving a very worthy woman from feeling the effects of his ill-grounded reſentment (14). His Lordſhip oppoſed in parliament, and defeated the blackeſt meaſure that Cromwell ever entered into, which was the paſſing a law for decimating the royal party; and his Lordſhip's conduct in this, was by far the greateſt action of his whole life. He made a fine ſpeech, in which he ſhewed the injuſtice, cruelty, and folly, of that propoſition; and finding upon the diviſion that he ſhould loſe the queſtion, which probably might have ended in loſing his life; he had the boldneſs to ſay, *that he did not think ſo many* Engliſhmen *could be fond of ſlavery*; upon which, ſo many roſe and followed him, that the Speaker, without telling, declared from the chair *the* Noes *have it*; and the bill was accordingly thrown out. Upon this, he came immediately up to Cromwell, and ſaid, *I have done you this day as great ſervice as ever I did in my life.* How? returned Cromwell; *By hindering your government*, replied my Lord, *from becoming hateful, which already begins to be diſliked; for if this bill had paſſed, three kingdoms would have riſen up againſt you; and they were your enemies, not your friends, who brought it in* (15). This Cromwell ſo firmly believed, that he never forgave or truſted them afterwards. A little before the Protector's death, as Lord Broghill was going with him in

(11) Memoirs of the Family of Boyles, p. 63.

(12) See his Reaſons for this in the Arguments publiſhed on this Subject.

(13) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v.

(14) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 60, 61.

(15) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v.

favour to the laſt, and it was, no doubt, in ſome meaſure owing to his gratitude that he attached himſelf ſo firmly as he did to his ſon and ſucceſſor Richard. On his aſſuming the ſupreme power, none were obſerved to have more credit with him than Lord Broghill, Dr. Wilkins, afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter, and Col. Philips (*i*); but though they might be commonly called, yet ſure they were never, ſtrictly ſpeaking, of his Cabinet Council: if they had, his adminiſtration had been more ſteady. Indeed, Lord Broghill was capable of being many ways uſeful to him, as enjoying at that time ſingular advantages. He was a general officer in the army in Ireland, a Lord of Oliver's creation, or one of the other Houſe, a Member of Parliament, in which he ſat for ſome place in England, as in former parliaments he had ſat for Edinburgh, and as knight of the ſhire for Cork, ſo that few people could be ſuppoſed to have better intelligence or more extenſive influence (*k*). In all probability, therefore, Richard's government might have laſted longer, and done him more honour, if he had really done nothing without the advice of ſuch a Cabinet Council, inſtead of applying himſelf on emergencies only to Lord Broghill, who, in ſuch caſes, however, was always ready; particularly when he was firſt attacked by the Council of Officers at Wallingford Houſe, on which occaſion he ſerved him with equal firmneſs and dexterity (*l*) [*F*]. As this expoſed him to the reſentment of the warmeſt and moſt powerful men at that time in the

(*i*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. ii. p. 632.

(*k*) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 677.

(*l*) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v.

in his coach to Weſtminſter, and the crowd was ſo great they could not get along, his Lordſhip obſerved the door of a cobler's ſtall open ſeveral times, and ſaw ſomething bright behind it: he took his ſword from his ſide, and knocked againſt the door; upon which a tall man burſted out, and though Cromwell called to his guards to ſeize him, he made his eſcape. He was known to be an officer that Cromwell had diſobliged in Ireland; and the Protector was ſo terrified at this deſign againſt his life (for ſo he juſtly conceived it), that he would never go that way afterwards (16).

[*F*] *Served him on that occaſion with equal firmneſs and dexterity.*] It is a very ſingular thing to advance, but that there wants not evidence to ſupport it, that Cromwell did not love his own family ſo well as Lord Broghill. He was aſked upon his death-bed whom he appointed his ſucceſſor; to which he anſwered, that in ſuch a cloſet they would find his will, in which it ſeems he had named Fleetwood; but one of the Protector's daughters getting firſt to the drawer, took the will and deſtroyed it (17). Thus Richard obtained the government againſt his father's intention, and Lord Broghill endeavoured all he could to maintain him in it, even in ſpite of his own incapacity. Richard having conſented to the meeting of a general council of officers, without conſulting thoſe called his cabinet-council; the Lord Broghill blamed him for it, as of a dangerous conſequence to the intereſt of his Highneſs; and on the day when the general council was to meet, he went thither with the Lord Howard and Lord Falconbridge, who promiſed to aſſiſt him, to Wallingford-Houſe (18). They found above five hundred officers aſſembled. After a long prayer by Dr. Owen, Major-general Deſborough roſe up, and in a tedious ſpeech put them in mind, how gracious the Lord had been, and how their arms had proſpered, though he feared this proſperity would not laſt long, ſince ſeveral ſons of Belial had crept in amongſt them, who, in all probability, would draw down the judgments of Heaven upon them: to prevent this, he thought it would be convenient to purge the army, and that the beſt method of doing ſo, would be, to propoſe a teſt, which all perſons who refuſe to take, ſhould be turned out; and the teſt which he propoſed was, that every one ſhould ſwear, that he did believe in his conſcience, that the putting to death the late King Charles Stuart, was lawful and juſt. This propoſal of Deſborough's was received with great applauſe by moſt of the aſſembly, who cried out, Well moved! and the Lord Howard and Falconbridge thinking it in vain to oppoſe ſo apparent a majority, roſe up and went to the Protector, to let him know of what was doing. The Lord Broghill, who had his wits about him, though vexed to ſee himſelf deſerted by his two friends, as ſoon as the aſſembly was ſilent, roſe up in his place, and ſaid that he was not of the ſame opinion with the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt; that he was againſt impoſing any teſt upon the army, as a thing which they had often declared againſt; and if they once came to put teſts upon themſelves, they would ſoon have them put upon them by other people, and conſequently loſe that liberty of conſcience for which they ſo often fought; that he was againſt the particular teſt propoſed, becauſe he thought it unjuſt and unreaſonable to require men to ſwear to the lawfulneſs of an action which they were not preſent at; that many gentlemen on whom he had his eye, beſides himſelf, were not preſent when the late king was put to death; and therefore could not ſwear to the lawfulneſs of a proceeding, the circumſtances of which they were unacquainted with: but that if they would have a teſt to purge the army, he conceived he had as good a right to propoſe one as another man; and therefore ſhould take the liberty to propoſe one, which he hoped would be found more reaſonable, and more lawful, than that mentioned by the noble Lord who ſpoke before him. He then propoſed, that all perſons ſhould be turned out of the army, who would not ſwear to defend the eſtabliſhed government, under the Protector and Parliament: this teſt he ſaid was reaſonable, ſince their own being depended upon it, and lawful, becauſe it was to maintain the preſent government: he added, that if this teſt ſhould have the ill fortune to be rejected in this council, he would move it the next day in the Houſe of Commons, where he was pretty confident it would meet with a better reception. Upon the concluſion of this ſpeech, there was a louder cry of Well moved, than when Deſborough had ſpoken before. While the noiſe continued, and the aſſembly were in ſome confuſion, Lord Broghill changing his place, and getting between Colonel Whaley and Gough, two hot men, and eaſily fired, uſed ſuch arguments to them, that each of them in a warm ſpeech declared for the teſt laſt propoſed. Fleetwood and Deſborough, with ſome of their moſt truſty friends, finding it impoſſible now to carry the teſt which would have modelled the army as they deſired, retired to conſult what was to be done. After a ſhort ſtay, they returned to the Council, and declared, that they had ſeriouſly conſidered of what the Lord Broghill had ſaid; they confeſſed that they had not at firſt ſeen all the ill conſequences of impoſing teſts upon the army, but were at preſent fully convinced of them; to avoid which, and that they might remain united among themſelves, they propoſed, that both the teſts that had been offered ſhould be withdrawn, to which the Lord Broghill, after ſome little ſtiffneſs, conſented. One cannot well conceive how an affair of this nature could be managed with greater dexterity or preſence of mind; and, at the ſame time, it gives us ſo perfect a notion of thoſe times, and the ſpirit and genius of thoſe who made a figure in them, that I can ſcarcely believe we can meet with either more entertaining or inſtructive pieces of hiſtory, than thoſe we have inſerted in the courſe of this article (19). By them we plainly ſee, what an effect particular kinds of rule have upon human nature, and how ſoon the republican ſpirit had diffuſed itſelf through the more active part of this nation; for I preſume that in Athens or Rome there never happened a freer debate than this, or where the iſſue was more plainly determined by the power of ſpeaking.—— The next note will confirm this notion by as ſtrong an inſtance of the ſame kind.

(16) Memoirs of Oliver Cromwell, p. 321.

(17) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v.

(18) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 432. Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 65, 66, 67. Hiſt. of the Interregnum from the King's Death to the Reſtoration, chap. ix.

(19) There was a long account of this and other tranſactions, in a MS. intitled, *Intrigues at Wallingford Houſe*, once in the Library of the firſt Earl of Angleſey.

kingdom, and as there never was a time when private piques were capable of doing even innocent and worthy men more miſchief, we need not wonder that the army leaders, who were alſo in the Houſe of Commons, transferred the campaign thither, and laboured to raiſe a ſpirit againſt him there, who had already got the better of them in another place. But in this too they miſcarried, though their ſcheme was well laid; for his Lordſhip as eaſily baffled his own enemies in Parliament, as he had done the Protector's in the Council of Officers (*m*) [G]. But though he was ſo well able to defend his own power, he ſoon found it was impoſſible to ſupport Richard, who wanted courage to maintain his own power, and firmneſs to retire into the city, and there declare for bringing back the King, and for a free Parliament, either of which, had he been well adviſed, or rather, could he have taken good advice, might have been very practicable (*n*). But when Lord Broghill ſaw, that the honeſty and good nature of Richard Cromwell would infallibly render him a prey to his enemies, of whom ſome were of his own houſehold, he did not think it at all neceſſary to ſink with a man he could not ſave. He had adviſed him honeſtly on both the topics before mentioned; and therefore, as ſoon as he had diſſolved the Parliament, Lord Broghill thought the Government ſubverted, and himſelf abſolved from all ties to the Cromwell family, conſidered as that of a Prince (*o*). To ſecure himſelf, therefore, at leaſt from immediate danger, and to be out of the way of thoſe new troubles which he foreſaw would begin ſoon, he reſolved to go over to his command in Ireland, which he accordingly did: but he was very cautious and expeditious in his journey, and thereby over-reached Fleetwood the third time, who had cauſed ſome ſteps to be taken in order to ſeize him, but too late, and which ſerved only to convince his Lordſhip, how happy a thing it was for him, that he ſo prudently withdrew out of reach (*p*). As ſoon as he was fairly ſettled in Munſter, he began to enquire, but with much circumſpection, into the temper, intereſts, and power of the ſeveral officers of the army in that kingdom: but before he was in any condition to work upon their ſentiments, or diſcover his own, he was ſummoned by the Parliament Commiſſioners at Dublin to appear before them, which without heſitation he did; and though they had taken a reſolution to confine him, yet he anſwered all they objected to him ſo clearly, and threw them into ſuch a dilemma, by demanding the ſole power of Munſter, upon their aſking if he would undertake to keep it quiet, that they were glad to ſend him back, with an admonition to be true to them; to which he anſwered, he had been, and would be, always true to the Engliſh and Proteſtant intereſt in that country (*q*). He ſoon ſaw, after his return to his command, that there ſubſiſted no longer any kind of harmony amongſt the officers, and that the body of the army were anxious for ſuch a ſettled authority, as might ſecure to them the lands aſſigned them in that kingdom. Theſe he judged to be circumſtances favourable to his ſincere deſign of reſtoring the King and legal conſtitution; and as he conceived

(*m*) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. i. p. 432.

(*n*) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v.

(*o*) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, MS.

(*p*) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 203.

(*q*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. Part ii. p. 2. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. i. p. 449.

[G] *As eaſily baffled his own enemies in Parliament, as he had done the Protector's in the Council of Officers.*] In order to give a clear account of this matter, we are to reſume the thread of the ſtory from the laſt note. The Council of Officers broke up about eight at night, upon which Lord Broghill went directly to the Protector, Richard, whom he found with the Lords Howard and Falconbridge. Having gently reproached theſe two noblemen for having deſerted him in the day of battle, he was anſwered, that finding it impoſſible to oppoſe the torrent, and that Fleetwood and Deſborough were ſure of carrying their point, they thought themſelves obliged to come away, and inform the Protector what was doing. The Lord Broghill then, to their no ſmall ſurpriſe and ſatisfaction, gave an account of his ſucceſs; but added, that he plainly ſaw, that council would do miſchief if they were ſuffered to ſit any longer (20): he therefore humbly adviſed the Protector to diſſolve them immediately. Richard aſked in what manner he ſhould do it: Lord Broghill anſwered, that if his Highneſs pleaſed, he would draw up a ſhort ſpeech for him, which he might deliver the next morning at the general council, after having ſat amongſt them about an hour. Richard promiſed he would do ſo; upon which, Broghill immediately drew up a ſhort ſpeech. The next day at ten in the morning, the Protector, as had been agreed, went to the council, and, to the ſurprize of the aſſembly, ſeated himſelf in a chair of ſtate, which had been placed there for him. After having liſtened to their debates about an hour, he roſe up, and with a much better grace than was expected, delivered himſelf to this effect (21): *Gentlemen*, 'I thankfully accept of your ſervices, I have 'conſidered your grievances, and think the propereſt 'method to redreſs what is amiſs amongſt you, is, to do 'it in the Parliament now ſitting, and where I will 'take care you ſhall have juſtice done you. I therefore declare my commiſſion for holding this aſſembly to be void, and that this general council is now 'diſſolved; and I deſire that ſuch of you as are not 'members of Parliament, will repair forthwith to 'your reſpective commands.' This ſpeech, though extremely mild, was a thunder-clap in the ears of *Fleetwood*, *Deſborough*, and all their party. They immediately gueſſed the Lord *Broghill* was the *author* of it (22), and reſolved to fall upon him in Parliament. Accordingly, when the *houſe* met, they complained (with their eyes fixed on Lord *Broghill*) *that they had been highly abuſed and affronted by a certain noble Lord in that aſſembly, that they thought themſelves obliged to demand ſatisfaction, and therefore humbly moved, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his Highneſs, the Protector, to know who adviſed him to diſſolve the council of war, without the conſent or knowledge of his Parliament.* Some of Lord *Broghill*'s friends who ſaw the ſtorm was pointed at him, made ſigns to him to withdraw: his Lordſhip, however, ſat ſtill till his enemies had done ſcolding, when he roſe up and ſpoke in the following manner: *Mr. Speaker*, 'I am not 'againſt preſenting this addreſs, but humbly move, 'that another may be preſented to the Protector at 'the ſame time, to know who adviſed the calling of 'a General Council of Officers, without the conſent 'or knowledge of the Parliament; for ſurely if the 'man is guilty, who adviſed the diſſolution of this 'Council, thoſe people are much more guilty, who 'durſt adviſe his Highneſs to call ſuch a Council, 'without either the knowledge or conſent of his Parliament.' The houſe, who ſuſpected the Council of Officers to be no friends to their power, were highly pleaſed with this ſecond motion: they cried out, *Well moved!* and *Fleetwood* had the mortification to ſee himſelf baffled a ſecond time, by the dexterity of the Lord *Broghill*.

(20) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. v.

(21) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 71, 72.

(22) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 432, 433.

this rightly, he conducted it prudently, and accompliſhed it happily (*r*) [*H*]. It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that, after taking ſo much pains, and running ſo many hazards in bringing this important enterprize to bear, very few of our public or general Hiſtories

[*H*] *Conducted it prudently, and accompliſhed it happily.*] It is not eaſy to conceive an enterprize more difficult or dangerous than this undertaken by Lord Broghill, and undertaken, too, at a time when, as we have ſeen, he was greatly ſuſpected by ſuch as had the ſupreme authority in Ireland, and who had beſides a ſufficient meaſure of power to have ſecured and cruſhed him, if any circumſtance of his deſign came to their knowledge before it was ripened to ſuch a degree, as might enable him to oppoſe force by force (23). Yet under all theſe difficulties, and in the midſt of ſo many dangers, he determined to hazard every thing for the King's Reſtoration; but, at the ſame time, addreſſed himſelf to the carrying on of this work with all the ſecrecy and circumſpection that was neceſſary; both to prevent the Parliament Commiſſioners from gaining any intelligence, and to ſecure to himſelf a party ſtrong enough to deal with thoſe, who, either from principle or intereſt, might be abſolutely irreconcileable to the return of the Royal Family, and the reviving of the old conſtitution in Church and State, the number and force of which party, no man living knew better than he did, or conſequently how to deal with them. He ſounded all the officers in his own regiments of horſe, and regiment of foot, and found them very well diſpoſed to follow his fortunes; only the Governor of Limerick, Colonel Wilſon (24), not being immediately under his command, he was for ſome time cautious of truſting him: but as that ſtrong place would have been an inſurmountable impediment to his deſign, he reſolved to venture and try what he could do with him. Accordingly he ſent a meſſenger to deſire him to come to my Lord as privately as he could, becauſe he had ſomething of the laſt importance to confer with him about. When the governor came, he took him into his cloſet, and after due preparation, began at firſt to diſcourſe in general, of the preſent ſtate of affairs, how unſettled they were; adding, *What think you, Colonel?* The latter replied, that he could wiſh they were otherwiſe, and ſettled ſome way or other: the Lord Broghill continued the diſcourſe thus: *I ſee plainly that thoſe at the helm will rather unſettle, than ſettle them, and therefore it would be well if ſome man of ſpirit would ſtir and try to bring things into a better order, for they cannot laſt as they are now.* The Colonel ſaid, You, my Lord, are a fit man to ſtir, I wonder why you don't. The Lord Broghill replied, *I am not a man of any great intereſt, and am ſuſpected already.* No doubt, ſays the Colonel, many perſons will be glad to join with you in ſo neceſſary an undertaking; for my part, I will be one; *Well then,* replied my Lord, *will you indeed join with me in any good deſign?* The Colonel anſwered, I will, there's my hand, and will ſtick cloſe to you to the death. Lord Broghill proceeded, *Theſe kingdoms will never be well without a* Free-Parliament; *every one complains of the oppreſſions of Committees, will you join with me in declaring for a* Free-Parliament? I will, ſays the Colonel, with all my heart I will. *Will you do it,* continued my Lord, *if there were a King at the bottom?* The Colonel anſwered, I like it the better. Then Lord Broghill acquainted him what his intentions were; to ſend to his Majeſty and invite him to come to Ireland, where all Munſter was ready to receive him; adding, that he would ſend to Sir Charles Coote in the North, and to Colonel Monk, in Scotland, to deſire them to declare for the ſame thing; which the Colonel highly approved of, and vowed that he would live and die with him in it. My Lord enjoined him to ſecrecy, upon which the whole matter depended, and the Colonel immediately ſwore it. After this, he returned to Limerick, to prepare for putting the deſign in execution; and by a Gentleman who accompanied him thither from Lord Broghill's houſe, he returned a letter to my Lord, in which he ſaid, that he wrote it, and ſubſcribed it purpoſely with his own hand, that if ever he proved falſe, that letter might riſe up in judgment againſt him. The Lord Broghill diſpatched a Gentleman whom he could confide in, to Sir Charles Coote, in the North of Ireland, to diſpoſe him to engage with him in declaring for a Free-Parliament, which Coote did very readily, wanting only ſuch an invitation from a perſon of name and intereſt; for he had taken diſguſt at the ſuperiority of Lieutenant-General Ludlow, and the Parliament's Commiſſioners, and thought that his ſervices, which had been very eminent, were not ſufficiently rewarded by the Preſidency of Connaught. When the Gentleman returned from Sir Charles Coote, and told the Lord Broghill what his reſolution was, his Lordſhip procured a letter ſigned by moſt of the chief officers in Ireland, to invite the King, then at Bruſſels, into that kingdom. Lord Broghill's brother, the Lord Shannon, was ſent with this letter, which his Majeſty received before matters were quite ſettled with Monk, and reſolved to embark at Calais for Cork; where the Lord Broghill promiſed to receive him with a good force. But before he could take ſhipping, an addreſs came from the Convention in England, which invited him thither, and put off the voyage to Ireland. In the mean time it began to be rumoured, that Broghill and Coote had intelligence with Monk, and that their deſign was for a Free-Parliament: Coote, impatient of delay, made that declaration, having engaged a good part of the army in Ireland to join with him in it. Colonel Brayfield, Governor of Athlone, refuſing to do it, Sir Charles brought down his forces before it, and, by tampering with ſome of the garriſon, and affirming that Brayfield would deliver them up to him, prevailed with them to open the gates of the caſtle, and betray the Governor into his hands. Colonel Temple poſſeſſed himſelf of Carlow, and turned out Colonel Pretty; Captain Liſle diſpoſſeſſed Colonel Deſborough of Drogheda; Colonel Fouke, aſſiſted by the cavaliers, ſeized Youghal; Major Stanley had done the ſame at Clonmell; Colonel Cooper was removed from his command in the North, and a friend of Coote's put into it with little or no oppoſition; and leſs ſtill in Munſter; where the Lord Broghill declared for a Free-Parliament, though not ſo haſtily as Sir Charles Coote did, which occaſioned a letter from the latter to his Lordſhip, wherein he tells him, that the deſign of declaring for a Free-Parliament began to take vent, and I am therefore, ſays he, forced to declare before the time determined, leſt I ſhould be circumvented or hindered by the Rump-party; upon which account I deſire your Lordſhip forthwith to do the ſame, that the whole force of the enemy may not be employed againſt me, but may be divided: remember, your Lordſhip firſt put me upon this deſign, and, therefore, ſhould not leave me, in what you firſt put me upon. Lord Broghill, who was ready to begin the work, if he had thought the time proper for it, could not help thinking that Coote had precipitated it; yet finding he had done ſo, reſolved to ſupport him, and accordingly declared for a Free-Parliament, which was then underſtood to be the King, whom they did not care directly to mention, it being made treaſon by ſo many laws. By this means the Parliament party were thrown into great perplexity, and knew not what method to take, being confined between the two powers; and Lord Broghill and Coote met with as little oppoſition as could well be expected, from perſons who were in poſſeſſion of the government. The gentlemen ſent Captain Campbell to Colonel Monk, to acquaint him with their proceedings; but he had no more concern in the revolution in Ireland, than Lord Broghill had in that of England (25). It may however be affirmed, that this great turn of affairs in Ireland, could not but influence thoſe of England in ſome meaſure, as it rendered it very apparent, that if the King were not brought in to prevent a war, nothing but a war could keep him out; and in making ſuch a war, it had been very difficult for ſuch as were moſt averſe to the Royal Cauſe, to find officers and troops that they could truſt; for though there might be many among the former that did not love the King, yet at the ſame time they hated each other ſo heartily, that they were in no condition of acting in ſuch a manner as would have been requiſite to oppoſe him (26), more eſpecially after it became evident, that both Scotland and Ireland would declare for him.

(*r*) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery. Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 85. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. i. p. 450.

(23) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 83.

(24) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery.

(25) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 449.

(26) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 677, & *ſeq.*

aſcribe ſo much to him in this particular as he deſerved. Some accuſe him of backwardneſs (s), others excuſe his ſlowneſs in ſuch a manner (t) as amounts to a new charge, and almoſt all agree, that, in this great event, he acted as an aſſiſtant or ſecond to Sir Charles Coote (u). But, upon a ſtrict and impartial examination, it will appear, that none of theſe imputations ought to ſtick on his memory; ſince there are the ſtrongeſt proofs that his loyal intentions were clear, his conduct prudent and diſcreet, and his declaration prior, in point of time, to Sir Charles Coote's, which are points that deſerve to be diſcuſſed (w) [I]. He it was, that conducted the great ſtep of recovering the caſtle of Dublin, which Sir Hardreſs Waller had found means to ſecure after it had been ſeized by the officers well affected to the King. He it was, that conducted all things in the Convention, and, by ſlow and ſure ſteps, led on that great change, in a manner equally happy for Prince and people; and he it was, who made a juſt and honeſt ſtand for the Proteſtant intereſt againſt the Papiſts, who, though they

(s) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 731.

(t) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 203.

(u) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 753.

(w) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 83, 84, 85.

[I] *Which are points that deſerve to be diſcuſſed.*] The great abilities, the great ſervices, and the great favour, that Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, was in, drew upon him, as might be naturally expected, a heavy load of envy; and it has been, in ſome meaſure, the misfortune of that Nobleman, that thoſe who were leaſt acquainted with his affairs, as well as leaſt ſatisfied with his conduct, have undertaken to give the world an account of it, which, perhaps, has been too eaſily and too generally believed. As for inſtance, the noble hiſtorian ſpeaks of him thus (27): 'The Lord Broghill, who was Preſident of Munſter, and of a very great intereſt and influence upon that whole province, though he had great warineſs in diſcovering his inclinations, as he had great guilt to reſtrain them, yet hated Lambert ſo much, that he leſs feared the King, and ſo wiſhed for a ſafe opportunity to do his Majeſty ſervice: and he had a good poſt, and a good party to concur with him, when he ſhould call upon them, and think fit to declare.' One may very eaſily perceive that the Earl of Clarendon had conceived an ill opinion of Lord Broghill, and wrote under the influence of that conception, which induced him to think there was very little loyalty in that Lord's declaring for the King: but the buſineſs is to know whether the Earl's opinion was well founded; and there are many, and thoſe unqueſtionable proofs, that it was not; but that Lord Broghill was always a loyal ſubject, and always eſteemed ſo by ſuch as knew him beſt, both friends and enemies. While the Iriſh war laſted, he thought it his duty to do his utmoſt in favour of the Proteſtant intereſt; and to do this, he ſerved under the Parliament, in which he wanted not both rational and legal juſtifications (28). In 1648, when it was viſible that their army had got the better of the parliament, it appears, by a letter from the Marquis of Ormond to Lord Broghill, that the latter had offered himſelf, and all that was in his power, for the ſupport of the royal cauſe (29). When he found it out of his power to ſtir in Ireland, he came over to live privately in England; but conceiving it diſhonourable to remain at his eaſe, while his maſter knew not where to hide his head, he wrote a letter to King Charles II. and offered him his ſervice. A copy of this letter, and of the King's anſwer, was found in Secretary Cowper's cabinet, at the taking of Guernſey-caſtle, and ſent to the Parliament, who reſolved to take his life for it. But Cromwell knowing how uſeful he might be in Ireland, offered to be bound, body for body, that he ſhould drop his former deſign, and enter into their ſervice; which he did, but not till he had aſked the King's leave, who gave it with this gentle reſtriction, *that when he was leſs in danger, he ſhould remember his duty* (30). How he ſerved in that war, has been ſhewn, and againſt whom; but Cromwell ſtill ſuſpected, and Ireton hated him. Nay, after Lord Broghill had been in Scotland, and had done Cromwell ſo much ſervice there, he could not obtain leave to return to his command in Ireland, becauſe Henry Cromwell repreſented to his father, that his intereſt in that country was ſo great, and his intentions to ſerve the royal family ſo well known, that it would not be ſafe to let him come there (31). It is, indeed, true that he had thoughts of ſhewing his loyalty to the King, without being ungrateful to Cromwell, or to his family, for whom he had much tenderneſs and reſpect; but even this was not done without hazard, for Oliver had his ſpies abroad, and when Lord Broghill, in company with the Protector's children, Lord Falconbridge, and Lord Carliſle, had drank the King's health, one evening, at the Bear at the Bridge-foot, the Protector had notice of it before they got home, but thought fit to paſs it by, for which his Lordſhip had not the leſs obligation to him (32). It is ſaid that he managed his deſign in Ireland for the King's reſtoration with great ſecrecy, and this is aſcribed to a certain habit in him; and ſurely that was no bad habit, ſince Sir George Booth about the ſame time had like to have loſt his life, by declaring precipitately (33). But Sir Charles Coote ſent over Sir Arthur Forbes to the King at Bruſſels, before Monk declared. And what then? Lord Broghill alſo ſent over his brother, the Lord Shannon, with a letter quilted in the neck of his doublet, ſignifying, that he had ſecured the town of Cork, and had a body of five thouſand old Proteſtant troops ready for his Majeſty's ſervice (34). It is indeed true, that after the King came to London, he ſuffered himſelf, in ſome meaſure, to be perſuaded that Sir Charles Coote was the firſt man that ſtirred for him in Ireland; but Lord Broghill ſoon ſet this to rights, by ſending the King Sir Charles Coote's letter upon his declaring, in which was the following paragraph, than which nothing can be clearer: *Remember, my Lord, that you firſt put me upon this deſign, and I beſeech you forſake me not in that which you firſt put me upon, which was to declare for the King and Parliament* (35). This, as might be well expected, placed every thing in a proper light: his Lordſhip was ſoon after made Earl of Orrery, ſworn of the King's Privy-Council, appointed one of the Lords Juſtices, and Lord Preſident of Munſter. To ſhew that theſe favours were not the effects of policy, but of a ſincere ſenſe of his Lordſhip's merit, the following letter will appear a moſt convincing proof, though written two years after the Reſtoration (36).

The King to the Earl of Orrery.

'MY Lord Orrery, I am ſo ſenſible of the many ſervices you have done me, as I am aſhamed this ſhould be the firſt letter to thank you for them; and though I have been failing to you in this kind, I aſſure you I will never be wanting to myſelf and you in the eſſential part of what I owe ſo good a ſervant as you are to me, and be confident, that upon all occaſions you ſhall find the value and kindneſs I have for you. I hope in a few days to diſpatch the Act of Settlement with the reſt you ſent for my approbation, and will make all poſſible ſpeed to ſend my Lord Lieutenant to you, whereby the intire ſettlement of that kingdom may be finiſhed, and I may receive the benefit of that which you have been ſo inſtrumental in. I ſhall not now enter into the particular thanks for every ſervice you have done me; I ſhould not have room in this ſheet to ſay any thing elſe; but in the general I hope you are ſo juſt to me as to believe I have that ſenſe of them I ought to have. I will now tell you that I have read your firſt play, which I like very well, and do intend to bring it upon the ſtage as ſoon as my Company have their new ſtage in order, that the ſcenes may be worthy the words they are to ſet forth: for the laſt I have only ſeen in my Lord Lieutenant's hands, but will read it as ſoon as I have leiſure. I have no more to ſay to you at preſent, but aſſure you I am,

Whitehall, Feb. 26th, 1662.
Your very affectionate Friend,
CHARLES R.'

(27) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 731.

(28) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 186.

(29) Carte's Hiſt. of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. III. p. 589.

(30) Love's Memoirs of Lord Orrery.

(31) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 563.

(32) Love's Memoirs of Lord Orrery.

(33) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 677.

(34) Love's Memoirs, as above.

(35) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 87.

(36) Orrery's Letters, p. 65.

began his father's troubles, would never yield Charles II. obedience, and at this time had not moved a finger in his quarrel, yet were now very loyal in their expreſſions, and thence hoped to run away with the reward (x). But Lord Broghill coming over to England, prevented many inconveniencies that might have happened; gave the King and his Miniſters true notions of the affairs of that country; explained the views, and ſtated the force of the ſeveral parties there; and pointed out the true means of bringing all things in that kingdom into regularity and order (y). In conſideration of, as well as an inconteſtable proof of, theſe well-timed and eſſential ſervices, his Majeſty, by letters patent bearing date Sept. 5, 1660, advanced him to the honour of Earl of Orrery in the county of Cork (z); and Sir Maurice Euſtace, a faſt friend of the Duke of Ormond's, being appointed Chancellor, Roger Earl of Orrery, and Charles (Coote) Earl of Montrath, were, with him, made Lords Juſtices, about the cloſe of that memorable year (a). In the month of January following, he went over to that kingdom, and entered on the diſcharge of his high office (b). But we are told by ſome who wrote Memoirs of his Life, that he rendered a moſt ſingular ſervice to the Proteſtants in Ireland before his departure, which totally defeated the ſchemes formed by the Iriſh to render his Majeſty's Declaration, as to the ſettlement of that kingdom, void and ineffectual, at leaſt in a great meaſure (c). But I muſt acknowledge, that upon examining the matter ſtrictly, and comparing all its circumſtances, one cannot help ſuſpecting there is ſome miſtake, either as to the fact itſelf, or in the manner of relating it. The paſſage, however, is curious; and as there is reaſon to doubt whether it was ever before called in queſtion, it ſhall be particularly examined in the notes [K]. His conduct,

(x) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery.

(y) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. P. ii. p. 3. Carte's Hiſt. of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 212.

(z) Collins's Peerage, Vol. iv. p. 262.

(a) See the Table of Chief Officers of the Crown, &c. in the ſecond Volume of the Engliſh Tranſlation of Ware's Works.

(b) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland.

(c) See this point clearly ſtated in note [K].

[K] *It ſhall be particularly examined in the notes.*] One great deſign of this work is to rectify the miſtakes made by general hiſtorians, in reference to perſonal hiſtory, and the oppoſite error to this; the tranſgreſſions of private memoir writers, againſt the truth of general hiſtory. It is commonly obſerved, in reſpect to ſuch as compoſe the memoirs, characters, or hiſtories of eminent perſons, that they are carried to ſuch undertakings, either from a grateful ſenſe of favours conferred upon them; from a particular knowledge of ſome of the principal points, of which they undertake to write; or from a warm affection for the cauſe and conduct of the perſon whoſe memory they celebrate. It muſt be allowed, that all theſe are not only juſt but laudable motives to works of this ſort; yet ſtill they ſuppoſe a biaſs in favour of the perſon, whoſe actions are thus preſerved. Such a prejudice is not only incident to, but inſeparable from human nature, and though in ſtrictneſs we muſt allow it to be a weakneſs, yet it is ſuch a weakneſs as ought to be corrected without cenſure, which is what I aim at in this note. The noble perſon of whom I am ſpeaking, made ſo great a figure in his lifetime, that ſeveral perſons undertook to write memoirs of his actions from their own knowledge, and the notices they received from their friends; and though, in general, thoſe performances are very uſeful, and let us into the truth of ſeveral tranſactions, about which we ſhould be otherwiſe in the dark, yet they are not totally free from defects; as will be evident from the inſtance we are now going to give: and in order to place this in as clear a light as poſſible, we will firſt of all ſtate the matter as theſe writers have repreſented it, and then ſhew to what objections their account is liable; how far it agrees with, and in what circumſtances there are good grounds to ſuſpect it deviates from truth. As for their account, it runs thus (37): The Iriſh Roman Catholics, ſoon after the King's return, preſented a petition to him by Sir Nicholas Plunket, and others commiſſioned for that purpoſe, to deſire they might be reſtored to their eſtates. This in effect would have ruined the Proteſtants, who choſe the Earls of Orrery, Montrath, and ſix more, to oppoſe their adverſaries before the King and the Council. The Iriſh Commiſſioners were ſo apprehenſive of the Earl's eloquence and addreſs, upon ſuch an occaſion, that Mr. Morrice, his chaplain, aſſures us, they came to him, and offered him eight thouſand pounds in money, and to ſettle eſtates of ſeven thouſand pounds *per annum* upon him and his heirs, if he would not appear againſt them at the council-board. But the Earl rejected this propoſal with a generous diſdain, and told them, that ſince he had the honour to be employed by the Proteſtants, he would never have the baſeneſs to betray them. This great cauſe was heard at length, in a very ſolemn manner, before the King and Council; where, when the Iriſh Commiſſioners had offered all they thought proper, and expatiated upon the loyalty of their principles, the Earl, after an handſome compliment to the King, boldly affirmed that his Proteſtant ſubjects in Ireland were the firſt that formed an effectual party for reſtoring him, which the King readily bore witneſs to. He then repreſented, that the Iriſh Papiſts, after the ceſſation of arms, had ſent no aſſiſtance to the late King, as they had promiſed to do, and would have cut off the Marquis of Ormond, his Majeſty's Lord Lieutenant, at Kilkenny, which Lord Ormond averred to be true, and that they not only refuſed to receive him into Limerick, but endeavoured to intercept and murder him, in his return to Dublin. Then the Earl of Orrery produced a paper ſigned by Plunket, and ſeveral of the ſupreme council at Kilkenny, aſking him if it was not his hand, and if the hands of others of them, then preſent, were not of their writing. The Marquis of Ormond ſeeing it, cried, Sir Nicholas Plunket, that is certainly of your writing; which neither he nor the others could deny; and it being read, it appeared to be an order of the ſupreme council to proſecute the Marquis of Ormond by name, then Lord Lieutenant, and his party, with fire and ſword. Upon this the Earl of Orrery ſaid, Thoſe muſt be very loyal ſubjects indeed, that had declared war againſt his Majeſty's Commiſſioners! He added It will be proved to this moſt Honourable Board, that the Iriſh did not only declare war againſt his Majeſty's Lieutenant, but that Sir Nicholas Plunket himſelf had been impowered by them by a commiſſion under the hands of the ſupreme council, which he alſo produced, and the Iriſh Commiſſioners could not deny the hand-writing of Plunket, and others of them, 'to offer the Pope the Kingdom of Ireland; and if 'he refuſed it, to offer it to the King of Spain; and 'in caſe he would not accept of it, to make the ſame 'offer to the King of France, the Duke of Lorrain, 'or any other catholic Prince.' Then his Lordſhip ſhewed the council another paper ſubſcribed as before, and deſired it might be read. It was a petition drawn up by the heads of the Iriſh nation, about the tranſplantation; wherein they gave the commonwealth parliament the ſtyle and title of the ſupreme authority, acknowledging it to be juſtly and lawfully lodged in their aſſembly, to whom they ſubmitted their lives and fortunes. Upon this the Iriſh petition was rejected, and Plunket and the other Popiſh deputies were forbidden the King's preſence and Court. The Earl of Montrath and the ſix other Proteſtant Commiſſioners were very inquiſitive to know how the Earl of Orrery procured theſe papers, and why he had not communicated them to his Fellow-Commiſſioners before the hearing. His Lordſhip told them, that he would not truſt his brother with them, for fear that if it were known he had ſuch original papers, the Papiſts, who were confident of ſucceſs without ſuch evidence againſt them, might uſe ſome art or other to render them ineffectual, which if they were ſurpriſed with them they could not do. He ſaid that the manner of his coming by ſuch originals, was very extra-

(37) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, chap. vi. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 491. Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 106, & ſeq.

conduct, during the time of his being at the head of the government there, was ſuch, as contributed to make the ſubjects eaſy and contented; and his moderation, in conjunction with the ſame good quality in his colleagues, helped to reconcile all the jarring parties and different religions in that kingdom to a quiet obedience, at leaſt, of the new eſtabliſhment *(d)*. When, therefore, the Earl of Montrath, who had ſo generouſly concurred with him in the King's Reſtoration, was removed by death, his Lordſhip and the Lord Chancellor Euſtace were continued, and ſworn again Lords Juſtices, Jan 14, 1661 *(e)*. He gave all the neceſſary lights to the King and his Miniſtry, as to the affairs of that iſland, by which they proceeded here. He drew the bill of ſettlement with his own hand, by which he came nearer the character of a Legiſlator, than almoſt any modern Stateſman our Hiſtory has recorded. For by this he fixed the property, and gave titles to their eſtates to a whole nation; and as it was the work of his head to contrive, ſo it was left to his induſtry and influence to get paſſed, the Act of Settlement, which he performed to the laſting ſecurity of the Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland. It is very remarkable, that as great a ſervice as this was to the Engliſh nation, as much as it contributed to the eaſe and ſafety of the government, and as far as it went in compoſing the diſputes that were almoſt ready to have kindled a new flame in Ireland, yet nobody diſputed this merit with the Earl of Orrery *(f)*. The Act of Settlement, though as juſt and reaſonable as a law of ſo general a nature could be, did not ſatisfy every body. The Iriſh Papiſts were provoked, the enthuſiaſtic Fanatics were ill pleaſed; and though the wiſer, better, and major part of the people ſaw good cauſe to be grateful and content, yet thoſe who were otherwiſe were by much the more reſtleſs, clamorous, and uneaſy; and all theſe diſcharged their gall very freely on Orrery *(g)*. When matters were brought into this condition, and all things wore a peaceable and regular aſpect, his Lordſhip was diſcharged of the burthen of government, his Grace the Duke of Ormond being ſworn Lord Lieutenant, July 28, 1662, and the Earl of Orrery remitted to his more confined exerciſe of power in his province of Munſter *(h)*. But in this ſituation he ſtill continued to labour all in his power for the public advantage, giving ſuch lights and informations to the Duke of Ormond as he deſired, and which, as they are ſtill preſerved, remain indelible proofs of his public ſpirit and private friendſhip *(i)*. Amongſt other great ſervices rendered in this manner, one was in the following year, 1663, when he acquainted the Lord Lieutenant with a deſign formed for ſeizing Dublin-caſtle, and which is commonly called Jephſon's plot (*k*) [*L*]. His Lordſhip's active and free courſe of life had brought upon him ſome diſeaſes

extraordinary: That upon his being named one of the Deputies of Ireland, a plain, grave, country gentleman came to his houſe in Munſter, and deſired to ſpeak with him in private; and being admitted, he ſaid, ‘ That he heard his Lordſhip was going to court ‘ in ſuch a commiſſion, and knowing him to be a ‘ man of integrity, he had brought ſome papers, ‘ which he thought would be uſeful to him for the ‘ Engliſh intereſt, againſt the Iriſh; that he would ‘ not truſt his own ſon with them, and therefore came ‘ in perſon to wait upon his Lordſhip, and deliver ‘ them to him.’ The Earl aſked how he procured them? The gentleman replied, that he had had ſuch a commiſſion in the army, and one of his ſoldiers, in rifling the houſe of a Papiſt of diſtinction, brought away theſe papers, which he took from him, and laid them up ſafe, to be made uſe of upon occaſion, and none could be more proper than the preſent.—— It is very true, that ſoon after the Reſtoration, and while the Convention was ſitting at Dublin, Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, Sir Charles Coote, afterwards Earl of Montrath, and others, were ſent over to repreſent the deſires of the nation to the King; and it is alſo true, that theſe Commiſſioners ſupported the cauſe of the Proteſtants againſt ſuch as appeared on behalf of the Iriſh Papiſts (38); but I do not find that Plunket was then their agent. Many months after this, when the parliament was ſitting, and the Earl of Orrery was one of the Lords Juſtices, Commiſſioners were appointed to ſupport, in England, the Act of Settlement, and thoſe choſen by the houſe of Lords were the Earl of Kildare, the Lord Viſcount Montgomery, the Biſhop of Elphin, and the Lord Kingſton (39). After this, in 1661, the Lords Juſtices ſent the Biſhop of Cork, the Lord Kingſton, and Mr. Piggot, then Maſter of the Wards, as their agents to England, and theſe were the perſons that produced the papers in queſtion, and defeated all the endeavours of Sir Nicholas Plunket, and the reſt of the Iriſh agents, by producing the inſtructions to Plunket, as is very evident, from the order of council, dated at Whitehall, March 14, 1661-2, in which the whole affair is very clearly ſtated (40). At this time the Earl of Orrery was one of the Lords Juſtices, and in Ireland; the Earl of Montrath died the 18th of October preceding this tranſaction; and Mr. Carte informs us, that the Biſhop of Cork had, by ſome means or other, found the originals of the inſtruments before mentioned, and was the perſon who produced them at the council-table (41). As for the Earl of Orrery's zeal for the Proteſtant intereſt, the offers made him by the Iriſh Papiſts, and his rejecting them, they may be, and probably were true; but as to the Earl of Orrery's producing theſe papers at the council-table, after they had fallen into his hands, in ſo extraordinary a manner, it is plain they are circumſtances added at random, and have no foundation in truth.

[*L*] *And which is commonly called Jephſon's plot.*] We have, in another place, given the reader ſome account of this inſurrection, and ſhall not therefore dwell upon it here. That it was diſcovered by the Earl of Orrery to the Lord Lieutenant, appears to have been a thing of notoriety in thoſe days (42), though there is no particular account of it in his Lordſhip's letters: but the following epiſtle from his Royal maſter, which is preſerved amongſt them, will put the matter of fact entirely out of doubt, and eſtabliſh this point of ſervice as effectually as can be deſired.

King Charles II. to the Earl of Orrery (43).

‘ MY Lord of Orrery, Though I had before I ‘ received your's of May 23, a relation of the ‘ conſpiracy againſt the caſtle of Dublin, from my ‘ Lord of Ormond, as alſo of the part you had in the ‘ diſcovery of it; yet I was glad to read in your's ‘ many more particulars, eſpecially for the application you uſed, to prevent the further growth of this ‘ villany, which was ſo much, according to my judgment, that I cannot but recommend to you the ſame ‘ manner of proceeding, if we ſhall be ſo unhappy ‘ as to meet with any more ſuch occaſions. In the ‘ mean time, I deſire you to be aſſured, that I have ‘ all the value I ought to have for your perſon, and ‘ affection

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(d) Lawrence's Intereſt of Ireland, Part iii. p. 99.

(e) See the large Table of Supreme Governors and great Officers in Ireland, in the ſecond Volume of Sir James Ware's Works.

(f) See the Preface to the Earl of Orrery's State Letters.

(g) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 224.

(h) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland.

(i) See his Letters during 1663, 1664, and 1665.

(k) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland.

(38) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 212.

(39) Memoirs of the Affairs of Ireland, from the Reſtoration to the Revolution, p. 133.

(40) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 5.

(41) Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 244, 245.

(42) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 6.

(43) Orrery's Letters, p. 71.

diſeaſes and infirmities, which gave him much pain and uneaſineſs; and a fever that fell into his feet, joined to the gout, with which he was often afflicted, abated much of that vigour which he had ſhewed in the earlier part of his life: but his induſtry and application were ſtill the ſame, and bent to the ſame purpoſes, as appears from his letters, which ſhew at once a capacity and an attention to buſineſs, which does honour to that age, and may ſerve as an example for this *(l)*. But, on particular emergencies, when the State could not be ſerved by ſpeeches, or pen and ink, the Earl of Orrery forgot his ill ſtate of health and infirmities to ſuch a degree, as ſhewed how far public ſpirit can ſupply all things, even youth and ſtrength, to ſuch as are truly affected therewith. On the King's ſignifying his deſire of ſeeing his Lordſhip in England, he went over in 1665, and found things at Court in ſome diſorder (*m*). His Majeſty had taken a reſolution of removing the Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor, on account of his behaving ſo imperiouſly, that one of his Majeſty's complaiſant temper could no longer bear it; and he had ſo good an opinion of the Earl of Orrery's judgment, integrity, and fitneſs for that high employment, that he offered him the Seals, as Lord Keeper, which, however, he declined, on account of his want of bodily vigour, which the King did not take at all amiſs (*n*). But he accepted, and performed, a moſt difficult and diſagreeable commiſſion from his maſter, which was to expoſtulate with his brother the Duke of York, and bring him to aſk pardon for ſome ſteps he had taken to ſupport the Chancellor; and *That*, by the Earl of Orrery's perſuaſion, he was brought to do. In this ſituation of things, ſtanding equally well with the Royal brothers, he might have had any thing; but his Lordſhip deſired no more than he had; and therefore, as ſoon as he had done what was expected from him here, he went back again to Ireland, neither greater nor richer than he came from thence; and though no creature of Clarendon's, yet no mighty friend to the Miniſters that ſupplanted him (*o*). On his coming back to Munſter, he found himſelf called to a new ſcene of action. The firſt Dutch war was then at its height, and the French acting alſo in confederacy with them, and both uſing all their endeavours to rake together the ſcattered aſhes of rebellion, and by countenancing the Regicides, and other dangerous perſons abroad, to ſpirit up an inſurrection either in England or Ireland; he, who knew better than any man how to deal with and diſcover the intrigues of the Fanatics, was put to keep a conſtant guard againſt their ſecret contrivances, and at the ſame time was obliged to watch with equal diligence the attempts that might be made on the coaſts by the enemies joint naval force *(p)*. How he diſcharged his truſt in both, is largely ſet forth by his own pen, not in a ſtudied account of his own ſervices, but in papers occaſionally written in direction to others, or to deſire from the Lord Lieutenant, with whom he ſtood then in high favour, inſtructions for himſelf (*q*). The ſcheme formed by the Duke de Beaufort, Admiral of France, for a deſcent upon Ireland, and ſecuring the noble harbour of Kinſale, was defeated by the Earl of Orrery, who diſcovered all the alacrity of a young man in repairing thither, aſſembling a force ſufficient to cover the town and port, and guns to mount upon the works; at the ſame time that he alſo ſhewed the judgment and experience of an old Stateſman, in laying hold of ſo fair an opportunity to make the terror of the country, by procuring a fort and regular fortifications to be erected (*r*). This was afterwards done under the direction of his Lordſhip, who had thereby an opportunity of ſignalizing his ſkill (which was great) as an engineer in the conſtruction of Fort Charles, and of demonſtrating, which was very ſingular, his public ſpirit as a Patriot, by contributing his private credit, and advancing his own money, for the ſervice of the nation (*s*). By his care in this particular, one of the beſt ports in the Britiſh dominions was put into a proper ſtate of defence againſt enemies, and rendered a moſt commodious refuge in time of war, both for our Eaſt and Weſt India fleets (*t*). But, in the midſt of all his labours, and in ſpite of all his ſervices, in 1667, a diſpute aroſe between him and his old friend the Duke of Ormond (*u*), then Lord Lieutenant, of which it is neceſſary to ſay ſomewhat, though it is but too viſible, that, after all that can be ſaid, in a great meaſure, poſterity will remain ſtill in the dark as to the true grounds of this quarrel [*M*]. But upon what grounds ſoever it began, both Peers very

(l) Morrice's Memoirs of Roger, Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(m) Love's Memoirs of Lord Orrery.

(n) Memoirs of Roger, Earl of Orrery, *ubi ſupra*.

(o) See this explained in note [*P*].

(p) Orrery's Letters, p. 114—298.

(q) See his correſpondence during that time, in his Letters.

(r) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 238. Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. iv. p. 257. Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 5. 9.

(s) Orrery's Letters, p. 237.

(t) See the vaſt importance of this port, explained by the Earl himſelf, in his Letters to the Duke of Ormond, July 18, 1667, p. 271.

(u) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, c. vi.

‘ affection to my ſervice; and that I ſhall on all oc-
‘ caſions requite it as

‘ Whitehall, June
‘ 13th, 1663.

Your very affectionate Friend,

‘ CHARLES R.’

[*M*] *Poſterity will remain ſtill in the dark, as to the true grounds of this quarrel.*] It may to ſome ſeem tedious, and to others trifling, to deſcend into a cloſe examination of the differences and diſputes between great men, who lived at ſuch a diſtance of time. But when it is conſidered that theſe diſputes, though private at the beginning, became at laſt of a public nature, and produced firſt an attempt to frame an impeachment againſt the Duke of Ormond; and in revenge of this, the actual forming an impeachment againſt the Earl of Orrery, and this in ſo ſhort a ſpace after they were both highly advanced in honour, and cloſely united in friendſhip; I ſay, whoever conſiders this, cannot think ſuch an inquiry trivial; or, if kept within proper bounds, tedious. We read with great pleaſure, in Mr. Bayle's admirable performance, differences and diſputes of far leſs conſideration, and with which, in compariſon of theſe, we have little or nothing to do. Beſides, this diſpute had very conſiderable conſequences: ſome attribute thereto the removal of the Duke of Ormond from the Lieutenancy of Ireland; but whether this was ſo or not, moſt certain it is, that it produced the ſuppreſſion of the very ſoon felt the bad effects of it, and reſorted into England, to defend their reſpective intereſts and pretenſions; both having been attacked by their ſecret enemies, who ſuggeſted many things to their prejudice, as well as that, if their power were once taken away, all that was alleged would be ſpeedily and fully made good (*w*). Such were the methods practiſed in thoſe days, and perhaps ſince, to bring down great men; and againſt ſuch methods, who can be ſafe? But, after all, it is certain that the King's affections to him were not eaſily ſhaken [*N*]. His coming over to England at that time, and the rumours which prevailed in Ireland, as if he was intended for Lord Lieu-

the Lord Preſident's court in Munſter, which is a point of ſuch importance, as renders any thing relating to it worth knowing. It is evident, that the coldneſs began on the ſide of the Duke of Ormond, and is thus accounted for by his hiſtorian (44).

‘ Lord Orrery gave the Duke of Ormond an early account of his being ſolicited in this manner; but it was only in general, and he would not diſcover the perſons who had thus endeavoured to draw him into their combination, that his Grace might know againſt whoſe deſigns he was to guard himſelf. Nor did he ever give him the leaſt notice of the King's letter. He had promiſed to let the Duke know what was like to be objected againſt him, and in performance of that promiſe, had ſent him ſome articles, which his Grace deemed too ſenſeleſs to be real; and his jealouſy being already raiſed, he ſuſpected ſome of them to be that nobleman's inventions.’

It may ſeem a little ſtrange, that ſo wiſe a man as the Duke of Ormond ſhould take ill the notices given him by a man of Lord Orrery's quality, who made high profeſſions of friendſhip to him, and, for any thing that appears to the contrary, was really his friend. But the news being unwelcome in itſelf, could not be well reliſhed, from whatever hand it came. His Grace, however, had afterwards very full ſatisfaction as to the truth of it; and as to Lord Orrery's not declaring from whom he had it, his Lordſhip's account ought to have ſatisfied the Duke; for he told him, that the ſame perſon who gave him this advice enjoined him ſecrecy, and at the ſame time told him, if he would join in the deſign, he would diſcloſe to him the whole; but this the Earl poſitively refuſed, which put it out of his power to gain farther lights for the Duke. Some cauſes there were beſides this which diſguſted his Grace, and made him ſo ſuſpicious of every thing that came from the Earl of Orrery; and what theſe cauſes were, will beſt appear from the account of this matter given by the Earl's hiſtorian, which runs thus (45):

‘ After the Earl of Orrery had been ſome time in Ireland, the Duke of Ormond, being Lord Lieutenant, went in progreſs through the chief parts of that kingdom, and upon his coming into Munſter, Lord Orrery ordered all the train-bands of the ſeveral baronies, through which his Grace was to paſs, to be ready in arms to conduct him through the barony, and he himſelf went to the confines of the province to receive him, and waited upon him throughout all the province. But this action was by ſome wicked people repreſented to my Lord's great prejudice: For ſome did the ill office to inſinuate, that this was too popular for a ſubject, and therefore not proper to be tolerated; and that this was only to ſhew what he could do, if he were diſguſted, having ſo many at a day's warning ready to obey his command. From that time forward there grew an unhappy miſunderſtanding between the Duke and his Lordſhip, which my Lord Orrery never dreamed of, until it became too viſible not to be remarked; for thoſe wicked inſtruments, who firſt ſuggeſted this to the Duke, did not fail afterwards to miſrepreſent to him all other of Lord Orrery's words and actions.’ This matter is ſtill more fully explained by a very judicious writer, in the following words (46): ‘ His Grace of Ormond, who found himſelf unjuſtly, but ſenſibly declining, in his Royal maſter's favour, and who ſaw, in his progreſs into the county of Cork, the great intereſt and influence which the Earl poſſeſſed there, could not help liſtening to malicious inſinuations, whiſpered to him againſt the then Preſident of Munſter: Nor could he think himſelf in perfect ſecurity (for two ſuns cannot ſhine in one hemiſphere) till the Preſidency Court was ſuppreſſed, and till Lord Orrery was diveſted of all means to vie with the Lord Lieutenant, either in grandeur or in power. —— Stateſmen cannot look with the eye of affection towards their ſucceſſors; and the Duke of Ormond judged, that were he himſelf diſplaced, no man was ſo fit to ſupply the vacancy as Lord Orrery. So that, urged on by jealouſies on every ſide, the Duke of Ormond ſtopped the noble current of his nature, which flowed moſt benevolently on all other occaſions, and entertained ſuſpicions of an old and intimate acquaintance, who had taken every opportunity to be his friend, and whom no provocation could ever force to be his enemy.’

[*N*] *But, after all, it is certain, that the King's affections to him were not eaſily ſhaken.*] We have an account from Mr. Morrice of a letter written to the Earl of Orrery, ſome time after the fall of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon (47). ‘ He received,’ ſays he, ‘ a kind letter from his Majeſty, written with his own hand, which I have ſeen, wherein the King gives him many thanks for his kind ſervices to him; particularly for ſettling things in ſo good a poſture in his province; aſſuring him, he would always be mindful of, and be ready to ſerve him in any thing he ſhould deſire: And in the concluſion his Majeſty lets him know, he was very well pleaſed with that part of the Black Prince he had ſent him, and conjured his Lordſhip to go on and complete it, which, if he could not do until he had a fit of the gout, he wiſhed him a fit preſently, that he might the ſooner finiſh it. King Charles was the firſt who put my Lord upon writing plays, which his Majeſty did upon occaſion of a diſpute that aroſe in his Royal preſence, about writing plays in rhyme. Some affirmed it was not to be done; others ſaid, it would ſpoil the fancy to be ſo confined: But Lord Orrery was of another opinion; and his Majeſty being willing a trial ſhould be made, commanded his Lordſhip to employ ſome of his leiſure time that way, which my Lord readily did, and upon that occaſion compoſed the Black Prince.’ It is impoſſible to fix the date of this letter, which is now no longer extant; but it ſeems to have been written before the difference broke out between his Grace of Ormond and his Lordſhip; after which ſome endeavours were uſed to alter the kind ſentiments which, as appears from this letter, the King then had for his Lordſhip, of which it is poſſible he might have notice, and might have expreſſed his concern thereat; nor is it in the leaſt improbable, that the King ſhould receive an account of this; for without ſuppoſing ſome ſuch thing, it is not eaſy to give a reaſon for the King's writing him the following letter, which I take to be a clear and direct proof of what is aſſerted in the text (48).

The King to the Earl of Orrery.

‘ MY Lord of Orrery, I am ſo well perſuaded of your particular kindneſs to me, and ſo ſatisfied with the conſtant ſervice you do me upon all occaſions, as I have omitted to ſay any thing to you till now, upon the late change I have made; becauſe I hope you are ſo much aſſured of my true friendſhip to you, as no alteration could ſhake me in it; for you may be moſt confident, that you may ſtand upon your own legs, and that you need nobody's friendſhip with me, nor ought to fear the ill offices of any man can have any effect to your prejudice. Therefore I will ſay no more at this time, but to conjure you never to doubt of the conſtant kindneſs of

‘ Whitehall, Nov. 30th, 1667.

Your very affectionate Friend,

‘ CHARLES R.’

tenant,

(*w*) Remarkable Events under the Reign of Charles II. p. 357.

(44) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 365.

(45) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(46) See the Preface to the Earl of Orrery's Letters.

(47) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, ch. vi.

(48) Carte's Appendix to the Life of the Duke of Ormond, No. lxvi.

tenant, increaſed the jealouſy of the Duke of Ormond, which was not at all abated by the Earl's promoting a ſcheme for inquiring into and improving his Majeſty's revenue in that kingdom (*x*). He failed in this, indeed; but it was not from any miſtake of his, but from the King's applying great ſums out of that revenue, which did not come plainly into account. This competition between Ormond and Orrery continuing, proved to them very diſadvantageous, eſpecially at a time when a new Miniſtry was coming in that liked neither, and was therefore employed in contriving to ruin both. The Preſidential Court the Earl was directed to lay down, becauſe the power was great; and the Earl of Orrery's being exceedingly well qualified for executing that part of his office, made it appear greater, perhaps, than it really was (*y*). He ſubmitted immediately to his maſter's pleaſure, that was ſignified by a moſt obliging letter, of which, however, there ſeems to be no copy remaining. In his next voyage to England, he perceived a great alteration both with regard to public affairs and his own, the method uſed againſt Clarendon being eſteemed infallible by thoſe who employed it, and who were not long before they practiſed it againſt Orrery, by bringing a charge of high crimes, and even of treaſon, againſt him into Parliament, of which we ſhall ſay nothing here, for the beſt account that can be given is that from the Journals of the Houſe (*z*) [O]. He defended himſelf ſo well, that it produced no effect, except opening the eyes of ſuch of his old friends as had differed from him, and who now ſaw with how ſmall reaſon they had taken this ſtep, and how far he was from endeavouring to return it; reſtraining himſelf, on the contrary, within the ſtrict bounds of a direct defence, as the anſwer to the charge ſhews; and in the notes may be found ſome other ſingular (though leſs important) circumſtances, worthy of the reader's notice (*a*) [*P*]. But

(*x*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 369.

(*y*) See the Preface to Lord Orrery's Letters.

(*z*) Journal of the Houſe of Commons, Nov. 25, 1669.

(*a*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

[O] *For the beſt account that can be given, is that from the Journals of the Houſe.*] We have ſeveral accounts of this tranſaction, both in public and general hiſtories, as well as in private and ſecret memoirs; but as none of theſe deſerve credit, farther than as they are warranted by, or at leaſt are conſiſtent with, the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, it cannot but be agreeable to the reader to have that account laid before him.

‘ On Thurſday, the 25th day of November, 1669, a petition ſigned by Sir Edward Fitz-Harris, and Philip Alden, Gent. was read, to which a paper was affixed, containing articles of impeachment againſt Roger Earl of Orrery of high-treaſon and miſdemeanours. The paper was alſo read, and the petitioners were then called in; who, at the bar of the houſe, avowed both the paper and the petition, affirming they were ready to make out the particulars by proof, and then they withdrew. They were after ſome time called in again; and Mr. Speaker acquainted them, that the charge in the articles being in part treaſonable, the Houſe deſired to know, whether, as to that part, they were witneſſes or proſecutors. They anſwered, they were only proſecutors to that part; and though one of their witneſſes to make proof of it was in town, yet they had others who were not, and therefore deſired a warrant of ſummons, and time to bring them in; after which they withdrew, and the matter was debated: the previous queſtion being put, and paſſing in the affirmative, the main queſtion was put, Whether the charge againſt the Earl of Orrery doth contain in it treaſonable matter? and this likewiſe paſſing, the following order enſued: *Ordered*, That the Serjeant at Arms attending this Houſe do go to the Lord Orrery, and let him know he has the order of this Houſe to bring him into cuſtody to this Houſe, to anſwer a charge exhibited againſt him. And if he find him in a condition not able to come, then to leave a ſervant to attend till he is; and that he do alſo deliver him a copy of the charge exhibited againſt him.

‘ On Wedneſday, December the 1ſt, 1669, the Lord Orrery attending near the houſe, and deſiring admittance to give in his anſwer, he was called in, and being informed, was permitted to give in his anſwer ſitting in his place; and every one of the ten articles being diſtinctly read to him, he did, upon reading every particular article, give in his anſwer thereto, in order, as they were writ down and were read; and then he withdrew. The previous queſtion being put, and carried in the affirmative; the main queſtion was put, That a day be appointed for the accuſers to produce witneſſes, to make good the charge againſt the Earl of Orrery. The Houſe divided, and the Yeas went out; Yeas 118, Noes 121. So it paſſed in the negative. Then the queſtion being put, That this accuſation againſt the Earl of Orrery be left to be proſecuted at law; it paſſed in the affirmative.

‘ Friday, December the 10th, 1669, a debate being in the matter touching Lord Orrery; *Reſolved*, That his Majeſty be humbly deſired by ſuch Members of this Houſe as are of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, that the witneſſes in this matter have liberty to come over out of Ireland, to give their teſtimony.’

[*P*] *Some other ſingular (though leſs important) circumſtances, worthy of the reader's notice.*] The Duke of Ormond had carried his point with reſpect to the Preſidential Court of Munſter, though, as we have ſhewn in the text, the Earl of Orrery met with ſome alleviations in that affair; but in England the enemies of the Duke of Ormond had ſo far prevailed, that he was removed from his high office, and the Lord Roberts ſworn Lieutenant of Ireland, September 10, 1669 (49). Thus the enemies of thoſe two noble Peers found means to play them againſt each other, to their mutual detriment; for it is certain, they had very nearly the ſame enemies, and that thoſe enemies would ſcarcely have had power to hurt either, if their differences had not made way for the leſſening of both. The Duke of Ormond was now removed; but it was the ſentiment of a great and dangerous miniſter, Sir Thomas Clifford, that he ſhould be able to do nothing in Ireland while Orrery was Preſident of Munſter; and this is the ſecret of bringing the impeachment againſt him into parliament. The Earl having had timely notice of the deſigns of his enemies, came over and took his ſeat in the Engliſh Houſe of Commons; but being ſeized with a violent fit of the gout, that opportunity was taken by his adverſaries to bring on his affair, and to get him committed; which, though effected, did him no great prejudice, and conſequently did them no great ſervice. After this ſtep they could not deny him ſome time, which was all that he wanted, to make his defence (50). When the day appointed for that purpoſe came, his Lordſhip, attended by a great number of real friends (for ſuch only attend on theſe occaſions), went from his houſe in Leiceſter-fields to Weſtminſter; but his Lordſhip being ſcarcely half recovered from his gout, went up the ſtairs leading from Weſtminſter-Hall to the Court of Requeſts but heavily; which a friend of his obſerving, and expreſſing his concern for his Lordſhip's pain and trouble, he anſwered him immediately in theſe words: *It is true, Sir, my feet are weak; but if my heels will ſerve to carry me up, I promiſe you my head ſhall bring me ſafe down again* (51). His Lordſhip propheſied right; for though there never were more pains taken in forming an accuſation, or in giving dark colours to innocent, and even to trivial things; yet his anſwer was ſo clear, ſo circumſtantial, and ſo ingenuous, that

(49) See the Table of General Governors and great Officers in Ireland, in the ſecond Volume of Ware's Works.

(50) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery.

(51) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

But though this proſecution did not prove him guilty of any thing contrary to the public welfare, or the King's ſervice; yet it was ſuch a convincing argument of the great influence of his enemies, that he is ſaid to have accepted a preſent of eight thouſand pounds from the King, as a compenſation for the Preſidency of Munſter, which the Miniſters were bent on having, and which, in ſuch circumſtances, it did not at all import the Earl to keep (*b*). But the loſs of his employment did not, in his judgment, diſcharge him from his Majeſty's ſervice; and as the King gave him ſubſequent marks of his favour and eſteem, he came frequently to Court, and ſometimes to Council, more eſpecially after his return from a ſhort viſit to Ireland, whither he went chiefly to execute a deſign he had formed of repairing Caſtle-Martyr, an old ruined fortreſs, which he reduced to a very fair houſe, that he intended for the retreat of his old age (*c*). The King, who knew his abilities, laboured, when he came back, to bring him to reliſh the new ſyſtem, intending to have uſed his advice in his affairs; but his Lordſhip continued to adhere to the former plan with inflexible ſteadineſs, for which he was very much commended by ſome, who were far enough from purſuing the ſame conduct (*d*) [Q]. In another voyage to England, not long after, he ſaw what himſelf had foretold would come to paſs, and found the King involved in numberleſs difficulties, and the Duke of York under ſtill greater. The French war brought on the former, and the fear of Popery (for the Teſt Act had forced his Royal Highneſs to declare himſelf a Papiſt) had produced the latter. In this ſituation, the Earl of Orrery was extremely welcome: both brothers knew his zeal for their ſervice, his happineſs in finding expedients, and his abilities for recommending them in the Houſe of Commons, where they were ſenſible it would be a very hard matter to get them approved, if they were not propoſed by ſome who had no concern in the late offenſive meaſures (*e*). His Lordſhip, in obedience to their commands, framed the plan of an Act of Limitation, by which it would have been put out of the ſucceſſor's power to have encroached either on civil or religious liberties, and which, at that time, might, if propoſed from the King, have been probably accepted; but whether his Majeſty inclined to keep it in reſerve, as a thing that might help in extremity, or whether the Duke was ſecretly againſt it, ſo it was, that this expedient was laid aſide till the Excluſion Bill was ſet on foot; and then the ſeaſon was paſt; no limitations were regarded as ſatisfactory, or even as practicable (*f*). This too his Lordſhip foretold at the time he offered this expedient, the rejecting of which was fatal to the Duke, though at that time he judged otherwiſe. The King conſulted him after this, and ſeemed uneaſy at his deſign of returning to Ireland, being willing to have beſtowed any employment to have kept him near his perſon; and a certain author tells us, he was thought of even for Lord Treaſurer (*g*): but the Earl of Orrery told his Majeſty plainly, that he was conducted by unſteady counſels, with which he could not act; and at the ſame time took the liberty to cenſure a cuſtom the King had, of being in the ſtreets in the night without guards or attendants (*h*). This

that it ſatisfied even ſuch of his enemies as were men of integrity and honour; ſo that though the managers of this affair had intereſt enough to procure a vote for bringing over witneſſes, yet they had more wit than to truſt the Houſe, or his Lordſhip, with the examination of thoſe witneſſes; and ſo the matter fell. But notwithſtanding the ſenſe his Lordſhip had of his own intereſt in the *houſe*, as well as the goodneſs of his cauſe, he, nevertheleſs, thought it highly requiſite to neglect no precautions that might avail him, if the malice of his enemies had been ſupported by a greater meaſure of power than he expected; for he ſent his Lady over to Ireland before the day of hearing came on, and ſhe executed her commiſſion with ſo much diligence and dexterity, that whatever iſſue the impeachment might have had, with reſpect to his Lordſhip, his family muſt have been in all events ſafe; which ſufficiently ſhews the violence of thoſe times, when the very worthieſt men were ſometimes at the mercy, and often in peril from the rage of factious, or the intrigues of wicked men: but if, in the progreſs of this affair, his Lordſhip could not avoid meeting with ſome vexation, yet the end of it was not only to his ſatisfaction, but ſeveral concurring circumſtances abated much of the uneaſineſs he would otherwiſe have felt. As for inſtance, the Lord Inchiquin, between whom and the Earl of Orrery there had been for ſome time a coldneſs, being a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and remarkably well heard in all matters relating to Ireland, taking up this matter roundly, and underſtanding it perfectly, ſhewed the charge to be, in ſeveral reſpects, groundleſs; in many, directly falſe; in ſome, full of groſs miſrepreſentations; in all, highly malicious; and did his Lordſhip much more ſervice thereby, than if their former friendſhip had ſubſiſted, without ſuffering any interruption (52).

[Q] *By ſome who were far enough from purſuing the ſame conduct.*] The great point then laboured was, to reconcile his Lordſhip to the French alliance, and the reducing of the Dutch; neither of which were at all agreeable to his notions; and, therefore, that he might the more freely expreſs the miſchievous conſequences which he apprehended from theſe meaſures, he digeſted his thoughts into a poem, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter; and this was very well received by the King, who hoped to make ſome impreſſion upon his Lordſhip in his turn, in a long audience that he gave him for that purpoſe: but the Earl's duty would not allow him to liſten to the King's reaſons, when he was ſenſible that thoſe reaſons, however ſpecious, were contrary to his Majeſty's own intereſt, and thoſe of his ſubjects; and this led him to declare in plain terms, that he could never concur in counſels that were calculated, either to aggrandize France, which was already too great, or to break the power of the Dutch, which was barely ſufficient for their own defence (53). It is not poſſible to diſtinguiſh exactly the time when this tranſaction happened, becauſe the author from whom we have it very ſeldom mentions dates.

But there is a particular circumſtance mentioned by him, which muſt not be omitted here. As the Earl of Orrery came from this audience of his Majeſty, he was met by the Earl of Danby, who was then only Sir Thomas Oſborne, and aſked whether he had cloſed with the King's propoſals; to which Orrery anſwered, No. *Then*, replied the other ſtateſman, *your Lordſhip may be the honeſter man, but you will never be worth a groat.* This paſſage is the more remarkable, becauſe this ſtateſman was, in opinion, as much againſt France as the Earl of Orrery, and temporized purely for the ſake of power (54), which coſt him afterwards a long impriſonment, and very narrowly miſſed coſting him his life. So dear do even the wiſeſt men pay for ſacrificing their principles to their intereſts.

ſhews

(*b*) See the Preface to the Earl of Orrery's Letters, p. vi.

(*c*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, c. vi.

(*d*) See this explained in the note [Q].

(*e*) Remarkable Events under the Reign of Charles II. p. 371.

(*f*) Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(*g*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 391.

(*h*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, c. vi.

(52) Letter of Sir John Rereſby to the Marquis of Halifax.

(53) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery.

(54) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

ſhews how well he always ſtood with his maſter, and how much he deſerved it. On his going back to Ireland, he reſolved on leading a retired and quiet life, dividing his time between his houſes at Charleville and Caſtle-Martyr, encouraging manufactures, and giving, as they needed it, protection and aſſiſtance to his tenants (*i*). But being attacked more cruelly than ever by the gout, his phyſicians adviſed him to go over to England for advice, and he did accordingly in May 1675, but did not ſtay long. This, as himſelf foreſaw and foretold, was his laſt voyage; and on his going home he ſat down to his ſtudies, that, ſince he could be no longer uſeful in an active ſtate, he might at leaſt contribute his good wiſhes and advice to his Sovereign and fellow-ſubjects (*k*). Yet, even in this declining condition, he failed not to repair, in July 1678, to Kinſale, in order to rectify ſome miſtakes made in the fort which was erecting there; and he took alſo no ſmall pains to inquire after, and obtain the beſt intelligence poſſible of, the cabals of the Iriſh Papiſts, for which (as one ſays) he was qualified by a natural ſagacity (*l*), tranſmitting all he could diſcover to the Duke of Ormond, now once again Lord Lieutenant, and to whom he was cordially reconciled. This ſeems to have been the laſt effort of public ſpirit, the dying blaze of that virtue which had ſo long and ſo warmly agitated his mind; for, in two months after, he was ſeized with that diſtemper which brought him to his end. This diſeaſe, though deadly, was not violent in its beginning; ſo that, as it put him in mind of mortality, it gave him leiſure to contemplate, and to fit himſelf for ſo great a change; which when he had done, and given the ſtrongeſt proofs of Chriſtian patience, manly courage, and rational fortitude, he breathed his laſt, October 16, 1679, in the fifty-ninth year of his age (*m*), as much regretted by all degrees of people as any man of his time, which was far from being barren of great men, in all or any of the ſenſes of the word. His character has been often given, and generally to his advantage. If we ſeek it impartially from facts, it will appear great and good. His wit was pregnant, and yet ſolid; his bloſſoms fair, but not fairer than the fruit. He came early into life with much credit, and maintained it to the laſt; for even the ſunſet of his active life was glorious. He was always loyal, and ſhewed it as often, as far, and as effectually, as he could; of which his maſter, who was moſt concerned, was fully ſatisfied (*n*). His compliance with Cromwell was from neceſſity at firſt, and afterwards from gratitude; but the ſervices he rendered the Protector were no way prejudicial to the King; perhaps they might, at leaſt we know they were intended to be, otherwiſe. His merit in the Reſtoration was as great as any man's, Monk's only excepted; but the ſettlement of Ireland, and ſecuring the Engliſh and Proteſtant intereſt in that kingdom, is a merit which cannot be denied him. Indeed it was the principal crime charged upon him by his enemies, that is, the Papiſts and Fanatics, who, like Sampſon's foxes, tugged tail to tail in his impeachment. He was a friend to the Earl of Clarendon (*o*), but not to a degree inconſiſtent with his duty: he was heartily loyal to the King, and had a ſincere regard for the Duke, which hindered him from having any thing to do with the Excluſion (*p*). In a word, as a Stateſman, he gave generally ſoft, but always ſafe, counſels: nobody knew better how to ſteer in ſtorms than he, but he was not the leſs afraid of them. As a ſoldier, he was very intrepid, and did ſo many things by courage, as might have drawn his prudence into doubt, if he had not done many more purely by his conduct. He was eſteemed an excellent officer by thoſe who, in that trade, could not be miſled in their judgments; and he has alſo left us a memorial of his ſkill in that profeſſion, which will evince to every competent judge, that he had few ſuperiors in the art of war during the time in which he flouriſhed (*q*). As an author, his fame was equal to that of any man of his quality, in an age when it was no uncommon thing for titles to adorn title-pages; and he was an author in many different ways. In ſome he certainly excelled, in others he might be deficient, but in none appeared flat or trivial. His faults were the faults of the times, his beauties were his own, and ſuch as ſhew him to have had a great genius. His writings will be more particularly taken notice of at the bottom of the page [*R*]. His private life was altogether as regular as his public. He

was

(*i*) Lawrence's Intereſt of Ireland, Part iii. p. 189.

(*k*) See what he ſays to this purpoſe, in his Dedication of the Art of War to his Majeſty King Charles II.

(*l*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 496.

(*m*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, c. vi.

(*n*) See this juſtified in note [*I*].

(*o*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 584.

(*p*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(*q*) See this farther explained in the account given of his Works in note [*R*].

[*R*] *His writings will be more particularly taken notice of at the bottom of the page.*] It is a very difficult taſk to give a full, diſtinct, and accurate account of this noble and learned perſon's writings: nor is the difficulty at all leſſened by the many accounts already given, moſt of them being very erroneous, and all of them inconſiſtent with each other. The beſt is that of Walter Harris, Eſq; (55); which I ſhall make uſe of, with ſome additions and remarks, in order to render it agreeable to the deſign of this work; and, as far as it is poſſible, at this diſtance of time, to do juſtice to the performances, and thereby right to the memory of ſo excellent a perſon. His works then, according to the beſt lights we could obtain, are theſe:

I. *The* Iriſh *colours diſplayed*; *in a reply of an* Engliſh Proteſtant *to a letter of an* Iriſh Roman Catholic. London, 1662, 4to. This was written in anſwer to a piece penned by *Peter Walſh*, and addreſſed to the Duke of *Ormond*, to whom the ſame perſon likewiſe addreſſed a reply to this treatiſe, called, *The* Iriſh *colours unfolded*. This piece I have never ſeen; but from its ſubject, being written againſt Father Walſh, and printed in the ſame ſize and year, I fancy differs not much from the next.

II. *An anſwer to a ſcandalous letter lately printed, and ſubſcribed by* Peter Walſh, *Procurator for the ſecular and regular Popiſh prieſts of* Ireland, *intitled*, A letter deſiring a juſt and merciful regard of the Roman Catholics of *Ireland*; given about the end of *October*, 1660, to the then Marquis, now Duke of *Ormond*, and the ſecond time Lord *Lieutenant* of that kingdom. *By the Right Hon. the Earl of* Orrery, &c. *being a full diſcovery of the treachery of the* Iriſh *rebels, ſince the beginning of the* Rebellion *there, neceſſary to be conſidered by all adventurers, and other perſons eſtated in that kingdom*. Dublin, 1662, 4to. London, 1662,

4to.

(55) Ware's Works, Vol. iii. p. 177.

was very ſincere in his religion, and that was the Church of England; but his converſation did not, perhaps, recommend him to the zealots of any party. To the Prelates,
and

4to. To this anſwer the letter itſelf is prefixed, which it anſwers for the information of the reader, and both have been reprinted at the cloſe of the letters of the Earl of Orrery, hereafter mentioned. One cannot part with this ſingular piece without obſerving, that if no other had ever fallen from his Lordſhip's pen, this alone might have procured him the character of an able Stateſman, a great Lawyer, and a moſt correct and accurate Writer. I muſt next remark, that on peruſing this admirable work, one may be tempted to ſuſpect it occaſioned the ſtory before reported, and refuted, of his ſilencing the Popiſh deputies; for moſt of the facts mentioned in Mr. Morrice's account of that affair are actually ſet forth and urged in this treatiſe, in anſwer to the pretenſions of the Iriſh Catholics. There was a reply alſo to this by Peter Walſh.

III. *A Poem on his Majeſty's happy Reſtoration* (56). This we find mentioned by one of his Lordſhip's hiſtorians; it was preſented by the Earl himſelf to the King: ſome copies were in thoſe days handed about in MS. but we are told it was never printed (which however I doubt), and yet we have no reaſon whatever aſſigned why it was not printed.

IV. *A Poem on the death of the celebrated Mr.* Abraham Cowley. London, 1667, fol. It has been ſince prefixed by Dr. Sprat (Biſhop of Rocheſter) to his edition of Cowley's works. Mr. Budgell has alſo reprinted, and highly commended, this poem (57), as it juſtly deſerves, there being none of the poems ſacred to the memory of that excellent perſon which do him more honour.

V. *The Hiſtory of* Henry V; *a Tragedy*. London, 1668, fol. I take this to have been the Earl of Orrery's firſt play, notwithſtanding the contrary is expreſsly affirmed in the preface to the new edition of his Lordſhip's dramatic works (58), and the place given to the Black Prince, on the authority of a letter of his Lordſhip's to a friend, from which this paſſage is cited: ‘I have now finiſhed a play in the French manner, becauſe I heard the King declare himſelf more in favour of their way of writing than ours. My poor attempt cannot pleaſe his Majeſty, but my example may excite others who can. Sir William Davenant will have it acted about Eaſter. As it is wrote in a new way, he may poſſibly take confidence to invite the King to ſee it; which if his Majeſty ſhould condeſcend to, and if you at the ſame time ſhould wait on him thither, I intreat you do not let him know who is the author of the play, unleſs you have double aſſurances that he does not diſlike it.’ It is very evident this relates to his Lordſhip's firſt play, but nothing determines it to be the Black Prince. I rather believe it refers to Henry V. 1. Becauſe this play was to be performed by the Duke's company, whereas the Black Prince was firſt acted at the King's Theatre. 2. The vaſt reſpect paid to Henry V. by the Royal Family, when acted at the King's Theatre; Mr. Harris, who played Henry, having the Duke's coronation ſuit; Owen Tudor, played by Betterton (which gained him great reputation), wore the King's; and Mr. Liliſton, to whom the part of Duke of Burgundy was given, wore the Earl of Oxford's (59). Why ſhould all this be done, if Henry V. had been his Lordſhip's third play? 3. He had written two plays before the cloſe of 1662, as appears by the King's letter and his Lordſhip's anſwer, one of which was to be very ſoon played (60); but this could not be the *Black Prince*, which was written during the firſt Dutch war, as will appear hereafter from inconteſtable evidence.

VI. Muſtapha, *the ſon of* Solyman *the Magnificent, a Tragedy*. London, 1667, fol. and 1668. This ſeems to be the other play mentioned in the King's letter before mentioned: it was very well received, and there are ſome very fine ſcenes in it, though its being written in rhyme renders it unfaſhionable, and conſequently unpleaſing to us, at this time.

VII. *The* Black Prince, *a Tragedy*. London, 1672, fol. This, in the title-page of the new edition, is ſaid to have been acted at the Duke of York's Theatre; but the actors names, as they are printed in that edition, ſhew this to be a miſtake, and Langbaine ſays it was acted at the Theatre Royal (61), as undoubtedly it was. The prologue, by the Genius of England, alluding to the war with Holland and France, plainly proves it was acted in the winter of 1666, or the following ſpring; and we are alſo ſure that it was written not long before, from a letter to his Lordſhip from the King his maſter, in which notice is taken of this play as being unfiniſhed, and of which his Majeſty ſaid pleaſantly, *If it was not to be completed but in the* gout (at which time his Lordſhip wrote moſt of his poetry), *he wiſhed him a luſty fit of it* (62).

VIII. *Tryphon, a Tragedy*. London, 1672, fol. The ſtory is to be found in Joſephus, and other hiſtorians, who have written of the affairs of the Jews. It is written, like the other plays, in heroic verſe, and was acted with applauſe at the Duke's Theatre (63). There are very noble ſentiments, and ſome very fine lines, in it, which, however, will not atone, with modern critics, for the offences committed therein againſt the laws of dramatic poetry. But as to ſuch as have the hiſtory of the Earl of Orrery in their hands, and conſider it purely as a piece of his writing, there will appear many things ſingular to a degree worthy notice, as well in the ſpeeches of the ſeveral perſons introduced therein, as in the general plan and diſpoſition of the play. Theſe four plays were collected and publiſhed together in folio, in 1690 (64), and make now the entire firſt volume of the new edition of the Earl's dramatic works.

IX. *Partheniſſa*, a romance in three volumes. London, 1665, 4to. 1677, fol. This romance is divided into ſix parts, the laſt written at her earneſt deſire, and therefore dedicated to her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Henrietta Maria, Dutcheſs of Orleans (65). Few performances of this kind, and certainly none in our language, have either deſerved or received ſo much approbation; and though it has long been in a great meaſure thrown aſide and forgotten, yet, perhaps, this may be chiefly owing to its remaining unfiniſhed, a thing deſervedly regretted by the lovers of that kind of writing. One may juſtly wonder, that a perſon of this nobleman's rank and abilities ſhould turn his thoughts or employ his pen on ſuch a ſubject. But it may perhaps contribute to leſſen this ſurpriſe in an aſſiduous and intelligent reader, to ſuggeſt, that ſome things may be ſaid in a romance, that might not find a place in true hiſtory; and that notwithſtanding this ſort of writing cannot well be defended, yet the ſevereſt critic, on the peruſal of Lord Orrery's romance, will confeſs it is very well worth reading.

X. *A Dream* (66). This poem, and the time when it was written, have been before mentioned. In it the Genius of France is introduced, ſaying every thing the French Miniſter could ſay to inveigle King Charles II. to endeavour at making himſelf arbitrary, or to deceive him into a mean and ſcandalous dependance on Lewis XIV.; to all which the ghoſt of Charles I. is next brought in, giving clear and copious anſwers, fully proving, that the ſole foundation of a monarch's power is *the love and confidence of his people*. The nature of this performance rendered it unfit for the eye of the public; and the freedom with which it was penned, made it very improper to allow more than one copy to be taken, which was for the KING himſelf. The original is long ſince deſtroyed or loſt. Upon this occaſion two important and obvious remarks may be made; firſt, that his Lordſhip made no ſcruple of declaring fully and formally againſt the political ſyſtem of the miniſtry, ſtiled the CABAL; ſecondly, that, for various reaſons, which here it would take up too much time to diſcuſs, he choſe to expreſs his ſentiments on the niceſt and moſt important ſubjects in the garb of poetry or fiction.

XI. *The Art of War*. London, 1677, fol. This work, which with much elegance, good ſenſe, and in an admirable ſtyle, he addreſſes to the King, in a large dedication, was but the *firſt* part of what he intended upon the ſubject, and was ſo ſtrangely received, that the *ſecond* never appeared. Yet it may be juſtly affirmed, that nothing in our own, or per-
haps

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(56) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(57) Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 94.

(58) The Dramatic Works of the Right Honourable Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, Lond. 1739, two Vols. 8vo.

(59) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 89.

(60) See his Majeſty's Letter in note [I].

(61) Account of Engliſh Dramatic Poets, p. 27.

(62) Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(63) Langbaine's Account of Engliſh Dramatic Poets, p. 28.

(64) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 639.

(65) This Dedication pleaſed Mr. Budgell ſo well, that he has inſerted it entire in his Memoirs of the Boyles, p. 99.

(66) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

and other well-beneficed churchmen, he talked of charity, forbearance, and moderation; but to the Diſſenters he magnified conformity, and the danger to which the Proteſtant

haps in any other, language, was ever better, more judiciouſly, or more correctly, written. In this all the qualifications of its noble author appear to advantage, excepting his turn for poetry: he ſhews himſelf a Soldier, a Stateſman, a Scholar, and in none of theſe a Pedant. All he ſays is not only ſenſible, but juſt, and gives pleaſure to every man of ſenſe, as well as ſatisfaction to the moſt underſtanding men of the trade, who all agree, that his experience is as conſpicuous therein, as either his genius or his learning. But perhaps the hiſtorical inſtances, remarks, and political reflections, are not the leaſt valuable parts of this performance; and the notions of our noble author, as to the ſuperiority of the power of France, when oppoſed to that of a confederacy, will appear to a judicious peruſer, ſuch a proof of political foreſight, as cannot but recommend ſuch parts of the treatiſe as he is leſs capable of entering into with the ſame exactneſs.

XII. *Poems on the Faſts and Feſtivals of the Church.* This, though printed and publiſhed, was never finiſhed by its noble author. It was written in the laſt year of his life, under much weakneſs of body; and therefore Budgell's remark (67), that his poetry in this compoſition runs low, ought not deeply to affect his reputation, which in all ſituations, and under all diſadvantages, ſtands much above the level of ſuch critics. Poetry unreviſed will generally appear to run low, and there are ſubjects, too, ſo very oppoſite to ſome men's way of thinking, that they will always have ſuch a bias againſt what is written on them, as will diſcover them to be no very impartial judges. Upon the whole, we may affirm, that the ſubject is well choſen, and ſome parts of it well executed; but, after all, we ſhall not deny, it would have been better to have ſuppreſſed it.

The poſthumous works of the Earl of Orrery are theſe that follow, *viz.* 1. *Mr. Anthony, a Comedy.* London, 1692, 4to, which is not inſerted in the laſt edition of his works. 2. *Guzman, a Comedy.* London, 1693, 4to, upon a Spaniſh plot, and written in the Spaniſh manner. 3. *Herod the Great, a Tragedy.* London, 1694, 4to. 4. *Altemira, a Tragedy,* brought upon the ſtage by Mr. Francis Manning, in 1702, dedicated to Lionel, Earl of Orrery, grandſon to the author, with a prologue by Henry St. John, Eſq; afterwards Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke; and an epilogue by the Hon. Charles Boyle, Eſq; the late Earl of Orrery, who alſo interſperſed ſeveral ſongs in the work itſelf. We may add to theſe his *State Letters* (68), which have been lately publiſhed in one volume in folio, and which do at leaſt as much honour to his Lordſhip's memory, as any of his other writings. It is much to be regretted that we have not more of theſe letters; for thoſe that are publiſhed come no lower than his quarrel with the Duke of Ormond; and we may regret this the more, becauſe in 1677, when that Duke was to hold a parliament in Ireland, the King gave him orders to conſult the Earl of Orrery upon the points proper to be propoſed therein, who gave his opinion very readily in five ſheets of paper; wherein he propoſed the moſt effectual methods to ſecure the nation from foreign and domeſtic enemies, increaſe his Majeſty's revenue, confirm and ſettle claims to private property, and advance and protect the Proteſtant intereſt in that iſland (69). Theſe propoſitions were ſo well received, and ſo thoroughly approved, that both the Lord Lieutenant and the Lord Chancellor wrote him letters full of acknowledgments upon the occaſion. But, with the reſt of his Lordſhip's papers of all kinds, theſe periſhed in the flames when his houſe at Charleville was burnt to the ground, in the year 1690, by a party of King James's ſoldiers, with the Duke of Berwick at their head; Lionel, then Earl of Orrery, and grandſon to our author, being a minor, and abroad on his travels (70).

After ſo large an account of this noble perſon's performances as an author, it may not be amiſs to add, that he was very much diſtinguiſhed as a patron of learning, as appears by the compliments paid him by Sir William Davenant (71), Mr. John Dryden (72), and other wits of thoſe times, who thought themſelves highly honoured in being permitted to ſhelter their writings under his Lordſhip's protection, whoſe credit ſtood equally fair with the political and learned world, and whoſe title to parts of every kind was never queſtioned, even by envy herſelf (73). C.

⁂ [This life, as well as thoſe of the reſt of the Boyles, is ſo copiouſly, accurately, and excellently written, as not to admit of many additions or corrections. However, we have been informed, by a moſt reſpectable correſpondent, that Lord Orrery's conſtruction of Fort Charles does not reflect ſo much honour upon his ſkill as an engineer, as our ingenious predeceſſor hath repreſented. The Fort, it ſeems, is but an indifferent place, commanded from without, and ſo expoſed to bombs, that it cannot be defended. It is, likewiſe, ſmall; and the powder magazine, being in the middle, lies open to every ſhot that may be fired.

We have no intention to depreciate, in general, the Earl of Orrery's great abilities and merit, in expreſſing our doubt whether they are not, here and there, ſomewhat over-rated in the preceding article. We cannot, for inſtance, agree with Dr. Campbell's aſſertion, in note [*E*], that Lord Broghill had greater parts and better ſenſe than Cromwell. His Lordſhip, indeed, as a man of a more complete education, might have talents and accompliſhments, which Cromwell did not poſſeſs; but it doth not thence follow, that he was ſuperior to him in parts and ſenſe. Again, we cannot ſee how it could juſtly be ſaid, as it is in the text, that the Earl of Orrery was always loyal. It is univerſally allowed that he ſerved Cromwell with fidelity and zeal: and it is certain that he endeavoured to ſupport the power of Richard, the Protector's ſon and ſucceſſor. His Lordſhip might have very forcible motives for all this conduct; but, ſurely, it doth not come under the head of loyalty. Neither can we think that 'his merit in the Reſtoration was as great as any man's, Monk's only excepted.' Though Lord Broghill was very active and uſeful in this event, it is an undoubted fact, that the part he took in accompliſhing it was not equal to that of ſome other perſons. This is not the only inſtance in which we have had occaſion to obſerve, that Hiſtorians and Biographers have aſcribed, to certain favourite characters, more influence in producing the Reſtoration, than is ſupported by ſolid evidence.

But the point wherein we leaſt agree with our learned predeceſſor, is in the encomiums paſſed upon the Earl of Orrery as an author, and eſpecially as a poet. To ſpeak of works we have not looked into, would be preſumptuous; and, therefore, we cannot ſay how far his Lordſhip's 'Anſwer to Peter Walſh,' and his 'Art of War,' deſerve the high praiſes beſtowed upon them. We do not recollect that the 'Art of War' hath been much mentioned in the numerous treatiſes which, of late years, have appeared upon that ſubject. Let, however, Lord Orrery's excellence as a proſe-writer be what it will, we cannot aſſent to the commendations given him as a poet. The ſtricture, in note [*R*], on Mr. Budgell's Account of the 'Poems on the Faſts and Feſtivals of the Church,' might have been ſpared; eſpecially as it is acknowledged, that it would have been better for them to have been ſuppreſſed. Mr. Budgell is as favourable to his Lordſhip's poetical character as juſtice could admit (74). The writer, likewiſe, of his life, in a work that goes under the name of Mr. Theophilus Cibber, is ſufficiently candid, in this reſpect, to our noble Earl's memory. 'It is difficult,' ſays that writer, 'to give a full and accurate account of this Nobleman's compoſitions; for, it muſt be owned, he was a better ſtateſman than a poet, and fitter to act upon the wide theatre of life, than to write repreſentations for the circumſcribed theatre of the ſtage. In the light of an author he is leſs eminent, and lived a life of too much hurry to become a proficient in poetry; a grace which not only demands the moſt extenſive abilities, but much

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(67) Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 106.

(68) London, Printed by James Bettenham, and ſold by Charles Hitch, 1742.

(69) Tranſlation of Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. iii. p. 176.

(70) See the Preface to Lord Orrery's Letters.

(71) In a poem to his Lordſhip, printed in Sir W. Davenant's Works, p. 275.

(72) In his elegant Dedication of his Play called *The Rival Ladies.*

(73) Langbaine's Account of Engliſh Dramatic Poets, p. 28.

(74) Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 88—93.

Proteſtant cauſe was expoſed, by their feuds and diviſions (*r*). He was a kind and good, as well as a very well-bred and courteous, huſband; and Lady Orrery was eſteemed one of the handſomeſt and moſt prudent women about the Court. He was a tender, and even a fond parent; but very attentive to the education and behaviour of his children, by which the benefit they received was not ſmall. As a landlord, he was both attentive to his own intereſt, and indulgent to his tenants. If a man was oppreſſed, no one more readily relieved him: if a farmer's family was numerous, or his circumſtances narrow, his aſſiſtance was never wanting; but he was in all caſes ſolicitous that the people ſhould thrive, as well as obtain ſubſiſtence; and his ſaying was, That the greateſt charity conſiſted in keeping people from needing it. With this view, he procured, by the royal favour, grants of fairs and markets for Rathgogran and Ballymaathra, two villages of his, which, by this means, were ſo far improved, that he afterwards obtained charters, by which they were erected into boroughs, each ſending two members to the Iriſh parliament (*s*), and eſtabliſhed, beſides, manufactures in them for their better ſupport. But in nothing his goodneſs and beneficence of heart appeared more, than in his treatment of his domeſtics. He was alike careful of their bodies, eſtates, and minds: they lived in the utmoſt plenty, but he ſuffered no waſte; and for debauchery, he had the utmoſt abhorrence. He provided for them according to their ſeveral capacities, that, having lived well with him, they might not fall into indigence after they left him (*t*). He frequently obſerved, that the meaneſt of them had a ſoul to be ſaved, as well as himſelf; and, therefore, he not only obliged his Chaplain to have a due attention to their ſpiritual concerns; but frequently inſpected the diſcharge of his duty in this particular (*u*). His Lordſhip loved company, and kept always an open table, to which all the gentlemen in the country were welcome; and this was a public benefit, the converſation on ſuch occaſions being as delicate as the proviſions (*w*). But it would carry us into too great a length, if we ſhould purſue any farther this account of his Lordſhip's private life; and therefore we ſhall ſtop here, and ſubjoin an account of his poſterity, as the proper concluſion of this article. This noble Earl married, as we before obſerved, the Lady Margaret Howard, daughter to Theophilus, Earl of Suffolk, highly commended for unaffected piety, love to her Lord, and ſweetneſs of temper (*x*). He had iſſue by her two ſons, Roger, the ſecond Earl of Orrery, and Henry; and five daughters. Lady Elizabeth, married to Foliot Wingfield, Lord Viſcount Powerſcourt, who died in 1709 without iſſue. Lady Anne died young. Lady Margaret, married to William Obrian, Earl of Inchiquin, Governor of Jamaica. Lady Catherine, wife of William Bret, of the county of Somerſet, Eſq;

(*r*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(*s*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. iv. p. 257.

(*t*) Love's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery.

(*u*) Eſſay on Heroic Virtue, by R. B.

(*w*) Morrice's Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, chap. vi.

(*x*) It was upon this marriage (beſides an expreſs epithalamium) that Sir John Suckling wrote his elegant ballad, *I'll tell thee, Dick, where I have been.*

leiſure and contemplation. But if he was not extremely eminent as a poet, he was far removed above contempt;—and we can eaſily forgive want of elegance and correctneſs in one who was of ſo much ſervice to his country, and who was born rather to live than to write a great part (75).' Mr. Walpole is very ſevere (we wiſh it could not be ſaid, too juſtly ſevere) on his Lordſhip's poetry. ‘ Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, a man who never made a bad figure, but as an author. As a ſoldier, his bravery was diſtinguiſhed, his ſtratagems remarkable. As a ſtateſman, it is ſufficient to ſay, that he had the confidence of Cromwell. As a man, he was grateful, and would have ſupported the ſon of his friend. Like Cicero and Richelieu, he could not be content without being a poet. The ſenſible author of a very curious life of this Lord, in the *Biographia*, ſeems to be as bad a judge of poetry as his Lordſhip or Cicero, when he ſays, that his writings are never flat and trivial.—What does he think of an hundred ſuch lines as theſe,

“ When to the wars of Aquitaine I went,
“ I made a friendſhip with the Earl of Kent.”

One might as ſoon find the ſublime, or the modeſt, or the harmonious, in this line,

“ *O fortunatam natam me conſule, Romam!*”

Mr. Walpole, ſpeaking of Lord Orrery's ‘ Partheniſſa,' a romance, in three parts, one vol. fol. obſerves, that his biographer ſays, three volumes folio, and ſeems to think that this performance is not read, becauſe it was never completed; as if three volumes in folio would not content the moſt heroic appetite that ever exiſted! The ſame lively writer adds, concerning the Poems on the Faſts and Feſtivals of the Church, ‘ I ſhould act with regard to theſe, as I ſhould about the romance, not read them; not becauſe they were never finiſhed, but becauſe they were ever begun. We are told his Lordſhip always wrote when he had a fit of the gout, which, it ſeems, was a very impotent muſe (76).'

The Earl of Clarendon, ſpeaking of the commiſſioners ſent to King Charles the Second from Ireland, ſoon after the Reſtoration, thus expreſſes himſelf concerning our noble ſtateſman. ‘ The Lord Broghill was a man of the beſt parts, and had moſt friends, by his great alliance, to promiſe for him. And he appeared very generous, and to be without the leaſt pretence to any advantage for himſelf, and to be ſo wholly devoted to the King's intereſt, and to the eſtabliſhing of the government of the church, that he quickly got himſelf believed. And having free acceſs to the King, by mingling apologies for what he had done, with promiſes of what he would do, and utterly renouncing all thoſe principles as to church or ſtate (as he might with a good conſcience do) which make men unfit for truſt, he made himſelf ſo acceptable to his Majeſty, that he heard him willingly, becauſe he made all things eaſy to be done and compaſſed; and gave ſuch aſſurances to the bedchamber-men, to help them to good fortunes in Ireland, which they had reaſon to deſpair of in England, that he wanted not their teſtimony upon all occaſions, nor their defence and vindication, when any thing was reflected upon to his diſadvantage or reproach (77).' In another place, the Earl of Clarendon deſcribes Lord Broghill as having been eminently againſt the King; but upon the turn in his Majeſty's favour, when all other powers were down, as eminently for him; and as being very able and generous (78). The ſame noble hiſtorian afterwards blames the Earl of Orrery for being the cauſe of ſome improvident acts of bounty in the King, and for doing this without the Chancellor's knowledge, by procuring the grants to be prepared in Ireland, and paſſed under the great ſeal of that country (79).] K.

(75) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. ii. p. 194, 195.

(76) Royal and Noble Authors of England, Vol. ii. p. 236—239.

(77) Continuation of the Earl of Clarendon's Life, Vol. ii. p. 110. 3d edition.

(78) *Ibid.* p. 219.

(79) *Ibid.* p. 251, 252.

and deceaſing, in the twenty-eighth year of her age, on the third of September, 1681, lies buried at Richmond in Surry. Lady Barbara, married to Arthur Chicheſter, Earl of Donegal, but died before him without iſſue *(y)*. Henry Boyle, the youngeſt ſon of the Earl, was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Duke of Schomberg's regiment, and died in Flanders in the year 1691, leaving iſſue by the Lady Mary, his wife, daughter to Murrough, Earl of Inchiquin, four ſons. 1. Roger, who died in 1705 unmarried. 2. Henry, ſeated at Caſtle-Martyr in the kingdom of Ireland, who married the Lady Henrietta, daughter to Charles, Earl of Burlington, and ſiſter to the late Earl, was Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in Ireland, and one of the Lords Juſtices, and Chancellor of the Exchequer in that kingdom. He had iſſue by his Lady five ſons and three daughters; Richard, Henry, William, Charles, Robert, Juliana, Henrietta, and Jane (z). 3. Charles, who was Captain of the ſhip Strumbulo. And, 4. William, who was Captain in Duke Schomberg's regiment of horſe, and married the only daughter of the celebrated Sir Samuel Garth; as alſo two daughters; Elizabeth, married, in 1709, to Bettridge Badham, of the county of Cork, Eſq; and Margaret, married to Joſeph Dean, of the county of Meath in Ireland, Eſq. Roger, the ſecond Earl of Orrery, was of a very ſerious and contemplative diſpoſition; one who loved retirement, and never inclined to enter into any of the ſcenes of buſy life. He married the Lady Mary, daughter of Richard, Earl of Dorſet, by whom he had iſſue two ſons, Lionel and Charles, and one daughter, Lady Mary, who was married to Clotworthy Upton, Eſq; and died without iſſue (*a*). This noble Earl deceaſed in the month of September, 1698, and was ſucceeded in his honours by his ſon Lionel, then a minor, who married a daughter of the Earl of Dorſet's, by whom he had no iſſue, and who, after his deceaſe, which happened Auguſt 23, 1703, married the late Field-Marſhal Viſcount Shannon. Lionel, Earl of Orrery, was ſucceeded in his honours by his brother, Charles Boyle, Eſq; who, after he became Earl of Orrery, married the Lady Elizabeth Cecil, daughter to John, Earl of Exeter (*b*), by whom he had his only ſon, John, the late Earl of Cork and Orrery (*c*). C.

(y) Collins's Peerage, Vol. iv. p. 258.

(z) According to a private Letter from Ireland.

(a) Collins's Peerage, *ubi ſupra.*

(b) See the article BOYLE (CHARLES), Earl of Orrery.

(c) See his article.

BOYLE (ROBERT), a man ſuperior to titles, and almoſt to praiſe; illuſtrious by birth, by learning, and by virtue; but moſt ſo as the author and encourager of the New Philoſophy; by which he has not only rendered his memory immortal, but has alſo derived honour to his country; which, perhaps, is the greateſt felicity that human abilities can ever attain. He was the ſeventh ſon, and the fourteenth child, of Richard, Earl of Cork (*a*), and conſequently the youngeſt brother of the two noble perſons laſt mentioned. He was born at Liſmore, in the county of Cork and province of Munſter, in the kingdom of Ireland, on the twenty-fifth of February, 1626-7 (*b*); and though he was the only one of his father's ſons who attained to manhood without being honoured with a title, and alſo the only one that did not diſtinguiſh himſelf in public buſineſs; yet his life deſerves to be written with the utmoſt accuracy, and no pains can be too great to fix all the dates therein as exactly as it is poſſible [*A*]. His father, who was very juſtly ſtiled the *Great*, and might with equal propriety have been called the

(a) Earl of Cork's *True Remembrances.*

(b) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle, by J. C. MS.
Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 163.
Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. iii. p. 180.

[*A*] *To fix all the dates therein as exactly as it is poſſible.*] The honour of having produced worthy and famous men has been always dear to every wiſe nation; and it may be truly ſaid, that there are few perſons, the nature or extent of whoſe reputation would incline a prudent or virtuous people to pride themſelves more on having him for their countryman, than the diſtinguiſhed Philoſopher to whom this article belongs: yet ſo it is, that ſome voluminous collections of lives, as for inſtance Collier's great Dictionary, have not mentioned him at all; and in others there are ſuch ſtrange miſtakes, that one knows not how to overlook or excuſe them. It is ſaid by ſeveral authors, who in this, no doubt, have one copied the other, that he was ſent from ſchool to the univerſity of Leyden, in Holland (1); and yet, as the reader will ſee in the text, this could not be true; for if it had, Mr. Boyle, who wrote very particular memoirs of the firſt fifteen years of his life, would never have omitted this circumſtance; and indeed thoſe very memoirs plainly ſhew, that the fact is abſolutely falſe, and that he was ſo far from ſtudying at Leyden in his youth, that he never went thither at all (2). It has been a common obſervation, that the real adventures of ſome great men have been in themſelves more ſtrange and ſurpriſing, than the boldeſt writers have dared to feign, who wrote with any view of being believed. It may not only be affirmed, but proved, with reſpect to Mr. Boyle, that the declamations in his honour, and the characters written to give the world a high idea of his merit, have actually fallen ſhort of the naked truth, and cannot raiſe ſuch an admiration in the mind of a judicious reader, as the bare recital of matters of fact. Biſhop Burnet ſays (3), *he began early to ſhew both a probity and capacity that promiſed great things.* But this word *early* conveys no diſtinct idea, and not one reader in twenty will ſo much as ſuſpect that it ought to refer to the eighth or ninth year of his age: nay, it is very probable the learned prelate himſelf might ſcarcely apprehend that it reached ſo high, which, however, will very clearly appear from what is related in the text, and is farther explained in the ſubſequent note. To ſay the truth, the early part of Mr. Boyle's life may be ſtyled the moſt remarkable; for although in his ſubſequent years he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very extraordinary degree, yet the beſt judges of, and thoſe who have looked moſt cloſely into, human nature, cannot but allow that his early application to learning, and to thoſe parts of learning to which he addicted himſelf, is ſtill more ſurpriſing, and what would appear altogether incredible, if we had not as ſtrong, as clear, and authentic proofs, as the moſt ſevere critics can demand in reference to facts of this nature (4). The pains, therefore, that we have taken to digeſt into a regular ſeries of time theſe kind of facts, and the annexing ſuch explanations as are requiſite, as well as the proofs that become neceſſary, will, we hope, be conſidered as uſeful and entertaining, as well as new and curious improvements upon this ſubject, which, though ſo often handled, and ſo much beaten, can hardly ever be exhauſted.

(1) See the article of BOYLE (ROBERT), in the General Dictionary, Vol iii. p. 541.
Budgell's Memoirs of the Boyles, p. 118.
Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. iii. p. 180.

(2) See Mr. Boyle's own Memoirs, prefixed to thoſe of Mr. Birch, and which are equally copious and curious.

(3) Sermon at the Funeral of the Hon. Robert Boyle, Lond. 1692. 4to, p. 23.

(4) See the original Letters, hereafter cited.

Wiſe, Earl of Cork, committed him to the care of a country nurſe, with inſtructions to bring him up as hardy as if he had been her own ſon; which ſhe purſued, and thereby gave him a ſtrong and vigorous conſtitution, that he afterwards loſt, by being treated with too great tenderneſs (*c*). When he was about three years old, he had the misfortune to loſe his mother, for which he ſhews great regret, in ſome memoirs that he has left us of the more early part of his life, eſteeming it a ſingular unhappineſs never to have ſeen her, ſo as to remember her; and the more ſo, from the character he heard of her in his own family, and from all who knew her (*d*). Another accident happened to him while at nurſe, which gave him no ſmall trouble as long as he lived, and that was, his learning to ſtutter, by mocking ſome children of his own age, and of which, though no endeavours were ſpared, he could never be perfectly cured (*e*). His father ſent for him home when he was towards ſeven years old; and, not long after, in a journey to Dublin, he ran a very great riſk of loſing his life, if one of his father's gentlemen had not taken him out of a coach, which, in paſſing a brook raiſed by ſome ſudden ſhowers, was carried away by the ſtream, and beat to pieces (*f*). While at home, he was taught to write a very fair hand, and to ſpeak French and Latin, by one of the Earl's chaplains, and a Frenchman that he kept in the houſe (*g*). In the year 1635, when he was turned of eight years old, his father thought fit to ſend him to England, in order to his education at Eton, under Sir Henry Wotton, the Earl of Cork's old acquaintance and friend. With this view, in company with Mr. Francis Boyle, his elder brother, afterwards Lord Shannon, he ſet out for Youghall, and from thence, not without great danger of being taken by ſome of the Turkiſh pirates that then infeſted the Iriſh coaſt, he croſſed the ſeas to England, and landed happily at Briſtol (*h*). On his arrival at Eton, he was put under the care of Mr. Harriſon, then Maſter of the ſchool, of whoſe attention for, and kindneſs towards him, he makes very honourable mention in his Memoirs; and obſerves, that it was chiefly by the prudent methods he purſued, that he came to have that taſte and reliſh for learning, for which, even in the earlier part of his life, he grew ſo remarkable (*i*) [*B*]. While he remained at Eton, there were ſeveral extraordinary accidents that befel him, of which he has given us an account, and which one would ſcarcely think it poſſible he ſhould have remembered ſo diſtinctly, conſidering they happened before he was nine years old, if the letters that he wrote about that time were not ſtill preſerved; which ſufficiently demonſtrates, how capable he was of collecting and preſerving whatever appeared to him worthy of notice, even in the time of his childhood: ſo that we may well believe what he relates of his own care in this reſpect, from the teſtimonies that ſtill remain, of his having a wit ſo much ſuperior to his years (*k*) [*C*]. He remained at Eton, in the whole,

[*B*] *For which, even in the earlier part of his life, he grew ſo remarkable.*] We cannot exactly ſay in what month Mr. Boyle came to Eton ſchool; we know that it was ſome time in the year 1635, and when he was very little more than eight years of age (5); and though he came thither ſo ſoon, yet he did not come altogether uninſtructed; for he not only wrote ſo as to be read, but a ſtrong, fair, legible hand of the *Italic* kind, and was tolerably acquainted with Latin (6). His diligence and application recommended him ſo much to Mr. Harriſon, that he was extremely kind to him, inſtructed him out of ſchool hours in his own chamber, gave him true notions of the uſe and value of learning, conſidered as a thing reſpecting himſelf, as well as what was expected from him; but whether he recommended to him Quintus Curtius, whether it fell into Mr. Boyle's hands by chance, or came to be taken up as a ſchool-book, does not appear: yet this, it ſeems, was the author that ſtruck him moſt, and the reading of which gave him ſuch an appetite for learning, as his application thereto all his life after could never cloy. His own account of the matter is delivered in words that cannot be varied without changing the thought, and leſſening the force of the expreſſion. Speaking of himſelf, as he does throughout his memoirs in the third perſon, he treats this paſſage thus: *In gratitude to this book, I have heard him hyperbolically ſay, that he not only owed more to* Quintus Curtius *than* Alexander *did, but derived more advantage from the hiſtory of that great monarch's conqueſts, than ever he did from the conqueſts themſelves.* There is certainly ſomething in this book that operates ſtrongly upon young minds; it is ſaid the reading it made Charles the Twelfth of Sweden a hero (7); and we have heard Mr. Boyle himſelf confeſs, that he derived from it that paſſion for learning which made him a ſcholar.

[*C*] *His having a wit ſo much ſuperior to his age.*] We have in his own memoirs an account of ſeveral accidents that happened to him in this ſpace of time, three of which were very near proving fatal to his life and hopes. The firſt was the ſudden fall of the chamber where he lodged,* when himſelf was in bed; when, beſides the hazard he run of being cruſhed to pieces, he had certainly been choaked with the duſt, during the time he lay under the rubbiſh, if he had not had preſence of mind enough to have wrapped up his head in the ſheet, which gave him an opportunity of breathing without hazard. A little after this he had been cruſhed to pieces by a ſtarting horſe that roſe up ſuddenly, and threw himſelf backwards; but Mr. Boyle happily diſengaged his feet from the ſtirrups, and caſt himſelf from his back before he fell. A third accident befel him from the careleſſneſs of an apothecary's ſervant, who, by miſtaking the phials, brought him a ſtrong vomit inſtead of a cooling julep. Theſe, and many other circumſtances of the like kind, he committed to memory firſt, and to writing afterwards. He made but few excurſions from ſchool, and thoſe only to ſee his relations, ſuch as his ſiſter Goring, at Lewes in Suſſex, and his brother the Lord Dungarvan, upon his coming to London. While he remained there, he wrote the following letter (the original of which is before me) to his father, which will juſtify all that is ſaid in the text.

' *My moſt honoured Lord Father*,

' HEARTILY praying for the continuance of
' God's favour to your Lordſhip ſtill in ſoul and
' body, I humbly proſtrate myſelf unto your honour-
' able feet, to crave your bleſſing and pardon for my
' remiſſneſs, in preſenting my illiterate lines unto
' your honourable, kind acceptance. Whereas I
' have been heretofore cloyed with our college exer-
' ciſe, I could not ſo often viſit your Honour in
' writing; but now being, by the ardent deſire of
' our brother, and the licence of Sir Harry Wotton,
' and our ſchool-maſter, come to London, where we
' make

(*c*) His own account of the earlier part of his life, under the name of *Philaretus*, publiſhed by Mr. Birch.

(*d*) *Id. ibid.*

(*e*) Memoirs of the Hon. R. B.

(*f*) His own Memoirs, before cited.

(*g*) *Ibid.*

(*h*) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle. Strafford's Letters, Vol. i. p. 134. 138.

(*i*) His own Memoirs.

(*k*) The Life of the Hon. Mr. Boyle, by the Rev. Mr. Bolton, prefixed to the Abridgment of his Works.

(5) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

(6) See his own Memoirs.

(7) Hiſtoire de Suede, p. 597.

whole, between three and four years, and then his father carried him to his own ſeat at Stalbridge in Dorſetſhire, where he remained for ſome ſhort time, under the care of Mr. William Douch, then Parſon of the place, and one of the Earl of Cork's Chaplains (*l*). In the autumn of the year 1638, he attended his father to London, and remained with him at the Savoy, till his brother, Mr. Francis Boyle, eſpouſed Mrs. Elizabeth Killigrew; and then, towards the end of the month of October, within four days after the marriage was celebrated, the two brothers, Francis and Robert, were ſent abroad upon their travels, under the care of Mr. Marcombes, whom we have formerly mentioned as Governor to the Lords Kinelmeaky and Broghill (*m*). They embarked at Rye in Suſſex, and from thence proceeded to Dieppe in Normandy, from whence they travelled by land to Rouen, ſo to Paris, and from thence to Lyons; from which city they continued their journey to Geneva, where his Governor had a family, and there the two young gentlemen purſued their ſtudies quietly, and without interruption (*n*) [*D*]. Mr. Boyle, during his ſtay here, reſumed his acquaintance with the Mathematics, or at leaſt with the elements of that ſcience, of which he had firſt obtained ſome knowledge at Eton. He was now drawing towards fourteen, and his temper being naturally very grave and ſerious, his thoughts were often turned on religious ſubjects; but, however, not without ſome mixture of doubts and difficulties, as himſelf acknowledges, about the certainty of the *Chriſtian* Revelation (*o*). This, inſtead of having any bad effects, was productive of very good conſequences. He examined coolly and circumſtantially the evidence in favour of the Goſpel, and concluded, by dint of reaſoning, that this was the only certain and ſure way to ſalvation (*p*). We might poſſibly ſuſpect the truth of this, conſidering his youth, and the little care that perſons at ſuch years take, or indeed are capable of taking, in matters of ſo great importance: but it ſo falls out, that we have an original letter of his, written at this time, to his father, which plainly proves that his capacity was, even at that early ſeaſon, very capable of ſuch arduous inquiries [*E*]. While he remained at Geneva, he made

(*l*) His own Memoirs.

(*m*) See the article of BOYLE (ROGER), Earl of Orrery.

(*n*) His own Memoirs.

(*o*) *Id. ibid.*

(*p*) See Burnet's Sermon at the funeral of Mr. Boyle. Bolton's Life of Boyle.

'make four days reſidence, have found opportunity 'to offer unto your Honour that oblation due unto 'ſo good and ſo noble a Father, that is moſt humble 'duty, deſiring your Honour to pardon him for his 'brevity, who ſtrives to live after your Lordſhip's 'will and commandments

'London, decimo
'4to Martii.

Truely and obediently,

'ROBERT BOYLE.'

Superſcribed, *For my dear Lord Father, the Earl of Cork.*

[*D*] *Purſued their ſtudies quietly, and without interruption.*] He informs us, in his own memoirs, that while he was at Eton, and was afflicted with an ague before he was ten years old, it was thought neceſſary to interrupt his ſtudies, and to allow him to divert himſelf with any kind of writing that pleaſed him moſt; and as this happened to be romances, it brought upon him ſuch a diſtraction (8) of thought, and ſo great an unſettledneſs of mind, that, when he recovered his health, he found it very difficult to fix his attention to any thing. All this, we muſt allow, has nothing in it ſtrange or uncommon; but that a youth, or rather a child, at his age, ſhould ſeriouſly ſeek a remedy for ſuch an evil, and make choice of the extraction of the ſquare and cube roots, and the ſolution of algebraical equations, for that remedy, is certainly very extraordinary. It was this that gave him the firſt taſte of mathematical ſcience, which he improved at Geneva under the care of Mr. Marcombes, who not only taught him the Theory of Geometry, but the Application of it alſo: for there was this ſingularity in Mr. Boyle's temper, that as ſoon as he became acquainted with any ſcience, he was for applying it to ſome uſe; and therefore the practical parts of Trigonometry delighted him much; and Fortification, inſtead of being conſidered as a ſtudy, appeared to him as the pleaſanteſt amuſement in the world; Geography was to him no more than travelling upon paper; Aſtronomy a voyage to the Heavens; and ſo of other things that commonly appear labours to others, he conceived in ſuch a manner, that they appeared deſirable to him. In theſe notions he was led on and ſuſtained by his governor, who appears to have had great parts as well as prudence, and to have underſtood the art of educating youth, by making them conceive education their own buſineſs; which Mr. Boyle did to ſuch a degree, that both here and at Eton his aſſiduity required rather a curb than a ſpur, and his preceptors were obliged to take more pains to abate the ſpirit with which he purſued learning, than they uſually did to excite it in others. This he tells with great ſimplicity; and if he had not told us, we muſt have learned it from his letters and his books.

(8) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

[*E*] *Very capable of ſuch arduous inquiries.*] In order to ſhew with how much ſtrength of judgment he might enter into the deepeſt diſputes of religion, we ſhall exhibit another original letter of his, written to his father at this time, with an exactneſs and correctneſs hardly to be expreſſed, and yet, as ſome circumſtances therein plainly ſhew, without the privity, and conſequently without the aſſiſtance, of his governor. The ſentiments and language of this letter ſufficiently demonſtrate, that though the author was but in his fifteenth year, he had a general notion of the affairs of Chriſtendom; otherwiſe he could not have written of them ſo clearly, and yet ſo ſuccinctly, as he does. But let us come to the letter itſelf.

'*My moſt honoured Lord and Father,*

'AS your Lordſhip's long ſilence hath extremely 'afflicted us, ſo the receipt of your Lordſhip's 'letters, dated the 25th of June, hath infinitely re'joyced us; for by them we are not only aſſured of 'your Lordſhip's health (for the continuation where'of I pray God day and night), but alſo of the leave 'which we have ſo much deſired to go into Italy the 'firſt of September. I wonder that Mr. Killigrew 'ſhould tell your Lordſhip, that we wore our old 'cloaths, and had no money in our pockets, when 'he was here; for I aſſure your Lordſhip, that ſince 'we came to Geneva, we have been very far from 'wanting either the firſt or the laſt, and that Mr. 'Marcombes hath too great a care of us to let us 'want the leaſt thing that is neceſſary, either for our 'bodies or minds: we are in his houſe in perfect 'health (thanked be God), and grow great profi'cients in the Mathematicks, which is a ſtudy ſo 'pleaſing and profitable, that when one hath once 'taſted the ſweetneſs of it, it is almoſt impoſſible not 'to take delight therein, and, by conſequence, not 'to ply it hard. The news here are, that the Count 'de Soiſſons forces, and one of the King of France's 'armies, having met near Sedan, the King's army 'was beaten, and the Count de Soiſſons killed. 'They ſay alſo, that Picolomini hath been ſhrewdly 'beaten in Germany, and that the King of France's 'affairs go very well in Catalonia, the Archbiſhop 'of Bourdeaux having beaten the Spaniſh fleet, and

'Tarragone

made ſome excurſions to viſit the adjacent country of Savoy, and even proceeded ſo far as to Grenoble in Dauphiné, and took a view alſo of thoſe wild mountains where Bruno, the firſt author of the Carthuſian Monks, lived in ſolitude, at the time he erected that order (*q*). In September 1641, he quitted Geneva, and paſſing through Switzerland and the country of the Griſons, entered Lombardy, and taking his route through Bergamo, Breſcia, and Verona, arrived at Venice; and having made a ſhort ſtay there, returned to the continent, and ſpent the winter at Florence; during his ſtay in which city, the famous Galileo died at a village not far from thence (*r*). While he reſided in this fair city, he had an opportunity of acquiring the Italian language, which he underſtood perfectly, though he never ſpoke it ſo fluently as the French, of which he became ſo great a maſter, that, as occaſion required, he paſſed for a native of that country in more places than one during his travels (*s*). About the end of March, he began his journey from Florence to Rome, which took up but five days; and, after having ſurveyed that famous city, the heats diſagreeing with his brother, he returned to Florence, from thence he went to Leghorn, and ſo by ſea to Genoa (*t*). He made but a ſhort ſtay there, and then paſſing through the county of Nice, croſſed the ſea to Antibes, from whence he went to Marſeilles by land. He was in that city in the month of May, 1642, when he received his father's letters, with a dreadful account of the rebellion juſt then broken out in Ireland; and advice likewiſe, that with great difficulty his Lordſhip had procured two hundred and fifty pounds, which he remitted his ſons to enable them to return home: but of this money they never ſaw a farthing; for being put into the hands of one Mr. Perkins (*u*), a conſiderable trader in the city of London, he proved unfaithful to his truſt; which drove theſe two noble youths to the utmoſt diſtreſs; till, with much ado, their Governor, Mr. Marcombes, ſupplied them with as much as brought them to Geneva, where they continued with him for ſome time; and having neither ſupplies nor advices from England, he was obliged, in order to enable them to go home, to take up ſome jewels on his own credit, which they diſpoſed of with as little loſs as might be, and, with the money thus produced, continued their journey for England, where they arrived in the year 1644 (*w*). On his arrival there, he found his father dead; and though he had made an ample proviſion for him, as well by leaving him his manor of Stalbridge in England, as other conſiderable eſtates in Ireland, yet it was ſome time before he could receive any money (*x*). During this ſpace he lodged with his ſiſter, the Lady Ranelagh, and by her intereſt, and that of his brother Lord Broghill, he procured protections for his eſtates in England and Ireland, from thoſe who had the power then in their hands (*y*). He alſo obtained their leave to go over for a ſhort ſpace into France, probably that he might have an opportunity of ſettling his accounts with his old Governor and conſtant friend Mr. Marcombes (*z*); but he did not ſtay long abroad, ſince we find him the December following at Cambridge. In the month of March, 1646, he retired to his own ſeat at Stalbridge, from whence he made various excurſions, ſometimes to London, ſometimes to Oxford, applying himſelf as aſſiduouſly to his ſtudies as his own circumſtances, or thoſe of the times, would permit (*a*); and indeed it is very amazing to find what a prodigious progreſs he made, not only in many branches of literature, but in ſome that have been always held the moſt difficult and abſtruſe. He omitted no opportunity of obtaining the acquaintance of perſons diſtinguiſhed for parts and learning, to whom he was in every reſpect a ready, uſeful, and generous aſſiſtant, and with whom he maintained a conſtant correſpondence (*b*) [*F*]. He was alſo one of the firſt members

(*q*) His own Memoirs.

(*r*) See the Life of Galilei Galileo, by Mr. Saliſbury, prefixed to his Mathematical Collections.

(*s*) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

(*t*) His own Memoirs.

(*u*) Id. ibid.

(*w*) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

(*x*) His own Memoirs.

(*y*) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

(*z*) This appears by a Letter of his to Lord Broghill, dated Aug. 25, 1645.

(*a*) Birch's Life of the Hon. Robert Boyle, p. 15.

(*b*) See the great Collection of his Letters in the fifth Volume of his Works, which are, however, but a part of what he left behind him.

‘ Tarragone being taken by one of the King's generals. Having no other news worthy the writing to your Lordſhip, I end my letter with them, beſeeching you to believe that I loſe no time here, and that in plying hard my ſtudies and exerciſes, I will ſhew the ardent deſire I have to be juſtly eſteemed,

My Lord,
‘ From Geneva, the *Your moſt dutiful and*
‘ 20th July, 1646. *obedient Son, and*
humble ſervant,
Robert Boyle.’

Superſcribed, *For my moſt honoured Father, the Earl of Cork, at his lodgings at Court.*

[*F*] *With whom he held a conſtant correſpondence.*] Of theſe perſons, who entered ſo early into an intimate acquaintance with Mr. Boyle, and for whom he preſerved his friendſhip as long as he and they lived, we ſhall mention a few. Mr. Francis Tallents (who was afterwards ſo well known, and ſo much reſpected in the world, for that laborious performance which he publiſhed under the title of *Chronological Tables* (9), which was the work of years) had been, while he was Under-graduate, ſub-tutor to ſeveral ſons of the Earl of Suffolk (one of whoſe daughters was married to Lord Broghill), being removed from Peter-houſe to Magdalen-college for that purpoſe, and about the year 1642 travelled abroad with them as their tutor. After his return, he became Senior Fellow and Preſident, or Vice-maſter, of his College, and, having ſpent near twenty years in the Univerſity, was ſettled at Saint Mary's in Shrewſbury, where he was ejected for non-conformity in 1662. In the year 1670, he went a ſecond time as tutor to two young gentlemen, Mr. Boſcawen and Mr. Hamden. In the laſt part of his life, he was paſtor to a congregation of Proteſtant Diſſenters at Shrewſbury, where he died April 11, 1708, in the 89th year of his age. Mr. Samuel Hartlib was another acquaintance of Mr. Boyle's, one for whom he had a great regard, and to whom he afforded conſiderable aſſiſtance. He was born in Pruſſia, or in Poland, it is not eaſy to know which, for his father reſided many years in both countries: he came over to England in 1630, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many learned and uſeful writings, which gained him the friendſhip and eſteem of ſome of the greateſt men that age produced, which was ſo prolific in great men: but amongſt them there was none that either expreſſed a greater value for his uſeful qualities, or gave higher teſtimonies of the ſincerity of his affection, than Mr. Boyle; and from hence aroſe that cloſe and intimate correſpondence, which, as it gave the

(9) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. ii. p. 548.

bers of that ſmall, but learned body, which held its firſt meetings at London, then removed to Oxford, ſtyled by him the *Inviſible*, by themſelves the *Philoſophical* College, and which, after the Reſtoration, were incorporated and diſtinguiſhed, as they well deſerved, by the title of the *Royal Society* (*c*). It is no ſmall honour to this worthy perſon, that, when he was ſo young a man, his merit and knowledge gained him admittance amongſt perſons the moſt diſtinguiſhed for the acuteneſs of their underſtandings, and the ſingularity, as well as extent, of their ſcience. We have an account of their firſt inſtitution, written by the famous Dr. Wallis, which deſerves the Reader's attention, and is therefore placed in the notes (*d*) [*G*]. The great diligence and application of Mr. Boyle was ſo much the more to be eſteemed and commended, as at this time his health was very much diſordered by frequent fits of the ſtone, a diſeaſe to which he was extremely ſubject, and to which his ſedentary life, and cloſe application to his ſtudies, might poſſibly contribute (*e*). But, notwithſtanding this, and the frequent occaſions he had to remove from place to place, ſometimes on the ſcore of buſineſs, at others to viſit his many noble relations, yet he never ſuffered his thoughts to be diſordered, or the deſigns he had formed to be broken or interrupted by any of theſe accidents; as appears by his having completed three regular and excellent pieces, before he had reached the age of twenty, *viz.* his *Seraphic Love*, his *Eſſay on Miſtaken Modeſty*, and the *Swearer ſilenced*, to which he afterwards gave the title that it now bears, of a *Free Diſcourſe againſt cuſtomary Swearing* (*f*). Beſides theſe, it plainly appears, as well from the writings he has publiſhed, as from many of his private letters, that he had made large collections upon other ſubjects, from ſome of which he afterwards drew diſtinct treatiſes (*g*). The retired courſe of life, which, for the ſake of his health, from the bent of his temper, and from the nature of his deſigns, he took a pleaſure to lead, could not hinder his reputation from riſing to ſuch a height, as made him taken notice of by ſome of the moſt eminent members of the Republic of Letters; ſo that, in 1651, we find Dr. Nathaniel Highmore, a very eminent Phyſician, dedicating to him his *Hiſtory of Generation*; in which dedication he ſtyles him both his patron and his friend (*h*). In 1652 he went over to Ireland, in order to viſit and ſettle

the greateſt pleaſure to them while it continued, ſo the publication of their letters will do honour to their memories, and be of ſervice to the public, as long as a true ſpirit of learning, and a juſt reſpect for Mr. Boyle's writings, ſhall ſubſiſt. He was likewiſe very kind to Mr. John Dury (11), a very worthy, well-meaning perſon, who ſpent many years, and took much pains, in the proſecution of a deſign, which, however commendable, proved but very chimerical, which was, the reconciliation of the Lutherans and Calviniſts. He was alſo very intimate with Dr. William Petty, Mr. John Beale, and many other perſons diſtinguiſhed by their genius and love for learning, before he had attained the age of twenty (12). It is alſo farther remarkable, that as he was always communicative, in point of knowledge, to ſuch as ſtood on a level with him in reſpect to fortune; ſo, in regard to thoſe who had no large ſtock of any thing but merit, he was not only civil and kind in his expreſſions, but uſeful and beneficent to them in every other reſpect; ſo that he fully juſtified what a great man, who knew him, very well ſaid of him at this time, *viz.* That in his youth he had not only the proficiency, but the prudence, of a man in years; and that at a time when others of his age thought of nothing but purſuing their pleaſures, he made it his ſole buſineſs to promote ſcience, and delighted in nothing ſo much as in doing good. It was a great honour to Mr. Boyle that this was ſaid of him ſo early: but it was a much greater felicity, that it continued to be ſaid of him for upwards of forty years afterwards, and that not by a few whom he obliged, or by ſuch as hoped to be obliged, but by the world in general, and in the ſtrongeſt terms by ſuch as were acquainted with him beſt.

[G] *Which deſerves the reader's attention, and is therefore placed in the notes.*] This letter was written by the famous Dr. Wallis to Dr. Thomas Smith, Fellow of Magdalen-college, in Oxford, and, with the reſt of that great man's papers, fell into the hands of the indefatigable Mr. Thomas Hearne, who has deſerved ſo well of the public. In that letter Dr. Wallis gives an account of his own life, and therein is this remarkable paſſage (13): 'About the year 1645, while I lived in London, at a time when, by our civil wars, academical ſtudies were much interrupted in both our Univerſities, beſide the converſation of divers eminent divines, as to matters theological, I had the opportunity of being acquainted with divers worthy perſons inquiſitive into Natural Philoſophy, and other parts of humane learning; and particularly of what hath been called the New Philoſophy, or Experimental Philoſophy. We did by agreement divers of us meet weekly in London on a certain day, to treat and diſcourſe of ſuch affairs: of which number were, Dr. John Wilkins (afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter), Dr. Jonathan Goddard, Dr. George Ent, Dr. Gliſſon, Dr. Merret (Doctors in Phyſic), Mr. Samuel Foſter, then Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Greſham College, Mr. Theodore Hank (a German of the Palatinate, and then reſident in London, who, I think, gave the firſt occaſion, and firſt ſuggeſted thoſe meetings), and many others. Theſe meetings we held ſometimes at Dr. Goddard's lodgings, in Wood-ſtreet (or ſome convenient place near), on occaſion of his keeping an Operator in his houſe for grinding glaſſes for Teleſcopes and Microſcopes, and ſometimes at a convenient place in Cheapſide, ſometimes at Greſham College, or ſome place near adjoining. Our buſineſs was, precluding matters of theology and ſtate affairs, to diſcourſe and conſider of philoſophical enquiries, and ſuch as related thereunto, as Phyſic, Anatomy, Geometry, Aſtronomy, Navigation, Statics, Magnetics, Chymics, Mechanics, and Natural Experiments, with the ſtate of theſe ſtudies as then cultivated at home and abroad: we there diſcourſed of the circulation of the blood, the valves in the veins, the venæ lacteæ, the lymphatic veſſels, the Copernican hypotheſis, the nature of comets and new ſtars, the ſatellites of Jupiter, the oval ſhape (as it then appeared) of Saturn, the ſpots in the Sun, and its turning on its own axis, the inequalities and ſelenography of the Moon, the ſeveral phaſes of Venus and Mercury, the improvement of teleſcopes, and grinding of glaſſes for that purpoſe, the weight of air, the poſſibility or impoſſibility of vacuities and Nature's abhorrence thereof, the Torricellian experiment in quickſilver, the deſcent of heavy bodies, and the degrees of acceleration therein, and divers other things of like nature; ſome of which were then but new diſcoveries, and others not ſo generally known and embraced as now they are, with other things appertaining to what hath been called the New Philoſophy, which, from the times of Galileo at Florence, and Sir Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam) in England, hath been much cultivated in Italy, France, Germany, and other parts abroad, as well as with us in England.'

(*c*) See this point diſcuſſed in Biſhop Sprat's learned Hiſtory of the Royal Society.

(*d*) It is publiſhed by Mr. Hearne, in the Appendix to the Preface to Peter Langtoft's Chronicle, p. clxi.

(*e*) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 27.

(*f*) See theſe Pieces in the new Collection of Boyle's Works.

(*g*) This is evident from comparing theſe Treatiſes together.

(*h*) This Dedication is dated May 15, 1651, and the book was then admired as very learned and curious.

(11) See Worthington's Miſcellanies, p. 242, 252.

(12) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 21, 22, 23.

(13) E. Col. Smithianis, Vol. xxii. p. 38.

his eſtates in that kingdom; and there, if I am not miſtaken, he met with a fall from his horſe in a watery place, which gave him a very grievous fit of ſickneſs (*i*). He returned from Ireland to England in Auguſt, 1653; but was ſoon after obliged to return again into that kingdom, where he ſpent his time but very unpleaſantly; and it would have been ſtill more ſo, if it had not been for the acquaintance of Dr. Petty, afterwards Sir William Petty, who was his intimate friend, and, as in its proper place will appear, one of the greateſt men of that, or indeed of any other age (*k*). In the ſummer of 1654, he returned to England, and put in execution a deſign he had formed when he was laſt in this kingdom, of ſettling at Oxford, as well for the ſake of ſeveral of his ingenious friends who reſided there, as for the many and extraordinary conveniencies which the place afforded, for the proſecution of his beloved ſtudies in peace. He choſe to live there in the houſe of Mr. Croſſe, an apothecary, rather than in a college, for the ſake of his health, and becauſe he had more room for making experiments (*l*). It was now that he found himſelf ſurrounded by a number of learned friends, who reſorted thither chiefly for the ſame reaſons that he had done; the *Inviſible College*, as he called it, or *Philoſophical Society*, being now transferred from London to Oxford (*m*) [*H*]. It was during his reſidence here that he invented the air-pump, which was perfected for him by the ingenious Mr. Hooke in 1658 or 1659, by the help of which he made ſuch experiments, as enabled him to diſcover and demonſtrate ſeveral qualities of the air, by which he laid the foundations for a complete theory (*n*). He was not, however, ſatisfied with this, but laboured inceſſantly in collecting and digeſting, chiefly from his own experiments, the materials requiſite for this purpoſe. He declared againſt the Philoſophy of Ariſtotle, as having in it more of words than things, promiſing much and performing little; in ſhort, giving the inventions of men for indubitable proofs, inſtead of the reſults of ſuch enquiries, as draw the knowledge of the works of nature from nature herſelf (*o*). He was ſo careful in, and ſo zealous for, the true method of learning by experiment, that though the Carteſian Philoſophy made then a great noiſe in the world, yet he would never be perſuaded to read the works of Des Cartes, for fear he ſhould be amuſed and led away with a fair pretence of reaſoning, and plauſible accounts of things, grounded purely on conjecture (*p*). But philoſophy and enquiries into nature, though they engaged his attention deeply, did not occupy it entirely, ſince we find that he ſtill continued to purſue his critical ſtudies, in which he had the aſſiſtance of ſome as great men as have ever flouriſhed in this kingdom, particularly Dr. Edward Pococke, Mr. Thomas Hyde, and Mr. Samuel Clarke (*q*). He had alſo a ſtrict intimacy with Dr. Thomas Barlow, at that time Head Keeper of the Bodleian Library, and afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln, a man of various and extenſive learning (*r*). He was likewiſe the patron of the very learned Dr. John Pell, an eminent Mathematician (*s*): and the famous Dr. John Wallis, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that and other branches of learning, did him the honour to dedicate to him his excellent treatiſe *on the Cycloid* (*t*). In 1659, being acquainted with the circumſtances of the learned Dr. Robert Sanderſon, afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln, he beſtowed on him a ſtipend of fifty pounds a year; and that great man thankfully acknowledged the obligations he was under to ſo generous a patron, in a dedication of *his Lectures*, which were printed at Oxford the ſame year (*u*). After the Reſtoration, he was treated with great civility and reſpect by the King, and with much affection and eſteem by his two great Miniſters, the Lord-Treaſurer Southampton, and the Lord-Chancellor Clarendon, by whom he was preſſed to enter into Holy Orders, of which he had very ſerious thoughts, but at laſt thought fit to decline it, upon very juſt and diſintereſted motives (*w*) [*I*]. The ſame year he publiſhed two of his firſt pieces, one

(*i*) See his Preface to his Collection of Receipts, in which this is related at large.

(*k*) See the article of PETTY (Sir WILLIAM).

(*l*) Boyle's Works, Vol. v. p. 629, 630. Papers formerly in the cuſtody of Dr. Wotton. See alſo Dr. Wallis's Letter in the following note.

(*m*) This corrects Biſhop Sprat's Account in his Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 57, 58.

(*n*) Life of Dr. R. Hooke, by R. Waller, Eſq; p. 3. Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-college, p. 170.

(*o*) See Mr. Boyle's obſervations to this purpoſe, in almoſt all his Philoſophical Treatiſes.

(*p*) Boyle's Life, p. 33.

(*q*) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

(*r*) See his article in this Dictionary.

(*s*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 461.

(*t*) The Latin title of this work is, *De Cycloide, & corporibus inde genitis*, and is in the Collection of his Works, publiſhed in 1699, in three volumes, folio.

(*u*) See Walton's Life of Biſhop Sanderſon, and Dr. Barlow's Letter annexed.

(*w*) Burnet's Sermon at Boyle's Funeral.

[*H*] *Being now transferred from London to Oxford.*] We have in the former note ſhewn (14), when, and how, theſe meetings were at firſt ſet on foot in London; and if the reader will conſult the letters of Mr. Boyle, interſperſed through the large account of his life, prefixed to his Works, he will find undeniable evidence of the ſhare he had in the inſtitution of this learned Society, though no mention is made of him in the paſſage we have cited from the writings of Dr. Wallis: yet conſidering the diſtance of time between thoſe tranſactions, and his relation of them, we may rather wonder that he remembered ſo many, than that amongſt them a ſingle name was omitted. Yet the ſame learned perſon, ſpeaking of the removal of this Society, and the manner in which their aſſemblies were held at Oxford, fails not to mention Mr. Boyle, as may be ſeen in the following paſſage (15). ‘ About the year 1648-49, ſome of our company ‘ being removed to Oxford (firſt Dr. Wilkins, then ‘ I, and ſoon after Dr. Goddard), our company divided. Thoſe in London continued to meet there ‘ as before (and we with them when we had occaſion ‘ to be there, and thoſe of us at Oxford; with Dr. ‘ Ward (ſince Biſhop of Saliſbury); Dr. Ralph Bathurſt ‘ (now Preſident of Trinity-college in Oxford); Dr. ‘ Petty (ſince Sir William Petty); Dr. Willis (then ‘ an eminent Phyſician in Oxford); and divers others, ‘ continued ſuch meetings in Oxford, and brought ‘ thoſe ſtudies into faſhion there, meeting firſt at Dr. ‘ Petty's lodgings (in an Apothecary's houſe) becauſe ‘ of the convenience of inſpecting drugs, and the ‘ like, as there was occaſion; and after his remove ‘ to Ireland (though not ſo conſtantly) at the lodgings of Dr. Wilkins (then Warden of Wadham-college); and after his removal to Trinity-college ‘ in Cambridge, at the lodgings of the Hon. Mr. ‘ Robert Boyle, then reſident for divers years in ‘ Oxford. Thoſe meetings in London continued, ‘ and (after the King's return in 1660) were increaſed ‘ with the acceſſion of divers worthy and honourable ‘ perſons, and were afterwards incorporated by the ‘ name of the Royal Society, &c. and ſo continue to ‘ this day.’

(14) See before, in note [*G*].

(15) See Dr. Wallis's Letter, as before cited.

[*I*] *Upon very juſt and diſintereſted motives.*] The regard that the Earl of Clarendon had for the Church of England, was one great reaſon why he was ſo earneſt in perſuading the Hon. Mr. Boyle to enter into Holy Orders. His noble family, his diſtinguiſhed learning, one of which was printed at Oxford, and the other at London; the former was his *New Experiments touching the Spring of the Air* (*x*), which he addreſſed to his nephew the Lord Dungarvan, and this drew him into a controverſy with Franciſcus Linus, and the famous Mr. Thomas Hobbes, whoſe objections he refuted with equal candour, clearneſs, and civility. The ſecond was his Diſcourſe *on Seraphic Love* (*y*), and both pieces were received with univerſal applauſe. The fame of his great learning and abilities extended itſelf, even at this time, beyond the bounds of our iſland, ſo that the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, a Prince diſtinguiſhed for learning, deſired Mr. Southwell, then reſident at Florence, to acquaint Mr. Boyle with his deſire of holding a correſpondence with him (*z*). In 1661, he publiſhed his *Phyſiological Eſſays and other Tracts* (*a*), which added greatly to the eſteem that all true lovers of learning had for his knowledge in things of this nature. Some time after, he ſent abroad another curious and excellent work, intituled, *The Sceptical Chymiſt* (*b*), which was printed at Oxford: but ſeveral treatiſes that are mentioned in this and the former work, as being in great forwardneſs, and which the world very impatiently expected, were afterwards loſt in the hurry of removing his effects at the time of the great fire. In 1662, a grant of the forfeited impropriations in the kingdom of Ireland, was obtained from the King in Mr. Boyle's name, though without his knowledge, which did not hinder his intereſting himſelf very warmly, for procuring the application of these impropriations to the promoting true religion and learning (*c*). He interpoſed, likewiſe, in favour of the corporation for propagating the Goſpel in New England, and was very inſtrumental in obtaining a decree in the Court of Chancery, for reſtoring to that corporation an eſtate, which had been injuriouſly re-poſſeſſed by one Col. Bedingfield, a Papiſt, who had ſold it to them for a valuable conſideration (*d*). His activity in matters of this nature was ſo much the more honourable, as he was naturally inclined to, and, generally ſpeaking, followed that inclination, in leading a private and retired life. But whenever the cauſe of virtue, learning, or religion required it, his intereſt and endeavours were never wanting, and, by the peculiar bleſſing of Providence, were ſeldom employed but with ſucceſs. In 1663, the Royal Society being incorporated by King Charles II., by letters patent dated the twenty-ſecond of April (*e*), Mr. Boyle was appointed one of the Council; and as he might be juſtly reckoned among the founders of that learned body, ſo he continued one of its moſt uſeful and induſtrious members, during the whole courſe of his life [*K*]. In the month of June 1663, he publiſhed his *Conſiderations on the Uſefulneſs of Experimental*

(*x*) This work has borne three editions, *viz.* Oxford 1660, 8*vo*; Lond. 1662, 4*to*; with an Appendix, Lond. 1682, 4*to*.

(*y*) This, as we have ſhewed, was finiſhed in 1648; it has run through many editions, and been tranſlated into Latin.

(*z*) See Boyle's Works, Vol. v. p. 403, 404.

(*a*) At London in 4*to*. They were printed again in 1669, 4*to*, with large additions, and tranſlated into Latin.

(*b*) At Oxford, in 8*vo*. Again, at the ſame place, 1679, with conſiderable additions, in 8*vo*.

(*c*) Boyle's Life, p. 40.

(*d*) Baxter's Sermon at the funeral of Henry Aſhurſt, Eſq; p. 46.

(*e*) Sprat's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 134.

learning, and, above all, his unblemiſhed reputation, juſtly induced the Chancellor to think, that any eccleſiaſtical preferments he might attain, would be ſo worthily diſcharged, as to do honour to the clergy, and ſervice to the Eſtabliſhed Communion. All theſe arguments Mr. Boyle conſidered with due attention: but to balance theſe, he reflected, that in the ſituation of life he was in, whatever he wrote with reſpect to religion, would have ſo much the greater weight, as coming from a layman; from a perſon, who, in other reſpects, ſhewed himſelf free from all prejudice and prepoſſeſſions, concerned only to find out truth, and to ſtick cloſe thereto wherever he found it. He conſidered likewiſe, that, in point of fortune and character, he needed no acceſſions; and, indeed, he never had any appetite for either. But a certain great Prelate (16) tells us, that what had the greateſt weight in determining his judgment, was, the not feeling in himſelf any motion or tendency of mind, that he could ſafely eſteem a call from the Holy Ghoſt, which, according to the form uſed in the Church of England, is affirmed by ſuch as enter into Holy Orders. Now, whoever reflects upon either of theſe reaſons, or takes them together under his conſideration, cannot but diſcern, that what is aſſerted in the text is ſtrictly true, and that it was impoſſible for any man to proceed in a matter of ſuch weight and importance to himſelf and to the Church, more conſcientiouſly, and with a quicker ſenſe of juſtice and honour, than he did. To this we may add, that the laſt mentioned ſcruple evidently proves that there was nothing of enthuſiaſm in his diſpoſition; and, conſequently, this ought to give the greater weight, and afford the higher ſanction, to all that he has written.

[*K*] *One of its moſt uſeful and induſtrious members during his whole life.*] We have already mentioned, from Dr. Wallis, the beginnings of this great Society; and ſhall now have recourſe to the Hiſtory of it written by the incomparable pen of Biſhop Sprat; who, having firſt mentioned the occaſional meetings at Oxford and at London, proceeds then to give us the following account of the manner in which this Society was reduced to that ſtate in which we now behold it. ‘ Theſe gentlemen (ſays he, meaning
‘ thoſe who had formerly met for their mutual im-
‘ provement in Philoſophical (17) ſtudies) finding
‘ the hearts of their countrymen enlarged by their
‘ joys, and fitted for any noble propoſition, and
‘ meeting with the concurrence of many worthy
‘ men, who, to their immortal honour, had fol-
‘ lowed the King in his baniſhment, Mr. Erſkine,
‘ Sir Robert Moray, Sir Gilbert Talbot, &c. began
‘ now to imagine ſome greater thing, and to bring
‘ out experimental knowledge from the retreats in
‘ which it had long hid itſelf, to take its part in the
‘ triumphs of that univerſal Jubilee. And indeed,
‘ Philoſophy did very well deſerve that reward, hav-
‘ ing been always loyal in the worſt of times. For
‘ though the King's enemies had gained all other ad-
‘ vantages, though they had all the garriſons, and
‘ fleets, and ammunitions, and treaſures, and ar-
‘ mies, on their ſide, yet they could never, by all
‘ their victories, bring over the reaſon of men to their
‘ party. While they were thus ordering their plat-
‘ form, there came forth a treatiſe which very much
‘ haſtened its contrivance, and that was, a propoſal
‘ by Maſter Cowley of erecting a Philoſophical col-
‘ lege. The intent of it was, that in ſome places
‘ near London, there ſhould liberal ſalaries be be-
‘ ſtowed on a competent number of learned men, to
‘ whom ſhould be committed the operations of natu-
‘ ral experiments. This model was every way prac-
‘ ticable, unleſs, perhaps, in two things, he did
‘ more conſult the generoſity of his own mind than
‘ of other men's; the one was, the largeneſs of the
‘ revenue with which he would have his college at
‘ firſt endowed; the other, that he impoſed on his
‘ operators a ſecond taſk of great pains, the education
‘ of youth. The laſt of theſe, is, indeed, a matter
‘ of great weight, the reformation of which ought to
‘ be ſeriouſly examined by prudent men. For it is
‘ an undeniable truth, which is commonly ſaid, that
‘ there would be need of fewer laws, and leſs force,
‘ to govern men, if their minds were rightly in-
‘ formed and ſet ſtraight while they were young and
‘ pliable. But, perhaps, this light is not ſo proper
‘ for experimenters to undergo, for it would not only
‘ devour too much of their time, but it would go
‘ near to make them a little more magiſterial in Phi-
‘ loſophy than became them, by being long accuſ-
‘ tomed

(16) Biſhop Burnet, in his Sermon at the funeral of the Hon. Mr. R. Boyle.

(17) Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 58.

Experimental Natural Philoſophy (f), which conſiſted of ſeveral Eſſays on uſeful and curious ſubjects, in which they are handled with great freedom, from a juſt zeal for truth, and for the common benefit of mankind, the points which he had always in view when he took his pen in hand. Theſe pieces, thus publiſhed, were, as himſelf tells us, written on ſeveral occaſions, to ſeveral perſons, and at different times: but as, notwithſtanding this, they had a mutual relation to each other, which made them fall very aptly under one common title, he took this method of ſending them abroad, that the world in general might receive that ſatisfaction, which particular friends had teſtified on the peruſal of them in writing. Theſe were followed by ***Experiments and Conſiderations upon Colours***, to which was added, a Letter, containing ***Obſervations upon a Diamond that ſhines in the dark (g)***, a Treatiſe full of curious and uſeful remarks, on the hitherto unexplained doctrine of light and colours; in which he ſhews great judgment, accuracy, and penetration, and may be ſaid to have led the way to that mighty genius, who has ſince ſet that important point in the cleareſt and moſt convincing light poſſible. He likewiſe publiſhed this year, his *Conſiderations on the Style of the Holy Scriptures* (*h*), which was extracted from a much larger work, intituled, *An Eſſay on Scripture*, that was afterwards publiſhed by P. P. A. G. F. I. that is, Peter Pett, Attorney-General for Ireland, afterwards Sir Peter Pett, a man of great reading, a voluminous writer, but of an unſettled judgment, for whom, on account of his well meaning and upright intention, Mr. Boyle had a great regard (*i*). In 1664, Mr. Boyle was elected into the company of Royal Mines (*k*), and was all this year taken up in the proſecution of various good deſigns, and more eſpecially in promoting the affairs of the corporation for propagating the Goſpel in New England, which, in all probability, was the reaſon that he did not ſend abroad this year any treatiſes, either of Religion or Philoſophy. In 1665, came abroad his *Occaſional Reflections upon ſeveral Subjects (l)*, to which is prefixed, *A Diſcourſe concerning the Nature and Uſe of ſuch Kind of Writings.* This piece, though now publiſhed, had been written many years before, when the author was a young man, at times,

‘ tomed to command the opinions, and direct the ‘ manners, of their ſcholars. And as to the other ‘ particular, the large eſtate which he required to ‘ the maintenance of his college, it is evident, that ‘ it is ſo difficult a thing to draw men in to be ‘ willing to divert an ancient revenue, which has ‘ long run in another ſtream, or to contribute out of ‘ their own purſes, to the ſupporting of any new deſign, ‘ while it ſhews nothing but promiſes and ‘ hopes, that in ſuch caſes, it were (it may be) more ‘ adviſeable to begin upon a ſmall ſtock, and ſo to riſe ‘ by degrees, than to profeſs great things at firſt, and ‘ to exact too much benevolence all in one lump together. ‘ However, it was not the excellent author's ‘ fault, that he thought better of the age than it did ‘ deſerve. His purpoſe in it was like himſelf, full of ‘ honour and goodneſs: moſt of the other particulars ‘ of his draught the Royal Society is now putting in ‘ practice.—— Their purpoſe is, in ſhort, to make ‘ faithful records of all the works of nature or art, ‘ which can come within their reach; that ſo the preſent ‘ age, and poſterity, may be able to put a mark ‘ upon the errors which have been ſtrengthened by ‘ long preſcription; to reſtore the truths that have ‘ lain neglected; to puſh on thoſe which are already ‘ known to more various uſes; and to make the way ‘ more paſſable to what remains unrevealed. This is ‘ the compaſs of their deſign. And to accompliſh ‘ this, they have endeavoured to ſeparate knowledge ‘ of nature from colours of rhetoric, the devices of ‘ fancy, or the delightful deceit of fables. They ‘ have laboured to enlarge it, from being confined to ‘ the cuſtody of a few, or from ſervitude to private ‘ intereſts. They have ſtriven to preſerve it from ‘ being overpreſſed by a confuſed heap of vain and ‘ uſeleſs particulars, or from being ſtreightened, and ‘ bound too much up, by general doctrines. They ‘ have tried to put it into a condition of perpetual increaſing, ‘ by ſettling an inviolable correſpondence ‘ between the hand and the brain. They have ſtudied ‘ to make it not only an enterprize of one ſeaſon, ‘ or of ſome lucky opportunity, but a buſineſs ‘ of time; a ſteady, a laſting, a popular, an uninterrupted ‘ work. They have attempted to free it ‘ from the artifices, and humours, and paſſions of ‘ ſects; to render it an inſtrument whereby mankind ‘ may obtain a dominion over things, and not only ‘ over one another's judgments; and, laſtly, they ‘ have begun to eſtabliſh theſe reformations in Philoſophy, ‘ not ſo much by any ſolemnity of laws, or ‘ oſtentation of ceremonies, as by ſolid practice and ‘ examples; not by a glorious pomp of words, but ‘ by the ſilent, effectual, and unanſwerable arguments ‘ of real productions.’——After a very large account of the qualifications of their Members, the manner of their enquiry, their weekly aſſemblies, their way of regiſtering, and the communication and aſſiſtance they have received from perſons of eminence both at home and abroad, he proceeds thus (18): ‘ But I make haſte to that which ought to be eſteemed ‘ the very life and ſoul of this undertaking, the protection ‘ and favour of the King and the Royal Family. ‘ When the Society firſt addreſſed itſelf to his ‘ Majeſty, he was pleaſed to expreſs much ſatisfaction ‘ that this enterprize was begun in his reign. ‘ He then repreſented to them the gravity and difficulty ‘ of their work, and aſſured them of all the ‘ kind influence of his power and prerogative. Since ‘ that, he has frequently committed many things to ‘ their ſearch; he has referred many foreign rarities ‘ to their inſpection; he has recommended many domeſtic ‘ improvements to their care; he has demanded ‘ the reſult of their trials in many appearances of ‘ nature; he has been preſent, and aſſiſted with his ‘ own hands, at the performing of many of their experiments, ‘ in his garden, his parks, and on the ‘ river. And beſides, I will not conceal that he has ‘ ſometimes reproved them for the ſlowneſs of their ‘ proceedings, at which reproofs they have not ſo ‘ much cauſe to be afflicted that they are the reprehenſions ‘ of a King, as to be comforted that they ‘ are the reprehenſions of his love and affection for ‘ their progreſs. For a teſtimony of which royal benignity, ‘ and to free them from all hinderances and ‘ occaſions of delay, he has given them the eſtabliſhment ‘ of his letters patents (19).’——By theſe letters patents, William Viſcount Brouncker, Chancellor to the Queen, was appointed the Firſt Preſident; and the following perſons of the Council, *viz.* Sir Robert Moray, Knight, one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council in Scotland; Robert Boyle, Eſq; William Brereton, Eſq; eldeſt ſon to the Lord Brereton; Sir Kenelme Digby, Knight, Chancellor to the Queen-mother; Sir Gilbert Talbot, Knight, Maſter of the Jewel-houſe; Sir Paul Neile, Knight, one of the Uſhers of the Privy-Chamber; Henry Slingſby, Eſq; one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber; Sir William Petty, Knight; Timothy Clark, Doctor of Phyſic, and one of his Majeſty's Phyſicians; John Wilkins, Doctor of Divinity; George Ent, Doctor of Phyſic; William Erſkyne, Eſq; one of his Majeſty's Cup-bearers; Jonathan Goddard, Doctor of Phyſic; William Ball, Eſq; Matthew Wren, Eſq; John Evelyn, Eſq; Thomas Henſhaw, Eſq; Dudley Palmer, of Gray's-Inn, Eſq; Abraham Hill, of London, Eſq; and Henry Oldenburgh, Eſquire.

(*f*) It was printed at Oxford, 1663, *4to*; and again in the ſame ſize in 1664.

(*g*) Printed at London in *8vo*, and reprinted at the ſame place, in the ſame ſize, 1670. It was alſo tranſlated into Latin.

(*h*) Printed at London in *8vo*; at Oxford, 1665, in Latin; and again at London in 1675.

(*i*) See his Dedication to Lord Altham, of his father, the Lord Angleſey's, Memoirs of his Life.

(*k*) See Boyle's Works, Vol. v. p. 328.

(*l*) Printed at London in *8vo*; reprinted in 1669, in the ſame ſize; tranſlated into Latin, but never publiſhed.

(18) Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 133.

(19) *Ibid.* p. 134.

and under circumſtances, when few would have written any thing, and none could have written better. The attack made upon it, therefore, by a ludicrous writer, may be truly affirmed to be as cruel and unjuſt, as it is trivial and indecent [*L*]. A ſhort time after, he publiſhed (*m*) *Experiments and Obſervations relative to an Experimental Hiſtory of Cold, with ſeveral Pieces thereunto annexed.* This work of his, as it was juſtly admired then, ſo it has been always in great eſteem ſince, and may be truly ſaid to have been the firſt work publiſhed, that gave inquiſitive men any real light into the ſubjects which are therein examined. His Majeſty, King Charles II., had now an opportunity of ſhewing his own great judgment in men, from his eſteem and affection towards Mr. Boyle; for Dr. John Meredith, Provoſt of Eton, dying in Auguſt 1665, the King, unaſked and unſolicited, appointed Mr. Boyle for his ſucceſſor (*n*). This was certainly, all circumſtances conſidered, the fitteſt employment for him in the kingdom: yet, after mature deliberation, though contrary to the advice of his friends, he abſolutely declined it, becauſe he thought the duties of the employment might interfere with his ſtudies: he was unwilling to quit that courſe of life, which, by experience, he found ſo ſuitable to his temper and conſtitution; and, above all, he was unwilling to enter into Holy Orders, which he was perſuaded was neceſſary to qualify himſelf for it (*o*). In this year, and in the next, he was pretty much exerciſed in looking into an affair that made a very great noiſe in the world, and the deciſion of which, from the high reputation he had gained, was in a manner univerſally expected from Mr. Boyle. The caſe was this: One (*p*) Mr. Valentine Greatraks, an Iriſh gentleman, perſuaded himſelf that he had a peculiar gift of curing diſeaſes by ſtroking, in which, though he certainly ſucceeded often, yet he ſometimes failed; and this occaſioned a great controverſy, in which moſt of the parties concerned addreſſed themſelves to Mr. Boyle, who conducted himſelf with ſuch prudence, as to get out of this affair without any loſs of credit, which, all things conſidered, cannot but be eſteemed a very high proof of his wiſdom [*M*]. In 1666,

[*L*] *To be cruel and unjuſt, as it is trivial and indecent.*] The piece mentioned in the text is addreſſed to *Sophronia*, under which name he concealed that of his beloved ſiſter the Viſcounteſs of Ranelagh (20). The thoughts themſelves are on a vaſt variety of ſubjects, written in the courſe of ten years or more; ſome, indeed, upon trivial occaſions, but all with great accuracy of language, much wit, more learning, and with a wonderful ſtrain of moral and pious reflection. It was this that expoſed him to the ſingle harſh cenſure that ever was paſſed upon him, and that too from the pen of a very ingenious wit, the late Dean Swift (21), who, to ridicule theſe diſcourſes, wrote *A pious Meditation upon a Broomſtick, in the Style of the Honourable* ROBERT BOYLE. This piece is ſo well known that I need ſay no more of it; but perhaps it may afford ſome amuſement to the reader, to be told, that from this very Treatiſe of our great author, Dr. Swift borrowed the firſt hint of his Gulliver's Travels. The paſſage upon which this conjecture is founded is very ſhort, and therefore we will inſert it: but it is neceſſary to premiſe, that ſome of theſe occaſional thoughts are written by way of dialogue, and in that *upon eating of Oyſters* (22), one of the perſons introduced therein ſpeaks thus: 'You ' put me in mind of a fancy of your friend Mr. Boyle, ' who was ſaying, that he had thoughts of making a ' ſhort romantic ſtory, where the ſcene ſhould be laid ' in ſome iſland of the ſouthern ocean, governed by ' ſome ſuch rational laws and cuſtoms as thoſe of ' Utopia or the New Atalantis; and in this country ' he would introduce an obſerving native, that upon ' his return home from his travels made in Europe, ' ſhould give an account of our countries and manners ' under feigned names, and frequently intimate in ' his relations (or in his anſwers to queſtions that ' ſhould be made him), the reaſons of his wondering, ' to find our cuſtoms ſo extravagant, and differing ' from thoſe of his own country. For your friend ' imagined, that by ſuch a way of expoſing many of ' our practices, we ſhould ourſelves be brought un' awares to condemn, or perhaps laugh at them, and ' ſhould at leaſt ceaſe to wonder, to find other nations ' think them as extravagant, as we think the man' ners of the Dutch and Spaniards, as they are repre' ſented in our travellers books.'

[*M*] *Cannot but be eſteemed a very high proof of his wiſdom.*] As there is nothing more common, than for perſons who take upon them to perform extraordinary and ſupernatural things to loſe their own credit, and become ridiculous, inſtead of acquiring an extenſive and laſting reputation; ſo it has often fallen out, that upon the appearance of ſuch perſons, and the noiſe which ſuch kind of pretenſions will always make, men of great parts and learning, who have either too haſtily given their opinion, or have given it under the particular bias of ſome favourite notion, which ſuch phænomena ſeem to confirm, have deeply ſuffered in their credit likewiſe, and by a ſingle falſe ſtep loſt that conſideration and regard, which, with much labour, and by many ſervices rendered to the public, they might, with great difficulty, have acquired (23). This Mr. Valentine Greatraks was an Iriſh Gentleman of a good family and competent fortune, of a ſerious, or rather of a melancholy temper; and at the time of his coming into England, about thirty-ſeven years of age. About three years before he had an impulſe on his mind that he could cure the King's Evil, which his wife, who was a notable woman, and from a charitable principle had applied herſelf to the ſtudy of Surgery and Phyſic, treated as a fancy; but Mr. Greatraks perſiſted in it, and upon ſome trials performed ſuch extraordinary things, as in that kingdom made a very great noiſe. Upon this he was cited into the Biſhop's Court at Liſmore; and not having a Licence for practiſing, he was forbidden to lay hands on any for the future; which prohibition, however, he did not obey. In January 1665-6, the Earl of Orrery invited him into England, in hopes he might be able to cure the Viſcounteſs of Conway, who had been for many years afflicted with an inveterate head-ach (24). He repaired for this purpoſe to her Lord's ſeat at Ragly in Warwickſhire; and though he failed in his attempt, in reſpect to the Lady, yet his performances, in thoſe parts, were ſo extraordinary, that Mr. Stubbe, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſay a great deal in the next note, thought fit to write a Treatiſe upon this ſubject, intitled, *The miraculous Conformiſt: or, an Account of ſeveral marvellous Cures performed by the ſtroking of the Hands of Mr.* Valentine Greataricks; *with a phyſical Diſcourſe thereupon, in a Letter to the Honourable* Robert Boyle, Eſq; *with a Letter relating to ſome other of his miraculous Cures atteſted by* E. Foxcroft, M. A. *and Fellow of King's College in* Cambridge. The letter to Mr. Boyle is dated at Stratford upon Avon, February 18, 1665-6. Wherein, after giving an account of the perſon about whom his Treatiſe was written, and the cures which he had ſeen him perform, he lays down this poſition, that God had beſtowed upon Mr. Greatraks a peculiar temperament, or compoſed his body of ſome particular ferments, the effluvia whereof being introduced ſometimes by a light, ſometimes by a violent friction, ſhould reſtore the temperament of the debilitated parts, reinvigorate the blood, and diſſipate all heterogeneous fer-

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(*m*) Printed at London in 8*vo*; reprinted there in 1683, in 4*to*.

(*n*) Boyle's Works, Vol. v. p. 334.

(*o*) Memoirs of the Hon. Robert Boyle.

(*p*) See the Hiſt. of the County of Waterford, by Mr. C. Smith, p. 365.

(20) See this Treatiſe amongſt Boyle's Works, in the new edition, 1744, in the ſecond volume.

(21) Swift's Works, Vol. ii. p. 35.

(22) See Boyle's Works, Vol. ii. p. 220.

(23) Hiſt. of the County of Waterford, p. 365.

(24) See his own Pamphlet addreſſed to Mr. Boyle.

1666, Dr. John Wallis addreſſed to Mr. Boyle *An Hypotheſis about the Flux and Reflux of the Sea* (q). The famous Phyſician, Dr. Thomas Sydenham, dedicated to him, in the ſame year, his *Method of curing Fevers, grounded upon his own Obſervations* (r), a little piece, written in Latin, and truly worthy of ſo great a man. Himſelf likewiſe publiſhed that year, his (s) *Hydroſtatical Paradoxes, made out by new Experiments for the moſt part phyſical and eaſy,* which he ſent abroad at the requeſt of the Royal Society, thoſe experiments having been made at their deſire about two years before. He alſo publiſhed that year another celebrated treatiſe of his, intitled, *The Origin of Forms and Qualities, according to the Corpuſcular Philoſophy, illuſtrated by Experiments*; a treatiſe which did equal honour to the quickneſs of his wit, the depth of his judgment, and his indefatigable pains in ſearching after truth. We muſt likewiſe obſerve, that both in this, and in the former year, he communicated to his friend, Mr. Oldenburgh, ſeveral curious and excellent ſhort treatiſes of his, upon a great variety of ſubjects, and others tranſmitted to him by his learned friends both at home and abroad, which are printed and preſerved in the Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society (t). It is very obſervable, that in the warm controverſy raiſed in relation to that Society, Mr. Boyle eſcaped all cenſure; which is more extraordinary, conſidering that Mr. Stubbe, who was the great antagoniſt of the learned Hiſtorian of that Society, was one who ſet no bounds to his rage, and ſeemed to make it a point, to raiſe his reſentment in proportion as there wanted grounds for it. Yet even this choleric and furious writer had ſo high an eſteem for Mr. Boyle, that at the very time he fell upon the Society in a manner ſo inexcuſable, he failed not to write frequently to our author, in order to convince him, that how angry ſoever he might be with that body of men, yet he preſerved a juſt reſpect for his great learning and abilities, and a true ſenſe of the many favours he had conferred upon him (u) [N]. About this time, our author reſolved to ſettle himſelf for

(q) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. XVI. p. 264.

(s) At London, in 8vo; it was alſo publiſhed in Latin.

(r) The Latin title of this Treatiſe was, *Methodus curandi Febres propriis Obſervationibus ſuperſtructa,* Lond. 1666, 8vo, *Iter,* 1668.

(t) See Boyle's Life, p. 54.

(u) See inſtances of this in note [N].

ments out of the bodies of the diſeaſed by the eyes, noſe, mouth, hands and feet. The reſt of his piece is ſpent in explaining the nature and manner of this gentleman's working upon his patients for their cure: Mr. Stubbe did not ſend, as in decency he ought, his manuſcript to Mr. Boyle, but a printed book, which he received on the eighth of March following in the evening. The very next day Mr. Boyle wrote him a very long, a very learned, and a very judicious letter upon the ſubject, which was never publiſhed, till it appeared in his Life prefixed to his works; and it is certainly one of the cleareſt teſtimonies of his vaſt abilities and extenſive knowledge that is any where extant: for it appears from the letter itſelf, that he both read Mr. Stubbe's Book in haſte, and wrote himſelf in much hurry, being obliged to take horſe to go out of town: yet, conſidered in any light, this letter will appear a very extraordinary performance, as being wonderfully correct in the diction and ſtyle, remarkably clear in the method and form, highly judicious in the obſervations and remarks, and full of many pertinent and curious facts cited in ſupport of whatever he advanced; the whole ſhowing ſuch an admirable frame of mind, and ſuch a temper with reſpect both to the evidence of cures on the one hand, and the difficulties attending the inferences drawn from thoſe accounts on the other, as cannot but fill the reader's mind with a very high idea of the author's candour and prudence, as well as of his deep penetration, and his various and profound knowledge (25). A very little after, the reputation of Mr. Greatraks was very warmly attacked, as it was ſuppoſed, by Mr. David Lloyd, Reader of the Charter-houſe, in a pamphlet intituled, *Wonders no Miracles: or Mr.* Valentine Greatraek's *Gift of Healing examined, upon Occaſion of a ſaid Effect of his ſtroking, March the ſeventh,* 1665, *at one Mr.* Creſſett's *Houſe in Charter-houſe-yard, in a Letter to a Reverend Divine living near that Place.* This obliged Mr. Greatraks to write a vindication of himſelf, againſt the imputations thrown upon him by this diſcourſe, which he accordingly did, under the title of *A Brief Account of Mr.* Valentine Greatraks, *and divers of the ſtrange Cures by him lately performed. Written by himſelf, in a Letter addreſſed to the Honourable* Robert Boyle, *Eſq; Whereunto are annexed, the Teſtimonials of ſeveral eminent and worthy Perſons of the chief Matters of Fact therein related.* This letter is dated May the eighth 1666, and at the concluſion he intimates his deſign, when he had an opportunity, to anſwer all the queries which Mr. Boyle had put to him, in a paper delivered into his hands, and which he was not then at leiſure to ſatisfy: To this letter are ſubjoined teſtimonials by Mr. Boyle, Dr. Denton, Dr. Fairclough, Sir William Smyth, Sir Nathaniel Hobart, and many other perſons of diſtinction. He returned, not long afterwards, to Ireland, and though he lived there many years, yet I do not find that he kept up the reputation of performing thoſe ſtrange cures which gained him the title of *the Stroker*, and has procured his name a place even in our general hiſtories (26). But in this his caſe is very ſingular and remarkable, that, even on the ſtricteſt inquiry, no ſort of blemiſh was ever thrown upon his character; nor did any of thoſe curious and learned perſons, who eſpouſed his cauſe, draw any imputation upon themſelves; though, at the ſame time, it muſt be allowed, that there were ſeveral very eminent and knowing Virtuoſi, who could not be brought to have any great opinion of his performances, but were rather inclined to attribute all he did to the bare efficacy of Friction (27). We ſhall, perhaps, have occaſion, in another place, to examine this affair more cloſely, as deſigning no more, at preſent, than to ſet this matter in a clear light, ſo far as our author was concerned therein.

[N] *True ſenſe of the many favours he had conferred upon him.*] It would far exceed the bounds of a note, ſhould we attempt to give any account of this Henry Stubbe, who was a frequent and voluminous writer. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that he was a conſtant antagoniſt to the famous Mr. Glanville, and a declared enemy to the Royal Society (28), which makes it wonderful, that he ſhould preſerve any meaſures towards Mr. Boyle; which, however, he did, at a time when he loſt all decency, as well as patience, in regard to others; as appears very clearly from the following paſſage, taken from a letter of his to Mr. Boyle, dated from Warwick, December 17, 1669, in relation to Dr. Sprat's Hiſtory of the Royal Society (29). 'At the ſeſſion of parliament you will ſee a 'cenſure upon certain paſſages in the hiſtory, with a 'defence of the cenſure, approved by as eminent 'Divines as this nation yields, which will convince 'you, how juſtly I ſay, that the hiſtory ſubverts the 'Proteſtant Religion, and Church of England. I 'never did any thing more unwillingly, than to 'enter upon Divinity; though, now, the XXXIX 'Articles, and Homilies, and the Proteſtant Reli'gion, be the ſubject I defend againſt Popery and 'Socinianiſm. I underſtood of the King's diſplea'ſure at me, and that he ſaid ſome ſevere things; 'but I was not troubled at it much, being content 'rather to ſerve him, than to flatter him. I did ex'pect to have been impriſoned when I firſt undertook 'it; and therefore contrived how I might be freed 'again, never purpoſing to decline the other trouble. 'But, when I bring the caſe before the Commons, I 'am ſure I ſhall here be powerfully abetted, and the 'Society will have the worſe, and whatever they do 'before

(25) See this Letter of Mr. Boyle's at large, in his Life, p. 47.

(26) See Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 127.

(27) Hiſt. of the County of Waterford, p. 369.

(28) See a large account of him in Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 560. 663. 666.

(29) See theſe Letters in Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 56—59.

for life in London, and removed for that purpoſe to the houſe of his ſiſter, the Lady Ranelagh, in Pall-Mall, to the infinite benefit of the learned in general, and particularly to the advantage of the Royal Society, to whom he gave great and continual aſſiſtance (*w*). He had likewiſe his ſet hours for receiving ſuch as came, either to deſire his help, or to communicate to him any new diſcoveries in ſcience. Beſides which, he kept a very extenſive correſpondence with perſons of the greateſt figure, and moſt famous for learning in all parts of Europe (*x*). In 1669, he publiſhed his *Continuation of New Experiments, touching the Spring and Weight of the Air*, to which is added, *A Diſcourſe of the Atmoſpheres of Conſiſtent Bodies*; and the ſame year he reviſed, and made many additions to, ſeveral of his former tracts, ſome of which were now tranſlated into Latin, in order to gratify the curious abroad, with whom Mr. Boyle ſtood in as high reputation, as with all the lovers of learning at home. In the ſucceeding year, he publiſhed a book that occaſioned much ſpeculation, as it ſeemed to contain a vaſt treaſure of new knowledge, that had never been communicated to the world before, and this grounded upon actual experiments and arguments juſtly drawn from them, inſtead of that notional and conjectural Philoſophy, which, in the beginning of this century, had been ſo much in faſhion. The title of this treatiſe was, *Of the Coſmical Qualities of Things* (*y*), and as it is neceſſary, in ſuch an article as this, to give at leaſt one inſtance of an author's manner of writing, we thought it might not be improper to inſiſt farther upon this in the notes [*O*]. About this time, Dr. Peter de Moulin, the ſon of the famous

(*w*) See the ſeveral pieces communicated by Mr. Boyle, as printed in the Tranſactions, and now collected in Mr. Boyle's Works, and digeſted in their proper order of time.

(*x*) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 60.

(*y*) Printed at Oxford, in 8*vo*; and ſoon after tranſlated into Latin.

' before will add to my plea then: you will ſee, before Twelfth-day, that no inconſiderable perſons will ſpeak favourably of my intention, and avow the bravery and neceſſity of the performance. But I determined not to engage them to diſcourſe their minds before the book came out.'———To this letter he adds the following remarkable Poſtſcript: 'I had forgot to ſuggeſt one thing to the conſideration of your Society, that, perhaps, it may be maniſeſted at the Parliament, that the hiſtorian, by this book, is chargeable with high-treaſon, and that there want not ſuch as think, if your Society own it, they incur a *Præmunire*; ſo that whatever they may imagine to draw upon me (though I may ſuffer a while) will fall worſe on them, when the world takes notice of the ground of their actings againſt me, and that they do all this, whom I had repreſented in my preface as unconcerned in the conteſt.' It is amazing, that ſo angry, and ſo raſh a writer, ſhould be able to create any conſiderable oppoſition to ſo learned and great a body, embarked in ſo juſt, ſo generous, and ſo public-ſpirited an undertaking as reaſon and good ſenſe, then, and as the happy ſucceſs of their labours, and a long, and uninterrupted experience now demonſtrate the ſcheme of the Royal Society to be: Yet the ſame writer, in another letter to Mr. Boyle, dated June the 4th, 1670, not without ſome foundation of truth, boaſts of having brought over numbers, and even ſome very great and conſiderable perſons, to his ſentiments; and very plainly tells our author, that he was the only man to whom he intended to give any quarter. 'What I believe you could never have apprehended is come to paſs: the body of the nation, and all learned men abet me; the two Univerſities (eſpecially that of Cambridge, which was moſt inclined to novelty) avow my quarrel; and they that favoured Experimental Philoſophy judge thoſe Virtuoſi unfit to proſecute it: The Biſhop of Chicheſter reads againſt them, and intends to hold his lecture a year or two, and that for this reaſon, to overthrow the eſteem of them. The concurrence to hear him is ſuch as the Univerſity never ſaw before. The Elect of Bath is as much as any for me, and againſt Glanvile. In ſum, all men apprehend it is now their intereſt to oppoſe the Royal Society. I know not what any Phyſicians may, as the mode is, tell you to your face; but except it be ſuch as Dr. Sydenham and young Cox, I believe not one lives, that doth not condemn your Experimental Philoſophy; and either the College, or Sir Alexander Fraſer, and the principal of them, intend me a letter of thanks for what I have done, with the liberty to print it; and perhaps others will follow the precedent: and how conſiſtent theſe things are with the repute of the Society you adhere unto, judge you.—The Biſhop of London hath licenſed that againſt Sprat once more, and approved the preface and dedication to both univerſities; wherein the paſſages are more ſevere than any yet publiſhed—being reſolved to keep the controverſy hot till the Royal Society ſubmit to the terms I propoſe, and then they had as good diſſolve. I acquaint you with theſe things, that you may conſult your own eaſe, and let theſe comedians ſtand or fall alone; and then whatever reply, I ſhall, at the requeſt of the Phyſicians at London, make to you, ſhall be as amicable as it is poſſible: and, if it pleaſe God to continue us a nation, perhaps, you ſhall ſee a nobler project for the advancement of uſeful knowledge, in reference to Phyſic, than ever your Society was capable of, and which ſhall add glory to our Faculty. It was, indeed, the Popiſh intereſt to depreſs the Phyſicians, that ſo there might be nothing of learning in the nation to oppreſs them. Civil Law is gone; the number of learned Divines is ſmall; and your Royal Society hath deſtroyed the ſucceſſion. But there remains enough to retort the ſhame upon the authors, and cover you all with ignominy. I have no more to add, but that I ſhall never quit that reſpect which becomes

'Your moſt humble Servant,
'HENRY STUBBE.'

[*O*] *To inſiſt farther upon this in the notes.*] The ends propoſed by Mr. Boyle, in the publication of all his writings, were ſuch as equally demonſtrated the uprightneſs of his heart, the ſoundneſs of his head, and the diffuſive beneficence of his nature. The treatiſe before us was compoſed of ſeveral ſhort diſcourſes, moſt of which bore ſome relation to other tracts the author had under his hand, which were not, at that time, in a condition to ſee the light. But he very juſtly conſidered, that if he delayed publiſhing any till all the tracts he had written, or intended, were fit to come abroad, the world might be deprived of many excellent diſcoveries, at a time when an unuſual ſpirit of improvement prevailed. He, therefore, choſe to ſend ſuch of them abroad, from time to time, as were in the beſt order; and gave thereby a noble proof of his preferring the ſervice of mankind to his own reputation. The firſt tract in this collection is, *An Introduction to the Hiſtory of particular Qualities*; then follow his *Diſcourſes of the Syſtematical or Coſmical Qualities of Things, Coſmical Suſpicions, the Temperature of the ſubterraneal Region, the Temperature of the ſubmarine Region, and of the Bottom of the Sea.* The introduction to the Hiſtory of particular Qualities is prefatory to the reſt; and herein the author ſhows, that his doctrine is not like that of the ancient philoſophers, made up of ſounding and unmeaning words, or ſimple conjectures impoſed in a dogmatic ſtyle, but a plain and practical expoſition of the diſcoveries, which, with much labour, and no leſs penetration, he had made by following nature and conſidering her operations. In the tract concerning the coſmical qualities of things, he ſhews, 1. That they depend partly upon the influence of external agents, as well as the primary affections of matter; ſo that there are many bodies, which, in ſeveral caſes, act not mous French Divine of the ſame name, who had travelled with Mr. Boyle's nephews, dedicated to him his Collection of Latin Poems (z). But in the midſt of his ſtudies, and other uſeful employments, he was attacked by a ſevere paralytic diſtemper, of which, though not without great difficulty, he got the better, by adhering ſtrictly to a proper regimen (a). In 1671, he publiſhed *Conſiderations on the Uſefulneſs of Experimental and Natural Philoſophy, the ſecond Part* (b), as alſo, *A Collection of Tracts* (c) *upon ſeveral uſeful and important Points of Practical Philoſophy*, both which works were received as new and valuable gifts to the learned world. In 1672, came abroad his *Eſſay about the Origin and Virtue of Gems (d)*, in which, according to his uſual cuſtom, he treated an old and beaten ſubject in a very new and uſeful manner; ſo that it may be truly ſaid, that he not only threw an additional light upon a very dark and difficult ſubject, but alſo pointed out the only certain method of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the nature and virtues (if any ſuch there be) of all kinds of precious ſtones. He publiſhed alſo, the ſame year, another *Collection of Tracts, touching the Relation between Flame and Air* (e), and ſeveral other uſeful and curious ſubjects, beſides furniſhing in this, and in the former year, a great number of ſhort Diſſertations upon a vaſt variety of topics, addreſſed to the Royal Society, and inſerted in their *Tranſactions*. In the year 1673, he ſent abroad his *Eſſays on the ſtrange Subtilty, great Efficacy, and determinate Nature of Effluvia*, to which were added, *Variety of Experiments on other Subjects (f)*. The ſame year, Anthony Le Grand dedicated to him his *Hiſtory of Nature* (g), which he publiſhed in Latin, and in this dedication the author gives a large account of the great reputation which Mr. Boyle had acquired in foreign parts. In 1674, Mr. Boyle publiſhed *A Collection of Tracts on the Saltneſs of the Sea, the Moiſture of the Air, the natural and preternatural State of Bodies*, to which he prefixed, *A Dialogue concerning Cold* (h). In the ſame year, he ſent abroad a piece that had been written near ten years before, intitled, *The Excellency of Theology compared with the Natural Philoſophy, in an Epiſtolary Diſcourſe to a Friend* (i). This treatiſe, in which are contained a multitude of curious and uſeful, as well as juſt and natural, obſervations, was written in the time of the great plague, when the author was forced to go from place to place in the country, and had little or no opportunity of conſulting his books. He alſo communicated to the world, the ſame year, another *Collection of Tracts, comprehending ſome Suſpicions about hidden Qualities of the Air, Animadverſions upon Mr. Hobbes's Problem about a Vacuum, A Diſcourſe of the Cauſe of Attraction by Suction* (k), in which ſeveral pieces, as there are many new diſcoveries made, ſo ſeveral old errors, and groundleſs notions, are refuted and exploded. In 1675, he printed *Some Conſiderations about the Reconcilableneſs of Reaſon and Religion, by T. E. a Layman, to which was annexed, a Diſcourſe about the Poſſibility of the Reſurrection, by Mr.* Boyle (l).

(z) The title of this book was *Petri Molinæi* P. F. ΠΑ'ΡΕΡΓΑ *Poematum libelli tres*, Cant. 1670, 8vo.

(a) See his own Account of this matter in his letter to John Mallet, Eſq; in Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 61.

(b) Printed at London, in 4to; reprinted, but with the old title, in 1739.

(c) Printed at London, in 4to.

(d) Printed at London, in 8vo; and ſoon after tranſlated into Latin, by which it became generally known and eſteemed abroad.

(e) Printed at London, in 8vo.

(f) Printed at London, in 8vo; and tranſlated into Latin.

(g) The title of this book ran thus, *Hiſtoria Naturæ variis Experimentis & Ratiociniis elucidata, ſecundum Principia Stabilita, in Inſtitutione Philoſophiæ edita ab eodem Authore*, Lond. 1672, 8vo.

(h) Printed at London, in 8vo.

(i) Printed at London, in 8vo; and afterwards tranſlated into Latin.

(k) Printed at London, in 8vo.

(l) Printed at London, in 8vo.

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not, unleſs acted upon; and ſome of them act either ſolely, or chiefly, as they are acted on by general and unregarded agents. 2. That there are certain ſubtile bodies in the world, which are ready to inſinuate themſelves into the pores of any body diſpoſed to admit their action, or by ſome other way to effect it, eſpecially if they have the concurrence of other unobſerved cauſes, and the eſtabliſhed laws of the univerſe. 3. That a body, by a mechanical change of the texture, may acquire or loſe a fitneſs to be wrought upon by unheeded agents, and alſo to diverſify their operation on it, by a variation of its texture. He propoſes next the following coſmical ſuſpicions. 1. That beſides thoſe more numerous and uniform ſorts of minute corpuſcles, which are by ſome of the modern philoſophers thought to compoſe the æther, there may poſſibly be ſome other kind of corpuſcles fitted to produce conſiderable effects when they find bodies to be wrought on by them. 2. That ſeveral perſons have diſcovered peſtilential ſtreams in the air, before they acted as ſuch upon other bodies. 3. That conſiderable, though ſlow, changes in the internal parts of the earth, may occaſion a variation of the mariner's needle. 4. That the ebbing and flowing of the ſea, and ſuch like phænomena, are occaſioned by ſome coſmical law of nature; or that the planetary vortex may be not a little concerned in producing ſuch effects. 5. That all endemical and epidemical diſtempers principally depend upon the influence of thoſe globes which move about us, and the terreſtrial effluvia of our own globe. 6. That thoſe which are thought the grand rules by which things corporeal are tranſacted, and which ſuppoſe the conſtancy of the preſent fabric of the world, and a regular courſe of things, are not altogether ſo uniformly complied with, as we preſume at leaſt as to the lines according to which the great mundane bodies move, and the boundaries of their motions. 7. That on the other hand, we may, perhaps, take ſuch things for exorbitances, and deviation from the ſettled courſe of nature, as, if long and attentively obſerved, will be a periodical phænomena of very long intervals; but becauſe men have not ſufficient ſkill and curioſity to obſerve them, nor a life long enough to be able to take notice of a competent number of them, they readily conclude them to be but accidental extravagances, which ſpring not from any ſettled and durable cauſes. In the diſcourſes concerning the temperature of the ſubterraneal and ſubmarine regions, he obſerves, that there are different regions below the earth; that the firſt region of the earth is very variable, both as to bounds and temperature; that the ſecond ſeems to be generally cold, in compariſon of the other two; that in ſeveral places, which, by reaſon of their diſtance from the ſurface of the earth, might be referred to the middle region of it, the temperature of the air is very different at the ſame ſeaſons of different years; that the third region of the earth has been obſerved to be conſtantly and ſenſibly, but not uniformly, warm, being in ſome places conſiderably hot; that there are two different regions below the ſurface of the ſea, the one extended from the ſuperficies of the water as far downward, as the manifeſt operation of the ſunbeams or other cauſes penetrates; and the other from thence to the bottom, ſo that the upper region muſt vary as to its extent, according to the difference of the climate, and the heat of the ſun, or the nature of the ſoils about the ſhore, but that the lower region is generally cold: he farther tells us, that the bottom of the ſea is very rough and unequal; that the water gravitates conſiderably upon bodies immerſed in it; and that the bottom of the ſea is not diſturbed with ſtorms, but that the water ſtagnates. We may, from this inſtance, fully diſcern the uſefulneſs and preciſion, as well as the curioſity and novelty, of Mr. Boyle's writings: whence we may eaſily diſcern, how much they contributed, not only to the improvement of learning, and advancement of knowledge, by their contents, but by their example alſo; ſince the juſt fame that he acquired by his ſagacious diſcoveries, and the freedom and candour with which he divulged them, induced many others to follow his ſteps, to the inexpreſſible benefit of ſuch as are ſtudious of true Philoſophy.

The reader will obſerve, that the former, as well as the latter, was of his writing, only he thought fit to mark that with the final letters of his name; and though the firſt of theſe Diſcourſes promiſes a ſecond part, that, however, was not publiſhed. Amongſt other pieces that he this year communicated to the Royal Society, there were two papers connected into one diſcourſe, that deſerve particular notice: the former was intitled, *An Experimental Diſcourſe of Quickſilver growing hot with Gold* (m); the other related to the ſame ſubject; both of them containing diſcoveries worthy of ſo great a man, and facts that only on his credit could be believed [*P*]. In 1676, Mr. Boyle publiſhed his *Experiments*

[*P*] ***Facts that only on his credit could be believed.*** All who are, in the leaſt, acquainted with the writings of thoſe who ſtile themſelves Hermetic Philoſophers, or, as they are commonly called, Alchemiſts, cannot be ignorant of the diſtinction they make between Common and Philoſophic Mercury; or that many of them, amongſt other qualities which they aſſign to their nobler kind of mercury, inſiſt that this is one, viz. It will not only mix with, but upon being intermixed, will grow hot with gold. This ſuch writers, as have endeavoured to overthrow the principles of the Alchemiſts, have abſolutely denied; and it has even been given up by ſome of the modern writers upon that ſcience themſelves (30). But our noble author, who had a zeal for nothing but truth, and no averſion to any notions or principles whatever, that were not inconſiſtent therewith, thought it became him to acquaint the Royal Society with ſome diſcoveries he had made upon this ſubject many years before; and therefore communicated to their ſecretary ſome papers he had drawn up on this head, in which, beſides his own excellent obſervations, are contained certain experiments that clearly determine the point, and put it beyond diſpute, that there are various kinds of mercury, which may be ſo prepared as to mix, and to become hot with gold; that is, by the action of the particles of theſe two metals themſelves upon each other, without the aſſiſtance of any other ingredient or of fire. But let us hear what himſelf ſays on that ſubject (31): 'Some years after I was in poſſeſſion of this mercury, I found, in ſome of their books that Chymiſts call Philoſophers, ſome dark paſſages, whence I then gueſſed their knowledge of it, or of ſome other very like it; and in one of them I found, though not all in the very ſame place, an allegorical deſcription of it, the greateſt part of which was not very difficult for me to underſtand; but not finding there any notice taken of the property of this mercury to grow hot with gold, I was induced to ſuſpect, that either they had not the knowledge of it, or judged it unfit to be ſpoken of. But you will, I ſuppoſe, expect from me rather narratives than conjectures. And, indeed, it is but reaſonable, that having but mentioned to you a phænomenon, whoſe credibility is by many denied, I ſhould take notice of ſome circumſtances fit to bring credit to it; and I ſhall the leſs grudge the pains of ſetting down ſeveral particular phænomena, becauſe I preſume you have not met with them; and becauſe alſo it may gratify ſome of your chymical friends, who may have, or diſcover, ſome noble mercury, by helping them to examine it, and to try whether it reſembles ours.

'That I might not then be impoſed on by others, I ſeveral times made trial of our mercury, when I was all alone. For when no body was by me, nor probably dreamed of what I was doing; I took to one part of the mercury, ſometimes half the weight, and ſometimes an equal weight of refined gold, reduced to a calx or ſubtile powder. This I put into the palm of my left hand, and putting the mercury upon it, ſtirred it, and preſſed it a little with the finger of my right hand, by which the two ingredients were eaſily mingled, and grew not only ſenſibly, but conſiderably hot, and that ſo nimbly, that the incaleſcence did ſometimes come to its height in about a minute of an hour, by a minute clock. I found the experiment ſucceed whether I took altogether or but half as much gold as mercury, but the effect ſeemed to be much greater when they were employed in equal weight; and to obviate a ſuſpicion, which, though improbable, might poſſibly ariſe, as if the immediate contact of the ingredients and the ſkin produced a ſenſe of heat, which was not due to the action of the metals upon one another: I had the curioſity to keep the mixture in a paper, and found not its interpoſition to hinder me from feeling the incaleſcence, though it much abated the degree of my ſenſe of it.

'I tried alſo the ſame mercury with refined ſilver reduced to a very fine powder, but I could not perceive any heat or warmth at all, though I am apt to think, that if I had had a ſufficient quantity of leaf-ſilver to have made the experiment with, I ſhould, after ſome time, have produced an incaleſcence, though much inferior to what the ſame quantity of mercury would produce with gold, but this is only upon the bye. I ſhall now add, that to the end I might not be thought to impoſe upon myſelf, I did not make trial in my own hand, when it was in different temper as to heat and cold, but I did it in the hands of others, who were not a little ſurpriſed and pleaſed at the event. And this I did more than once or twice, by which means I had, and ſtill have, divers witneſſes of the truth of the experiment, whereof ſome are noted perſons, and eſpecially him to whom I laſt ſhewed it, which you will eaſily believe, when I tell you it is the learned Secretary of the Royal Society; to whom having given the ingredients, I deſired him to make the experiment in and with his own hands, in which it proved ſucceſsful, within ſomewhat leſs than a minute of an hour.' (The ſame experiment was afterwards tried by the Lord Viſcount Brouncker, Preſident of the Royal Society.) 'And that which makes this incaleſcence the more conſiderable is, that being willing to huſband my mercury, a great part of which had been, as I gueſſed, ſtolen from me before I employed it; I made theſe trials but with a drachm at a time, which ſcarce amounts, in quantity, to the bigneſs of half a middle ſized bean; whereas, if I could have made the experiment with a ſpoonful or two of quick-ſilver, and a due proportion of gold, it is probable the heat would have been intenſe enough, not only to burn one's hand, but perchance to crack a glaſs-vial; ſince I have ſometimes had of this mercury ſo ſubtile, that when I employed but a drachm at a time, the heat made me willing to put it haſtily out of my hand.'

'Theſe things being matters of fact, I ſcruple not to deliver them; but I would much ſcruple to determine thence, whether thoſe that are *mercurii corporum*, and were made, as Chemiſts preſume, by extraction only from metals and minerals, will each of them grow hot with gold, as, if I much miſtake not, I found antimonial mercury to do. And much leſs would I affirm, that every metalline mercury (though never ſo diſpoſed to incaleſcence), or even that of ſilver or gold itſelf, is the ſame with that which the Chryſopæan writers mean by their Philoſophic mercury, or is near ſo noble as this. Nay, I would not ſo much as affirm, that every mercury obtained by extraction, even from the perfect metals themſelves, muſt needs be more noble and fit (as Alchemiſts ſpeak) for the Philoſophic work, than that which may with ſkill and pains be at length obtained from common mercury, ſkilfully freed from its recrementitious and heterogeneous parts, and richly impregnated with the ſubtile and active ones of congruous metals or minerals. Theſe, and the like points, I ſhould, as I was ſaying, much ſcruple at offering to determine in this place, where what I deſigned to deliver was hiſtorical, though I have not thought it impertinent to glance at the points lately mentioned, becauſe thoſe glances may intimate things conducive to the better underſtanding of what I have ſaid, and have to ſay, in this paper.'

It is very evident, from what we have cited, that our author had no ſort of prejudices or prepoſſeſſions

(m) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. CXXII. p. 515.

(30) The myſtical Doctrines of the Sons of Hermes explained, p. 15.

(31) Boyle's Works, Vol. ii. p. 557.

riments and Notes about the Mechanical Origin of particular Qualities (n), by ſeveral Diſcourſes on a great variety of ſubjects; and, amongſt the reſt, he treats very largely, and, according to his wonted method, very accurately, of Electricity. He had been for many years a Director of the Eaſt-India Company, and very uſeful in this capacity to that great body, more eſpecially in procuring their charter; and the only return he expected for his labour in this reſpect, was, the engaging the Company to come to ſome reſolution in favour of the propagation of the Goſpel, by means of their flouriſhing factories in that part of the world; and, as a proof of his own inclination to contribute, as far as in him lay, for that purpoſe, he cauſed five hundred copies of the Goſpels and Acts of the Apoſtles, in the Malayan tongue, to be printed at Oxford, and ſent abroad at his own expence, as appears from the Dedication prefixed by his friend Dr. Thomas Hyde to that tranſlation, which was publiſhed under his direction *(p)*. There came abroad, the ſame year, a Miſcellaneous Collection of his Works in Latin, printed at Geneva, but without his knowledge, of which there is a large account given in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (*q*). In 1678, he communicated to Mr. Hooke, afterwards Dr. Hooke, the ſhort Memorial of ſome *Obſervations* made upon *an artificial Subſtance that ſhines without any preceding Illuſtration* (*r*), which that gentleman thought fit to make public. He publiſhed, in the ſame year, his *Hiſtorical Account of a Degradation of Gold, made by an Anti-Elixir* (*s*). This made a very great noiſe both at home and abroad, and is looked upon as one of the moſt remarkable pieces that ever fell from his pen; the facts contained in which would have been eſteemed incredible, if they had fallen from the pen of any other [Q]. In the year 1680, he ſent into the world the following tracts, viz.

whatever. He very well knew, under what ſuſpicions all the Alchemiſtal writers lay, and nobody was a better judge than himſelf how far they deſerved it: but this did not hinder him from reading, examining, and making uſe of their writings, or from publiſhing to the world the truths that he found in them, amongſt which there was ſcarcely any of greater fame or importance, than this ſingular diſcovery. To be convinced of this, the reader need only be told, that as ſoon as the Tranſactions of the Royal Society, in which theſe papers were contained, became public, the judicious Sir Iſaac, then only Mr. Newton, thought fit to write a letter to Mr. Oldenburgh, Secretary to the Royal Society, thereupon, in which, after taking ſome pains to ſhew, that very poſſibly this particular kind of mercury might act otherwiſe upon gold than by the ſubtility of its parts, he ſhows a great concern leſt the ſecret of making it ſhould be divulged; and the reaſons he gives for this are of ſuch a nature, that the curious reader will think himſelf obliged to me for tranſcribing them (32). ‘ But yet, ſays he, becauſe the way by which mercury may be ſo impregnated has been thought fit to be concealed by others that have known it, and therefore may poſſibly be an inlet to ſomething more noble, not to be communicated without immenſe damage to the world, if there ſhould be any verity in the Hermetic writers; therefore I queſtion not, but that the great wiſdom of the noble author will ſway him to high ſilence, till he ſhall be reſolved of what conſequence the thing may be, either by his own experience, or the judgment of ſome other that thoroughly underſtands what he ſpeaks about, that is, of a true Hermetic Philoſopher, whoſe judgment (if there be any ſuch) would be more to be regarded in this point, than that of all the world beſide to the contrary, there being other things beſides the tranſmutations of metals (if thoſe great pretenders brag not), which none but they underſtand. Sir, becauſe the author deſires the ſenſe of others in this point, I have been ſo free as to ſhoot my bolt, but pray keep this letter private to yourſelf, *&c.*’

[Q] *Would have been eſteemed incredible, if they had fallen from the pen of any other.*] This diſcourſe, like the *Sceptical Chymiſt*, and many other of our author's works, is penned in the way of dialogue; and the narrative is delivered by *Pyrophilus*, who, in diſcourſing with a learned Society, informs them, that he had met with ſuch an Anti-Elixir by accident: for that viſiting a great Virtuoſo, he there met with a ſtranger who had been a great traveller, and upon aſking him, whether, in any of the Eaſtern countries he had viſited, he met with Chymiſts, he anſwered that he had, and that, though leſs numerous in thoſe countries, they were not at all leſs learned than in Europe. This produced a long converſation, and, as is uſual among Sages, a very cloſe intimacy between them; inſomuch that at his departure from England, which happened not long after, the ſtranger gave *Pyrophilus* a little piece of paper folded up, which, he ſaid, contained all that he had left of a rarity he had received from an Eaſtern Virtuoſo, which, he intimated, did give him occaſion both to remember the donor, and to exerciſe his thoughts in uncommon ſpeculations. Before he made any experiment, he reſolved to take a witneſs or two, and made choice of an experienced Doctor of Phyſic, well ſkilled in ſeparating and coppelling of metals, for his aſſiſtant, to whom he did not reveal all that he expected from this trial; but told him, that he had received a powder from a foreign Virtuoſo, which, he was told, had a power of rendering brittle the moſt flexible and malleable of metals, gold itſelf. But as we are now come to the experiment, we muſt (for the ſake of certainty) make uſe of our author's own expreſſions, who, in the perſon of *Pyrophilus*, proceeds in theſe words (33). ‘ Having thus prepared him not to look for all that I myſelf expected; I cautiouſly opened the paper I lately mentioned, but was both ſurpriſed and troubled (as he alſo was) to find in it ſo very little powder, that inſtead of two different trials, that I deſigned to make with it, there ſeemed very ſmall hope left that it would ſerve for one (and that but an imperfect one neither). For there was ſo very little powder, that we could ſcarce ſee the colour of it (ſave, that as far as I could judge, it was of a darkiſh red); and we thought it not only dangerous, but uſeleſs, to attempt to weigh it, in regard we might eaſily loſe it, by putting it into and out of the balance; and the weights we had were not ſmall enough for ſo deſpicable a quantity of matter, which, in words, I eſtimated at an eighth part of a grain; but my aſſiſtant (whoſe conjecture, I confeſs, my thoughts inclined to prefer) would allow it to be, at the moſt, but a tenth part of a grain: wherefore, ſeeing the utmoſt we could reaſonably hope to do, with ſo very little powder, was to make one trial with it; we weighed out, in different balances, two drams of gold, that had been formerly Engliſh coin; and that I cauſed, by one that I uſually employ, to be cuppelled with a ſufficient quantity of lead, and quarted, as they ſpeak, with refined ſilver, and purged *aqua fortis*, to be ſure of the goodneſs of the gold. Theſe two drams I put into a new crucible, firſt carefully nealed, and having brought them to fuſion, by the mere action of the fire, without the help of borax, or any other additament (which courſe, though ſomewhat more laborious than the moſt uſual, we took to obviate ſcruples), I put into the well melted metal, with my own hand, the little parcel of powder lately mentioned, and continuing the veſſel in the fire for above a quarter of an hour, that the powder might have time to diffuſe itſelf every way into the metal; we poured out the well melted gold into another

‘ crucible,

(*n*) Printed at London, in 8*vo*.

(*p*) This Dedication is dated from the Public Library at Oxford, Sept. 14, 1677.

(*q*) No. CXXX. This account is penned by Hen. Oldenburgh, Eſq; then their Secretary.

(*r*) Lectiones Cutlerianæ, No. ii. p. 57.

(*s*) Printed at London in 4*to*. and being become exceeding ſcarce, was reprinted after the firſt edition, 1739.

(32) See the Extract of this curious Letter in Boyle's Life by Birch, p. 65.

(33) Boyle's Works, Vol. IV. p. 16.

viz. *The Aerial Noctiluca, and a Proceſs of a factitious ſelf-ſhining Subſtance* (t); beſides which, he publiſhed alſo ſome ſmall Diſcourſes upon different ſubjects. It was upon the

crucible, that I had brought with me, and that had been gradually heated before to prevent cracking. But, though, from the firſt fuſion of the metal, to the pouring out, it had turned in the crucible like ordinary gold, ſave that once my aſſiſtant told me, he ſaw, that for two or three moments it looked almoſt like an opal; yet I was ſomewhat ſurpriſed to find, when the matter was grown cold, that though it appeared upon the balance, that we had not loſt any thing of the weight we put in, yet inſtead of fine gold, we had a lump of metal of a dirty colour, and as it were overcaſt with a thin coat, almoſt like half vitrified litharge, and ſomewhat to increaſe the wonder, we perceived that there ſtuck to one ſide of the crucible, a little globule of metal, that looked not at all yellowiſh, but like coarſe ſilver, and the bottom of the crucible was overlaid with a vitrified ſubſtance; whereof one part was of a tranſparent yellow, and the other of a deep brown inclining to red; and in this vitrified ſubſtance I could plainly perceive ſticking, at leaſt, five or ſix little globules that looked more like impure ſilver, than pure gold. In ſhort, this ſtuff looked ſo little like refined, or ſo much as ordinary gold, that though my friend did much more than I marvel at this change, yet, I confeſs, I was ſurpriſed at it myſelf. For though, in ſome particulars, it anſwered what I looked for, yet in others it was very different from that which the donor of the powder had, as I thought, given me ground to expect. Whether the cauſe of my diſappointment were, that (as I formerly intimated) this Virtuoſo's haſte, or deſign, made him leave me in the dark; or whether it were that finding myſelf in want of ſufficient directions, I happily pitched upon ſuch a proportion of materials, and way of operating, as were proper to make a new diſcovery, which the excellent giver of the powder had not deſigned, or perhaps thought of.——Having rubbed it upon a good touchſtone, whereon we had, likewiſe, rubbed a piece of coined ſilver, and a piece of coined gold, we manifeſtly found, that the mark left upon the ſtone, by our maſs, between marks of the two other metals, was notoriouſly more like the touch of the ſilver, than that of the gold; next having knocked our little lump with a hammer, it was according to my prediction found brittle, and flew into ſeveral pieces. Thirdly (which is more), even the inſides of thoſe pieces looked of a baſe, dirty colour, like that of braſs, or worſe, for the fragments had a far greater reſemblance to bell-metal, than either to gold or ſilver. To which we added this fourth, and more conſiderable examen, that having carefully weighed out one dram of our ſtuff (reſerving the reſt for trials to be ſuggeſted by ſecond thoughts) and put it upon an excellent new, and well nealed coppel, with about half a dozen times its weight of lead; we found ſomewhat to our wonder, that though it turned very well like good gold, yet it continued in the fire above an hour and a half (which was twice as long as we expected), and yet, almoſt to the very laſt, the fumes copiouſly aſcended, which ſufficiently argued the operation to have been well carried on; and when at laſt it was quite ended, we found the coppel very ſmooth and entire, but tinged with a fine purpliſh red (which did ſomewhat ſurpriſe us); and beſides the refined gold, there lay upon the cavity of the coppel ſome dark coloured recrements, which we concluded to have proceeded from the deteriorated metal, not from the lead. But when we came to put out our gold again into the balance, we found it to weigh only about fifty-three grains, and conſequently to have loſt ſeven, which, yet, we found to be fully made up by that little quantity of recrements that I have lately mentioned, whoſe weight, and fixity, compared with their unpromiſing colour, did not a little puzzle us, eſpecially becauſe we had not enough either of them, or of leiſure, to examine their nature. To all which circumſtances I ſhall ſubjoin this, that to prevent any ſcruples that might ariſe touching the gold we employed; I cauſed a dram and a half, that had been purpoſely reſerved out of the ſame portion, with that which had been debaſed; I cauſed this (I ſay) to be, in my aſſiſtant's preſence, melted by itſelf, and found it, as I doubted not but I ſhould do, fine and well coloured gold.——I ſhall alſo inform you, that having provided myſelf of all the requiſites to make Hydroſtatical trials (to which, perhaps, I am not altogether a ſtranger); I carefully weighed, in water, the ill-looked maſs (before it was divided for the coppelling of the abovementioned dram), and found, to the great confirmation of my former wonder and conjectures, that inſtead of weighing about nineteen times as much, as a bulk of water equal to it, its proportion to that liquor was but that of fifteen, and about two thirds to one, ſo that its ſpecific gravity was leſs by about one third, than it would if it had been pure gold.—Without launching into different ſpeculations, or making uſe of diſputable hypotheſes, it ſeems evident enough, from the matter of fact, faithfully laid before you, that an operation very near, if not altogether as ſtrange, as that which is called projection, and in the difficulteſt points much of the ſame nature with it, may ſafely be admitted. For our experiment plainly ſhews, that gold, though confeſſedly the moſt homogeneous, and the leaſt mutable of metals, may be in a very ſhort time (perhaps not amounting to many minutes) exceedingly changed both as to malleableneſs, colour, homogeneity, and, which is more, ſpecific gravity; and all this by ſo very inconſiderable a portion of injected powder, that ſince the gold that was wrought on, weighed two of our Engliſh drams, and conſequently an hundred and twenty grains, an eaſy computation will aſſure us, that the medicine did thus powerfully act, according to my eſtimate (which was the modeſteſt) upon near a thouſand times (for it was above nine hundred and fifty) its weight of gold, and according to my aſſiſtant's eſtimate did (as they ſpeak) go near upon twelve hundred; ſo that if it were fit to apply to this anti-elixir (as I formerly ventured to call it) what is ſaid of the true elixir by divers of the chemical philoſophers, who will have the virtue of their ſtone increaſed in ſuch a proportion, as that, at firſt, it will tranſmute but ten times its weight, after the next rotation an hundred times, and after the next to that, a thouſand; our powder may, in their language, be ſtyled a medicine of the third order.'—He concludes thus: 'I preſume, that it will not be the leſs liked, if I add, that I will allow the company to believe, that as extraordinary as I perceive moſt of you think the phænomena of the lately recited experiment; yet, I have not (becauſe I muſt not do it) as yet acquainted you with the ſtrangeſt effect of our admirable powder.'

We have been the more careful in ſtating the whole detail of matters of fact, in Mr. Boyle's own words, becauſe, notwithſtanding this is ſtyled an anti-elixir, and the operation itſelf a degradation of gold; yet ſome of the ſtudents in Hermetic Philoſophy have conjectured, from a variety of paſſages in this narration, all of which have been retained in this note, that this was, in reality, the true elixir, and that the powder employed in the experiment might poſſibly be recovered with ſome addition, as well as part of the gold. This, they imagine, is hinted at in the very laſt words relating to the concealed wonders of this extraordinary powder, which they interpret in their own favour; and if, after this hint, the reader will peruſe the whole over again, or take the trouble of recurring to the diſcourſe at large, as it ſtands in the collection of our honourable author's works, he will be the better able to judge, how far this conjecture is or is not founded. It may not be improper to add, that as Mr. Boyle in many places intimates, that he did not abſolutely diſbelieve the poſſibility of tranſmutation, he muſt have had ſome very ſtrong reaſons to incline his opinion that way; and it is not eaſy to aſſign a ſtronger than this, if the conjecture, beforementioned, has any foundation in truth. But whether it has or has not, this diſcourſe will loſe nothing of its merit, ſince taking it in what light one will, the experiment is one of the moſt extraordinary that has ever been mentioned; and cannot fail of leading the thirtieth of November, in this year, that the Royal Society, as a proof of their juſt ſenſe of his great worth, and of the conſtant and particular ſervices, which, through the courſe of many years, he had rendered to their Society, made choice of him for their Preſident: but he being extremely, and, as himſelf ſays, peculiarly tender in point of oaths, declined the honour done him, by a letter addreſſed to Mr. Profeſſor Hooke of Greſham-college (*u*). He was alſo, within the compaſs of this year, a conſiderable benefactor towards the publiſhing Dr. Burnet's *Hiſtory of the Reformation* (*w*), as he very readily was, on the like occaſion, to every performance calculated for the general uſe and benefit of mankind. In 1681, he publiſhed his *Diſcourſe of Things above Reaſon* (*x*), and the ſame year he was engaged in endeavouring to promote the preaching and promulgation of the Goſpel amongſt the Indians, bordering upon New England. In 1682, came out his *New Experiments and Obſervations upon the Icy* Noctiluca, *to which is added, A* Chymical Paradox, *making it probable that their Principles are tranſmutable, ſo that out of one of them others may be produced (y).* The ſame year, he communicated to the public the *ſecond Part* of his *Continuation of New Experiments touching the Spring and Weight of the Air, and a large Appendix* (*z*), containing ſeveral other Diſcourſes. He publiſhed, in 1683, nothing that I find, except a ſhort letter to the Rev. Dr. John Beale (*a*), in relation to the making *freſh water* out of *ſalt*, publiſhed at the requeſt of the patentees, who were embarked in Mr. Fitzgerald's project for that purpoſe, the propoſals for which were addreſſed to Mr. Boyle, and the author acknowledges therein the obligations he was under to him for his aſſiſtance. In the ſucceeding year, 1684, he printed two very conſiderable works, the firſt (*b*) was, his *Memoirs for the Natural Hiſtory of Human Blood*; and his ſecond, *Experiments and Conſiderations about the Poroſity of Bodies* (*c*), divided into two parts; the firſt relating to animals, the ſecond to ſolid bodies; and his Works being now grown to a very conſiderable bulk, the celebrated Dr. Ralph Cudworth, whoſe praiſe alone was ſufficient to eſtabliſh any man's title to fame, wrote to him in very preſſing terms, to make an entire Collection of his ſeveral Treatiſes, and to publiſh them in a body, and in the Latin tongue, in his own life-time, as well out of regard to his reputation, as to the general intereſt of mankind, and the peculiar ſatisfaction of the learned world (*d*). In 1685, he obliged the world with his *Short Memoirs for the Natural Experimental Hiſtory of* Mineral Waters (*e*), *with Directions as to the ſeveral Methods of trying them, including abundance of new and uſeful Remarks, as well as ſeveral curious Experiments.* He gave the world alſo, in the ſame year, another excellent work, intitled, *An Eſſay of the great Effects of languid and unheeded Motion, with an Appendix, containing an Experimental Diſcourſe of ſome hitherto little-regarded Cauſes of the Inſalubrity and Salubrity of the Air, and its Effects (f)*, than which, none of his treatiſes were ever received with greater or more general applauſe. He publiſhed, in the ſame year, *A Diſſertation on the Reconcilableneſs of Specific Medicines to the Corpuſcular Philoſophy*, to which he added, a Diſcourſe of the *Advantages* attending the uſe of *ſimple Medicines (g).* To theſe Philoſophical, he added a moſt excellent Theological Diſcourſe, *Of the high Veneration Man's Intellect owes to God, particularly for his Wiſdom and Power* (*h*), being a part of a much larger work, which he ſignified to the world, to prevent any exception from being taken at the abrupt manner of its beginning. At the entrance of the ſucceeding year, 1686, came abroad his *Free Enquiry into the vulgarly received Notion of NATURE* (*i*), one of the moſt important and uſeful pieces that ever fell from his pen, and which will be always admired and eſteemed by ſuch as have a true zeal for Religion and intelligible Philoſophy. In the month of June, the ſame year, his friend Dr. Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Lord Biſhop of Sarum, tranſmitted to him from Holland his account of his travels through France, Switzerland, and Italy, which were afterwards publiſhed. In 1687, a work which he had drawn up in his youth, intitled, *The Martyrdom of* Theodora *and* Dydimia (*k*), came from the preſs to the hands of the public. In 1688, he obliged the world with a moſt curious and uſeful treatiſe, intitled, *A Diſquiſition into the final Cauſes of Natural Things* (*l*), *and whether, if at all, with what Caution a Naturaliſt ſhould admit them.* To which is added, *An Appendix about vitiated Sight.* In this piece he treats with great judgment and perſpicuity, many of the deepeſt and moſt abſtracted notions in Philoſophy and Religion, ſo as to give ſatisfaction to the candid, without running into any offenſive notions, in the opinion even of the moſt critical reader; which is a felicity, that, in caſes of this nature, has very rarely attended the writings of any other author than Mr. Boyle; whoſe care was equal to his quickneſs, and whoſe caution hindered him from hazarding any thing that might ſhock weak minds or tender conſciences. In the month of May, this year, our author, however unwillingly, was conſtrained to make his complaint to the public, of ſome inconveniences under which he had long laboured, which he did by *an Advertiſement addreſſed to J. W.* (*m*), to be communicated to ſuch of his friends as are Virtuoſi, to inform them of the loſs of many of his writings, and that it might ſerve as an explanatory preface to ſome of his mutilated and unfiniſhed pieces. One cannot well conceive any thing, that gives a higher or more expreſſive notion of the worth and ex-

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(t) Printed at London, in 8vo.

(*u*) See this Letter, dated Pall-Mall, Dec. 16, 1680, Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 74.

(*w*) See the Preface to the ſecond Volume of that Work.

(*x*) Printed at London, in 8*vo*.

(*y*) At the ſame place, and in the ſame ſize.

(*z*) At the ſame place, and in the ſame ſize.

(*a*) This Letter is involved in a Treatiſe intitled, *Saltwater ſweetened*, London, 1683, 8*vo*.

(*b*) Printed at London, in 8*vo*; and afterwards tranſlated into Latin.

(*c*) Printed at the ſame place, and in the ſame ſize; as alſo in Latin, under the title of *Tentamen Porologicum.*

(*d*) This Letter is dated Oct. 16, 1684.

(*e*) Printed at London, in 8*vo*.

(*f*) At the ſame place, in the ſame ſize; reprinted in 1690.

(*g*) Printed at London, in 8*vo*; and publiſhed in Latin the next year.

(*h*) At the ſame place, in the ſame ſize; afterwards tranſlated into Latin.

(*i*) Printed at London, in 8*vo*; again 1687, in Latin, 12*mo*.

(*k*) Printed at London, in 8*vo*.

(*l*) At the ſame place, and in the ſame ſize.

(*m*) See Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 78, 79.

a judicious perſon into ſuch reflections, as will give him a greater inſight into the true nature of metals, than almoſt any thing upon the ſubject, that has been publiſhed in our own or any other language.

cellency of this great man, than this paper, which, had it come from any other perſon, would have been either regarded as a common and trivial advertiſement, or as a very glaring mark of ſelf-conceit and vanity: but, in reference to Mr. Boyle, it appears ſo neceſſary to himſelf, that it could not be omitted; of ſuch importance to the public, that it can never be forgotten; and ſo cautiouſly digeſted, as to raiſe our admiration and eſteem for its author [*R*]. He began now to find, that his health, notwithſtanding all his care and caution, began ſenſibly to decline, and his ſtrength to decay, which put him upon deviſing every method that was poſſible, for huſbanding his time, for the future, for the benefit of the learned world. In doing this, he preferred generals to particulars; and the aſſiſtance of the whole Republic of Letters, to that of any branch, by what ties ſoever he might be connected therewith. It was from this view, that he no longer communicated particular diſcourſes, or new diſcoveries, to the Royal Society, becauſe this could not be done, without withdrawing his thoughts from taſks which he thought of ſtill greater importance (*n*). It was the more ſteadily to attend theſe, that he reſigned his poſt of Governor of the Corporation for propagating the Goſpel in New England: Nay, he went ſo far as to ſignify to the world, that he could no longer receive viſits as uſual; and all this, that he might have leiſure to put his papers in order, to ſupply the blanks he had left in many of his treatiſes, and to repair the deficiencies in others (occaſioned by the falling upon them of corroſive liquors); that, as he had been uſeful to the public during the whole courſe of his life, ſo the vaſt collections he left behind him (of the importance of which he was the beſt judge) might not prove uſeleſs after his deceaſe (*o*). This was certainly an inſtance of learned patriotiſm, worthy of admiration at leaſt; and, if ſuch a genius ſhould ever ariſe again, of imitation. Among the other great works, which, by this means, he gained time to finiſh, there is great reaſon to believe, that one was a Collection of Elaborate Proceſſes in Chemiſtry, concerning which he wrote a letter to a friend, which is ſtill extant; but the piece itſelf was never publiſhed, nor ſome other curious tracts relating to the ſame ſubject, found amongſt his papers, which has been conſidered as an irreparable loſs, to ſuch as have a fondneſs for theſe kind of ſtudies (*p*) [*S*]. In 1690, he publiſhed his *MEDICINA HYDRO-*

(*n*) He publiſhed an advertiſement to this purpoſe by advice of his Phyſician, Sir Edmund King.

(*o*) See the Preface to the Works of the Hon. Robert Boyle, in five Volumes fol. Printed for A. Millar, London, 1744.

(*p*) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 81.

[*R*] *As to raiſe our eſteem for its author.*] In this advertiſement, Mr. Boyle, in the firſt place, gives the immediate reaſon of his being obliged to publiſh it, which was to ſatisfy the lovers of learning in general, as well as the circle of his own friends and acquaintance in particular, why he did not perform the ſeveral promiſes he had made of publiſhing many diſcourſes upon curious and uſeful ſubjects; and ſome that were abſolutely neceſſary to the elucidation of pieces which he had already given to the public (34). The fact was, that numbers of theſe were loſt, or rather ſtolen from him. When he firſt began to write, he digeſted his materials in paper books, but he ſoon found the inconvenience of this, by their vaniſhing in ſuch a manner, that he often loſt a whole diſcourſe at a time. He had then recourſe to looſe ſheets, which he thought more ſecure, becauſe it would be difficult to carry away any conſecutive part of a diſcourſe; but in this too he was miſtaken; for after taking this method he loſt four or five centuries of experiments, which were to have been inſerted in his works; and beſides this, ſeven or eight centuries of notions, remarks, explications, *&c.* yet even theſe loſſes were light in compariſon of another that befel him by a very odd accident. He had a flat cheſt of drawers made on purpoſe for the ſecurity of his finiſhed writings, and ſuch as he judged to be already in or near a condition of being ſent to the preſs; and his ſervant breaking a bottle of oil of vitriol, the liquor run over the top of the cheſt, ſo that notwithſtanding the drawers were immediately taken out, and the writings out of them, many whole treatiſes were entirely defaced, and the reſt ſo ſpoiled in many places, that it was very difficult for him to ſet them right again. Theſe misfortunes put him upon publiſhing ſuch treatiſes, as he had moſt at heart, as quickly as it lay in his power, and in the beſt manner the expedition with which he was obliged to write, would admit. In order to this, having firſt ſettled the heads of theſe diſcourſes, he wrote them by way of titles, upon different ſheets of paper, and transferred his materials under thoſe heads, as his conveniency would allow, chuſing rather to run the hazard of ſome miſtakes and imperfections, than that the world ſhould be deprived of what, with infinite labour, he had collected for the ſervice of learning and of mankind. At the ſame time that he did this, he thought it incumbent upon him to acquaint the world with theſe facts and reaſons, not only that they might, in ſome meaſure, account for the ſeeming improprieties in the conduct of his writings, but alſo that he might render them more intelligible, and that this advertiſement might, as he declared he intended it ſhould, ſerve as a kind of preface to his mutilated works. Neither were theſe all the hardſhips that he met with as an author (35); for many perſons, both at home and abroad, copied his works without naming him; inſerted his experiments with a few trivial alterations as their own, and arrogated to themſelves ſeveral of his inventions: yet all theſe difficulties could not either diſguſt, or diſcourage him from continuing to ſerve the public, as far as lay in his power. He knew the importance of his own diſcoveries; he was ſenſible of their conſequence to poſterity; and he had a true notion of the obligations, that a man is under, not to ſuffer the lights he has acquired, either by ſtudy or communication, to periſh with him: and it was theſe conſiderations that induced him to quicken his endeavours to fulfil his duty, as he found his ſtrength decay, and, like a faithful ſervant, employ even his very laſt moments for the benefit of the Republic of Letters, which he conſidered as a ſociety that did the greateſt honour to human nature. Such were the real ſentiments of Mr. Boyle! which can never be inſiſted upon too long, and which it is impoſſible to commend enough.

[*S*] *Such as have a fondneſs for theſe kind of ſtudies.*] The perſon to whom Mr. Boyle addreſſed the letter mentioned in the text, is to us unknown, but the reaſon and deſign of his letter are expreſſed in the text. What the nature was of that valuable work, which he committed to the charge of this friend, and which has been moſt unkindly with-held from the public, will beſt appear in his own words (36), which, at the ſame time that they expreſs his generous concern for, and love to, mankind, ſufficiently explain how great a treaſure we have loſt. ‘ As to thoſe, *ſays he,* who think it ſtrange, that among my other experiments, about metals and minerals, I have not produced thoſe gainful ones, that Alchemiſts call *particulars*; it may, I hope, ſuffice to repreſent, that being a bachelor, and, through God's bounty, furniſhed with a competent eſtate for a younger brother, and freed from any ambition to leave my heirs rich; I had no need to purſue lucriferous experiments, to which I ſo much preferred luciferous ones, that I had a kind of ambition (which I now perceive to have been a vanity) of being able to ſay, that I cultivated

(34) See the Advertiſement at large in the Appendix to Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 142.

(35) See theſe facts collected from his own Papers, in the Life of Mr. Boyle, p. 79.

(36) See this Letter in Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 81.

HYDROSTATICA: or, *Hydroſtatics applied to the Materia Medica, ſhewing how, by the Weight that divers Bodies uſed in Phyſic have in Water, one may diſcover whether they be genuine or adulterate.* To which is ſubjoined, *A previous Hydroſtatical Way of eſtimating Ores* (*q*). He informs us, in the poſtſcript to this treatiſe, that he had prepared materials ſufficient for a ſecond volume, which he promiſed, but it never appeared. He publiſhed, however, this year, another moſt excellent work, which bore the following title: *The* Chriſtian Virtuoſo (*r*); *ſhewing, that by being addicted to Experimental Philoſophy, a Man is rather aſſiſted than indiſpoſed to be a good Chriſtian. The firſt Part. To which are ſubjoined*, I. *A Diſcourſe about the Diſtinction that repreſents ſome Things as above Reaſon, but not contrary to Reaſon.* II. *The firſt Chapters of a* Diſcourſe, *intitled*, Greatneſs *of* Mind *promoted by* Chriſtianity. In the advertiſement prefixed to this work, he mentions a *ſecond part* of the *Chriſtian Virtuoſo*, which he had begun, and which is actually publiſhed in the laſt edition of his Works, that is to ſay, imperfect, as he left it, with an Appendix to the firſt part (*s*). He communicated about this time, to Mr. De la Croſe, a very ingenious gentleman, who publiſhed a periodical work, intitled, *The Hiſtory of Learning*, *An Account of ſome Obſervations made in the great Congregation of Waters, by lowering Bottles down into the Sea, ſix hundred Feet deep from the Surface* (*t*). This experiment was made on the ſecond of January 1677-8, by a Captain of a man of war, a man of very good ſenſe, in the preſence of a great many other perſons, and was, in the judgment of Mr. Boyle, a thing of too great value to be loſt, and therefore he took this method of preſerving it. We are now come to the very laſt of his works publiſhed in his life-time, which was in the ſpring of the year 1691, and bore this title: *EXPERIMENTA & OBSERVATIONES PHYSICÆ* (*u*), *wherein are briefly treated of ſeveral Subjects relating to Natural Philoſophy, in an experimental Way.* To which is added, *A ſmall Collection of Strange Reports.* This is called in the title-page *the firſt Part*, and amongſt his papers there were found the *ſecond* and *third* parts, but whether complete or not, I cannot ſay (*w*). As for his poſthumous Works, they ſhall be mentioned in a note [*T*]. About the entrance of the ſummer of the year laſt mentioned, he

(*q*) Printed at London, in 8*vo*.

(*r*) Printed in the Savoy, 8*vo*.

(*s*) In the fifth Volume of Boyle's Works.

(*t*) Hiſtory of Learning for the Month of July, 1691, p. 57, 58.

(*u*) Printed at London, in 8*vo*.

(*w*) See an Account of Mr. Boyle's MSS. not printed, in the firſt Volume of his Works.

‘ vated Chemiſtry with a diſintereſted mind, neither ſeeking, nor ſcarce caring for, any other advantages by it, than thoſe of the improvement of my own knowledge of nature, the gratifying the curious and induſtrious, and the acquiſts of ſome uſeful helps, to make good and uncommon medicines.

‘ If I may be allowed to judge of courſes by the ſucceſs, the entertainment that the public has been pleaſed to give my endeavours to ſerve it, will not make me repent of the way I have made choice of to do it in. But, however, ſince I find myſelf now grown old, I think it is time to comply with my former intention, to leave a kind of Hermetic legacy to the ſtudious diſciples of that art, and to deliver candidly, in the annexed paper, ſome proceſſes, Chemical and Medicinal, that are leſs ſimple and plain, than thoſe barely luciferous ones I have been wont to affect, and of a more difficult and elaborate kind, than thoſe I have hitherto publiſhed, and more of kin to the nobleſt Hermetic ſecrets, or, as Helmont ſtiles them, *Arcana Majora*. Some of theſe I have made and tried, others I have, though not without much difficulty, obtained by exchange, or otherwiſe, from thoſe that affirm they knew them to be real, and were themſelves competent judges, as being ſome of them diſciples of true adepts, or otherwiſe admitted to their acquaintance and converſation. Moſt of theſe proceſſes are clearly enough delivered, and of the reſt there is plainly ſet down, without deceitful terms, as much as may ſerve to make what is literally taught to be of great utility, though the full and complete uſes are not mentioned, partly becauſe, in ſpite of my philanthropy, I was engaged to ſecrecy as to ſome of theſe uſes, and partly, becauſe, I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs it, I am not yet, or perhaps ever ſhall be, acquainted with them myſelf. The knowledge I have of your great affection for the public good, and your particular kindneſs for me, invites me, among the many Virtuoſi in whoſe friendſhip I am happy, to intruſt the following papers in your hands, earneſtly deſiring you to impart them to the public faithfully, and, without envy, *verbatim*, in my own expreſſions, as a monument of my good affections to mankind, as well in my Chemical capacity, as in the others, wherein I have been ſolicitous to do it ſervice.’

But beſides theſe papers, committed to the care of one whom he eſteemed his friend, he left alſo very many behind him at the time of his death, relating to Chemiſtry, which, by a letter directed to one of his executors, it appears he deſired might be inſpected by three Phyſicians whom he named, that ſuch of them as were moſt valuable might be preſerved (37). The ſtrongeſt mark, however, that he gave of his peculiar regard for Chemiſtry, was procuring, in the year 1689, the repeal of a dormant ſtatute, paſſed in the fifth year of Henry IV., againſt the multiplying of gold and ſilver, which hindered all the diſciples of the ſchool of Hermes from practiſing in England, the penalty in that law being no leſs than felony (38). In that by which it was repealed, directions are given, that whatever gold or ſilver ſhall be obtained by this art, or extracted from other metals, ſhall be brought to the royal mint in the Tower of London (39), and be paid for, according to the current price of bullion.

[*T*] *His poſthumous Works, they ſhall be mentioned in a note.*] Theſe treatiſes were either ſuch as were found amongſt Mr. Boyle's papers after his deceaſe, or were depoſited elſewhere, on a confidence of their not being ſent abroad during his lifetime. The titles of them follow: I. *The General Hiſtory of the Air, deſigned and begun* (40). Concerning the nature and value of this work, we have the teſtimonies of two of the moſt ingenious perſons of that age, the famous Mr. Locke, and the judicious Mr. Molyneux; the former, in a letter to the latter, ſays: ‘ Though this treatiſe was left imperfect, yet I think the very deſign of it will pleaſe you, and it is caſt into a method, that any one who pleaſes may add to it, under any of the ſeveral titles, as his reading or obſervation ſhall furniſh him with matters of fact. If ſuch men as you, who are curious and knowing, would join, to what Mr. Boyle has collected and prepared, what comes in their way; we might hope, in ſome time, to have a conſiderable Hiſtory of the Air, than which, I ſcarce know any part of Natural Philoſophy would yield more variety and uſe. But it is a ſubject too large for the attempts of any one man, and will require the aſſiſtance of many hands, to make it a Hiſtory very ſhort of complete.’ Mr. Molyneux, in his anſwer, writes thus: ‘ I am extremely obliged to you for Mr. Boyle's book of Air, which lately came to my hands. It is a vaſt deſign, and not to be finiſhed but by the united labours of many heads, and indefatigably proſecuted for many years, ſo that I deſpair of ſeeing any thing complete. However, if many will lend the ſame helping hands that you have done, I ſhould

(37) Letter from Mr. John Warr, ſen. to his ſon Mr. John Warr, jun, dated July 16, 1692.

(38) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 83.

(39) See the Statute.

(40) Printed at London, 1692, 4*to*.

he began to feel ſuch an alteration in his health, as induced him to think of ſettling all his affairs; and accordingly, on the eighteenth of July, he ſigned and ſealed his laſt Will, to which he afterwards added ſeveral codicils (*x*). In the month of October following, his diſtempers increaſed, which might, perhaps, be owing to his tender concern for the tedious illneſs of his dear ſiſter the Lady Ranelagh, with whom he had lived many years in the greateſt harmony and friendſhip, and whoſe indiſpoſition brought her to the grave on the twenty-third of December following. She was, in all reſpects, a moſt accompliſhed, and moſt extraordinary, woman; ſo that her brother might very juſtly eſteem it the peculiar felicity of his life that he had ſuch a ſiſter, and, in her, ſo uſeful a friend, and ſo agreeable a companion (*y*). He did not ſurvive her above a week, for on the laſt day of the year 1691, or, as moſt authors account it, on Wedneſday December the 30th, at three quarters paſt twelve at night, he departed this life, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age (*z*), and was buried on the ſeventh of January following, at the upper end of the ſouth ſide of the chancel of St. Martin's in the Fields in Weſtminſter, near the body of his beloved ſiſter, Catherine Viſcounteſs Ranelagh (*a*). His funeral ſermon was preached by Dr. Gilbert Burnet, Biſhop of Sarum, and there are many who think his performance on that occaſion the beſt he ever publiſhed [*U*]. As

(*x*) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 84.

(*y*) See her Character by Biſhop Burnet.

(*z*) Mr. Warr's MSS.

(*a*) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 85.

'ſhould be in hopes; and certainly there is not a 'chapter in all Natural Philoſophy, of greater uſe to 'mankind than what is here propoſed (41).' II. *Medicinal Experiments: or, a Collection of choice Remedies, for the moſt part ſimple, and eaſily prepared* (42). We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of this hereafter. III. *General Heads for the Natural Hiſtory of a Country, great or ſmall, drawn out for the Uſe of Travellers and Navigators* (43): To which are added, *Other Directions for Navigators,* &c. *with particular Obſervations of the moſt noted Countries in the World. By another Hand.* Theſe *General Heads* were firſt printed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions,* being drawn up by Mr. Boyle at the requeſt of the Royal Society. The other Directions, added in this edition, were drawn up by various perſons, at divers times, by order of the Royal Society, and printed in different numbers of the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* (44), but being in purſuance of the plan ſketched out by Mr. Boyle, were very properly annexed to the preceding ones. IV. *A Paper of the Honourable Robert Boyle's, depoſited with the Secretaries of the Royal Society, and opened ſince his Death, being an Account of his making the Phoſphorus,* &c. printed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* (45). V. *An Account of a Way of examining Waters as to Freſhneſs and Saltneſs, to be ſubjoined as an Appendix to a lately printed Letter, about ſweetened Water,* publiſhed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* (46). VI. *A Free Diſcourſe againſt Cuſtomary Swearing, and a Diſſwaſive from Curſing* (47). VII. *Medicinal Experiments: or, a Collection of choice Remedies, chiefly ſimple, and eaſily prepared, uſeful in Families, and fit for the Service of Country People. The third and laſt Volume, publiſhed from the Author's Original MSS. Whereunto is added, Several other uſeful Notes explicatory of the ſame* (48). The firſt edition of this book was printed in 1688, under the title of *Receipts ſent to a Friend in America*; in 1692 it was reprinted, as we have ſaid before, with the addition of a ſecond part, and a new preface. So that this was, as the title-page expreſſes, the third and laſt volume, and they have been all three ſeveral times reprinted ſince, in a ſingle volume, and were juſtly accounted a very excellent collection, and by much the beſt in their kind. Our author had alſo drawn up ſome other pieces of a like nature, as appears from the liſt of his manuſcripts, but theſe are now miſſing.

[*U*] *His performance on that occaſion the beſt he ever publiſhed.*] His Lordſhip made choice, upon this occaſion, of a text extremely appoſite to his ſubject, *viz. For God giveth to a man that is good in his ſight, wiſdom, knowledge, and joy* (49). In the firſt part of this diſcourſe, he explains very clearly and ſolidly, the meaning of the words which we have juſt cited, by ſhewing, what was meant by *a man good in the ſight of God,* and deſcribing the nature of the *wiſdom, knowledge, and joy,* beſtowed upon him as his reward. He then enters on the ſecond part of it, the application of this doctrine to the honourable perſon deceaſed, of whom, he tells us, he was the better able to give a character, from the many happy hours he had ſpent in converſation with him, in the courſe of nine-and-twenty years. He gives a large account of Mr. Boyle's ſincere and unaffected piety, and more eſpecially of his zeal for the Chriſtian religion, without having any narrow notions concerning it, or miſtaking, as ſo many do, a bigotted heat in favour of a particular ſect, for that zeal which is the ornament of a true Chriſtian. He mentions, as a proof of this, his noble foundation for Lectures, in defence of the Goſpel againſt infidels of all ſorts, the effects of which have been ſo conſpicuous, in the many volumes of excellent Diſcourſes, which have been publiſhed in conſequence of that noble, and truly pious, foundation. He had, ſays our Prelate, deſigned it in his lifetime, though ſome accidents did, upon great conſiderations, divert him from ſettling it, but not from ordering it by his Will, that a liberal proviſion ſhould be made for one, who ſhould, in a very few well-digeſted Sermons, every year ſet forth the truth of the Chriſtian religion in general, without deſcending to the ſubdiviſions among Chriſtians, and who ſhould be changed every third year, that ſo this noble ſtudy and employment might paſs through many hands, by which means many might become maſters of the argument. He was at the charge of the tranſlation and impreſſion of the New Teſtament into the Malayan tongue, which he ſent over all the Eaſt-Indies. He gave a noble reward to him that tranſlated Grotius's incomparable book, of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, into Arabic, and was at the charge of a whole impreſſion, which he took care ſhould be diſperſed in all the countries where that language is underſtood. He was reſolved to have carried on the impreſſion of the New Teſtament in the Turkiſh language; but the Company thought it became them to be the doers of it, and ſo ſuffered him only to give a large ſhare towards it. He was at 700 *l.* charge in the edition of the Iriſh Bible, which he ordered to be diſtributed in Ireland; and he contributed liberally, both to the impreſſion of the Welch Bible, and of the Iriſh Bible for Scotland. He gave, during his life, 300 *l.* to advance the deſign of propagating the Chriſtian Religion in America; and as ſoon as he heard that the Eaſt-India Company were entertaining propoſitions for the like deſign in the Eaſt, he preſently ſent 100 *l.* for a beginning, as an example; but intended to carry it much farther, when it ſhould be ſet on foot to purpoſe. When he underſtood how large a ſhare he had in impropriations, he ordered very large ſums to be given to the incumbents in thoſe pariſhes, and even to the widows of thoſe who were dead, before this diſtribution of his bounty. He did this, twice in his lifetime, to the amount of above 600 *l.* and ordered another diſtribution, as far as his eſtate would bear, by his will. In other reſpects, his charities were ſo bountiful, and ſo extenſive, that they amounted, as this Prelate tells us, from his own knowledge, to upwards of one thouſand pounds a year.——But that part of his diſcourſe, which concerns us moſt, is the copious and eloquent account he has given us of this great man's abilities. ——(50) 'His knowledge, *ſays he,* was of ſo vaſt 'an extent, that if it were not for the variety of 'vouchers

(41) Locke's Poſthumous Works.

(42) London, 1692, 12*mo.*

(43) Printed at London, 1692, 12*mo.*

(44) No. II. p. 186. No. XVIII. p. 315. No. XIX. p. 330.

(45) No. CXCVI. p. 583.

(46) No. CXCVII. p. 627.

(47) Printed at London, 1695, 12*mo.*

(48) Printed at London, 1698, 12*mo.*

(49) Ecclef. ii. 26.

(50) Burnet's Funeral Sermon, p. 36, 37.

As to the perſon of this great man, we are told that Mr. Boyle was tall but ſlender, and his countenance pale and emaciated (*b*). His conſtitution was ſo tender and delicate, that he had divers ſorts of cloaks to put on when he went abroad, according to the temperature of the air, and in this he governed himſelf by his thermometer (*c*). He eſcaped, indeed, the ſmall-pox, during his life; but for almoſt forty years, he laboured under ſuch a feebleneſs of body, and ſuch lowneſs of ſtrength and ſpirits, that it was aſtoniſhing how he could read, meditate, try experiments, and write, as he did. He had likewiſe a weakneſs in his eyes, which made him very tender of them, and extremely apprehenſive of ſuch diſtempers as might affect them. He imagined alſo, that if ſickneſs ſhould confine him to his bed, it might raiſe the pains of the ſtone to a degree which might be above his ſtrength to ſupport, ſo that he feared leſt his laſt minutes ſhould prove too hard for him. This was the ground of all the caution and apprehenſion he was obſerved to live in. But, as to life itſelf, he had that juſt indifference to it, which became ſo true a Chriſtian. However, his ſight began not to grow dim above four hours before he died, and when death came upon him, he had not been above three hours in bed before it made an end of him, with ſo little pain, that it was plain the light went out merely for want of oil to maintain the flame (*d*). The ſimplicity of his diet was, in all appearance, that which preſerved him ſo long beyond all men's expectations. This he practiſed ſo ſtrictly, that, in a courſe of above thirty years, he neither eat or drank to gratify the varieties of appetite, but merely to ſupport nature; and was ſo regular in it, that he never once tranſgreſſed the rule, meaſure, and kind, which were preſcribed him. In his firſt addreſſes, when he was to ſpeak or anſwer, he ſometimes heſitated a little rather than ſtammered, or repeated the ſame word, and this, as it rendered him ſlow and deliberate, ſo, after the firſt effort, he proceeded without the leaſt interruption in his diſcourſe (*e*). He was never married, but Mr. Evelyn was aſſured, that he courted the beautiful and ingenious daughter of Cary Earl of Monmouth, and that to this paſſion was owing his *Seraphic Love*. But it does not appear, from any of his writings, that he had ever entertained thoughts of this kind (*f*). To ſay the truth, he ſeems to have been perſuaded that he was born for nobler purpoſes than the ordinary lot of men; or at leaſt, if he was not ſo perſuaded, his actions were ſuch as may ſo perſuade us. We have, by the help of thoſe induſtrious and worthy perſons who had already provided the materials, followed him from his infancy to the grave, with that degree of wonder, reverence, and reſpect, which his knowledge, virtue, and piety, demand (*g*). The learned Prelate who preached his funeral ſermon, and one who ſeldom wanted words when he meant to deſcribe any character, owns himſelf at a loſs in the performance of this laſt duty to Mr. Boyle. We may, therefore, with greater reaſon excuſe ourſelves, as well on account of the great length of this article, as the difficulties that lie in the way of framing a character for one, whoſe memory, like the paintings of a great maſter, has been meliorated by time, and is now, not the object barely of admiration, but of veneration alſo. He was a man, who, in the beginning of his life, raiſed ſuch hopes as hurt themſelves; for thoſe who conſidered him moſt attentively, ſcarcely thought it poſſible that they ſhould be anſwered; and yet, without fear of flattery, we may affirm, that theſe, even theſe, hopes were exceeded. He attained the vigour of his age in thoſe deplorable times, when the Church and State lay buried in confuſion, which gave him ſo true a notion of the vanity of titles, and the

(*b*) Mr. Evelyn's Letter to Dr. Wotton, March 29, 1696.

(*c*) From the information of Sir Hans Sloane, Bart.

(*d*) See Burnet's Funeral Sermon, p. 31.

(*e*) Mr. Evelyn's Letter above mentioned.

(*f*) Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 86.

(*g*) See the note [Y] at the cloſe.

‘ vouchers in their ſeveral ſorts, I ſhould be afraid to ſay all I know. He carried the ſtudy of the Hebrew very far into the Rabbinical writings, and the other Oriental languages. He had read ſo much of the Fathers, that he had formed out of it a clear judgment of all the eminent ones. He had read a vaſt deal on the ſcriptures, and had gone very nicely through the whole controverſies of Religion, and was a true maſter of the whole Body of Divinity. He read the whole compaſs of the Mathematical Sciences; and though he did not ſet himſelf to ſpring any new game, yet he knew even the abſtruſeſt parts of Geometry. Geography, in the ſeveral parts of it, that related to Navigation or travelling; hiſtory and books of travels were his diverſions. He went very nicely through all the parts of Phyſic, only the tenderneſs of his nature made him leſs able to endure the exactneſs of anatomical diſſections, eſpecially of living animals, though he knew theſe to be moſt inſtructing. But for the hiſtory of nature, ancient and modern, of the productions of all countries, of the virtues and improvements of plants, of ores and minerals, and all the varieties that are in them, in different climates; he was by much, by very much, the readieſt and perfecteſt I ever knew, in the greateſt compaſs, and with the trueſt exactneſs. This put him in the way of making all that vaſt variety of experiments beyond any man, as far as we know, that ever lived. And in theſe, as he made a great progreſs in new diſcoveries, ſo he uſed ſo nice a ſtrictneſs, and delivered them with ſo ſcrupulous a truth, that all who have examined them, have found, how ſafely the world may depend upon them. But his peculiar and favourite ſtudy was Chemiſtry, in which he engaged with none of thoſe ravenous and ambitious deſigns, that draw many into them. His deſign was only to find out Nature, to ſee into what principles things might be reſolved, and of what they were compounded, and to prepare good medicaments for the bodies of men. He ſpent neither his time, nor fortune, upon the vain purſuits of high promiſes and pretenſions. He always kept himſelf within the compaſs that his eſtate might well bear. And as he made Chemiſtry much the better for his dealing in it, ſo he never made himſelf either the worſe or the poorer for it. It was a charity to others, as well as an entertainment to himſelf; for the produce of it was diſtributed by his Siſter and others, into whoſe hands he put it. I will not here amuſe you with a liſt of his aſtoniſhing knowledge, or of his great performances this way: they are highly valued all the world over, and his name is every where mentioned with moſt particular characters of reſpect. I will conclude this article with this, in which I appeal to all competent judges, that few men (if any) have been known to have made ſo great a compaſs, and to have been ſo exact in all the parts of it as he was.’

danger of power, that he not only never courted either, but was induſtrious in ſhunning both. He made Philoſophy the buſineſs of his life, from the two nobleſt motives that man could poſſibly conceive, the deſire of doing good to others, and of manifeſting the goodneſs of that Divine Being who is the parent of all. Yet, full of theſe ſerious and ſublime intentions, he not only condeſcended to behave, in all the common offices of life, like other men, but even with a peculiar civility, which he ſhewed eſpecially towards foreigners, by whom he was often viſited, and who never went away from him but with full ſatisfaction. His temper was naturally haſty; but he corrected this ſo early in his youth, that excepting now and then in his countenance, it was never diſcerned afterwards. The ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition, and that meekneſs of mind which diſcovered itſelf in all he did, never led him into any of thoſe faults, which uſually attend the exceſs even of theſe amiable qualities. He could be warm when there was a proper occaſion for warmth, that is, in the cauſe of truth, which he always vigorouſly defended; and we have an inſtance of his zeal for the eſſentials of religion, of which it would be an injury done his fame not to take notice [*X*]. The extenſiveneſs of his knowledge ſurpaſſed every thing but his modeſty, and his deſire of communicating it, which appears equally in all his compoſitions; for in them we may diſcern his fear of offending, and his fear of concealing; and this not from any timid apprehenſions of oppoſition, but from a benevolent inclination to inſtruct without ſeverity, and to part with wiſdom as freely as he had received it. He had the juſteſt conception of truth that the human mind can frame; ſo cautious in examining and reporting, as to avoid, in the opinion of all true judges, the leaſt imputation of credulity; and, on the other hand, ſo well acquainted with the power of nature, that he never preſumed to ſet any limits thereto, or hindered any acceſſion of knowledge, by that ſort of incredulity which ſometimes attends ſuperior learning. In a word, conſidered in every light, as a Man, as a Philoſopher, as a Chriſtian, he came as near perfection as the defects of human nature would allow; and, though he never ſought it, yet the moſt univerſal praiſe, both at home and abroad, waited on his labours living, and have conſtantly attended his memory: for it may be truly ſaid, that never any fame was more unqueſtioned, than that of Mr. Boyle's both was and is; and we may with great ſafety add, that as he is the peculiar honour of his family, and the great glory of this nation, ſo foreigners, who cannot contend with us in theſe points, endeavour to outvie us in their commendations [*Y*]. In treating this ſubject, we have, perhaps, gone too far: but whoever conſiders

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[*X*] *Of which it would be an injury done to his fame not to take notice.*] As great as Mr. Boyle's moderation and charity was, in reſpect to all the different ſects in which Chriſtianity was divided, yet he was a conſtant member of the Church of England, and went to no ſeparate aſſemblies: but, ſome time before the Reſtoration (51), either out of curioſity, or, perhaps, from ſome more weighty motive, he went to Sir Henry Vane's houſe in order to hear him, who, at that time, was at the head of a new ſect, who called themſelves Seekers: neither was this viſit of his attended with any diſappointment, for he there heard him preach in a large thronged room, a long ſermon on the text of Dan. xii. 2. *And many of them that ſleep in the duſt of the earth ſhall awake, ſome to everlaſting life, and ſome to ſhame and everlaſting contempt.* The whole ſcope of Sir Henry's ſermon was to ſhew, that many doctrines of religion that had long been dead and buried in the world, ſhould, before the end of it, be awakened into life, and that many falſe doctrines, being then likewiſe revived, ſhould, by the power of truth, be then doomed to ſhame and everlaſting contempt. When Sir Henry had concluded his diſcourſe, Mr. Boyle ſpoke to this effect to him before the people: That being informed, that in ſuch private meetings, it was not uncuſtomary, for any one of the hearers who was unſatisfied about any matters there uttered, to give in his objections againſt them, and to prevent any miſtakes in the ſpeakers or hearers, he thought himſelf obliged, for the honour of God's truth, to ſay, that this place in Daniel, being the cleareſt one in all the Old Teſtament for the proof of the reſurrection, we ought not to ſuffer the meaning of it to evaporate into allegory; and the rather, ſince that inference is made by our Saviour in the New Teſtament, by way of aſſerting the reſurrection from that place of Daniel in the Old: and that, if it ſhould be denied that the plain and genuine meaning of thoſe words in the Prophet, is to aſſert the reſurrection of dead bodies, he was ready to prove it to be ſo, both out of the words of the text and context in the original language, and from the beſt expoſitors both Chriſtian and Jewiſh: but that, if this be not denied, and Sir Henry's diſcourſe of the reſurrection of doctrines true and falſe, was deſigned by him only in the way of occaſional meditations from thoſe words in Daniel, and not to enervate the literal ſenſe as the genuine one, then he had nothing farther to ſay. Mr. Boyle then ſitting down, Sir Henry roſe up and ſaid, that his diſcourſe was only in the way of ſuch occaſional meditations, which he thought edifying to the people; and declared that he agreed that the literal ſenſe of the words was the reſurrection of dead bodies: and ſo that meeting broke up. Mr. Boyle afterwards ſpeaking of this conference to Sir Peter Pett, obſerved, that Sir Henry Vane, at that time, being in the height of his authority in the State, and his auditors at that meeting conſiſting chiefly of dependants on him, and expectants from him, the fear of loſing his favour would, probably, have reſtrained them from contradicting any of his interpretations of Scripture, how ridiculous ſoever. ' But I (ſaid Mr. ' Boyle) having no little awes of that kind upon ' me, thought myſelf bound to enter the liſts with ' him, as I did, that the ſenſe of the ſcriptures might ' not be depraved.'

(51) Sir P. Pett's Papers relating to Mr. Boyle.

[*Y*] *Endeavour to outvie us in their commendations.*] We have already obſerved, that even, in his lifetime, the fame of Mr. Boyle was ſo great, that it reached very diſtant countries, whither his books reached alſo; and this drew upon him a multitude of viſits at home, which, however inconvenient, he bore as long as his health would permit, from the remembrance, as he ſaid, of the ſatisfaction he had received when admitted to the ſight of ſuch as he had an inclination to converſe with, when abroad (52). In this he ſucceeded to the honours that were paid to the great Chancellor Bacon, whom foreigners viſited as the glory of this country; (and he ſucceeded, likewiſe, to that civility and condeſcenſion for which that excellent perſon before mentioned was diſtinguiſhed,) ſo that Mr. John Hughes had reaſon to ſay, after obſerving that Mr. Boyle was born the ſame year that Lord Bacon died, *he was the perſon deſigned by nature, to ſucceed to the labours and enquiries of that extraordinary Genius* (53). But to proceed to the proper buſineſs of this note: The Virtuoſi in Italy were among the firſt who did juſtice to his merit, and they are ſtill

(52) Burnet's Sermon at Boyle's Funeral.

(53) Spectator, No. 554.

conſiders it attentively, will eaſily excuſe a fault that it was almoſt impoſſible not to commit, and for which we can only atone, by confeſſing, that all we have, or could ſay,

as ſenſible of the obligations the learned world are under to him for his labours, as it is poſſible for men to be. Thus the famous Redi, who was himſelf a great cultivator of Experimental Philoſophy, makes no ſcruple of affirming, that there never was any man ſo great in this way as our author; and that, perhaps, there never will be his equal in diſcovering natural cauſes (54). It would be eaſy to cite many other authors of the ſame country to the like purpoſe: but to avoid prolixity we forbear, and ſhall content ourſelves with obſerving, that in the Popiſh *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, publiſhed at Rome, by order of the Sacred College, dated the twenty-ſecond of December 1700, he is ſtiled a moſt worthy member of the Royal Society, though, at the ſame time, three of his books are forbidden to be read, viz. *His Conſiderations on the Style of the Scriptures*; *his Seraphic Love*, and *his Great Veneration that Man's Intellect owes to God* (55). The moſt conſiderable of the German writers have ſhewn the utmoſt deference for this great man and his writings; as for inſtance, the moſt learned Daniel Morhoff mentions him frequently in his Polyhiſtor (56), and always with the higheſt applauſe. Stollius alſo commends him, but ſeems not to have been well acquainted with his works, or with his hiſtory, ſince he tells us, he was an Engliſh Knight, and expreſſes a great concern, that Biſhop Burnet's funeral ſermon on this great man had not been tranſlated into Latin, or into High Dutch, that the excellence of his private character might be the better known (57). Mangetus applauds him highly, and aſſures us, that he was informed by an Engliſh clergyman, who was afterwards a Biſhop, that a perſon, in a mean dreſs, came into our author's laboratory and made projection, adding, that himſelf had ſeen ſome of that gold; which ſtory I have the rather mentioned, becauſe I take it to be the beſt authority that can be mentioned for it, though it is very current among the lovers of Alchemy, who pretend that Mr. Boyle was converted by this experiment (58). It would require a conſiderable volume to ſet down the commendations that have been beſtowed upon him by the French writers only; and, therefore, we ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning only a few of the lateſt. I will begin with Count Marſilli, who, though an Italian by birth, addreſſed the moſt famous of his works to the French Academy of Sciences, of which he was a Member. He opens that work with obſerving (59), that the famous Robert Boyle was the firſt who thought of examining the ſea, and making us acquainted with ſo conſiderable a part of the terraqueous globe. He mentions his treatiſe *de Fundo Maris*, and adds, that probably his death, or ſome other accident, hindered the Republic of Letters from receiving the advantage of his farther obſervations upon that ſubject; for, ſays he, it is apparent from many of his other writings, that he knew perfectly well how to finiſh whatever he once took in hand. The judicious Mr. Bayle, as he had frequent occaſion to mention the works of Mr. Boyle in his Literary Journal, ſo he never loſes the opportunity of paying both to him and them the reſpect that they deſerve (60). The judicious Rapin ſpeaks of him, as the worthy ſucceſſor of the great Lord Bacon, and one to whom the learned world was extremely indebted for his care and induſtry in the improvement of Experimental Philoſophy. Father Regnault, after copying from him a multitude of experiments, is pleaſed to ſay (61), 'Mr. Boyle has contributed ſo much the more by 'experiments like theſe, to the diſcovery of the truth, 'in as much as he has taken pains, not only to relate his diſcoveries, and the manner in which he 'made them, but has informed us, likewiſe, in what 'he failed, as well as in what he ſucceeded. What 'he tried to no purpoſe, prevents our making ſuch 'trials again: what he tried with effect, ſerves us as 'well as him, verifies his diſcoveries, and puts us in 'the road of making new ones.' The famous Abbé Lenglet du Freſnoy ſpeaks of our author with the utmoſt veneration. He ſtyles him, a great and judicious Chemiſt, one who was acquainted with all the ſecrets of that art; and ſays, that it was purely out of reſpect for his high character that he forbore placing him amongſt the alchemiſtical writers (62): yet, in his chronological table, he gives him his juſt place, and the praiſes which he deſerves (63). We ſhall conclude his eulogies by foreign writers, with the character beſtowed upon him by the judicious Boerhaave. Among the writers, ſays he, who have treated of Chemiſtry, with a view to Natural Philoſophy and Medicine, we may reckon among the chief, the Honourable Robert Boyle, Eſq; through all his writings (64). Such is the extent of this admirable writer's fame, and ſuch the honour he has done his age and nation in foreign countries, where his reputation will extend itſelf in the ſame proportion with true Science, and his glory laſt as long as there ſhall ſubſiſt a true ſpirit of learning.

But after all, the greateſt juſtice that has been done his memory, we may ſafely aſcribe to the care and induſtry of ſome very learned and worthy perſons at home. Dr. Shaw's (65) Abridgment, and his admirable character of our author and his philoſophy, is a monument worthy even of him, and which nothing could ſurpaſs, but the late noble collection of the author's own works (66), with the accurate life prefixed to them by the Reverend Mr. Birch, from the materials provided for Biſhop Burnet and Dr. Wotton; and thoſe invaluable additions which were communicated by the Reverend and Learned Mr. Henry Miles of Tooting in Surry, Fellow of the Royal Society, who has, on all occaſions, expreſſed a zeal for our author's memory, worthy of the truſt repoſed in him by Mr. Thomas Smyth, late an Apothecary in the Strand, who lived with Mr. Boyle ſeventeen years, and in whoſe hands his manuſcripts were depoſited (67). To all theſe I am greatly indebted for the materials from which this article is compoſed; and it is from a due ſenſe of gratitude, and thankfulneſs, that I pay theſe public acknowledgments, as having never enjoyed a higher ſatisfaction, than while uſing my utmoſt endeavours to place the life and character of this illuſtrious perſon, in ſuch a light as may render it worthy the acceptance, and in ſome meaſure of the approbation, of poſterity. C.

⁂ [The account of Mr. Boyle is ſo complete, that ſcarcely any new perſonal circumſtance or fact can be added to this article. Thoſe who are deſirous of peruſing a more minute detail of ſome particulars, may have recourſe to Dr. Birch's life of our great author. There is a traditional anecdote concerning him, that he uſed ſometimes to have it inſcribed over his door, 'Mr. Boyle is not to be ſpoken with to-'day.' This was very proper in one who was often engaged in proceſſes of the utmoſt importance, and which required an unremitted attention. Indeed, if literary men, in general, could find a rational method of preventing the interruption of needleſs morning viſitants, it would be of ſervice to the proſecution of many uſeful deſigns.

With regard to teſtimonies in commendation of Mr. Boyle, a cloud of witneſſes might be produced, in addition to thoſe which have already been referred to, or recited. Almoſt every writer who ſpeaks of this philoſopher does it with epithets of applauſe, and has pleaſure in ranking him with Bacon and Newton. It may not, perhaps, be amiſs to mention what hath been ſaid concerning him by two or three more recent authors. John, Earl of Orrery, compares him to Pliny the Elder. 'When we conſider,' ſays his Lordſhip, 'his (Pliny's) conſtitution of body, his 'ſpeculative turn of mind, not to mention his too 'great credulity in believing all men as ſincere and 'as ingenuous as himſelf, it is impoſſible not to liken 'him, in his philoſophical character, to a gentle-'man, who muſt ever be an honour to his own fa-'mily and nation, Mr. Robert Boyle (68).' What Lord Orrery hints, concerning his great relation's having been ſomewhat credulous, appears to be true; though this, perhaps, was more the fault of the times than of the man. Mr. Granger has drawn his character, in the following terms: 'Robert Boyle, who 'was born the ſame year in which Lord Bacon died, 'ſeems to have inherited the penetrating and inquiſitive genius of that illuſtrious philoſopher. We

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(54) Franciſci Redi Experimenta Naturalia, p. 38, 39.

(55) Index Libror. Prohibit. Rom. 1704, 12mo, p. 383.

(56) Polyhiſtor. Literar. Philoſoph. & Practic. I, i, ii, 2. I. 6, 4, 20 II. 1, 5, 7. II. 1, 15, 15. II. 2, 1, 7, &c.

(57) Gottlib. Stol. Introduct. in Hiſtor. Literar. p. 676, 677.

(58) Biblioth. Chemic. Vol. i. in Præfat.

(59) Hiſtoire Phyſique de la Mer, p. 1.

(60) Oeuvres de Bayle, Tom. I. p. 79. 665. 726.

(61) L'Origine ancienne de la Phyſique nouvelle. Tom. iii. p. 162.

(62) Hiſtoire de la Philoſophie Hermetiq. Tom. i. p. 416.

(63) *Ibid.* p. 482.

(64) Boerhaave's Chemiſtry, Vol. i. p. 55.

(65) In three Volumes in 4to, digeſted under proper heads, illuſtrated with notes, and other improvements. The ſecond edition was publiſhed in 1738.

(66) In five Volumes, fol. 1744, cited through this article.

(67) See Mr. Birch's Preface to his Life of Mr. Boyle.

(68) Tranſlation of Pliny's Letters, Vol. ii. p. 45. 3d edit.

ſay, is ſo much below his merit, that it ſerves only to expreſs our ſenſe of it, and our deſire of rendering him that juſtice, which, without abilities equal to his own, can never be performed.

'are at a loſs which to admire moſt, his extenſive knowledge, or his exalted piety. Theſe excellencies kept pace with each other: but the former never carried him to vanity, nor the latter to enthuſiaſm. He was himſelf "the Chriſtian virtuoſo" which he has deſcribed. Religion never ſat more eaſy upon a man, nor added greater dignity to a character. He particularly applied himſelf to chymiſtry; and made ſuch diſcoveries in that branch of ſcience, as can ſcarcely be credited on leſs authority than his own. His doctrine of the weight and ſpring of the air, a fluid on which our health and our very being depend, gained him all the reputation he deſerved. He founded the theological lecture which bears his name. Some of the preachers of it have outdone themſelves, in ſtriving to do juſtice to the piety of the founder (69).' We ſhall add the teſtimony of Dr. Prieſtley, as no one can be a better judge of the excellencies and merits of a man whoſe purſuits were ſo congenial to his own. 'The firſt Engliſh philoſopher,' ſays the Doctor, 'within this period (the time between Deſcartes and Newton) was Mr. Boyle; and his is a name that muſt be mentioned with honour, in the hiſtory of almoſt every branch of experimental philoſophy. He was a gentleman equally diſtinguiſhed for his regard to religion and ſcience, and was happy in circumſtances that enabled him to ſpare no expence in purſuing his reſearches into Nature, to every part of which he extended his inquiries, by numerous well-conducted, and generally ſucceſsful, experiments; and he has recorded his diſcoveries with the greateſt perſpicuity and modeſty (70).' Dr. Samuel Johnſon is of opinion, that even Mr. Boyle's philoſophical writings are not, at preſent, greatly read. 'It is well known,' obſerves this ingenious author, 'how much of our philoſophy is derived from Boyle's diſcovery of the qualities of the air: yet of thoſe who now adopt or enlarge his theory, very few have read the detail of his experiments. His name is indeed reverenced; but his works are neglected. We are contented to know that he conquered his opponents, without inquiring what cavils were produced againſt him, or by what proofs they were confuted (71).' This account, we believe, is only in part true. Such perſons as enter extenſively into philoſophical experiments (and gentlemen of this kind are numerous in the preſent age), do not overlook the diſcoveries of Mr. Boyle. Dr. Prieſtley hath taken care to do juſtice to them, in his Hiſtories of Optics and Electricity; and other inſtances, of a recent nature, might be added, wherein the ſame juſtice hath been rendered to our eminent philoſopher.

It is obſerved, in note [*L*], that the ſingle harſh cenſure which was ever paſſed on Mr. Boyle, was Dr. Swift's 'Pious Meditation upon a Broomſtick.' This, however, though the fact could not be known to our learned predeceſſor, is not ſtrictly true. An exactly ſimilar attack was made upon Mr. Boyle, by the famous author of Hudibras. In that writer's poſthumous works, there is a ſatirical imitation of Boyle's ſtyle, under the title of 'An occaſional Reflection on Dr. Charlton's feeling a Dog's Pulſe at Greſham College. By R. B. Eſq; To Lyndamore.' There is ſuch a ſtriking reſemblance between this and Swift's Meditation on a Broomſtick, that Mr. Thyer imagines that Dr. Swift took the hint from having either ſeen or heard of Butler's performance. The reaſon Mr. Thyer aſſigns for his opinion is, that Butler's manuſcripts were communicated to Atterbury, with whom Swift was acquainted. But if, as Mr. Deane Swift aſſerts, the Meditation was written in 1703, it may be doubted, whether Dr. Swift's acquaintance with Atterbury did not commence at a much later period. Mr. Thyer ſays, that 'Butler has hit on the weak ſide of Mr. Boyle's character as an author, ſince his greateſt admirers muſt confeſs, that his ſtyle is rather too copious, diffuſe, and circumſtantial; and that his reaſonings and reflections are ſometimes too puerile and trifling (72).' That his ſentences were ſometimes long and involved, and that they were overcharged with parentheſes, cannot be denied; though this was perhaps, in a good meaſure, the fault of the age; for it is certain that the ſame fault is juſtly chargeable upon Lord Clarendon. It ſhould be remembered, likewiſe, with regard to Mr. Boyle's philoſophical diſcoveries, that we have cited Dr. Prieſtley's evidence, that they are recorded with the greateſt perſpicuity. Whatever were the defects of our great author's ſtyle, it was not deſtitute of admirers. It was imitated by that eminent nonconformiſt, Mr. John Howe; in doing which, he ſometimes impaired the clearneſs and luſtre of his own ſtrong and ſublime conceptions.

Though the Boylean Lecture is a noble inſtitution, and hath given occaſion to many capital defences of our holy religion, doubts have, nevertheleſs, been raiſed with reſpect to its utility. In this view, Mr. Whiſton hath related a ſomewhat remarkable circumſtance concerning Dr. Bentley. That great critic demonſtrated the being and providence of God, from Sir Iſaac Newton's wonderful diſcoveries, to ſuch a degree of ſatisfaction, that a club of ſceptics or infidels themſelves, who had heard Bentley's ſermons, when they were aſked what they had to ſay againſt them, honeſtly owned, that they did not know what to ſay. But they added at the ſame time, 'What is this to the fable of Jeſus Chriſt?' This circumſtance occaſioned Dr. Bentley to doubt, whether he had not done harm to Chriſtianity by his ſermons; as they might divert infidels from the denial of a God and Providence, from which they might always be driven with great eaſe, to the picking up of objections againſt the Bible in general; which would afford them a much larger field for contradiction (73). The ſhrewd author of 'Chriſtianity not founded on Argument' hath laboured to fix ſome inconſiſtencies upon the Boylean Lecture, and upon the excellent perſons who, with ſo much ſucceſs, have accompliſhed its deſign. Among ſuch a number of writers, their reaſonings will not, in every reſpect, and on every ſubject, be alike important and convincing. But, in general, the ſermons at Mr. Boyle's Lecture have done eminent ſervice to the cauſe of natural and revealed religion, and conſtitute a ſyſtem of evidence which no ſophiſtry or ſubtlety can overturn. The worthy and learned Biſhop of Carliſle obſerves, that Dr. Ibbot ſtands abſolutely clear of all the exceptions urged in 'Chriſtianity not founded on Argument;' and that he hath fully anſwered the end of the great and good founder of the lecture (74). Dr. Ibbot was, undoubtedly, a moſt able, rational, and judicious defender of revelation. We have been ſorry to ſee a ſlight word thrown out upon Mr. Boyle's inſtitution, by a real friend to religion, and an author of a truly claſſic taſte and elegance, with many of whoſe ſagacious and ſenſible obſervations we ſhall hereafter find occaſion to adorn our work. We mean the Rev. Mr. Knox, who, in his Eſſays moral and literary, thus expreſſes himſelf: 'The ſermons that have been preached at Boyle's Lectures are ſome of the beſt argued in the Engliſh language. They have been the laboured productions of the moſt ingenious men. But the whole collection never did ſo much good as a ſingle practical diſcourſe of Tillotſon (75).' We do not wiſh to diſparage Tillotſon, or to leſſen the excellency of ſermons the object of which is practice, and not ſpeculation. It is undoubted, that practical ſermons ought chiefly to be introduced into the pulpit; and, perhaps, there has been an exceſs in making reaſonings about the evidence of religion, and a vindication of it from objections, the ſubjects of common diſcourſes. But it does not hence follow, that nothing of this kind is ever to take place. It does not hence follow, that ſuch an inſtitution as that of Mr. Boyle's may not have been of the moſt ſignal ſervice. It is a fact, that the great principles of natural and revealed religion are not only diſbelieved by many perſons, but that they have been, and continue to be attacked, in one ſhape or other, by various writers. Ought not, therefore, theſe principles to be defended; and muſt not the defence of them contribute to increaſe the number of rational, firm, and well-informed believers? It is owing to the freedom and fulneſs of inquiry and diſcuſſion, that, amidſt all our infidelity,

there

(69) Biographical Hiſt. of England, Vol. iv. p. 84, 85.

(70) Hiſtory and preſent State of Diſcoveries relating to Viſion, Light, and Colours, p. 134, 135.

(71) Rambler, Vol. iii. p. 5. No. 106.

(72) Nichols's Supplement to Swift's Works, Vol. i. p. 596, 597.

(73) Whiſton's Memoirs of his own Life and Writings, p. 93.

(74) Law's Conſiderations on the Theory of Religion, p. 24. 6th edition.

(75) Knox's Eſſays, moral and literary, Vol. ii. p. 162.

there are, perhaps, more Chriſtians upon conviction, among men of education and knowledge, in this kingdom, than in any other nation. In the countries, at leaſt, where Popery prevails, the true nature of revelation is ſo buried in abſurdity and ſuperſtition, and the propagation of its genuine doctrines ſo cramped by reſtraint and perſecution, that the inhabitants are almoſt wholly divided into ignorant bigots, or determined infidels. This is happily not the caſe in England. It is to be lamented, that ſome late writers, with good intentions, ſeem to want to bring us back to a kind of implicit faith. They ought, however, to conſider, that in ſuch an age as this, implicit faith will never reſtore the principles of religion. The principles of religion muſt be built on the baſis of ſober examination and rational conviction.

As a natural philoſopher, Mr. Boyle did not aim at eſtabliſhing any particular ſyſtem. He was content to purſue the plan laid down by Lord Bacon; and in ſo doing, the progreſs he made in experimental ſcience was very great. The ſuperior diſcoveries which have ſince been attained ought not to leſſen our opinion of his high merit: nor will it have that effect, in the mind of any judicious and enlarged inquirer into nature. That a ſingle man ſhould go ſo far, in ſo many different objects of purſuit, will be rather the matter of ſurpriſe. If Mr. Boyle had lived in the preſent age, he would have been inexpreſſibly delighted with the numerous and ſucceſsful experiments which have lately been made with regard to electricity, and the various kinds and properties of air. He would have eſteemed it an happineſs to have exiſted at an æra when natural knowledge was making ſuch rapid advances, and would have ardently united in accelerating theſe advances. At the ſame time, what would he have thought of a man, who, with conſiderable abilities and learning, could, in ſuch a period as this, throw contempt on what he calls ‘ experimenting philoſophy,’ and ſay, that, in ancient times, *while philoſophy flouriſhed*, Sir Iſaac Newton would not have been dignified with the name of a philoſopher (76)? Such a man is the author of the treatiſe, recently publiſhed, intitled, ‘ Antien Me-‘ taphyſics.’ K.]

(76) Antient Metaphyſics, p. 271. 553.

BOYLE (Charles), Earl of Orrery in the kingdom of Ireland, and Baron of Marſton in the county of Somerſet in Great Britain, was the ſecond ſon of Roger, the ſecond Earl of Orrery, by the Lady Mary Sackville, daughter to Richard, Earl of Dorſet and Middleſex (*a*). He was born in 1676, in the month of Auguſt, but upon what day of the month does not appear, at his father's houſe in Chelſea (*b*). So much care was taken of his education in his junior years, that, when he was but fifteen, he was fit for the Univerſity, and was accordingly entered as a Nobleman of Chriſt-Church in Oxford, in 1690 (*c*). He had for his tutors there the celebrated Dr. Francis Atterbury, afterwards Biſhop of Rocheſter, and the Reverend Dr. Freind. His application to ſtudy was ſo vigorous, and withal ſo conſtant, that his friends were not a little apprehenſive it might prove dangerous to his conſtitution, which was none of the ſtrongeſt (*d*). But, however, Mr. Boyle was not much affected with ſuch repreſentations: he knew that ſcience was an higher bleſſing than life, and was perſuaded that death was not a greater evil than ignorance. In ſhort, his paſſion for letters was ſo ſtrong and ſo ſincere, that it gained him high reputation in the Univerſity, and recommended him ſo much to the famous Dr. Aldrich, then at the head of that learned ſociety, that it was originally for his uſe he drew up his learned Compendium of Logic, now read at Chriſt-Church, and in which he ſtyles him *the great ornament of our college* (*e*). The firſt work that fell from the pen of our illuſtrious ſtudent, was *The Life of LYSANDER*, tranſlated from the Greek of Plutarch, in which performance he ſhewed his ſkill in that language, and the happy talent he poſſeſſed of writing well in his own (*f*) [*A*]. It was this that induced Dean Aldrich, who made a cuſtom of publiſhing annually ſome good author or other, to recommend to Mr. Boyle the care of a new edition of the Epiſtles of Phalaris, to which Mr. Boyle applied himſelf with diligence, and ſent it abroad in the beginning of 1695 (*g*). This book became accidentally the cauſe of a very long and furious diſpute, in which it is certain that Mr. Boyle gained a great deal of reputation, and wrote ſo extremely well in defence of his performance, that his adverſary, from ſuſpecting the Epiſtles of Phalaris to be none of his, becauſe they were written with ſo great ſkill, began, from the learning

(*a*) See the article of BOYLE (Roger), Earl of Orrery, towards the cloſe.

(*b*) Memoirs of the Family of Boyle.

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. .066.

(*d*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 156.

(*e*) *Magnum ædis noſtræ Ornamentum*, are the Dean's words.

(*f*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 157.

(*g*) Phalaridis Agrigentinorum Tyranni Epiſtolæ, Oxon. 1695, 8vo.

[*A*] *The happy talent he poſſeſſed of writing well in his own.*] We have Mr. Budgell's authority upon this head, in terms much ſtronger than have been made uſe of in the text; and this makes it neceſſary to explain the matter here. Mr. Budgell's words are (1): ‘ The firſt thing he publiſhed while he was a ‘ ſtudent at Chriſt-Church, was a tranſlation of the life ‘ of Lyſander, as it now ſtands in our Engliſh Plutarch's ‘ Lives.’ It is indeed very true, that we have a Tranſlation of Plutarch's Lives by ſeveral hands, which was undertaken by the advice, carried on by the aſſiſtance, and the firſt volume of it publiſhed and dedicated, by the immortal Dryden, to the great Duke of Ormond (2): but it is certain, that this work was undertaken in 1683, conſequently when Mr. Boyle was but in the eighth year of his age, and ſeven years before he came to the Univerſity. It is true indeed, that there have been various editions of the book ſince, and it is not impoſſible that alterations might be made in ſome of theſe editions: but in that which I have before me, printed in 1711, the life of Lyſander (3), which is in the third volume, is tranſlated by William Leman, Maſter of Arts, of Cambridge. I apprehend, therefore, there is ſome miſtake; and that this life of Lyſander, by the Honourable Charles Boyle, Eſq; was written only, and not printed; becauſe I cannot conceive how it ſhould be left out of ſubſequent editions, if it had been inſerted in any ſo early as 1694: at leaſt of this opinion I ſhall remain till I am convinced of the contrary, by being ſo happy to meet with an edition, in which this life, by Mr. Boyle, is inſerted. But I think it very probable, that ſuch a tranſlation as this might be his firſt work; becauſe I have heard from other hands, that he tranſlated one of the orations of Demoſthenes, which is certainly publiſhed, though I cannot take upon me to ſay with certainty, which of thoſe orations it is; though I was once poſſeſſed of a copy, in which that oration was marked by the hand of the gentleman from whom I received that information (4); and I very well remember, that it was obſerved this tranſlation was not only very exact, but the harmony and turn of the periods were ſo happily preſerved, that it had all the ſpirit and beauty of an original. I therefore preſume, that his perfect knowledge of the Greek tongue, being firſt manifeſted by the tranſlation of the Life of Lyſander, or ſome ſuch exerciſe, induced Dean Aldrich to put him upon that work, of which mention has been made in the text, and a farther account will be given in the enſuing note.

(1) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 157.

(2) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 1104.

(3) Plutarch's Lives, Vol. iii. p. 156.

(4) The Rev. Mr. Knipe, Canon of Chriſt-Church.

ſhewn

ſhewn in Mr. Boyle's pieces, to doubt whether they were of his compoſing [*B*]. His father being dead, and having himſelf quitted the Univerſity, he began to think of entering on the ſtage of public life; and accordingly, in 1700, he was choſen Member for the town of Huntingdon, which, however, was attended with a petition; and as he ſpoke in ſupport of his own election with great vivacity, this brought on a diſpute of another nature with Mr. Wortley (*b*). In ſhort, they fought in Hyde-Park, in a gravel-pit near the gate which now leads to Groſvenor-ſquare, where, though he had the advantage, his loſs of blood was ſo great by the wounds he received, that he fell into a languiſhing condition, from whence it was with difficulty that he recovered (*i*). He was choſen twice afterwards for the ſame place; but his elder brother Lionel, Earl of Orrery, dying on the 23d of Auguſt, 1703, without iſſue (*k*), he ſucceeded to that title, and entering into the Queen's ſervice, had a regiment given him, at the head of which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo remarkably, that, on the 13th of October, 1705, he was elected one of the Knights Companions of the moſt ancient order of the Thiſtle (*l*). In the ſpring of the ſucceeding year, he married the Lady Elizabeth Cecil, daughter to the Earl of Exeter, by whom he had his only ſon John, who ſucceeded him in his honours and eſtates; but his Lady did not ſurvive many years (*m*). He was raiſed to the rank of a Major-General in the year 1709, and was ſworn one of her Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council. At the famous battle of the Wood, he gave the ſtrongeſt proofs of his intrepid courage, remaining at the head of his regiment, in the warmeſt part of the action, till the victory was complete, which, as it was one of the moſt glorious, ſo it was the deareſt bought of any in that war (*n*). His Lordſhip had alſo the honour of being appointed the Queen's Envoy to the States of Brabant and Flanders, in which quality he reſided at Bruſſels with an appointment of ten pounds *per diem*; and having diſcharged that truſt with equal ſpirit and diligence, her Majeſty was pleaſed, by letters-patent dated the tenth of September, in the tenth year of her reign, to raiſe him to the dignity of a Britiſh Peer, by the title of Lord Boyle, Baron of Marſton in Somerſetſhire (*o*). On the acceſſion of the late King to the throne, his Lordſhip was not only continued in his military command as Colonel of the Britiſh Fuzileers, but was alſo made one of the Lords of the Bedchamber; and, on the third of December, 1714, was conſtituted Lord-Lieutenant and Cuſtos-Rotu-

(*b*) Parliamentary Regiſter.

(*i*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 202.

(*k*) See the former article of BOYLE (ROGER), Earl of Orrery, towards the cloſe.

(*l*) Peerage of England, Tom. iv. p. 259.

(*m*) Memoirs of the Family of Boyle.

(*n*) See the article CHURCHILL (JOHN), Duke of Marlborough.

(*o*) See the Preamble to his Patent in Collins's Peerage, Vol. iv. p. 259.

[*B*] *To doubt whether they were of his compoſing.*] As the hiſtory of this controverſy has been already given in a former part of this work, I ſhall not detain the reader long upon it here (5). While Mr. Boyle was preparing his edition, he had directed that the copy he made uſe of ſhould be collated with the manuſcript in the King's Library, of which Dr. Bentley was the keeper; and it was accordingly collated as far as the fortieth epiſtle; but the Doctor being then about to go out of town, demanded the manuſcript from Mr. Bennet, Mr. Boyle's bookſeller; which hindered its being perfectly collated; of which Mr. Boyle having complained in his preface, Dr. Bentley took it ſo ill, that he was reſolved to demoliſh the reputation which Mr. Boyle had gained by publiſhing this work (6). It is certain, that Suidas, Stobæus, and Photius, looked upon theſe epiſtles as genuine, and that ſome very great modern critics were of the ſame opinion; which might juſtify the publiſhing a new edition of them. There were certain other circumſtances that gave edge to the Doctor's reſentment; and, amongſt theſe, we may reckon the following paſſage (7) in Sir William Temple's *Eſſay upon ancient and modern Learning*, dedicated to the Univerſity of Cambridge: ‘ It may perhaps be further affirmed in favour of the ancients, that the oldeſt books we have are ſtill in their kind the beſt. The two moſt ancient that I know of in proſe, among thoſe we call profane authors, are Æſop's Fables, and Phalaris's Epiſtles, both living near the ſame time, which was that of Cyrus and Pythagoras. As the firſt has been agreed, by all ages ſince, for the greateſt maſter in his kind, and all others of that ſort have been but imitations of his original; ſo I think the Epiſtles of Phalaris to have more grace, more ſpirit, more force of wit and genius, than any others I have ever ſeen, either ancient or modern. I know ſeveral learned men, or that uſually paſs for ſuch, under the name of critics, have not eſteemed them genuine; and Politian, with ſome others, have aſcribed them to Lucian: but I think he muſt have little ſkill in painting that cannot find out this to be an original; ſuch diverſity of paſſions upon ſuch variety of actions, and paſſages of life and government; ſuch freedom of thought, ſuch boldneſs of expreſſion, ſuch bounty to his friends, ſuch ſcorn of his enemies, ſuch honour of learned men, ſuch eſteem of good, ſuch knowledge of life, ſuch contempt of death, with ſuch fierceneſs of nature, and cruelty of revenge, could never be repreſented but by him that poſſeſſed them; and I eſteem *Lucian* to have been no more capable of writing, than of acting, what Phalaris did. In all one writ, you find the ſcholar or the ſophiſt; and in all the other, the tyrant and the commander.’ Mr. William Wotton, a very knowing as well as a very learned man, having written againſt this celebrated piece of Sir William Temple, Dr. Bentley ſubjoined to his friend's book his Diſſertation upon the Epiſtles of Phalaris, in which he gives a character of them diametrically oppoſite to that before quoted (8). ‘ It would be endleſs,’ ſays he, ‘ to ſhew all the ſillineſs and impertinency in the matter of theſe epiſtles; for, take them in the whole bulk, they are a fardle of common-places, without either life or ſpirit, from action and circumſtance. You feel, by the emptineſs and deadneſs of them, that you converſe with ſome dreaming pedant, with his elbow on his deſk; not with an active, ambitious tyrant, with his hand on his ſword, commanding a million of ſubjects: all that takes or affects you, is a ſtiffneſs, ſtatelineſs, and operoſeneſs of ſtyle; but as that is improper and unbecoming in all epiſtles, ſo eſpecially it is quite aliene from the character of Phalaris, a man of buſineſs and diſpatch.’ To this Diſſertation Mr. Boyle replied with great ſpirit and learning; and the controverſy ſoon grew ſo warm, that many, and thoſe too no inconſiderable authors, engaged therein with great heat and violence. The truth of the matter was, that it became rather a party quarrel between the friends and enemies of Chriſt-Church in Oxford, than a ſerious diſpute as to the genuineneſs of Phalaris's Epiſtles; ſo that the critics being on one ſide, and the wits on the other, it became very difficult to know whether truth was with either. A learned writer, I mean Dr. Henry Felton, ſaid a very handſome thing upon our author's diſpute, with which we ſhall conclude this account of it (9). *Perhaps* (ſays he) *Mr.* Boyle*'s book in defence of* Phalaris *will be charged upon ſome* ſophiſt *too: yet, taking it for genuine at preſent, if we own Dr.* Bentley *is the better* critic, *we muſt acknowledge his antagoniſt is much the* genteeleſt writer.

(5) See note [*D*] in the article of BENTLEY (RICHARD).

(6) The title of which at large ran thus: *Phalaridis Agrigentinorum Tyranni Epiſtolæ. Ex MS. recenſuit, verſione, annotationibus, & vita inſuper Authoris donavit* Car. Boyle, *ex Æde Chriſti.*

(7) Temple's Works, Vol. i. p. 166.

(8) Diſſertation on Phalaris's Epiſtles.

(9) Diſſertation on reading the Claſſics, and forming a juſt Style, p. 59.

lorum of the county of Somerſet, having at that time an equal ſhare in his Majeſty's confidence and favour (*p*). However, in the year 1716, while the King was at Hanover, his regiment was taken from him; upon which his Lordſhip thought proper to reſign his poſt of Lord of the Bedchamber. After this time his Lordſhip did not meddle much with public affairs (*q*). He did, indeed, attend the Houſe of Peers very conſtantly when in town, and voted agreeably to his ſentiments, in regard to all matters of importance; but, notwithſtanding his extraordinary talents and great experience, he was no ſpeaker (*r*). Things continued in this ſituation for ſome years: but, upon the breaking out of what was called Layer's plot, his Lordſhip was ſo unfortunate as to fall under the ſuſpicion of the Government; and, on the 27th of September, 1722, he was ſeized at his houſe at Britwell, at the ſame time that his Secretary, who was then in town, was taken into cuſtody likewiſe; and his papers, in both places, were ſecured (*s*). He was brought up to town immediately, and examined before the Privy-Council, after which he was committed to the Tower. Upon the ſitting of the Parliament about a month afterwards, the conſent of the Houſe of Lords was aſked, and obtained, for continuing his confinement. This laſted the longer, by reaſon of the ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* act for a twelvemonth; and was ſo much the harder upon his Lordſhip, as his conſtitution was weak, and the ſmall ſhare of health he had was chiefly preſerved to him by the uſe of conſtant exerciſe (*t*). After ſix months impriſonment, upon the application of the learned Dr. Mead, ſetting forth how low he was reduced by a confinement in the higheſt degree dangerous to one of his tender conſtitution, he was admitted to bail; the late Earl of Burlington, and the late Lord Carleton, becoming ſureties, each in twenty thouſand pounds; and his Lordſhip entering into a recognizance of thirty thouſand more, for his appearance (*u*). But, after the ſtricteſt inquiries, there was nothing found that could be eſteemed a ſufficient ground for a proſecution of any kind; ſo that, after paſſing through the uſual forms, he was abſolutely diſcharged. This accident is thought to have had conſiderable effects upon his declining conſtitution, though he ſurvived it ſeveral years, and maintained the ſame freedom, livelineſs, and ſweetneſs of temper, to the laſt; dying unexpectedly, after a very ſhort indiſpoſition, on the 28th of Auguſt, 1731, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, extremely beloved and regretted (*w*). He reſembled, in his temper and character, and not a little alſo in his fortunes, his illuſtrious anceſtor the firſt Earl of Orrery. Like him, he was an Author, a Soldier, and a Stateſman. His parts were very quick, and yet, with much vivacity, he was capable of cloſe thinking, and profound meditation. His learning was ſolid, not pedantic; and though he did not affect the orator in public, yet, in private converſation, no man ſpoke with greater eaſe to himſelf, or pleaſure to thoſe who heard him (*x*). His ſtudies were of a mixed nature, and his application to them much greater than the world imagined: of which, however, convincing proofs remain [*C*]. As an officer, he was generally eſteemed and beloved;

(*p*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 211.

(*q*) Memoirs of the Family of Boyle.

(*r*) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. ii. p. 657.

(*s*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 317.

(*t*) Memoirs of the Family of Boyle.

(*u*) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. ii. p. 738.

(*w*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. iv. p. 261.

(*x*) From the information of thoſe who were his intimate acquaintance.

[*C*] *Of which, however, convincing proofs remain.*] We have already ſeen what he could perform when a very young man; and it is not eaſy to ſuppoſe, that if his genius for learning had not been ſomewhat extraordinary, a man of Dean Aldrich's figure and character in the world would have paid him ſuch compliments, as he did in his preface to his *Compendium of Logic*, mentioned in the text: nor can one readily imagine, that the wits would ſo warmly, and ſo unanimouſly, have eſpouſed his cauſe, if they had not been fully ſatisfied of his having a good title to be one of the number. He wrote a comedy, intitled, *As you find it*, which was acted with great applauſe, and is now printed (10); though, I think, he would never allow it in his lifetime. The only fault that was ever found with this performance, is (as Mr. Budgell truly ſays), that it has *too much wit*; and if this cenſure has occaſioned that dearth that has ſince happened, we ought not to be too forward in commending his Lordſhip's play to poſterity. He wrote alſo ſongs and occaſional poems, particularly a copy of verſes prefixed to Dr. Garth's *Diſpenſary*; and a prologue to Mr. Southern's play, called *The Fate of Capua*: but theſe were only amuſements for his vacant hours; his favourite ſtudies were of another nature, as ſufficiently appears in that noble inſtrument which bears his name, and will make it known to diſtant nations and lateſt ages; a machine contrived to repreſent, mechanically, the Solar Syſtem, according to the ſentiments of the new aſtronomers, and the bare execution of which is ſaid to have gone very near turning the head of the ingenious artificer who made it (11). His Lordſhip had alſo a ſtrong inclination towards Phyſic, which induced him not only to buy, and read, whatever was publiſhed upon that ſubject, but put him alſo upon obtaining from his friends Botanical and Phyſical accounts of herbs and drugs, when they reſided in foreign countries. Theſe circumſtances abundantly juſtify all that is ſaid of him in the text, and clearly demonſtrate, that he was an honour to his family, and to his country. C.

(10) In the ſecond Volume of the Works of Roger, Earl of Orrery.

(11) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles, p. 236.

⁂ [The principal literary circumſtance in the life of this nobleman was his controverſy with Bentley, of which a large account hath been given in the article of that eminent critic. A learned correſpondent hath ſent us an extract from Mr. Boyle's own preface to Phalaris's Epiſtles, which ſuggeſts ſeveral good reaſons againſt their being genuine. He ſays, ‘ Non facile poterant literæ et a viro tam in-
‘ ſigni ſcriptæ, et in ſuo genere abſolutæ ultra 1000
‘ annos ignotæ penitus latere; neque cum Siculis
‘ ſcriptoribus placuerit ſemper dialectus Dorica,
‘ Agrigentinorum, qui antiquitus Dores erant, ty-
‘ rannus aliâ uti debuit. Stylus nihil habet rege
‘ indignum, niſi quod in antitheſi ſit nimius, et in-
‘ terdum frigidior. Adverti etiam, quod ferant non-
‘ nunquam epiſtolæ nomina, etſi id fortuitum eſſe
‘ poſſit, quæ ad earum materiem ficta videantur;
‘ quod, ſi vera refert Diodorus Siculus, Taurome-
‘ nium, ad cujus cives hic auctor ſcribit, et conditam
‘ fuiſſe et eo nomine donatam poſt Naxum a Diony-
‘ ſio juniore dirutam, actum eſt de Phalaridis titulo,
‘ et ruit omnis male ſuſtentata conjecturis auctoritas.’
Thus Mr. Boyle himſelf confeſſes, that letters written by ſo remarkable a man could not eaſily be concealed for more than a thouſand years; that Phalaris ought to have made uſe of the Doric dialect; that his ſtyle, though otherwiſe not unworthy of a King, abounds too much in antitheſis, and is ſometimes frigid; that the Epiſtles ſeem occaſionally to be addreſſed to fictitious perſons, adapted to the ſubject; and that, if Diodorus's account be true of the time in

beloved; for, with a courage fearleſs of danger, he had as much prudence and circumſpection as thoſe who had much greater experience. His ſoldiers loved him entirely, his ſuperior officers admired and confided in him; his Sovereign knew him fit for, and truſted him in, the moſt important negociations (*y*). As a ſtateſman, his notions were perfectly clear, as his intentions were entirely upright. He had a juſt concern for the intereſt, honour, and glory of his country, which he manifeſted upon all occaſions, without courting popularity, or fearing power. He was a lover of learning, and a friend to learned men; an excellent maſter, a tender father, and beneficent to all with whom he had any thing to do. His frailties were few, and thoſe of a nature the moſt excuſable, as proceeding chiefly from his conſtitution, and tending rather to his own detriment than to that of others (*z*). He was happy in the general eſteem of his country, and in the particular affection borne him by his friends; which was the leſs to be wondered at, ſince he was himſelf remarkably ſteady in his affections, and never thought any difference of fortune could juſtify the ſlighteſt declenſion in friendſhip: but, with all his warmth of this kind, he had a coldneſs in another, which was no leſs extraordinary; he not only forgave, but forgot, injuries; and never revenged them, otherwiſe than by rendering unexpected ſervices to thoſe from whom he had received them.

(*y*) See the Preamble to his Patent, before cited.

(*z*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Boyles, p. 248.

in which Tauromenium was built, and received its name, their authority falls to the ground.

In the Index to the firſt edition of the Biographia Britannica, under the word 'Orrery,' it is ſaid, that the Aſtronomical Inſtrument, ſo called, was not contrived by Charles Earl of Orrery, but by Graham the celebrated watchmaker, who honoured it with the name of that Earl, his patron. K.]

‸ [BOYLE (JOHN), Earl of Cork and Orrery, a nobleman who added freſh luſtre to the name he bore, and the family from which he had the honour of being deſcended, was the only ſon and heir of Charles, the fourth Earl of Orrery (the ſubject of the preceding article), by the Lady Elizabeth Cecil, daughter of John, Earl of Exeter (*a*). He was born on the 2d of January, 1706-7, and put early under the tuition of Mr. Fenton, the author of Mariamne, and one of the coadjutors of Mr. Pope in the tranſlation of the Odyſſey. By Mr. Fenton Lord Boyle was inſtructed in Engliſh; and carried through the Latin tongue, from the age of ſeven to thirteen. Between this amiable poet and his noble pupil a conſtant and free friendſhip ſubſiſted; and his Lordſhip always ſpoke of him, after his deceaſe, and often with tears, as 'one of the worthieſt 'and modeſteſt men that ever adorned the court of Apollo (*b*).' After paſſing through Weſtminſter ſchool, Lord Boyle was admitted, as a nobleman, at Chriſt-Church, Oxford; of which college, as we have already ſeen, his father had been a diſtinguiſhed ornament. One of his firſt poetical eſſays was the following anſwer to ſome verſes by Mrs. Rowe, on an unſucceſsful attempt to draw his picture:

'No "air of wit," no "beauteous grace I boaſt;"
'My charms are native innocence at moſt.
'Alike thy pencil and thy numbers charm,
'Glad every eye, and every boſom warm!
'Mature in years, if e'er I chance to tread
'Where vice triumphant rears aloft her head,
'Ev'n there the paths of virtue I'll purſue,
'And own my fair and kind director you (*c*).'

(*a*) Life of the Earl of Cork and Orrery, in Mr. Duncombe's Preface to his Lordſhip's Letters from Italy, p. i.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. ii. His Lordſhip's own words, in a manuſcript letter.

(*c*) *Ibid.* Mrs. Rowe's Works, Vol. i. p. 163.

When the Earl of Orrery was committed priſoner to the Tower, on account of Layer's plot, ſuch was the filial piety of his ſon, that he earneſtly entreated to be ſhut up with his noble father: but this indulgence was thought too conſiderable to be granted (*d*). Not long after Lord Boyle had completed the twenty-firſt year of his age, he married, on the 9th of May, 1728, Lady Harriet Hamilton, the third and youngeſt daughter of George, Earl of Orkney (*e*). Though this marriage had the entire approbation of Lord Orrery, it unfortunately happened that a diſſenſion aroſe between the two Earls, which put the young couple into a very delicate and difficult ſituation. Lord Boyle maintained, at the ſame time, the tendereſt affection for his moſt amiable and deſerving wife, and the higheſt regard and attachment to his father. The Earl of Orrery, however, was too much irritated, by the family quarrel, to ſee, at firſt, his ſon's conduct in a proper point of light. But his excellent underſtanding could not fail, in the end, of getting the better of his prejudices. Such a father and ſuch a ſon could not long be diſunited. Accordingly, a reconciliation took place; and the little coldneſs which had ſubſiſted between them, ſerved but the more to endear them to each other. The Earl of Orrery was ſo much pleaſed with Lord Boyle, that he could ſcarcely be eaſy without him; and, indeed, when in town, they were ſeldom aſunder (*f*). It is to be lamented, that this happineſs was rendered very tranſient, by the unexpected death of Lord Orrery; and that the ſtroke was embittered by a circumſtance peculiarly painful and affecting to his noble ſon and ſucceſſor. The father, whilſt under the impreſſion of his diſſenſion with the Earl of Orkney, had made a will, by which he had bequeathed to Chriſt-Church, Oxford, his valuable library,

(*d*) Duncombe's Preface, *ubi ſupra*, p. iii. Budgell's Memoirs of the Boyle Family, p. 219.

(*e*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. vii. p. 161. 4th edit.

(*f*) Duncombe, *ubi ſupra*. Budgell, *ubi ſupra*, p. 251—253.

conſiſting of above ten thouſand volumes, together with a very fine collection of mathematical inſtruments. The only exceptions, in favour of Lord Boyle, were the Journals of the Houſe of Peers, and ſuch books as related to the Engliſh hiſtory and conſtitution. The Earl of Orrery left, beſides, though he was greatly in debt, ſeveral conſiderable legacies to perſons nowiſe related to him. Upon his reconciliation with his ſon, he determined to alter his will, and had even ſent for his lawyer with that view, when the ſuddenneſs of his deceaſe prevented the execution of his juſt and reaſonable deſign (*g*). The young Lord Orrery, with a true filial piety and generoſity, inſtead of ſuffering his father's effects to be ſold, took his debts upon himſelf, and fulfilled the bequeſts, by paying the legacies, and ſending the books and mathematical inſtruments, within the limited time (*h*), to Chriſt-Church. The loſs, however, of a parent, thus aggravated and embittered, left a deep impreſſion upon his mind [*A*]; and was ſucceeded by a fit of illneſs, which endangered his life, and obliged him to repair to Bath. Whilſt he was in that city, he received a letter from a friend, with a copy of verſes incloſed, exhorting him to diſpel his grief by poetry, and to ſhew that Bath could inſpire, as well as Tunbridge; from which place he had written ſome humorous verſes the year before. To this letter his Lordſhip returned the following anſwer:

(*g*) Duncombe and Budgell, as before.

(*h*) He had been allowed three years to ſeparate the books left to himſelf from thoſe bequeathed to Chriſt-Church.

‘ Nor Bath, nor Tunbridge, can my lays inſpire,
‘ Nor radiant beauty make me ſtrike the lyre:
‘ Far from the buſy crowd, I ſit forlorn,
‘ And ſigh in ſecret, and in ſilence mourn:
‘ Nor of my anguiſh ever find an end;
‘ I weep a father, but I've loſt a friend (*i*).

(*i*) Budgell's Memoirs, p. 256, 257. Duncombe's Preface, p. vii.

In a few months Lord Orrery ſo far recovered his health and ſpirits, as to be able to attend his public duty as an Engliſh Baron. He took his ſeat in the Houſe of Peers in the ſeſſion of parliament which opened on the 13th of January, 1731-32; and ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by a ſpeech in oppoſition to the miniſtry, againſt the mutiny-bill; the inconſiſtency of a ſtanding army with the liberties of a free people being, at that period, the topic conſtantly inſiſted upon by the patriotic party. Though no notice is taken of his Lordſhip's ſpeech in Timberland's Debates, it is certain that he acquired conſiderable credit on this occaſion. Mr. Budgell, in the dedication to his Memoirs of the Family of the Boyles (publiſhed in 1732), celebrates our noble Lord, as having diſplayed the united forces of reaſon and eloquence (*k*); and Mr. Ford, in a letter to Dr. Swift, written in the ſame year, mentions, with pleaſure, a character which the Dean had given of the Earl of Orrery, and ſays, that he was extremely applauded for a ſpeech he made againſt the army-bill (*l*). The approbation which his Lordſhip received, in this firſt exertion of his parliamentary talents, did not encourage him to become a public ſpeaker. We meet with only another inſtance in which he took any active part in a debate; and that was on the 13th of February, 1733-4, in favour of the Duke of Marlborough's bill, for preventing the officers of the land-forces from being deprived of their commiſſions, otherwiſe than by judgment of a court-martial, to be held for that purpoſe, or by addreſs of either houſe of parliament (*m*). The delicacy of Lord Orrery's health, his paſſion for private life, and the occaſions he had of ſometimes reſiding in Ireland, ſeem to have precluded him from a very conſtant and regular attendance in the Engliſh Houſe of Peers. However, he did not fail to go thither, when he apprehended himſelf to be called to it by particular duty; and we find his name to a conſiderable number of the proteſts, which were ſo frequent during the grand oppoſition to Sir Robert Walpole's adminiſtration [*B*].

(*k*) P. xx.

(*l*) Swift's Works, Vol. xxiii. p. 187. 24mo edition. Duncombe, p. vii. viii.

(*m*) Timberland's Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. iv. p. 184. 190.

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[*A*] *Left a deep impreſſion upon his mind.*] Mr. Duncombe juſtly obſerves, that his feelings and behaviour, on this trying occaſion, cannot ſo well be expreſſed as in his own words, written to his ſecond ſon twenty years after. ‘ Give me leave to own,’ ſays he, ‘ how ſenſibly I felt the force of an arrow ‘ directed from your grandfather's hand. The ‘ wound, I believe, was not deſigned to be laſting. ‘ It was given in a paſſion, and upon an extraordi‘ nary occaſion; but afterwards he was ſo deſirous to ‘ heal it, by a return of the greateſt degree of friend‘ ſhip and affection, that he had directed the re‘ maining ſcar to be entirely eraſed, when his unex‘ pected and too ſudden death prevented the com‘ pletion of his kind intentions, and the perfection ‘ of my cure. With difficulty I ſurvived the ſhock. ‘ As it was not in my power to avoid the ſevere de‘ cree, I obeyed; and, by my obedience, have flat‘ tered myſelf that I ſubmitted to the will of Heaven. ‘ However, I have ſince thought that I could not ‘ offer a more grateful ſacrifice to his manes, than by ‘ exerting thoſe faculties which he had, at firſt, cul‘ tivated with ſo much care, and had depreſſed, at ‘ laſt, only perhaps to raiſe them higher (1).’ With an alluſion, doubtleſs, to this ‘ ſevere decree,’ in a letter to Mr. Southerne in 1733, ſpeaking of his ſons, then children, ‘ Hammy,’ ſays his Lordſhip, ‘ who ‘ is leſs ſedate than his brother, contents himſelf with ‘ his tops and his marbles, without inquiring into ‘ the natural cauſes of things. By this means the ‘ youngeſt bids fair to be the favourite; for, I find, ‘ I muſt give the other a rap over the head in my ‘ will, or the next age will quite forget me (2).’ By the way, this letter to Mr. Southerne, which is a long one, affords a very pleaſing view of Lord Orrery's diſpoſition, and of his manner of life at Marſton.

(1) Remarks on Swift, p. 229. 5th edition.

(2) Letters of eminent Perſons deceaſed, Vol. ii. p. 43, 44. 2d edition. Duncombe's Preface to the Earl of Cork's Letters from Italy, p. iv.—vi.

[*B*] *Find his name to a conſiderable number of proteſts.*] The following are the proteſts in which he joined. March 7, 1731-2, againſt allowing above 12,000 men for the army. March 29, three times, againſt the rejection of ſo many clauſes propoſed in the ſalt bill. Feb. 13, 1733-34, on the Duke of Marlborough's bill's being refuſed after the ſecond reading. The ſame day, on a negative's being put on Lord Carteret's motion, for addreſſing the King concerning the removal of the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham from their regiments. March 6, on

the

In the ſummer of 1732, the Earl of Orrery went over to Ireland to re-eſtabliſh his affairs, which were much embarraſſed by the villany of his father's agent. As the family ſeat at Charleville had been burnt to the ground, by a party of King James's army, in 1690, his Lordſhip reſided ſometimes with a friend at that place, and ſometimes at Cork. Whilſt he was in this city, he met with a moſt ſevere affliction in the loſs of his Counteſs, who died on the 22d of Auguſt, 1732 (*n*). The character of this amiable lady has been drawn by Lord Orrery himſelf, in his Obſervations on Pliny:

‘ If pureſt virtue, ſenſe refin'd in youth,
‘ Religious wiſdom, and a love of truth,
‘ A mind that knew no thought ignobly mean,
‘ A temper ſweetly cheerful, yet ſerene,
‘ A breaſt that glow'd with thoſe immortal fires
‘ Which godlike charity alone inſpires;
‘ If theſe could lengthen fate's tremendous doom,
‘ And ſnatch one moment from the gaping tomb,
‘ Death had relenting thrown his dart aſide,
‘ And Harriet, Oh! my Harriet had not died (*o*).'

The Counteſs was interred with her anceſtors at Taplow in Bucks; and Mr. S. Weſley, in a poem on her death, fully diſplayed her excellent qualities and virtues. Mr. Theobald did the ſame, in his dedication of Shakeſpeare's Works to the Earl. The dedication, it ſeems, was originally intended for her Ladyſhip; and, therefore, Lord Orrery is repreſented as ſucceeding to it by the melancholy right of executorſhip. Mr. Theobald profeſſes to have borrowed many hints from hearing his patron converſe on Shakeſpeare; and adds, ‘ Your Lordſhip may reaſonably deny the loſs of the jewels ‘ which I have diſparaged in the unartful ſetting (*p*).' Such language, however, muſt be conſidered as partly complimentary; for if the Earl of Orrery had contributed any material criticiſms upon our great dramatic poet, they would undoubtedly have been diſtinctly ſpecified. Some pathetic verſes on the death of the Counteſs, dated Marſton, Dec. 17, 1734, were addreſſed by his Lordſhip to Mrs. Rowe, who lived in his neighbourhood, and with whom he had an intimate friendſhip during the latter part of her life. How much this ingenious and excellent lady valued his eſteem and regard, is evident from her obſerving, that ‘ his approbation would be her vanity and boaſt, if ‘ ſhe could but perſuade herſelf ſhe deſerved it (*q*).' The houſe where ſhe was born belonged to him; and he always paſſed by it, after her deceaſe, with the utmoſt veneration. It appears, from Mrs. Rowe's poſthumous letter to his Lordſhip, that he had charged her with ‘ a meſſage to his Henrietta (Harriet), when ſhe met her gentle ſpirit ‘ in the bliſsful regions (*r*).'

Whilſt our noble Lord reſided in Ireland, he commenced a friendſhip with Dean Swift, which produced alſo that of Mr. Pope. The Earl having ſent a copy of verſes to the Dean, on his birth-day (*s*), they were ſo pleaſing to that celebrated genius, that he begged the author ‘ to accept his moſt humble thanks for the honour done him by ‘ ſo excellent a performance on ſo barren a ſubject.' ‘ In ſpite,' ſays the Dean, ‘ of ‘ thoſe who love me not, it will be ſaid in future ages, that one of Lord Orrery's firſt ‘ eſſays in poetry was theſe verſes on Dr. Swift (*t*).' There are, indeed, ſeveral evidences, in Pope's and Swift's letters, of the ſincere eſteem they entertained for his Lordſhip. We cannot forbear inſerting, in a note, the ſignal teſtimony of Dr. Swift to his character [*C*], when Mrs. Barber was deſirous of dedicating her poems to the Earl

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(*n*) Duncombe's Preface, p. viii.

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. ix. Lord Orrery's Pliny, Vol. ii. p. 183. 3d edit.

(*p*) Duncombe, *ubi ſupra*, p. ix, x. Mrs. Rowe's Works, Vol. i. p. 166.

(*q*) Letters by ſeveral eminent perſons deceaſed, Vol. ii. p. 67.

(*r*) Duncombe's Preface, p. x. xi.

(*s*) Dated Dublin, Nov. 30, 1732.

(*t*) Swift's Works, Vol. vii. p. 198, 199. *Ditto*, Vol. xxiii. p. 192. Duncombe, *ubi ſupra*.

the rejection of the Marquis of Tweedale's motion, that the election of the Scots Peers be by ballot. March 18, on the Duke of Bedford's motion againſt undue influence in the election of the Scots Peers. March 29, 1734, againſt the King's being empowered to augment his forces by ſea and land during the receſs of parliament. Feb. 28, 1734-35, on the petition of certain Peers of Scotland, complaining of illegal practices in the election of the Sixteen Peers for that kingdom. The ſame day, againſt the reſolution for diſmiſſing the ſaid petition, and againſt the motion to adjourn. April 17, 1735, on the bill for regulating quarters. May 9, on the queſtion's paſſing in the negative, whether the Scotch *Habeas Corpus* bill ſhould be committed. From this time we do not find our noble Lord's name among the proteſting Peers, till we come to the proteſt which followed the grand debate relative to the convention on the 1ſt of March, 1738-39. His Lordſhip was alſo among the proteſters upon three other occaſions: May 27, 1741, on the diſmiſſion of the bill to indemnify evidences againſt Robert, Earl of Orford; Jan. 31, 1743-44, againſt continuing the Hanoverian forces in the Britiſh pay; and May 2, 1746, againſt Great Britain's carrying on the war, as a principal, in Flanders (3).

(3) Timberland's Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. iv. p. 62—64. 84—88. 201—203. 218—221. 242. 284. 286. 410—412. 425. 428. 434. 484. 487. 518—520. Vol. vi. p. 186. 188. Vol. viii. p. 174—176. Collection of Lords Proteſts, Vol. ii. p. 220—226. 230—236.

[*C*] *The ſignal teſtimony of Dr. Swift to his character.*] This teſtimony is contained in a letter to his Lordſhip, written by the Dean from Dublin, Auguſt 20, 1733, and is as follows:

‘ My LORD,

‘ I LATELY received a letter from Mrs. Barber, ‘ wherein ſhe deſires my opinion about dedicating ‘ her poems to your Lordſhip; and ſeems in pain to ‘ know how far ſhe may be allowed to draw your ‘ character, which is a right claimed by all dedicators: and ſhe thinks this the more incumbent on ‘ her, from the ſurpriſing inſtances of your generoſity ‘ and favour that ſhe hath already received, and ‘ which ſhe hath been ſo unfaſhionable to publiſh ‘ wherever ſhe goes. This makes her apprehend, ‘ that all ſhe can ſay to your Lordſhip's advantage ‘ will be interpreted as the mere effect of flattery, ‘ under the ſtyle and title of gratitude.

‘ I ſent her word, that I could be of no ſervice to ‘ her upon this article: yet I confeſs, my Lord, that ‘ all thoſe who are thoroughly acquainted with her, ‘ will impute her encomiums to a ſincere, but overflowing ſpirit of thankfulneſs, as well as to the ‘ humble opinion ſhe hath of herſelf; although the ‘ world in general may poſſibly continue in its uſual ‘ ſentiments, and liſt her in the common herd of ‘ dedicators.

‘ Therefore, upon the moſt mature deliberation, Earl of Orrery. Mr. Pope having written, about this time, his epitaph on Mr. Gay, it gave occaſion to the following lines, by our noble author:

‘ Entomb'd with Kings though Gay's cold aſhes lie,
‘ A nobler monument thy ſtrains ſupply.
‘ Thy matchleſs muſe, ſtill faithful to thy friend,
‘ By courts unaw'd, his virtues dares commend.
‘ Lamented Gay, forget thy treatment paſt,
‘ Look down and ſee thy merit crown'd at laſt!
‘ A deſtiny more glorious who can hope,
‘ In life belov'd, in death bemoan'd by Pope (*u*)?’

(*u*) Duncombe, p. xii.

In October 1733, Lord Orrery returned to England; and, having now no attachment to London, he diſpoſed of his houſe in Downing-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, as likewiſe of his ſeat at Britwell near Windſor, and retired to his ſeat at Marſton in Somerſetſhire. As this place had been much neglected by his anceſtors, and was little more than a ſhell of a large old houſe, he amuſed himſelf in building offices, in fitting out and furniſhing apartments, and laying out gardens and other plantations. Study and retirement being his principal pleaſures, he took care to ſupply the loſs he had ſuſtained from his father's will, by furniſhing his library anew with the beſt authors. In the ſummer of 1734, probably in his way to France, where he ſometimes went, he viſited the tomb of his anceſtors, Roger Boyle, Eſq; and Joan his wife, in Preſton-church, near Feverſham. This monument, when the title of Earl of Cork devolved upon him, he intended to have repaired, if his life had been prolonged (*w*). In the middle of the year 1735, we find him again in Ireland. On the 31ſt of October, in the ſame year, an amiable relation, and a moſt promiſing youth, Edmund, Duke of Buckingham, died at Rome; upon which melancholy event, Lord Orrery paid a juſt tribute to the memory of the young Nobleman, in an elegiac poem. It was printed in 1736 (*x*), and is one of the moſt pleaſing ſpecimens which our author hath afforded of his poetical abilities. In the winter of 1735-6, the Duke of Dorſet being then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, the Earl of Orrery was very obliging to him during the whole Seſſion, and neglected no opportunity of endeavouring to render his adminiſtration eaſy. If Dr. Swift is to be credited, Ireland was about that time in a wretched condition. As a proof of it, the Dean aſſerted, in a letter to Mr. Pope, that Lord Orrery had 3000 l. a year in the neighbourhood of Cork, and that more than three years rent was unpaid (*y*). In April 1737, his Lordſhip, who was then at Cork, earneſtly preſſed Dr. Swift to accompany him to England; but the Doctor, who never ſaw Marſton, did not accept the invitation. Lord Orrery took over with him to Mr. Pope all the letters of that great poet to Swift, which the Dean had preſerved, or could find; and they were not more in number than twenty-five. About this time, our noble author, that his ſons might be educated under his own eye, and alſo have the benefit of attending Weſtminſter ſchool, took a ſmall houſe in Duke-ſtreet, Weſtminſter. On the 30th of June, 1738, the Earl of Orrery, after having been ſix years a widower, married, in Ireland, Mrs. Margaret Hamilton, only daughter and heireſs of John Hamilton, Eſq; of Caledon, in the county of Tyrone, grand-daughter of Dr. Dopping, Biſhop of Meath, and niece of Dr. Dopping, Biſhop of Oſſory. Swift, in a letter to Miſs Hamilton, on her intended nuptials, after pretending a prior claim, as ſhe had made ſo many advances to him, and confeſſed ‘ herſelf to be nobody's goddeſs but his,’ archly waves it, and politely ‘ permits Lord ‘ Orrery to make himſelf the happieſt man in the world; as I know not, he adds, any ‘ Lady in this kingdom of ſo good ſenſe, or ſo many accompliſhments.’ He gives a great character of her, likewiſe, in his laſt printed letter to Mr. Pope (*z*). In this Lady, the Earl of Orrery, with gratitude to Heaven, acknowledged that the loſs of his former Counteſs was repaired (*a*). In 1739, he publiſhed a new edition, in two volumes, octavo, of the Dramatic Works of his great-grandfather. Though theſe volumes cannot be particularly valuable, they are become ſo ſcarce, that we were not able to procure them when we wiſhed to ſee our author's opinion concerning his anceſtor's poetry. In 1741 he publiſhed ſeparately, in folio, ‘ the firſt Ode of the firſt Book of

(*w*) Ibid, p. xiv, xv.

(*x*) For Brindley, in folio.

(*y*) Duncombe, p. xvii. Pope's Works, Vol. vi. p. 305. Edition of 1776, 12mo.

(*z*) Duncombe's Preface, p. xix.

(*a*) Orrery's Pliny, Vol. ii. p. 182.

‘ I concluded that the office of ſetting out your Lord‘ſhip's character will not come properly from her ‘ pen, for her own reaſons; I mean, the great fa‘vours you have already conferred on her; and God ‘ forbid that your character ſhould not have a much ‘ ſtronger ſupport! You are hourly gaining the love, ‘ eſteem, and reſpect, of wiſe and good men; and, ‘ in due time, if Mrs. Barber can have but a little ‘ patience, you will bring them all over, in both ‘ kingdoms, to a man. I confeſs the number is not ‘ great; but that is not your Lordſhip's fault; and ‘ therefore, in reaſon, you ought to be contented.

‘ I gueſs the topics ſhe intends to inſiſt on; your ‘ learning, your genius, your affability, generoſity, ‘ the love you bear to your native country, and your ‘ compaſſion for this; the goodneſs of your nature, ‘ your humility, modeſty, and condeſcenſion; your ‘ moſt agreeable converſation, ſuited to all tempers, ‘ conditions, and underſtandings: perhaps ſhe may ‘ be ſo weak to add the regularity of your life; that ‘ you believe a God and Providence; that you are a ‘ firm Chriſtian, according to the doctrine of the ‘ church eſtabliſhed in both kingdoms.

‘ Theſe, and other topics, I imagine, Mrs. Bar‘ber deſigns to inſiſt on, in the dedication of her ‘ poems to your Lordſhip; but I think ſhe will bet‘ter ſhew her prudence by omitting them all. And ‘ yet, my Lord, I cannot diſapprove of her ambition, ‘ ſo juſtly placed, in the choice of a patron (4).’

(4) Swift's Works, Vol. xxiii. p. 220—222.

‘Horace imitated, and inſcribed to the Earl of Cheſterfield;’ and ‘Pyrrha: an Imitation of the fifth Ode of the firſt Book of Horace (*b*).’ In the preface to the laſt, Lord Orrery characteriſes Dacier's and Sanadon's tranſlations, and makes ſome obſervations on Horace, which ſhew that he entered, with great taſte and ſpirit, into the peculiar excellencies of that poet. Our ingenious Nobleman, in 1742, gave to the public, in one volume, folio, the State Letters of his great-grandfather, the firſt Earl; to which were prefixed Morrice's Memoirs of that eminent Stateſman. On the 25th of Auguſt, 1743, his Lordſhip was preſented, by the Univerſity of Oxford, to the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law; and he was, likewiſe, a Fellow of the Royal Society. Lord Boyle, in 1746, being ſettled at Oxford, and Mr. Boyle in the College at Weſtminſter, their father quitted London, and fixed his reſidence at Caledon in Ireland. During one of his occaſional viſits to England, after the publication of the ſecond volume of the Biographia Britannica, he thanked Dr. Campbell, ‘in the name of all the Boyles, for the honour he had done to them, and to his own judgment, by placing the family in ſuch a light as to give a ſpirit of emulation to thoſe who were hereafter to inherit the title (*c*).’ All who have read the five preceding articles, will be ſenſible that this was a juſt tribute of reſpect to that excellent Biographer. Lord Orrery reſided in Ireland, with very little intermiſſion, from 1746 to 1750; happy in that domeſtic tranquillity, that ſtudious retirement and inactivity from which, as he himſelf expreſſed it, he was ſcarcely ever drawn but with the utmoſt reluctance (*d*). ‘Whenever, as he obſerved in a private letter, we ſtep out of domeſtic life in ſearch of felicity, we come back again diſappointed, tired, and chagrined. One day paſſed under our own roof, with our friends and our family, is worth a thouſand in any other place. The noiſe and buſtle, or, as they are fooliſhly called, the diverſions of life, are deſpicable and taſteleſs when once we have experienced the real delight of a fireſide (*e*).’ Theſe ſentiments, which do ſo much honour to the rectitude of his Lordſhip's underſtanding, and the goodneſs of his heart, reflect, at the ſame time, a juſt reproach on the abſurd and criminal diſſipation that prevails, for the moſt part, among perſons of rank and fortune. During the Earl of Orrery's reſidence in Ireland, he employed his leiſure in laying out gardens and plantations at Caledon, and in improving and adorning its fine ſituation. On his return to Marſton, he continued his alterations and improvements in the houſe and gardens at that place, many of the plans for which were deſigned by Lord Boyle, who had a taſte for architecture. In the mean while, the amuſement of our noble author's winter evenings was his Tranſlation of ‘the Letters of Pliny the Younger, with Obſervations on each Letter, and an Eſſay on Pliny's Life, addreſſed to Charles Lord Boyle.’ The Eſſay is dated Leiceſter Fields, January 27, 1750-1; and, together with the Tranſlation, was publiſhed at London [*D*], in the following April, in two volumes quarto. This work met with ſo good a reception from the public, that three editions of it, in octavo, have ſince been printed. In the ſummer of the ſame year, Lord Orrery addreſſed to his ſecond ſon, Hamilton, a Series of Letters, containing ‘Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin (*f*).’ This performance, which is very entertaining, and went through five editions in little more than a year's time, gave occaſion to many ſtrictures and publications, that will fall more properly under our notice when we come to the article of Swift. There, too, will be the fitteſt place for conſidering, whether our noble author violated his friendſhip to the Dean, in fully repreſenting the defects, as well as the excellencies of his character.

On the 3d of December, 1753, by the death of Richard the third Earl of Burlington, and fourth Earl of Cork, without iſſue male [*E*], Lord Orrery ſucceeded to that Nobleman's

(*b*) Theſe have been obligingly communicated to us by Iſaac Reed, Eſq.

(*c*) Duncombe, *ubi ſupra*, p. xx—xxi.

(*d*) Duncombe, *ubi ſupra*, p. xxii.

(*e*) Duncombe, p. xxii, xxiii.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. xxiii, xxiv.

[*D*] *Was publiſhed at London.*] Beſides what relates more immediately to Pliny, the Earl of Orrery hath introduced, in the Eſſay, a long account of the Roman Palæſtra, and a Diſſertation on the monarchy and ſenate of Rome. Theſe are digreſſions which ſeem to be ſomewhat out of place. However, they ſhew the author's knowledge of the Roman antiquities and hiſtory; and were written more with a view to the inſtruction of his ſon, than to the information of the public. He hath given, we think, a very juſt repreſentation of the character of Pliny, and of the merit of his letters. With regard to Lord Orrery's tranſlation, it will ſcarcely be aſſerted, that it entirely comes up to the elegance of Mr. Melmoth's. With reſpect to the obſervations, annexed to the letters, we fully agree in the juſtneſs of the following commendation, by a periodical critic. ‘The obſervations his Lordſhip has made on each letter, make not only a very conſiderable, but a very uſeful part of the work. They carry in them ſuch lively traces of a benevolent, candid, modeſt, and upright heart, as cannot but give the greateſt pleaſure to every one who reads them attentively. As the work ſeems to have been compoſed principally with a view to the uſe and entertainment of Lord Boyle, his Lordſhip's obſervations conſiſt, in a great meaſure, of ſuch moral reflections, as a virtuous and ſenſible father would make in reading Pliny with his ſon; and we are perſuaded, it will contribute not a little to the reader's pleaſure, to obſerve the many ſtrokes of paternal tenderneſs and affection that appear in them, and the earneſt concern to form this young nobleman to piety, virtue, and public ſpirit: an amiable example, and well worthy of imitation! As a farther commendation of this work, we ſhall mention one particular more (though we are ſenſible that, in ſuch an age as this, there are many who will look upon it as a weakneſs in this ingenious Nobleman's character), and it is this; the great regard and veneration his Lordſhip has, in more places of his work than one, teſtified for the Chriſtian religion (5).’

(5) Monthly Review, Vol. iv. p. 481, 482.

[*E*] *Third Earl of Burlington*, &c.] This Nobleman was born on the 25th of April, 1695; and was married, on the 21ſt of March, 1720-1, to the Lady Dorothy Savile, the eldeſt of the two daughters and co-heirs of William Savile, Marquis of Halifax. By this Lady, Lord Burlington had three daughters, the youngeſt of whom, Charlotte, alone ſurvived him. She was married to the late Duke of Devonſhire, when man's Iriſh titles. Theſe were, Earl of Cork, Viſcount Dungarvan, and Lord Boyle, Baron of Youghall (*g*). About this time, Mr. Moore undertook the periodical publication called ‘ The World;’ ‘ that bow of Ulyſſes, ſays Mr. Duncombe, in which it ‘ was the faſhion for men of rank and genius to try their ſtrength.’ Among the reſt, our noble author contributed three papers, viz. No. 47, 68, 161. The two firſt are papers of ſome humour, intended to ridicule the practice of duelling, as it prevailed in the laſt age; and the third is a father's account of his ſon, whoſe weakneſs of temper was ſuch, that he could not reſiſt the temptation to indulgences for which, in himſelf, he had no inclination. The numbers 60 and 170, in the ſame Collection, were written by Mr. Hamilton Boyle. The deſign of them is to expoſe the folly of giving vails to ſervants, and the abſurdity of an oſtentatious and ill-directed charity to public hoſpitals. Theſe two papers, which are drawn up with vivacity, elegance, and humour, are a full proof that, if this young Nobleman's life had been continued, it would have been in his power to have added new literary honour to his illuſtrious name and family. The Earl of Cork was a contributor, likewiſe, to the ‘ Connoiſſeur,’ carried on by Mr. Thornton and Mr. Colman. In the laſt number of this publication, G. K., which was his Lordſhip's ſignature, is diſtinguiſhed, by the ingenious authors, as their ‘ earlieſt and moſt ‘ frequent correſpondent;’ and ‘ we are ſorry,’ they add, ‘ that he will not allow us to ‘ mention his name; ſince it would reflect as much credit on our work, as we are ſure ‘ will redound to it from his compoſitions.’ His communications to the ‘ Connoiſſeur’ were the moſt part of No. 14 and 17; the letter ſigned Goliah Engliſh, in No. 19: great part of No. 33 and 40; and the letters, ſigned ‘ Reginald Fitzworm,’ ‘ Michael Krawbridge,’ ‘ Moſes Orthodox,’ and ‘ Thomas Vainall,’ in No. 102, 107, 113, and 129. Theſe papers are chiefly of the humorous kind; and they confirm, in no ſmall degree, Mr. Duncombe's character of our author, that ‘ for humour, innocent humour, ‘ no one had a truer taſte, or better talent (*h*).’ On the 20th of September, 1754, the Earl and Counteſs of Cork, with their daughter Lady Lucy Boyle, began a tour to Italy. His Lordſhip's chief object was Florence, in which city and its neighbourhood he reſided nearly a year. Whilſt he was at that place, he preſented to the Academy della Cruſca, his friend Dr. Samuel Johnſon's Engliſh Dictionary. Lord Cork's inveterate enemy, the gout, introduced by a ſevere winter, overtook him even in Italy, and prevented his attendance on the exerciſes of the Academy. He enjoyed, at Florence, a general eſteem, and, by a free converſation with books and men, and the aſſiſtance of manuſcripts, collected materials for the Hiſtory of Tuſcany, which he intended to write in a Series of Letters, twelve of which only he lived to finiſh (*i*). In November, 1755, he arrived at Marſton, having, in his return to England, on account of the commencement of the war with France, gone through Germany and part of Holland. The ſituation of public affairs, in this country, at the beginning of the year 1757, being ſuch as required, in our national councils, the utmoſt exertion of wiſdom and integrity, one of Lord Cork's friends urged him, in an ode, of which the following lines are the concluſion, to exchange his retirement for a more active ſcene:

(*g*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. vii. p. 119. 145.

(*h*) Duncombe's Preface, *ubi ſupra*, p. xxv. xxvii. Connoiſſeur, Vol. iv. p. 270, 6th edition.

(*i*) Letters from Italy, p. 180. Preface, p xxvii, xxviii.

‘ To Laureſtinum's groves retir'd,
  ‘ Your Pliny fled from care,
‘ Yet when his country's voice requir'd,
  ‘ He fill'd the Conſul's chair.
‘ Then, like that Conſul, lend your aid
  ‘ To prop our tott'ring walls,
‘ For Rome demands you from the ſhade,
  ‘ And hoary Nerva calls.’

When Dr. Swift's ‘ Hiſtory of the four laſt Years of Queen Anne’ appeared in 1758, and it was reported that our noble Lord had conſented to the publication of that pernicious piece, he requeſted his friends to contradict the report. His opinion was, that the more the work was examined, the leſs it would anſwer the end either of the author or of the publiſher (*k*). In that year, his Lordſhip ſuſtained, by the death of his excellent Lady, Margaret Counteſs of Cork and Orrery, the ſevereſt domeſtic affliction which could befal him. She departed this life, after a ſhort illneſs, on the 24th of November, in lodgings at Knightſbridge, to which ſhe had been removed, at her own

(*k*) Preface, p. xxix.

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when Marquis of Hartington, and was mother to the preſent Duke. On the 18th of June, 1730, the Earl of Burlington was inſtalled one of the Knights Companions of the moſt noble Order of the Garter; and in the ſame month of the next year, he was conſtituted Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Penſioners. In 1732, being at the city of York, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Corporation, ſent a deputation to return their thanks to him for the favour he had done them in building their aſſembly-room, and for his other benefactions to the city, and to beg his acceptance of the freedom of it; which was, accordingly, preſented to him in a gold box. In 1733, he reſigned his place of Captain of the Band of Penſioners. After this he lived retired, employing himſelf in adorning his gardens at Chiſwick, and in conſtructing ſeveral pieces of architecture. On this ſubject, he was conſulted by the nobility and gentry of his acquaintance, and he was a benefactor towards the building of various public edifices (6). To him was owing the reſtoration of the portico of Covent Garden church to its original beauty. In ſhort, he was an encourager of all the liberal arts; and, particularly, by his fine taſte and ſkill in architecture, he obtained the titles of the Britiſh Vitruvius, and the Britiſh Palladio.

(6) Collins's Peerage, Vol. vii, p. 144, 145.

requeſt, a few days before, from a tender apprehenſion that her Lord would quit his houſe, juſt taken, in Marlborough-ſtreet, if ſhe died there. This ſhock, however, he ſupported with the reſignation becoming a man and a chriſtian. We have already ſeen the high opinion which Dr. Swift entertained of her Ladyſhip. Mr. and Mrs. Griffiths, in a valuable collection, entitled, ‘ Letters between Henry and Frances,’ have given the following moſt pleaſing, and yet true character of the Counteſs. ‘ Her affability and unaffected manners, ſays Henry, not leſs than her food, which is little more than bread and pulſe, milk and water, would befit a cabin; while her taſte, ſpirit, and politeneſs might become a palace.’ Frances as juſtly obſerves, ‘ dignity without pride, good-humour without folly, wit without ſatire, charity without oſtentation, and philoſophy with the extremeſt quickneſs of underſtanding and tenderneſs of heart, are all joined in the amiable compoſition of that unaffectedly good woman (*l*). The Earl of Cork, in his diſtreſs, took refuge, like Pliny, in his ſtudies, as the beſt retreat from grief, and publiſhed, in the beginning of the year 1759, in one volume, octavo, from an original manuſcript, preſented to him by a relation (*m*), ‘ Memoirs of the Life of Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth.’ Our author accompanied the Memoirs with a Preface, and explanatory Notes, and prefixed a ſhort but tender Dedication to his youngeſt ſon, ‘ though laſt not leaſt in love.’ It is dated Marlborough-ſtreet, January 13, 1759, and ſigned, ‘ Now, alas! your only parent.’ There is, alſo, as a frontiſpiece, engraved from an old painting by Marc Garrard, ‘ the Royal proceſſion of Queen Elizabeth, to viſit her couſin german Henry Lord Hunſdon, Governor of Berwick.’ A ſecond edition of the Memoirs appeared in 1760 (*n*). Mrs. Lennox was conſiderably indebted to Lord Cork, in her tranſlation of Brumoy's Greek Theatre, publiſhed in 1759. The preface was written by him; and he alſo tranſlated ‘ The Diſcourſe upon the Theatre of the Greeks,’ ‘ The Original of Tragedy,’ and ‘ The Parallel of the Theatres.’ Some ſmaller things, of his Lordſhip's writing, will be mentioned in the note [*F*]. On September the 16th, 1759, the Earl of Cork had the calamity of loſing his eldeſt ſon, Charles Lord Viſcount Dungarvan. Though the declining ſtate of health, under which this young Nobleman long laboured, had prepared his family and friends for the ſtroke, yet it could not avoid being deeply felt by his affectionate father. The Earl ſurvived the loſs of his ſon about three years, during which he divided his time between his houſe in Great George-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, and his ſeat in Somerſetſhire. An hereditary gout, which all his temperance could only parry, not ſubdue, put a comparatively early period to his earthly exiſtence, at Marſton Houſe, on the 16th of November, 1762, in the 56th year of his age. His remains were depoſited near to thoſe of his ſecond Lady, in the burial-place of his family in Frome church (*o*). By his firſt Counteſs his Lordſhip had three children, Charles, born January 27, 1728-9; Hamilton, born February 23, 1729-30; and Elizabeth, born May 7, 1731. Charles, Lord Viſcount Dungarvan, died, as we have ſeen, before his father. He married, on the 4th of May, 1754, Miſs Suſanna Hoare, eldeſt daughter of Henry Hoare, Eſq; of Stourhead, in Wiltſhire, by whom he left one daughter. His relict was afterwards married to Thomas Lord Bruce, now Earl of Ayleſbury. Hamilton, Lord Cork's ſecond ſon, was matriculated at Oxford, on the 14th of June, 1748, and was admitted Student of Chriſt-Church in December following. On the 15th of May, 1755, he proceeded regularly to the degree of LL. B. At his father's deceaſe he ſucceeded him as Earl of Cork and Orrery. In 1763, he was created LL. D. by diploma, and, at the ſame time, was appointed High Steward of the Univerſity of Oxford, by the Earl of Litchfield, the Chancellor. He continued ſtudent of Chriſt-Church, on a faculty, till his death, which happened at Marſton Houſe on the 17th of January, 1764. He died unmarried. The maſterly manner in which he acted the part of Ignoramus, and ſpoke the epilogue, in the Dormitory at Weſtminſter, in December 1747, did great credit to his genius, and will long be remembered by his friends and contemporaries. Lady Elizabeth Boyle was married in March 1750, to Thomas Worſley, Eſq; afterwards Sir Thomas Worſley, Bart. by whoſe deceaſe ſhe hath become a widow. John Earl of Cork had, by his ſecond Lady, two children, Edmund, born November 21, 1742, and Lucy, born May 27, 1744. Edmund, on

(*l*) Preface, p. xxiv, xxv.

(*m*) Lady Elizabeth Spelman, daughter to the Earl of Middleton.

(*n*) Duncombe's Preface, *ubi ſupra*, p. xxx, xxxi.

(*o*) Duncombe's Preface, *ubi ſupra*, p. xxxi, xxxii.

[*F*] *Will be mentioned in the note.*] In the Gentleman's Magazine, for 1741, p. 325, are ſome verſes by Lord Orrery, to Mrs. Cæſar. In 1751, he wrote the prologue to Mallet's Alfred. Several of his letters are to be met with in Swift's Works. In Derrick's Letters, Vol. II. p. 17, there is, likewiſe, one from his Lordſhip to that gentleman, dated November 25, 1760 (7).

In his Tranſlation of Pliny, beſides a poetical verſion of a number of paſſages quoted from the ancient claſſics, there are interſperſed ſeveral ſmall original pieces. We ſhall tranſcribe our author's lines upon the Love of Britons for Liberty, as they diſplay his own ſentiments and feelings on the ſubject.

‘ With native freedom, as with courage bleſt,
‘ Chains, and each mark of thraldom we deteſt.
‘ 'Tis Heaven's high gift, 'tis Nature's great decree,
‘ That none be ſlaves, whom God himſelf made free.
‘ Revere we ought thoſe powers which we entruſt,
‘ But to ourſelves be reſolutely juſt;
‘ Scorn baſe corruption, nor, like ſlaves, diſown
‘ The laws that fix'd our Monarch in his throne:
‘ For well we know, by Truth's eternal rules,
‘ Where ſlaves are ſubjects, ſubjects muſt be fools.
‘ Exert but reaſon, liberty will reign,
‘ And tyranny exalt her impious head, in vain (8).’

Lord Orrery's public principles may be farther ſeen in the excellent advice which he gives to his ſon Hamilton, in the laſt letter of the Remarks on Swift's Life and Writings.

(7) Mr. Reed has reminded us of ſome of theſe ſmaller pieces.

(8) Pliny's Letters, Vol. ii. p. 79.

the death of his brother Hamilton, ſucceeded to the titles and eſtate of his family, and is the ſeventh Earl of Cork and Orrery. He married, on the 25th of Auguſt, 1764, Miſs Anne Courtenay, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Kellond Courtenay, Eſq; Knight of the Shire for the county of Huntingdon; by which Lady his Lordſhip hath ſeveral children. Lady Lucy Boyle was married, on July the 10th, 1765, to George Lord Viſcount Torrington (*p*).

(*p*) Duncombe's Preface, *ubi ſupra*, p. xi. xxi. xxiii, xxiv, xxv. xxx. xxxii, xxxiii.

The laſt work of the noble author, who is the ſubject of the preſent article, was poſthumous. It is his 'Letters from Italy [*G*],' written, in the years 1754 and 1755, to William Duncombe, Eſq; and publiſhed, in 1774, by the Rev. Mr. John Duncombe, who well knew, and highly eſteemed Lord Cork's talents and virtues (*q*). Mr. Duncombe hath prefixed a Life of his Lordſhip, to which we have been principally indebted for being enabled to do juſtice to his memory; and with the concluſion of which we ſhall cloſe our account of this ingenious, accompliſhed, and virtuous Nobleman. 'The character of John Earl of Cork, as a writer and as a man, may 'partly be collected from his own works, and partly from the teſtimonies which have 'been given of him by ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed among his contemporaries. I 'ſhall only beg leave to add, that, in every domeſtic and ſocial relation, in all the en'dearing connections of life, as a huſband, a father, a friend, a maſter, he had few 'equals. The luſtre which he received from rank and title, and from the perſonal 'merit of his family, he reflected back, unimpaired and undiminiſhed; and though "the poſt of honour" which he choſe and preferred was "a private ſtation," though 'he was neither a ſtateſman nor a ſoldier, like the firſt Lord Cork, the firſt Lord Or'rery, and his own father; the rival of Palladio, like the late Lord Burlington; or the 'rival of Bacon, like Mr. Robert Boyle; yet in a general taſte for literature, or, as 'they are commonly called, polite ſtudies, he was by no means inferior to his anceſtors. "Being much in the great world at the beginning of his life, he deſpiſed and deteſted "it when he arrived at years of reflection. His conſtitution was never ſtrong, and he "was very thankful that it was not ſo; as his health was a true and no very irkſome "excuſe to avoid thoſe ſcenes, by which his body would have been hurt, and his mind "offended. He loved truth even to a degree of adoration. He was a real chriſtian;" 'and, as ſuch, "conſtantly hoped for a better life, there truſting to know the real "cauſes of thoſe effects, which here ſtruck him with wonder, but not with doubt *." 'On the whole, it may be eaſy to trace, in ſeveral inſtances, a ſtriking reſemblance 'between him and his favourite Roman. Though they both had ſeats in the ſenates of 'their reſpective countries, the one, by his employments, being a magiſtrate and a 'judge, and the other, by birth, a judge and a legiſlator, yet in privacy and retire'ment, at Tuſculum and Marſton, among their families, their books, and their 'friends, they paſſed their happieſt hours. Irreproachable were their morals: for tem'perance, in particular, and ſweetneſs of nature, they were both diſtinguiſhed. The 'early impreſſion which was made on the mind of the nephew, by his uncle's cataſtro'phe at Veſuvius, could not exceed the ſhock which the ſon received from his father's 'will. Fond as they both were of rural eaſe, for rural ſports they had neither inclina'tion nor leiſure. In conjugal love they were both twice happy. Great as were the 'taſte, the judgment, the virtue and affection of Calpurnia, the late Counteſs of Cork 'was in every reſpect her equal. "Pliny treated his domeſtics as his friends, and la"mented their deaths as if he had been their parent †." No leſs exemplary as a maſter 'was the Earl of Cork; and even his domeſtics of the brute creation had their labours 'rewarded with tenderneſs, and their lives prolonged by attention ‡. For poetry, though 'few of Pliny's verſes are tranſmitted to us, they both had a talent. In familiar epiſtles 'they both excelled. "Pliny, in ſome of his letters, is an hiſtorical writer §;" he had 'been adviſed by many of his friends to write a hiſtory; and, according to Caſſiodorus, 'he put the advice into execution ‖. Hiſtorical alſo are many of the following letters *, 'and if time had permitted the author to complete a work there mentioned, he would 'have been ranked by poſterity among the beſt hiſtorians of Florence. To a taſte for 'literature, and a thirſt for knowledge, both the Roman and the Briton had, as it were,

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. xxxvii.

* His Lordſhip's own words in ſeveral private letters.

† Obſervations on Pliny, B. viii. Ep. 16.

‡ In particular, a favourite horſe, whoſe life was prolonged to the uncommon age of 34, and a favourite greyhound, who lived to the age of 14, have monumental inſcriptions to their memory in the gardens at Marſton.

§ Obſervations on Pliny, B. iii. Ep. 9.

‖ Eſſay on the Life of Pliny, p. lxxii.

* The Letters from Italy.

[*G*] *His Letters from Italy.*] The Letters from Italy are not the leaſt valuable part of the Earl of Cork's works. They are written in an agreeable and conciſe manner, and contain much information. His reflections, in general, are ſuch as do equal honour to his underſtanding and his heart. The fragments he hath interſperſed of the Florentine Hiſtory are particularly curious; and, indeed, ſome of the facts he has related are very extraordinary, and, we believe, were not heretofore known, at leaſt in this country. Whence he drew his intelligence does not appear, excepting that he ſays he had it from manuſcripts.

In Lord Cork's third letter, he hath drawn a character of Lewis the XIVth of France, which we think far too favourable to the memory of that monarch (9). Lewis, notwithſtanding his agreeable and ſplendid private qualities, was ſo unjuſt and faithleſs in his political enterpriſes, and ſo perſecuting in his religious conduct, that the friends to mankind ſhould hold him out as an object of deteſtation. A few exterior accompliſhments and talents ought not ſo far to blind the judgment, as to prevent a ſevere ſentence of condemnation from being paſſed on ſuch a tyrant.

(9) P. 27—30.

Our author's cenſure of the Engliſh ſneer, ſhews his ſagacity of obſervation. 'Our ſeparation from 'the continent, ſays he, gives us peculiarities, which 'other nations have not. It gives us that ſhyneſs, 'that obſtinate, ſilent, rude reſerve, which we prac'tiſe towards ourſelves and all the reſt of the world. 'The ſneer, that proud, vain, cowardly ſneer, 'which ſupplies the want of wit, and diſcovers the 'abundance of ill-nature, is entirely and ſhamefully 'our own (10).'

(10) P. 145.

'a kind

‘ a kind of hereditary right: in particular, Pliny the elder has been compared, as a phi-
‘ loſopher, by Lord Cork himſelf, to his own great relation Mr. Robert Boyle *. Equally
‘ happy were the Conſul and the Peer in their private friendſhips. What Arria and
‘ Fannia were to the one, Mrs. Rowe, the Britiſh Philomela, was to the other. If
‘ Pliny had his Martial and Italicus, Lord Orrery had his Southerne and Fenton. And,
‘ to complete the parallel, as Suetonius and Tacitus, the two beſt writers that Rome
‘ then produced, were the friends and correſpondents of Pliny, his tranſlator was no
‘ leſs fortunate in the friendſhip and correſpondence of Swift and Pope.’] K.

BOYSE, BOYS or BOIS (JOHN), an eminent Divine, and one of the Tranſlators of the Bible, in the reign of King James I (*a*). He was the ſon of Mr. William Bois, Rector of Weſt Stowe near St. Edmunds-Bury in Suffolk; and his mother was deſcended of an ancient and honourable family in that county, and was alſo in herſelf a valuable woman, as we learn from our author in a ſhort character he drew of her [*A*]. This John Bois, who was their only ſurviving ſon, was born at Nettleſtead in Suffolk, January 3, 1560 (*b*). He ſpent his infancy in the houſe of his father, who taught him with great induſtry the firſt rudiments of learning; inſomuch that when John had attained the age of five years, he read the Bible in Hebrew, and not only wrote that language intelligibly, but in a fair and elegant character by that time he was ſix (*c*). He went afterwards to Hadley ſchool, where he contracted an intimate acquaintance with John Overall, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, Biſhop of Norwich, and his colleague in the tranſlation of the Bible (*d*), as the reader will hereafter find. At the age of fourteen he was ſent to the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he was admitted of St. John's College, March 1, 1575, under the tuition of Mr. Henry Coppinger. There he quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his great ſkill in the Greek language, of which he gave a ſtrong inſtance by writing letters therein to the maſter and ſenior fellows, when he had been but half a year at college, and thereby obtained a ſcholarſhip (*e*). He afterwards applied himſelf to his ſtudies ſo cloſely, that it was common for him in the ſummer time to go to the Univerſity Library at four in the morning, and continue there till eight in the evening without any intermiſſion (*f*). He was elected Fellow when he had the ſmall-pox, and was (to preſerve his ſeniority) carried wrapped up in blankets to be admitted (*g*). He firſt intended to have applied himſelf to Phyſic, but fancying himſelf affected with every diſeaſe of which he read, he quitted that ſcience for Divinity, and on June 21, 1583, he was ordained Deacon, by Dr. Freake Biſhop of Norwich, and the next day, by virtue of a diſpenſation, Prieſt (*h*). He was chief Greek Lecturer in his college ten years together, all which time he read diligently every day, and for ſeveral years he voluntarily read a Greek Lecture at four in the morning in his own chamber, which was frequented by moſt of the Fellows. On the death of his father, he ſucceeded him in the rectory of Weſt Stowe; but his mother going to live with her brother, he reſigned that preferment, though he might have kept it with his Fellowſhip (*i*). At the age of thirty-ſix, he married the daughter of Mr. Holt, Rector of Boxworth, and ſucceeded him in that living October 13, 1596; and on his quitting the Univerſity, the College gave him 100l. His wife being very young, and himſelf wholly addicted to his ſtudies, their affairs took an unhappy turn; ſo that finding himſelf deeply in debt, he was forced to ſell his choice collection of books, which afflicted him ſo much, that he had thoughts of quitting his native country. He was however ſoon brought to a reconciliation with his wife; and they lived together many years after in perfect harmony [*B*]. When he began to be acquainted with the neighbouring clergy, he agreed with twelve of them to meet every Friday at one of their houſes by turns, to give an account of their ſtudies, and to make a joint improvement of their ſeveral labours (*k*). He uſually kept ſome young ſcholar in his houſe, for the inſtruction of his own children, and the poorer ſort of the town; as well as for the benefit of ſeveral gentlemen's children who were ſent to board with him. When King James I.

[*A*] *Short character he drew of her.*] Her brother was patron of Weſt Stowe, to which he preſented our author's father. The account which Mr. Bois himſelf gives of his mother, was written in her Common-Prayer book, in the words following (1). ‘ This
‘ was my mother's book, my good mother's book.
‘ Her name was firſt Mirabel Poolye; and then after-
‘ wards Mirabel Bois; being ſo called by the name
‘ of her huſband, my father, William Bois; who
‘ lived in the Miniſtry diverſe years, and was buried
‘ at a village, not above four miles from St. Ed-
‘ mund's Bury, called Weſt Stowe, where he had
‘ been paſtor, and remained ſo till the time of his
‘ death. My mother overlived my father about ten
‘ years. For being much alike in years when they
‘ married; my father died anno ætatis ſuæ lxviii, and
‘ my mother lxxviii, plus minus. She had read the
‘ Bible over twelve times, and the Book of Martyrs
‘ twice; beſides other books not a few.’ It was his cuſtom to write ſuch kind of notes (agreeably to their nature) in all his books, many inſtances of which are ſtill in the hands of the curious (2).

[*B*] *In perfect harmony.*] The village of Boxworth lies in the hundred of Papworth, in the county of Cambridge, and at the diſtance of about five miles from that univerſity. It was an advowſon which he enjoyed in right of his wife; who, together with the living, was bequeathed to him by her dying father. He lived with the former forty-five, and enjoyed the latter forty-ſeven years. We are told by the writer of his life, that notwithſtanding this accident at the beginning of their wedlock, yet Mr. Bois continued to leave all domeſtic affairs to her management; which ſhews how ſincerely he was reconciled, notwithſtanding the loſs of his library touched him to the quick: for beſides his having in it almoſt every Greek author then extant, he ſold it to a loſs as great as the ſum to which the debt paid by what it produced, amounted (3). Such are frequently the deplorable diſtreſſes of men of great merit, and too much modeſty!

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* Obſervations on Pliny, B. vi. Ep. 16.

(*a*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 153. Fuller's Worthies in Suffolk, p. 71. Cambridge Worthies, MS. p. 191.

(*b*) Life of our Author by Dr. Anthony Walker, in Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. ii. p. 38—42.

(*c*) Some pieces of his writing at that age, were formerly in the hands of the Rev. Mr. Dowſin, late Rector of Cottenham in the Iſle of Ely.

(*d*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, Book x. p. 45.

(*e*) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, *ubi ſupra*, p. 42.

(*f*) Dr. Walker was informed of this fact, by his contemporaries at Cambridge.

(*g*) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, *ubi ſupra*.

(*h*) *Ibid.*

(*i*) We have theſe particulars from Dr. Walker's own knowledge.

(*k*) Moſt of theſe circumſtances were collected from the author's notes, in his almanacks and other books.

(1) Walker's Life of our Author, in Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. ii. lib. viii. p. 38, 39.

(2) The author of this note has ſeen ſeveral of theſe *Memoranda* in the hands of clergymen at Cambridge, Ely, and other places.

(3) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. ii. p. 46.

directed

directed a new Tranſlation to be made of the Bible, by perſons of the greateſt learning, as well at London as the two Univerſities, Mr. Bois was elected one of the Cambridge Tranſlators, and not only performed his own, but alſo the part that was aſſigned to another, with great reputation, though with no profit; for, excepting his commons, he had no allowance made him for his cloſe attendance from Monday morning to Saturday evening, in the diſcharge of this employment *(l)*. As this was an undertaking worthy of its royal author, ſo it was admirably conducted, and at length brought to a happy concluſion [*C*]. Four years were ſpent in this firſt ſervice, and then three copies being

(l) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, *ubi ſupra*, p. 47.

[*C*] *Brought to a happy concluſion.*] The hiſtory of this tranſlation of the Bible, which is that ſtill in uſe, deſerves particular notice. There had been ſeveral before, and great objections had been made againſt them all. The firſt was that of William Tyndall, which brought himſelf, as well as his book, to the flames (4). However, the people of England were ſo well pleaſed with his performance, that, to get it out of their hands, the Biſhops made a new tranſlation, to which a learned and pious preface, written by Archbiſhop Cranmer, was prefixed, together with King Henry VIII.'s inſtructions; and to give it ſtill greater credit, it was recommended to the people by a royal proclamation, dated May 6, 1541 (5). In the reign of Edward VI. there was another tranſlation, printed in 1549; but this, as well as the former, was not divided into verſes. Queen Elizabeth directed a commiſſion to ſeveral Biſhops, commanding them to review both tranſlations, and by their care came out a third, called from thence the Biſhops Bible (6), which had hitherto been uſed: but after the Hampton-Court conference, King James, determined to remedy the defects then complained of, carried immediately into execution a deſign (7) he had before meditated, of procuring a fourth tranſlation; which he committed to the care of forty-ſeven reverend and learned perſons, divided into ſix companies, in the following manner (8). I. The Pentateuch, Joſhua, Judges, Ruth, firſt and ſecond books of Samuel, firſt and ſecond books of Kings, to be tranſlated by ten perſons at Weſtminſter, viz. 1. Lancelot Andrews, D. D. Dean of Weſtminſter, afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter. 2. John Overall, D. D. Dean of St. Paul's, afterwards Biſhop of Norwich. 3. Hadrianus a Saravia, D. D. 4. Dr. Clarke, Fellow of Chriſt's College in Cambridge, Preacher in Canterbury. 5. Dr. John Laifield, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Rector of St. Clement Danes: he being well ſkilled in architecture, his judgment was much relied on with regard to the fabric of the Tabernacle and Temple. 6. Dr. Leigh, Archdeacon of Middleſex, and Rector of Allhallows, Barking. 7. Mr. Francis Burgley. 8. Mr. King. 9. Mr. Thompſon. 10. Mr. William Bedwell, of Cambridge, Vicar of Tottenham High-Croſs. II. The firſt and ſecond books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Eſther, Job, Pſalms, Proverbs, Eccleſiaſtes, and Canticles, to be tranſlated by eight perſons at Cambridge, viz. 1. Mr. Lively. 2. Mr. John Richardſon, Fellow of Emanuel College, afterwards D. D. Maſter firſt of Peter Houſe, and then of Trinity College. 3. Mr. Laurence Chaderton, afterwards D. D. Fellow of Chriſt's, and Maſter of Emanuel College. 4. Mr. Dillingham, Fellow of Chriſt's College. 5. Mr. Roger Andrews, afterwards D. D. Brother to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Maſter of Jeſus College. 6. Mr. Harriſon, Vice-Maſter of Trinity College. 7. Mr. Robert Spalding, Fellow of St. John's College, and Profeſſor of Hebrew. 8. Mr. Andrew Byng, Fellow of Peter-Houſe, and Hebrew Profeſſor before Mr. Spalding. III. The four greater, twelve leſſer Prophets, and the Lamentations, to be tranſlated by ſeven perſons at Oxford, viz. 1. Dr. John Harding, Preſident of Magdalen College. 2. Dr. John Reynolds, Preſident of Corpus Chriſti College. 3. Dr. Thomas Holland, Rector of Exeter College, and Regius Profeſſor. 4. Dr. Richard Kilby, Rector of Lincoln College. 5. Mr. Miles Smith, afterwards D. D. and Biſhop of Glouceſter: he wrote the preface to the tranſlation. 6. Mr. Richard Brett, beneficed at Quainton in Buckinghamſhire. 7. Mr. Fairclough. IV. The Apocrypha to be tranſlated by ſeven perſons at Cambridge, viz. 1. Dr. John Duport, Prebendary of Ely, and Maſter of Jeſus College. 2. Dr. William Brainthwait, firſt Fellow of Emanuel College, and afterwards Maſter of Gonvil and Caius College. 3. Dr. Radclyffe, one of the ſenior Fellows of Trinity College. 4. Mr. Samuel Ward, Fellow of Emanuel College, afterwards D. D. and Maſter of Sidney College, and Margaret Profeſſor of Divinity. 5. Mr. Andrew Downes, Fellow of St. John's College, and Greek Profeſſor. 6. Mr. John Bois, Rector of Boxſworth in Cambridgeſhire. 7. Mr. Ward, Fellow of Queen's College, and afterwards Prebendary of Chicheſter, and Rector of Biſhop Waltham in Hampſhire. V. The four Goſpels, Acts of the Apoſtles, and Apocalypſe, to be tranſlated by eight perſons at Oxford, viz. 1. Dr. Thomas Ravis, Dean of Chriſt Church, afterwards Biſhop of London. 2. Dr. George Abbot, Maſter of Univerſity College, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury. 3. Mr. Eedes. 4. Mr. Thomſon. 5. Mr. Henry Savile. 6. Dr. Peryn. 7. Mr. Ravens. 8. Mr. Harmer. VI. The Epiſtles to be tranſlated by ſeven at Weſtminſter, viz. 1. Dr. William Barlow, of Trinity Hall, in Cambridge, Dean of Cheſter, and afterwards ſucceſſively Biſhop of Rocheſter and Lincoln. 2. Dr. Hutchenſon. 3. Dr. Spencer. 4. Mr. Fenton. 5. Mr. Rabbet. 6. Mr. Sanderſon. 7. Mr. Dakins. To theſe learned perſons his Majeſty was pleaſed to give the following inſtructions. 1. The ordinary Bible, read in the church, commonly called the Biſhops Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the original will permit. 2. The names of the prophets, and the holy writers, with the other names in the text, to be retained as near as may be, according as they are vulgarly uſed. 3. The old eccleſiaſtical words to be kept, viz. As the word Church, not to be tranſlated Congregation, *&c.* 4. When any word hath diverſe ſignifications, that to be kept which hath been moſt commonly uſed by the moſt eminent fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place, and the analogy of faith. 5. The diviſion of the chapters to be altered, either not at all, or as little as may be, if neceſſity ſo require. 6. No marginal notes to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew, or Greek words, which cannot, without ſome circumlocution, ſo briefly and fully be expreſſed in the text. 7. Such quotations of places to be marginally ſet down, as ſhall ſerve for the fit reference of one ſcripture to another. 8. Every particular man of each company, to take the ſame chapter or chapters, and having tranſlated, or amended them ſeverally by himſelf, where he thinks good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree, for their part, what ſhall ſtand. 9. As any one company hath diſpatched any one book, in this manner they ſhall ſend it to the reſt, to be conſidered of ſeriouſly and judiciouſly, for his Majeſty is very careful in this point. 10. If any company, upon the review of the book ſo ſent, ſhall doubt or differ upon any places, to ſend them word thereof, note the places, and therewithal ſend their reaſons; to which, if they conſent not, the difference ſhall be compounded at the general meeting, which is to be of the chief perſons of each company, at the end of the work. 11. When any place of ſpecial obſcurity is doubted of, letters to be directed by authority, to ſend to any learned man in the land for his judgment in ſuch a place. 12. Letters to be ſent from every Biſhop to the reſt of his clergy, admoniſhing them of this tranſlation in hand, and to move and charge as many as being ſkilful in the tongues, have taken pains in that hand, to ſend his particular obſervations to the company, either at Weſtminſter, Oxford, or Cambridge. 13. The directors in each company to be the Dean of Weſtminſter and Cheſter for that place, and the King's Profeſſors in the Hebrew and Greek, in each Univerſity. 14. Theſe tranſlations to be uſed, when they agree better with the text than the Biſhops Bible, viz. Tindall's, Matthews's, Co-

(4) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. ii. p. 183.

(5) Heylyn's Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. 9.

(6) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, P. ii. p. 406.

(7) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, p. 590, 591.

(8) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Book x. p. 45.

being ſent from Cambridge, Oxford, and Weſtminſter, to Court, a new choice was made of ſix to reviſe the whole, that is, two from each aſſembly. Mr. Downes and Mr. Bois were ſent from Cambridge; and meeting their fellow-labourers at Stationers-hall, they went through this ſecond part of their taſk in nine months, having each from the Company of Stationers, during that time, thirty ſhillings a week (*m*). He afterwards aſſiſted Sir Henry Savile in the laborious undertaking of publiſhing the works of St. Chryſoſtom, in which he was very indefatigable; though in this too he was not very fortunate; for a preſent of a ſingle copy was the whole reward of many years labour (*n*) [*D*]. His reputation was now at a greater height than his fortune, which being taken notice of by Dr. Lancelot Andrews, then Biſhop of Ely, he was pleaſed to beſtow on him, unaſked, a Prebend in his Church, into poſſeſſion of which he entered Auguſt 25, 1615 (*o*). This was his laſt preferment, and he behaved himſelf therein with exemplary prudence and piety, preaching in his own courſe duly, and readily aſſiſting others at their requeſt (*p*). He was remarkably careful, after his removal to Ely, that his pariſh ſhould not ſuffer; and as to his ſcrupulous regard for the rites of the Church, an extraordinary inſtance will be found in the notes [*E*]. He ſpent the laſt twenty-eight years of his life in this eaſy retirement, abating a part, and continuing, as his ſtrength would give him leave, the reſt, of his labours. In his youth he was a great walker, and liked this exerciſe to the laſt: even in his old age he ſtudied eight hours in a day, and though the greateſt part of his writings were at the requeſt, and for the ſervice of his friends, yet he left many manuſcripts behind him in his own ſtudy [*F*]; par-

verdale's, Whitchurche's Geneva. Beſides theſe directions, three or four of the moſt ancient and grave Divines, in either of the Univerſities, not employed in tranſlating, to be aſſigned by the Vice-Chancellor, upon conference with the reſt of the Heads, to be overſeers of the tranſlations, as well Hebrew as Greek, for the better obſervation of the fourth rule, above ſpecified. It was very far from being King James's intention, that theſe learned perſons ſhould remain unrewarded, as appears by his letter to the Biſhop of London, after the death of Dr. Whitgift, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; wherein he obſerves, that many of the intended tranſlators had either no eccleſiaſtical preferment, or elſe ſo very ſmall, as little ſuited their deſerts: wherefore he requires him to write to the Archbiſhop of York, and to all the Biſhops of his own Province, not to preſent to any Prebend or Parſonage, above the value of twenty pounds *per annum*, either in their own patronage, or that of any perſon whatſoever, till they certified his Majeſty thereof, that he might commend ſome of theſe learned men thereto; and his Majeſty farther takes notice, that he had given the like directions as to any that were in his own gift (9). In reſpect to our author particularly, the King ſhewed his good-will to him, by nominating him one of the Fellows of his new college at Chelſea, though he never had any benefit thereby; that foundation taking no effect (10): On the contrary, it may be preſumed, that the very naming him to this might exclude him from other preferment.

[*D*] *Of many years labour.*] This diſappointment was owing to the death of Sir Henry Savile, who, as our author gathered from an expreſſion of his, that *he knew no reaſon why they two ſhould not live together*, intended to have made him Fellow of Eton. This is certain, that at the end of the work Sir Henry was pleaſed to manifeſt a greater approbation of our author's notes than of thoſe of Mr. Downes, which ſo diſguſted that otherwiſe great man, that he took a pique to our author, and was never reconciled to him, even to the day of his death; though Mr. Bois had always a great reſpect for him, and ſpoke of him, upon all occaſions, as a perſon to whom he had great obligations (11).

[*E*] *In the notes.*] There was a child dropt in his pariſh by ſome ſtraggling people, of an age beyond that in which infants are commonly baptized, and yet too young to give teſtimony of its own Chriſtianity. There being therefore probability on both ſides, and certainty on neither, he applied to Dr. Nicholas Felton, then Biſhop of Ely, for his direction, but received no ſatisfactory anſwer. He dealt to the ſame purpoſe with his ſucceſſor, Dr. Henry Buckeridge, but with as little ſucceſs, and as ineffectual were his applications to Dr. Francis White: yet this did not diſcourage him from informing Dr. Matthew Wren, when he became Biſhop of Ely, of all that had paſſed; and receiving his orders to baptize her, he went with great ſatisfaction from Ely to Boxworth to perform it, when the woman was 29 years of age, before which time he would never admit her to the holy communion, but had taken care ſhe ſhould be inſtructed in the principles of religion (12), that ſhe might be fit to receive it when this obſtacle was removed, which thus, by his care, was at length effected.

[*F*] *In his own ſtudy.*] Beſides the five years he ſpent in tranſlating the Bible, and his tedious labours about the edition of St. Chryſoſtom, his notes on the New Teſtament, and critical remarks on Greek authors, ſent him by his friends, he left behind him as many leaves in manuſcript, as might tell againſt the many days of his long life. The author of his Life having ſhewn how indefatigable he was in his ſtudies, enters into a very curious account of his manner of living, which, for the ſake of ſedentary perſons, deſerves to be taken notice of. He made but two meals, dinner and ſupper, between which, if well, he never ſo much as drank. After meat he was very careful in picking and rubbing his teeth, by which means he carried them almoſt all to his grave. After dinner he either ſat or walked an hour before he went into his ſtudy. Faſting he uſed occaſionally, ſometimes twice in a week, ſometimes once in three weeks. Towards the latter end of his life he would not ſtudy after ſupper, but diverted himſelf with cheerful converſation for two hours, at which time he would divert his friends with harmleſs and entertaining ſtories, of which he had a great fund (13). He had a ſaying in his mouth frequently, which he learned from Tully, viz. *A miſ-ſpent youth leaves a ſpent body to old age* (14). According to this rule, his perſon, even at the time of his deceaſe, gave evidence of his having lived virtuouſly and ſoberly in the days of his youth: for his brow was without wrinkles, his ſight was quick, his hearing ſharp, his countenance freſh, his head not bald, and his body perfectly ſound, a rupture only excepted; which accident, when it firſt befel him, a perſon ſkilled in the cure of that diſtemper, told him he could not ſurvive half a year, in hopes of getting a conſiderable ſum out of him, for renewing, which he pretended was in his power, of a leaſe ſo near expiring. But the Doctor, either having no opinion of this man's ſkill, or not thinking his own caſe ſo deſperate, declined his aſſiſtance, and defeated his prediction, by living twenty years without any great inconvenience. When he was a young ſtudent at Cambridge, he received from the learned Dr. Whitaker theſe three rules for avoiding thoſe diſtempers which uſually attend a ſedentary life, to which he adhered with equal conſtancy and ſucceſs. The *firſt* was to ſtudy always ſtanding, the *ſecond* never to ſtudy in a window, the *third* never to go to bed with his feet cold (15). At that time of day, when hard ſtudying was the only road to reputation, at our Univerſities, the finding out ſuch rules, and tranſmitting them to their diſciples, was common amongſt great men.

(*m*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, lib. x. p. 45.

(*n*) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, *ubi ſupra*, p. 49.

(*o*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. iii. p. 277. Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, *ubi ſupra*, p. 50.

(*p*) Cambridge Worthies, p. 191.

(9) Regiſtr. Whitgift, fol. 155. C.

(10) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Book x. p. 52.

(11) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. ii. lib. viii. p. 49.

(12) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. ii. lib. viii. p. 51.

(13) *Ibid.* p. 54.

(14) *Intemperans & libidinoſa adoleſcentia, effœtum corpus tradidit ſenectuti*, Tull. de Senect.

(15) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, *ubi ſupra*, p. 55.

ticularly a Commentary on almoſt all the books of the New Teſtament. He conſtantly went to church twice, if not thrice a day: his charity was very extenſive, and rather beyond than according to his abilities. He was a kind maſter, and a good, though in ſome reſpects a ſevere parent; a plain practical preacher; and though he compoſed his ſermons with great diligence, yet in the pulpit he did not uſe notes. He ſhewed his loyalty in the worſt of times, and affection to the Church when ſhe was in the deepeſt diſtreſs *(q)*. His wife died two years before him, and though he ſupported the loſs with temper and moderation, yet he thenceforward declined, and finding himſelf near his end, ordered that he ſhould be carried into the room where his wife died, and there five hours after he departed this life, on January 14, 1643, in the 84th year of his age *(r)*. His funeral was celebrated with much decency on the ſixth of February following, Mr. Thurſton of St. John's preaching upon that occaſion: his ſecond ſon, and his younger daughter, ſurvived him: the reſt, being three ſons and two daughters, died before him. As to his character, his life and labours ſufficiently ſhew what it was. Sir Henry Savile ſtyles him, the moſt ingenious and moſt learned Mr. Bois *(s)*. Anthony Wood honours him with the title of Profound, and ſtyles him elſewhere an excellent Grecian and Divine *(t)*. Neither was his worth unknown to foreigners; only Mr. le Clerc has cenſured him for being a warm churchman *(u)*. But another critic has given our author a much better character *(w)*. That work of his which occaſioned theſe remarks by foreign authors, is ſo little known here, that, without producing their authorities, I believe I ſhould ſcarcely be credited in affirming that it has been publiſhed, and therefore I ſhall mention all I have met with on this ſubject in the notes (*x*) [*G*]. It is not impoſſible that other pieces of his may be alſo publiſhed; for it is certain that he left behind him many treatiſes in the hands of his friends, beſides thoſe that were found after his death in his ſtudy. He wrote a moſt admirable Latin ſtyle, as appears particularly from a letter of his that is yet extant to Sir Henry Savile, in which he gives a character of the writings of St. John Chryſoſtom, and freely offers his ſervice towards the preparing an accurate edition of the writings of that father for the preſs *(y)*. It is our duty to diſcover as much as is poſſible of the latent works of ſuch learned and laborious per-

(q) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, *ubi ſupra*, p. 49—58.

(r) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. iii. p. 277.

(s) In Præfat. Oper. S. J. Chryſoſt.

(t) Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 467. Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 153.

(u) Bibliotheque Univerſelle, tom. xvi. p. 68.

(w) See this farther explained in note [*G*].

(x) Vid. Joh. Chriſtoph. Wolf. in Curis Philolog. Tom. i. Præfat. p. 11.

(y) Pauli Colomeſii Opuſcula, p. 161, 162.

[*G*] *I have met with on this ſubject in the notes.*] The account we have of this work in Dr. Walker's life of our author, runs thus (16): ‘ He had written ‘ notes upon the four Evangeliſts, and the Acts of the ‘ Apoſtles, which bears this title, *Collatio veteris In-* ‘ *terpretis cum quibuſdam aliis recentioribus.* In theſe ‘ his ſcope and drift was, *ut haberet Mater Eccleſia* ‘ *propriam loquendi formulam.* He intended to have ‘ gone all through the New Teſtament; but when ‘ the Biſhop of Wincheſter died (who was his encou- ‘ rager therein), like King Henry the Sixth's builders ‘ (of whoſe work ſuddenly ended with his life, the ‘ *half ſawn* ſtone in King's College chapel-yard, ac- ‘ cording to tradition, remains a monument), he de- ‘ ſiſted; having entered but a little way into the ‘ epiſtle to the Romans. Nor is it a marvel that that ‘ clock ſhould leave ſtriking, whoſe weights were ‘ taken off.’ This may help to diſcover about what time Dr. Walker penned our author's life, for evident it is, he wrote it before this work was publiſhed, as it afterwards was under the following title. *JOHANNIS BOISII Veteris Interpretis cum Beza aliiſque recentioribus Collatio in IV Evangeliis, et Actis Apoſtolorum. Londini*, 1655, 8vo. But there were a very few printed, ſo that it has been for a long time exceſſively ſcarce. The very learned Iſaac Cauſabon mentions the great performance on St. Chryſoſtom with reſpect, and in terms which ſhew how much he approved the author's deſign, and how well pleaſed he was with its execution (17). Mr. Le Clerc went out of his way on purpoſe to cenſure our author, as not profeſſing to give us any extract of his work, but contenting himſelf with pronouncing his judgment on him and his book, by ſaying, *He was a great enemy to the* Nonconformiſts, *and condemns all that they approve, rather out of a ſpirit of party, than for any ſolid reaſons* (18). But he might as well have ſaid, he was an enemy to any other ſet of men from whom he differed in opinion; ſince this is the ſole evidence he can give of this enmity; for Mr. Bois never engaged in any controverſy againſt them. But the judicious and candid Mr. Colomies, who was much better acquainted with our literary hiſtory than any foreigner, except the ingenious and learned Mr. Des Maizeaux, gives us quite another account of the book, and of the man. He ſays, that he had very learnedly defended the *Helena* of the Papiſts, by which he means the *Vulgar Tranſlation* of the New Teſtament, which, as he very juſtly obſerves, *Albericus Gentilis* had done before, in a book written expreſsly for that purpoſe (19). It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that this very learned Frenchman is ſomewhat miſtaken, in calling our author Prebendary of Canterbury. It is indeed true, that there was one Dr. John Boyſe Dean of Canterbury, and contemporary with our author (20), who was alſo a man of learning, and an author; but he did not write the piece he referred to on this occaſion; and conſequently we muſt admit that there is an error in the name, which may be the more eaſily pardoned, becauſe in the title-page of the book in queſtion, our author is not ſtiled Prebendary of Ely, probably becauſe the book was printed in the time of the uſurpation, when ſuch diſtinctions were ſtudiouſly omitted. C.

*** [It is not eaſy to paſs over a circumſtance concerning the time of day in which Mr. Boys gave one of his lectures, without adverting to the different manners of different periods. ‘ For ſeveral years he ‘ voluntarily read a Greek lecture at four in the morn- ‘ ing in his own chamber, which was frequented by ‘ moſt of the Fellows.’ It will, we preſume, be deemed no reflection upon the preſent learned Fellows of any college in the univerſity of Cambridge, to ſuggeſt, that a lecture delivered ſo early would ſcarcely be attended by moſt of them. It would, perhaps, be equally difficult to find a lecturer. The ardour of ſtudy in that age was ſurpriſing; and, in ſome caſes, the underſtanding ſeems to have been almoſt buried under the load of literature.

As to what is ſaid of M. le Clerc in this article, we think him hardly ſpoken of with ſufficient reſpect; and, we apprehend, it will be found, that few foreign writers have been more extenſively acquainted with Engliſh literary hiſtory, than that very ingenious and learned man. With regard to Mr. Boys, he appears evidently not to have received that preferment and encouragement which his learning and his labours merited.

An account of the Dr. John Boys, mentioned at the cloſe of the note [*G*], may be met with in Mr. Maſters's valuable Hiſtory of Corpus Chriſti College, Cambridge (21). The following is a ſpecimen of the advice given by Dr. Boys, in his Expoſition of the Dominical and Feſtival Epiſtles and Goſpels: ‘ As ‘ David ſlew Goliah by hitting him in the forehead, ‘ ſo we muſt gather ſtones out of God's holy brook, ‘ that is, his holy book, and *fling them at the devil's* ‘ *head* (22).’] T. and K.

(16) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, *ubi ſupra*, p. 53.

(17) Iſ. Cauſabon. Epiſt. p. 85.

(18) Bibliotheque Univerſelle, Tom. xvi. p. 68.

(19) Pauli Colomeſii Opuſcula, p. 162.

(20) Fuller's Worthies, Kent, p. 84.

(21) P. 240—242.

(22) Robinſon's Eſſay on the Compoſition of a Sermon, Vol. i. p. 263. Note.

ſons,

ſons, that we may not ſeem leſs attentive to their merits than ſtrangers, who with great reverence preſerve, and are ready with due praiſes to publiſh, whatever ſmall pieces come to their hands, of eminent Engliſh authors, by means of their correſpondence abroad; whence it frequently falls out, that ſuch of our writers as have compoſed in Latin, are better known in foreign countries than in their own; and are, generally ſpeaking, treated with great eſteem and reſpect, unleſs it may be by ſome haſty critic, or warm controverſial writer, who cenſures them for maintaining opinions oppoſite to his; which, however, is the common fate of the great men in all countries, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the republic of letters (*z*), and more eſpecially of ſuch as, like our author, apply themſelves to the reviewing as well as reviving ancient writers, and vindicating them from thoſe haſty judgments, which later authors may have paſſed upon them. The greateſt foe to all ſcholars is a falſe critic, but he is moſt ſo to a true one.

(*z*) See note [*B*] in the article of BLOUNT (Sir THOMAS POPE)

⁂ [BOYSE (Joseph), an eminent Diſſenting Miniſter, was born at Leeds in Yorkſhire, on the 14th of January, 1659-60. He was early inſtructed in the principles of religion by his parents, who were perſons of ſeriouſneſs and piety, and was particularly indebted to the care of his mother (*a*) [*A*]. The religious impreſſions which he had thus received, were conſiderably ſtrengthened by his attendance on the miniſtry of ſeveral worthy divines of the eſtabliſhed church, but more eſpecially by the labours of four Nonconformiſt miniſters, who took their turns in preaching at the place of his nativity [*B*], during the time of King Charles the Second's indulgence, from the year 1672 to 1675 (*b*). He was afterwards put under the care of the Rev. Mr. Frankland, who kept a private academy near Kendal in Weſtmoreland, with a view to being trained up for the miniſtry, to which he was led both by his own inclinations and the deſign of his parents. During his ſtay here, he proſecuted his ſtudies with diligence, and made a conſiderable progreſs in learning. Having continued three years with Mr. Frankland, he returned to his father's houſe at Leeds, where he made a ſhort ſtay, and then was ſent to London, to purſue his ſtudies under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Edward Veal, then teacher of a private academy at Stepney. Here he enjoyed many advantages for the proſecution of his ſtudies, and alſo the opportunity of attending the preaching of many able divines, both Conformiſts and Nonconformiſts. In his private Memoirs, he particularly mentioned thoſe whom he ofteneſt heard, and moſt eſteemed: and theſe were, of the eſtabliſhed church, Dr. Tillotſon, Dr. Calamy, Dr. Scott, and Dr. Stillingfleet; and among the Diſſenters, his tutor, Mr. Charnock, Mr. Baxter, and Mr. Howe (*c*). After he had ſtudied two years under Mr. Veal, and performed ſuch preparatory exerciſes in private as were preſcribed him by his tutor, he began to preach publicly about the year 1680, and was for ſome time aſſiſtant to Mr. Edmund Trench, a diſſenting miniſter in Kent, of whoſe life he afterwards publiſhed an account. In 1681, he was invited to be houſhold Chaplain to the Counteſs of Donegal, who then reſided at London, and in whoſe family he continued about three quarters of a year: but the Counteſs leaving off houſe-keeping in the ſpring following, he ſpent the next ſummer at Amſterdam, where he had an invitation to preach at the Browniſt church [*C*], during the abſence of their miniſter, whoſe private affairs detained him in England for about half a year (*d*). After his return from Amſterdam, he continued to preach occaſionally at Leeds, and ſome other places in that neighbourhood, till the year 1683, when, upon the death of Mr. Timothy Halliday, one of his intimate friends and fellow-ſtudents, who had been for ſome time aſſiſtant to Mr. Daniel Williams, who was paſtor of a congregation in Wood-ſtreet, Dublin, he received an invitation to ſucceed him in that ſtation. He was at firſt little inclined to accept of this invitation, but was at length induced to it, by finding that he could not exerciſe the duties of his function in England without moleſtation [*D*]: he, therefore, went over to Dublin, and was ordained joint-paſtor

(*a*) Funeral Sermon, occaſioned by the death of the Rev. Mr. Joſeph Boyſe, prefixed to his Works, p. 10.

(*b*) Funeral Sermon, *ubi ſupra.*

(*c*) *Ibid.*

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 11.

[*A*] *Was particularly indebted to the care of his mother.*] This is taken notice of in ſome private *memoirs* which he left behind him, and in which he bore this teſtimony concerning her: 'That few of her 'rank were ſuperior to her in divine knowledge and 'ſerious godlineſs, joined with great humility and 'modeſty, and that ſhe was every way a pattern of 'all thoſe amiable virtues that are the trueſt ornament to her ſex (1).'

(1) Funeral Sermon on the Rev. Mr. Joſeph Boyſe, prefixed to his Works, p. 10.

[*B*] *Four Nonconformiſt miniſters*, &c.] Their names were, Mr. Sale, Mr. Sharp, Mr. Stretton, and Mr. Cornelius Todd. He obſerved in his private memoirs concerning theſe miniſters, 'That there was a ſtrain 'of warm devotion, and ſerious unaffected piety, in 'their miniſtrations, far beyond what he had ever 'met with before, and that their labours were wholly 'bent to promote practical religion, and not (as the 'Nonconformiſt preachers of thoſe times were ſo 'often invidiouſly and unjuſtly repreſented) to advance the narrow intereſts of a party, and the ſingular opinions and practices thereof; ſo that (ſays 'he) I continued under this miniſtry with great pleaſure, and I hope equal benefit and profit, as to my 'proficiency in practical religion, until the year '1675 (2).'

(2) Funeral Sermon, *ubi ſupra.*

[*C*] *He had an invitation to preach at the Browniſt church.*] Mr. Boyſe obſerved, that 'though that congregation was ſtrictly independent, and knew his 'judgment to be otherwiſe, yet his occaſional labours 'among them met with general acceptance, teſtified 'by their generous and grateful acknowledgments '(3).'

(3) *Ibid.* p. 11.

[*D*] *Finding that he could not exerciſe the duties of his function in England without moleſtation.*] Mr. Choppin ſays, that 'this invitation he at firſt took little notice 'of, having an averſion to the thoughts of ſettling in 'a kingdom, of whoſe natives, he obſerves, the 'hiſtory of the Iriſh rebellion had given him ſuch a 'frightful idea. But—going to a neighbouring village, to impart the ſorrowful news of Mr. Halliday's death to his ſurviving mother, as he paſſed 'through it, a juſtice of peace belonging to that 'county happened to come that way from an horſe-race, who being inflamed with drink and bigotry, 'ſeized paſtor with Mr. Williams (*e*). When that gentleman, ſome years after, quitted his ſituation in Ireland, Mr. Boyſe had for his coadjutor the Rev. Mr. Thomas Emlyn, ſo well known for his writings and his ſufferings (*f*). This connexion ſubſiſted between them for more than ten years, and was rendered agreeable by their mutual friendſhip: but this harmony was ſomewhat interrupted, and the connexion between them at length finally diſſolved, in conſequence of Mr. Emlyn's ſentiments concerning the doctrine of the Trinity (*g*). Mr. Boyſe's zeal for orthodoxy led him to take ſome ſteps that were prejudicial to Mr. Emlyn [*E*]; but he did not foreſee all the conſequences, nor approve of the perſecution that was carried on againſt him; and though his conduct in this affair was in ſome reſpects deſerving of cenſure, he yet behaved to Mr. Emlyn with more candour and friendlineſs, than any other of the diſſenting miniſters of Dublin [*F*]. Some of the latter years of Mr. Boyſe's life were rendered uncomfortable by bodily diſorders; and he appears alſo to have been rather ſtraitened in his circumſtances (*h*). The exact time of his death is not mentioned; but his funeral ſermon was preached at Dublin, on the 8th of December, 1728 (*i*). He was conſidered as a learned, pious, able, and uſeful Divine, he was an aſſiduous preacher, and his conduct was ſuch as procured him general eſteem [*G*]. He had a principal ſhare in promoting the act of Toleration in Ireland (*k*). His works were publiſhed in two volumes, folio, in 1728, and ſome account of them will be found in the notes [*H*].]

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(*e*) Funeral Sermon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 11.

(*f*) Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Thomas Emlyn, prefixed to his Works, p. 18. 4th edit.

(*g*) See the article EMLYN (THOMAS).

(*h*) Funeral Sermon, *ubi ſupra*. It will appear from the ſubſequent article, that this aroſe from the extravagance of his ſon.

(*i*) Funeral Sermon, *ut ſupra*.

(*k*) This appears from papers which have been communicated by the Rev. Mr. Joſiah Thompſon.

ſeized him on ſuſpicion of his having preached in that place; and, on the ſtrength of that bare ſuſpicion, without any information to warrant ſuch violent proceedings, would needs commit him to gaol, and had done ſo, but that he conſented to give bond for his appearance the next quarter-ſeſſions at Wakefield; upon which he was diſmiſſed. This unexpected accident, together with the proſpect of greater ſeverities, which the Diſſenters were at that time daily threatened with, made him inclinable to hearken to the propoſal of coming to Ireland, where he was encouraged to hope for greater liberty, being aſſured that there were no ſuch laws in force here againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters as there were at that time in England (4).'

[*E*] *Some ſteps that were prejudicial to Mr. Emlyn.*] It was Mr. Boyſe that brought Mr. Emlyn's opinions reſpecting the doctrine of the Trinity before the Dublin miniſters (5). Mr. Emlyn alſo ſays, 'While I was under proſecution, expecting my trial at hand, Mr. Boyſe's anſwer to my book was publiſhed, and preſented to the Lord Chief Juſtice: which I thought very unſeaſonable from a long eſteemed friend; who pleaded the people's impatience of delay. But the worſt was, that his preface contained very inflaming expreſſions, as may be ſeen in the very beginning. I thought there was no need of tragical excitations to a zeal, that was already ſo outrageous. In that preface indeed he declares, *that he had no hand in my proſecution* then depending; and I entirely believe it; and moreover, that he was troubled at it, as falling upon me, who ſince have found his kind help (as ſhall be acknowledged) in my deliverance at laſt: but then it is as certain, that he has not one word in diſlike of that proſecution by others; nor againſt ſuch methods of perſecution in general, or the actors in it, or in favour of liberty. I think it had been very becoming him, and I ſhould have as readily expected it from Mr. Boyſe, as from thoſe in London, who, in their late addreſs to his Majeſty King George, have declared their principles to be, for a general toleration of all peaceable ſubjects (6).'

Mr. Sollom Emlyn alſo ſays, that 'Mr. Boyſe was called upon to do the hard and mean part of depoſing in court what diſcourſe had privately paſſed between the miniſters and Mr. E. not as to the book (for that was not then printed), but as to his opinions, which he ſaid were judged to be near to Arianiſm. But ſurely this was never before allowed in any court of juſtice, to be evidence either of publication, or of being the author (7).'

[*F*] *Behaved to Mr. Emlyn with more candour and friendlineſs*, &c.] He was the only one of the Dublin Diſſenting Miniſters who viſited Mr. Emlyn in priſon (8). Mr. Emlyn alſo ſays, 'Mr. Boyſe made ſeveral attempts for my liberty; whoſe kindneſs I thankfully acknowledge, in that with great concern and much labour he purſued it from time to time; which has abundantly confirmed my affection and reſpects to him, and extinguiſhed all uneaſy reſentments. I am ſenſible, that what he did againſt me was with great regret and grief, what he did for me was with choice and pleaſure. So that I hope nothing in this hiſtory ſhall be any diminution to the character of his great worth and good temper; who endeavoured to allay the common odium againſt me as far as he could, without the loſs of his own reputation (9).' It was in conſequence of Mr. Boyſe's ſolicitations, that Mr. Emlyn's fine was mitigated (10).

[*G*] *His conduct was ſuch as procured him general eſteem.*] It is ſaid in Cibber's Lives of the Poets, that 'people of all denominations united in eſteeming Mr. Boyſe, not only for his learning and abilities, but his extenſive humanity and undiſſembled piety. This reverend gentleman had ſo much dignity in his manner, that he obtained from the common people the name of Biſhop Boyſe, meant as a compliment to the gracefulneſs of his perſon and mien. But though Mr. Boyſe was thus reverenced by the multitude, and courted by people of faſhion, he never contracted the leaſt air of ſupercilioufneſs: he was humane and affable in his temper, equally removed from the ſtiffneſs of pedantry, and offenſive levity.' The ſame writer adds, 'It has been reported, that Mr. Boyſe had two brothers, one a clergyman of the church of England, and the other a cardinal at Rome; but of this circumſtance we have no abſolute certainty: Be it as it may, he had, however, no brother ſo much diſtinguiſhed in the world as himſelf (11).'

[*H*] *His works were publiſhed in two volumes, folio.*] The *firſt* volume contains *ſeventy-one* ſermons; ſix diſſertations on the doctrine of juſtification, and a paraphraſe on thoſe paſſages of the New Teſtament that chiefly relate to that doctrine.

The *ſecond* volume contains the following pieces:

I. A Vindication of the true Deity of our Bleſſed Saviour, in anſwer to a pamphlet, intitled, An humble Enquiry into the Scripture Account of Jeſus Chriſt, &c. The piece to which this is a reply was that written by Mr. Emlyn, and for which he was under proſecution at the time when Mr. Boyſe publiſhed his anſwer. As the ſecular power was called in to the aid of the orthodox doctrine upon this ſubject, it would have been much more generous and honourable in Mr. Boyſe, to have ſuſpended the attack upon Mr. Emlyn, till the proſecution againſt him had been over. Mr. Boyſe muſt have known, that Mr. Emlyn could not ward off the proſecution againſt him, by any arguments drawn either from Scripture, or from reaſon. He was, therefore, attacking a man who was bound hand and foot, who was underſtood to be prohibited by law from defending his opinions. In the diſcuſſion of the affair at that time, the queſtion was not, which of the controverted opinions was true, but which had the authority and countenance of the ſtate.

II. Some impartial Reflections upon Dr. Manby's Conſiderations, &c. and Mr. King's Anſwer. In a letter to a friend.

III. Remarks on a late Diſcourſe of William Lord Biſhop of Derry, concerning the Inventions of Men in the Worſhip of God.

IV. A

(4) Funeral Sermon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 11.

(5) Emlyn's Works, Vol. i. p. 17.

(6) *Ibid. ubi ſupra*, p. 25, 26.

(7) Memoirs of Mr. T. Emlyn, prefixed to his Works, p. 29.

(8) Emlyn's Works, *ubi ſupra*, p. 37.

(9) Narrative of the Proceedings againſt Mr. Emlyn, in his Works, p. 40.

(10) *Ibid.*

(11) Lives of the Poets, Vol. v. p. 160, 161.

IV. A Vindication of the Remarks on the Biſhop of Derry's Diſcourſe about human Inventions.

V. A clear Account of the ancient Epiſcopacy, in Anſwer to Mr. Drury's Vindication, &c.

VI. Remarks on a Pamphlet publiſhed by Dr. Tiſdall, intitled, The Caſe of the Sacramental Teſt ſtated and argued.

VII. A Preface to the ſeaſonable Advice, &c. with a Poſtſcript to the ſame.

VIII. A Vindication of a private Letter concerning the Overtures tranſmitted by the general Synod aſſembled at Dungannon, in June, 1725, againſt the Rev. Mr. Macbride's printed Exceptions. In a Letter to the Reverend Miniſters of the Preſbyterian Perſuaſion in the North of Ireland.

IX. The Caſe of the Diſſenting Proteſtants of Ireland, in Reference to a Bill of Indulgence, vindicated from the Exceptions alleged againſt it in a late Anſwer.

X. A Letter concerning the pretended Infallibility of the Romiſh Church.

XI. An Appendix concerning the pretended Sacraments, and extreme Unction.

XII. Some Queries offered to the Conſideration of the People called Quakers, particularly of thoſe in Queen's County.

⁂ [BOYSE (Samuel), ſon to the ſubject of the preceding article, a poetical writer of conſiderable merit, but as remarkable for his imprudence as his ingenuity, was born in the year 1708, and received the rudiments of his education at a private ſchool in Dublin. At eighteen years of age he was ſent to the univerſity of Glaſgow; whence it appears probable, that his father intended him for the miniſtry (*a*). But he had not been a year at Glaſgow, before he unfortunately fell in love with Miſs Atchenſon, the daughter of a tradeſman in that city; and being more under the guidance of his paſſions, than of reaſon, he interrupted his ſtudies by marrying her before he had entered into his twentieth year (*b*). His temper was naturally extravagant, and he therefore ſoon expoſed himſelf to the inconveniencies of indigence. He had alſo now the additional charge of a wife; ſo that the ſcantineſs of his finances ſoon obliged him to quit the univerſity, and remove with his wife, who alſo carried a ſiſter with her, to Dublin; where he expected aſſiſtance and ſupport from his father. Notwithſtanding the imprudence of his conduct, he appears to have met with a kind reception from him; and, indeed, it is manifeſt, that old Mr. Boyſe ſtraitened his own circumſtances out of tenderneſs to his ſon [*A*]. But this paternal treatment produced no favourable change in him; he directed his ſtudies to no uſeful purſuit, by which he might have ſupported himſelf and his family; but gave himſelf up to trifling and diſſipation, and drew many heavy expences upon his father (*c*). His wife was alſo diſſolute and vicious [*B*], and contributed to accelerate his ruin. Being deprived, by his father's death, of any farther proſpect of ſupport from him, he repaired to Edinburgh, where his poetical genius raiſed him many friends, and ſome patrons of conſiderable eminence (*d*). In 1731, he publiſhed a volume of poems, to which was ſubjoined, a tranſlation of the Tablature of Cebes, and a letter upon Liberty (*e*). He acquired no ſmall degree of reputation by this publication, which he addreſſed to the Counteſs of Eglinton, a Lady of great accompliſhments, both of body and mind, who was a patroneſs of men of wit, and very much diſtinguiſhed Mr. Boyſe while he reſided in that country (*f*). Mr. Boyſe alſo wrote an elegy upon the death of the Viſcounteſs Stormont, which he entitled, ‘ The Tears of the Muſes,’ becauſe the deceaſed Lady was a woman of taſte in the ſciences, and a great admirer of poetry. Lord Stormont was ſo much pleaſed with this mark of reſpect paid to the memory of his Lady, that he ordered a handſome preſent to be made to Mr. Boyſe, by his attorney at Edinburgh. But though his writings had procured him ſome celebrity in that city, yet his perſon was very little known there, and eſpecially among people of faſhion and figure: for he was rather of an unſocial turn, and had but few acquaintances, and theſe were of the loweſt order. It was, therefore, ſome time before he could be found out; and he would have reaped no benefit from the generous intentions of Lord Stormont, if an advertiſement had not been publiſhed in one of the Scottiſh weekly papers, deſiring the author of ‘ the Tears of the ‘ Muſes’ to call at the houſe of the attorney (*g*). The notice which Lady Eglinton and Lord Stormont took of Mr. Boyſe, was the means of recommending him alſo to the patronage of the Dutcheſs of Gordon, who was a Lady of literary taſte, and who cultivated a correſpondence with ſome of the moſt eminent poets then living. She was ſo deſirous to raiſe Mr. Boyſe above neceſſity, that ſhe employed her intereſt in procuring the promiſe of a place for him; and accordingly gave him a letter, which he was next

(*a*) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. v. p. 161.

(*b*) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. v. p. 161.

(*c*) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. v. p. 161.

(*d*) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. v. p. 163; and Floyd's Bibliotheca Biographica.

(*e*) The letter upon Liberty had been before printed in the Dublin Journal, in 1726.

(*f*) Cibber, *ut ſupra*.

(*g*) Cibber, *ubi ſupra*, p. 164; and New and Gen. Biog. Dict. 8*vo*.

[*A*] *Mr. Boyſe ſtraitened his own circumſtances out of tenderneſs to his ſon.*] Mr. Boyſe, the father, was ſupported by the ſubſcriptions of his congregation, and an eſtate which he poſſeſſed in Yorkſhire of fourſcore pounds a year; but this eſtate he was obliged to ſell in conſequence of the extravagance of his ſon, and he is repreſented as being at length much reduced by it (1).

[*B*] *His wife was alſo diſſolute and vicious.*] We are told, that ‘ young Boyſe was of all men the fartheſt ‘ removed from a gentleman; he had no graces of ‘ perſon, and fewer ſtill of converſation. To this ‘ cauſe it was perhaps owing, that his wife, naturally of a very volatile, ſprightly temper, either ‘ grew tired of him, or became enamoured of variety. It was however abundantly certain, that ſhe ‘ purſued intrigues with other men; and what is ſtill ‘ more ſurpriſing, not without the knowledge of her ‘ huſband, who had either too abject a ſpirit to reſent ‘ it, or was bribed by ſome lucrative advantage, to ‘ which he had a mind mean enough to ſtoop. ‘ Though never were three people of more libertine ‘ characters than young Boyſe, his wife, and ſiſter-in-law, yet the two ladies wore ſuch a maſk of decency ‘ before the old gentleman, that his fondneſs was ‘ never abated. He hoped, that time and experience would recover his ſon from his courſes of extravagance; and as he was of an unſuſpecting temper, he had not the leaſt jealouſy of the real conduct of his daughter-in-law, who grew every day in ‘ his favour, and continued to blind him, by the ‘ ſeeming decency of her behaviour, and a performance of thoſe acts of piety he naturally expected ‘ from her (2).’

(1) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. v. p. 162.

(2) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. v. p. 162.

day to deliver to one of the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms at Edinburgh. But it unluckily happened that he was then ſome miles diſtant from the city, and the morning on which he was to have ridden to town, with her Grace's letter of recommendation, proved to be rainy. This trivial circumſtance was ſufficient to diſcourage Boyſe, who was never accuſtomed to look beyond the preſent moment: he declined going to town on account of the rainy weather; and while he let ſlip the opportunity, the place was beſtowed upon another, which the Commiſſioner declared he kept for ſome time vacant, in expectation of ſeeing a perſon recommended by the Dutcheſs of Gordon (*h*). Such imprudence, and ſuch indolence, were naturally productive of indigence and diſtreſs; and at length, having defeated all the kind intentions of his patrons towards him, he fell into contempt and poverty, which obliged him to quit Edinburgh, as his creditors began to ſolicit the payment of their debts, in a manner too importunate to be eaſily reſiſted. Having reſolved to go to London, he communicated his deſign to the Dutcheſs of Gordon, who ſtill retaining an high opinion of his poetical abilities, gave him a recommendatory letter to Mr. Pope, and obtained another for him to Sir Peter King, then Lord Chancellor of England. Lord Stormont alſo recommended him to his brother, the Solicitor General (*i*), and to other perſons of rank and faſhion (*k*). Soon after his arrival in London, Mr. Boyſe repaired to Twickenham, in order to deliver the Dutcheſs of Gordon's letter to Mr. Pope; but that gentleman not being at home, he never gave himſelf the trouble to repeat his viſit (*l*). He did, however, as he ſaid himſelf, wait upon Sir Peter King, by whom he was well received, and with whom he occaſionally dined: but the truth of this was queſtioned by his friends [*C*]. It indeed appears, that his imprudent conduct prevented his deriving any advantage from the recommendations which he brought with him from Scotland; ſo that he was ſoon reduced to a ſtate of great indigence, from which he attempted no means of extricating himſelf, but by writing mendicant letters. He frequently applied for aſſiſtance to ſome of the more eminent Diſſenters, from whom he received many benefactions, in conſequence of the reſpect which they paid to the memory of his father (*m*). But the pecuniary ſupplies which he received were ſoon diſſipated; for he was not only indolent and imprudent, but luxurious and extravagant [*D*]: and all his friends were at length wearied out with his perpetual applications. About the year 1740, he had brought himſelf to ſuch a ſtate of wretchedneſs, that he had not any clothes in which he could appear abroad [*E*], and therefore was wholly confined at home for ſome weeks, procuring in the mean time ſome ſcanty ſubſiſtence by writing verſes for the magazines (*n*). In 1742, we find him in a ſpunging-houſe in Grocer's Alley, in the Poultry, London, from whence he wrote a letter to Mr. Cave [*F*], printer of the Gentleman's Magazine, ſoliciting for aſſiſtance. How

(*h*) Cibber, *ubi ſupra*, p. 165; and Floyd's Bibliotheca Biographica.

(*i*) Mr. Murray, now Earl of Mansfield.

(*k*) Cibber, *ubi ſupra*, p. 166.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 167. Floyd, *ut ſupra.*

(*m*) Cibber, *ubi ſupra*, p. 168.

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 169.

[*C*] *The truth of this was queſtioned by his friends.*] He is ſaid to have had a certain ſheepiſhneſs in his temper, which always made him averſe to the company of perſons of rank and figure, among whom he had not ſpirit enough to ſupport a ſhare in the converſation. ‘ He had no power of maintaining the ‘ dignity of wit; and though his underſtanding was ‘ very extenſive, yet but a few could diſcover that he ‘ had any genius above the common rank. This ‘ want of ſpirit produced the greateſt part of his calamities, becauſe he knew not how to avoid them ‘ by any vigorous effort of his mind. He wrote ‘ poems, but theſe, though excellent in their kind, ‘ were loſt to the world, by being introduced with no ‘ advantage. He had ſo ſtrong a propenſity to groveling, that his acquaintance were generally of ‘ ſuch a caſt, as could be of no ſervice to him; and ‘ thoſe in higher life he addreſſed by letters, not ‘ having ſufficient confidence or politeneſs to converſe ‘ familiarly with them; a freedom to which he was ‘ entitled by the power of his genius (3).’

[*D*] *Luxurious and extravagant.*] ‘ This man, of ‘ ſo abject a ſpirit, was voluptuous and luxurious: ‘ He had no taſte for any thing elegant, and yet was ‘ to the laſt degree expenſive. Can it be believed, ‘ that often when he had received half a guinea, in ‘ conſequence of a ſupplicating letter, he would go ‘ into a tavern, order a ſupper to be prepared, drink ‘ of the richeſt wines, and ſpend all the money that ‘ had juſt been given him in charity, without having ‘ any one to participate the regale with him, and ‘ while his wife and child were ſtarving at home (4)?’

[*E*] *He had not any clothes in which he could appear abroad.*] We are told, that ‘ he had not a ſhirt, a ‘ coat, or any kind of apparel to put on: the ſheets ‘ in which he lay were carried to the pawnbroker's, ‘ and he was obliged to be confined to bed, with no ‘ other covering than a blanket. He had little ſupport but what he got by writing letters to his friends ‘ in the moſt abject ſtyle. He was perhaps aſhamed ‘ to let this inſtance of diſtreſs be known to his ‘ friends, which might be the reaſon of his remaining ‘ ſix weeks in that ſituation. During that time, he ‘ had ſome employment in writing verſes for the magazines; and whoever had ſeen him in his ſtudy, ‘ muſt have thought the object ſingular enough. He ‘ ſat up in bed with the blanket wrapped about him, ‘ through which he had cut a hole large enough to ‘ admit his arm, and placing the paper upon his ‘ knee, ſcribbled in the beſt manner he could the ‘ verſes he was obliged to make: whatever he got by ‘ thoſe, or any of his begging letters, was but juſt ‘ ſufficient for the preſervation of life. And perhaps ‘ he would have remained much longer in this diſtreſſful ſtate, had not a compaſſionate gentleman, upon ‘ hearing this circumſtance related, ordered his ‘ clothes to be taken out of pawn, and enabled him ‘ to appear again abroad. This ſix weeks penance ‘ one would imagine ſufficient to deter him, for the ‘ future, from ſuffering himſelf to be expoſed to ſuch ‘ diſtreſſes; but by a long habit of want it grew familiar to him, and as he had leſs delicacy than ‘ other men, he was perhaps leſs afflicted with his exterior meanneſs. For the future, whenever his ‘ diſtreſſes ſo preſſed as to induce him to diſpoſe of his ‘ ſhirt, he fell upon an artificial method of ſupplying ‘ one. He cut ſome white paper in ſlips, which he ‘ tied round his wriſts, and in the ſame manner ſupplied his neck. In this plight he frequently appeared abroad, with the additional inconvenience ‘ of want of breeches (5).’

[*F*] *He wrote a letter to Mr. Cave.*] With a copy of this letter we have been obligingly favoured by Mr. Aſtle, who is in poſſeſſion of the original. It is as follows:

Inſcription for St. LAZARUS' CAVE.

‘ Hodie, teſte cæle ſummo;
‘ Sine pane, ſine nummo,
‘ Sorte poſitus infeſté,
‘ Scribo tibi dolens meſté:

‘ Fame,

(3) Cibber, *ubi ſupra*, p. 167.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 168.

(5) Cibber, *ubi ſupra*, p. 169.

How long he was in confinement does not appear; however, he at length obtained his liberty: but his wants and his imprudence ſtill continued, and he often had recourſe to the meaneſt arts, in order to procure occaſional benefactions [*G*]. In 1743, he publiſhed, without his name, an Ode on the battle of Dettingen, entitled, ‘ Albion's Triumph.’ In 1745, he was at Reading [*H*], where he was employed in compiling an hiſtorical work, which was printed in that town (*o*) [*I*]. After his return from Reading, his behaviour was more decent than it had been before, and ſome hopes were entertained of his reformation. He was employed by a bookſeller to tranſlate Fenelon's Demonſtration of the Being of a God. He began now to ſupport a better appearance than that to which he had lately been accuſtomed, and ſeemed to have ſome regard to his character (*p*). But his health now viſibly declined, and he at length died, after a lingering illneſs [*K*], in the month of May, 1749, in obſcure lodgings near Shoe-lane. He was buried

‘ Fame, bile, tumet jecur,
‘ Urbane, mitte opem, precor;
‘ Tibi enim cor humanum
‘ Non a malis alienum;
‘ Mihi mens nec male grata,
‘ Pro a te favore data.
‘ Ex Gehenna debitoria,
‘ Vulgo, Domo Spongiatoria. ALCÆUS.’

‘ SIR,

‘ I Wrote you yeſterday an account of my unhappy caſe. I am every moment threatened to be turned out here, becauſe I have not money to pay for my bed two nights paſt, which is uſually paid before-hand, and I am loth to go into the Compter ’till I can ſee if my affair can poſſibly be made up; I hope therefore you will have the humanity to ſend me half a guinea for ſupport, ’till I finiſh your papers in my hands.—The Ode on the Britiſh Nation I hope to have done to-day, and want a proof copy of that part of Stowe you deſign for the preſent magazine, that it may be improved as far as poſſible from your aſſiſtance. Your papers are but ill tranſcribed. I agree with you as to St. Auguſtine's Cave. I humbly intreat your anſwer, having not taſted any thing ſince Tueſday evening I came here, and my coat will be taken off my back for the charge of the bed, ſo that I muſt go into priſon naked, which is too ſhocking for me to think of.

‘ I am, with ſincere regard,
‘ Sir,
‘ Your unfortunate humble ſervant,
‘ Crown Coffee Houſe,
‘ Grocer's Alley, Poultry, S. BOYSE.’
‘ July 21, 1742.

‘ July 21, 1742.

‘ Received from Mr. Cave the ſum of half a guinea, by me, in confinement, S. BOYSE.’
10s. 6d. Sent.

‘ I ſend Mr. Van Haren's Ode on Britain.

‘ To Mr. Cave, at St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell.’

[*G*] *He often had recourſe to the meaneſt arts*, &c.] ‘ He ſometimes ordered his wife to inform people that he was juſt expiring, and by this artifice worked upon their compaſſion; and many of his friends were frequently ſurpriſed to meet the man in the ſtreet to-day, to whom they had yeſterday ſent relief, as to a perſon on the verge of death. At other times he would propoſe ſubſcriptions for poems, of which only the beginning and concluſion were written; and by this expedient would relieve ſome preſent neceſſity. But as he ſeldom was able to put any of his poems to the preſs, his veracity in this particular ſuffered a diminution; and indeed in almoſt every other particular he might juſtly be ſuſpected; for if he could but gratify an immediate appetite, he cared not at what expence, whether of the reputation, or purſe of another (6).’

[*H*] *In* 1745, *he was at Reading*.] While he was at this town, his wife died; and we are told, that he ‘ pretended much concern when he heard of her death. It was an affectation in Mr. Boyſe, to appear very fond of a little lap-dog which he always carried about with him in his arms, imagining it gave him the air of a man of taſte. Boyſe, whoſe circumſtances were then too mean to put himſelf in mourning, was yet reſolved that ſome part of his family ſhould. He ſtepped into a little ſhop, purchaſed half a yard of black ribbon, which he fixed round his dog's neck, by way of mourning for the loſs of its miſtreſs. But this was not the only ridiculous inſtance of his behaviour on the death of his wife. Such was the ſottiſhneſs of this man, that when he was in liquor, he always indulged a dream of his wife's being ſtill alive, and would talk very ſpitefully of thoſe by whom he ſuſpected ſhe was entertained. This he never mentioned, however, except in his cups, which was only as often as he had money to ſpend. The manner of his becoming intoxicated was very particular. As he had no ſpirit to keep good company, ſo he retired to ſome obſcure alehouſe, and regaled himſelf with hot two-penny, which though he drank in very great quantities, yet he had never more than a pennyworth at a time. Such a practice rendered him ſo completely ſottiſh, that even his abilities, as an author, became ſenſibly impaired (7).’ It appears, that he married a ſecond wife, ‘ a woman in low circumſtances, but well enough adapted to his taſte (8).’

[*I*] *He was employed in compiling an hiſtorical work*, &c.] It was printed by D. Henry in Reading; and publiſhed in 1747, in two volumes, 8vo, under the following title: ‘ An Hiſtorical Review of the Tranſactions of Europe, from the Commencement of the War with Spain in 1739, to the Inſurrection in Scotland in 1745: with the Proceedings in Parliament, and the moſt remarkable domeſtic Occurrences during that Period. To which is added, An impartial Hiſtory of the late Rebellion, interſperſed with Characters and Memoirs, and illuſtrated with Notes. By Samuel Boyſe, M. A.’ This work is not deſtitute of merit, and contains much uſeful information reſpecting the hiſtory of that period. The following is the character given by Mr. Boyſe of King George the Second: ‘ His preſent Majeſty (ſays he) is of a middle ſize, but very ſtrait: his air is noble, and his deportment ſedate: he is maſter of the French, Italian, German, and Engliſh languages, all which he talks with propriety and elegance, though in ſpeaking the laſt he retains ſomething of a foreign accent. When he condeſcends to quit his dignity, and converſe familiarly, no man rallies with more vivacity, or tells a ſtory with a better grace. He is ſaid, on ſome occaſions, to diſcover a warmth or impatience of temper; but thoſe ſtarts or ſallies of paſſion ſerve only to ſet off the luſtre of his virtues, and to furniſh him with opportunities of ſhewing the extent of his generoſity, affability, and good-nature. His reading has been extenſive, and is ſo well digeſted, that he is never at a loſs to expreſs himſelf pertinently on any ſubject. He is a great œconomiſt, ſo that though his court is ſplendid, it is regular. His courage is indiſputable, having not only given proofs of it in his early age, but of late years. His conduct while Prince of Wales ſhewed, that adverſity could not damp his reſolution; and, ſince his acceſſion to the throne, he has made it evident he can both forgive injuries, and forget them. He is a monarch of great honour and humanity, and ſo ſtrictly juſt, that his whole reign has never been marked by one ſingle act of oppreſſion or cruelty. His throne may therefore properly be ſaid to be founded on the ſtrongeſt baſis, the love of his ſubjects, as has manifeſtly appeared from the ſteadineſs and zeal of the people during the late wicked attempt to ſubvert it (9).’ It appears that Boyſe was paid for this work at a very low rate (10).

[*K*] *After a lingering illneſs*.] ‘ While Mr Boyſe was in this lingering illneſs, he ſeemed to have no notion

(*o*) Cibber, *ubi ſupra*, p. 171.

(*p*) *Ibid*. p. 172.

(6) Cibber, *ubi ſupra*, p. 170.

(7) Cibber, *ubi ſupra*, p. 171.

(8) *Ibid*. p. 172.

(9) Vol. i. p. 19.

(10) Cibber, *ubi ſupra*, p. 171.

buried at the expence of the pariſh [*L*] (*q*). Such was the end of Samuel Boyſe, who was a melancholy inſtance of the wretchedneſs and diſgrace which the moſt ingenious perſons may bring upon themſelves, by imprudence, indolence, and an indiſcriminate indulgence of their appetites and paſſions. Had he employed the powers with which nature had endowed him, in a manner ſuitable to the dictates of wiſdom and of virtue, he might have been a happy and reſpectable character; inſtead of which he was expoſed to all the miſeries of the moſt extreme indigence, nor could the eminent talents which he poſſeſſed reſcue him from contempt. His genius was not confined to poetry only; he had alſo a taſte for painting, muſic, and heraldry, with the latter of which he is ſaid to have been well acquainted (*r*). His poetical pieces, if collected, would make ſix moderate volumes (*s*). Many of them are ſcattered in the Gentleman's Magazine, marked with the letter Y, and others are ſubſcribed *Alcæus*. Two volumes of his poems were collected together, and publiſhed in London (*t*). He was employed by Mr. Ogle to tranſlate ſome of Chaucer's Tales into modern Engliſh [*M*], which he performed with great ſpirit. An ode of his, in the manner of Spenſer, entitled, ‘ The ‘ Olive,’ was addreſſed to Sir Robert Walpole, which procured him a preſent of ten guineas. He alſo tranſlated a poem from the High Dutch of Van Haren, in praiſe of Peace, upon the concluſion of that made at Aix la Chapelle. But the moſt celebrated of his performances was his poem called *Deity* [*N*], the third edition of which was publiſhed

(*q*) Cibber, *ubi ſupra*, p. 173.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 174.

(*s*) *Id. ibid.*

(*t*) *Id. ibid.*

‘ notion of his approaching end, nor did he expect ‘ it, till it was almoſt paſt the thinking of. His ‘ mind, indeed, was often religiouſly diſpoſed; he ‘ frequently talked upon that ſubject; and, pro‘bably, ſuffered a great deal from the remorſe of his ‘ conſcience. The early impreſſions of his good edu‘cation were never entirely obliterated; and his ‘ whole life was a continued ſtruggle between his will ‘ and reaſon, as he was always violating his duty to ‘ the one, while he fell under the ſubjection of the ‘ other. It was in conſequence of this war in his ‘ mind, that he wrote a beautiful poem called *The* ‘ *Recantation* (11).’

[*L*] *He was buried at the expence of the pariſh.*] ‘ An old acquaintance of his endeavoured to collect ‘ money to defray the expences of his funeral, ſo that ‘ the ſcandal of being buried by the pariſh might be ‘ avoided. But his endeavours were in vain, for the ‘ perſons he ſolicited had been ſo troubled with ap‘plications, during the life of this unhappy man, ‘ that they refuſed to contribute any thing towards ‘ his funeral (12).’

[*M*] *He was employed by Mr. Ogle to tranſlate ſome of Chaucer's Tales into modern Engliſh.*] Mr. Ogle publiſhed an ‘ edition of that old poet's Canterbury Tales ‘ modernized; and Mr. Boyſe's name is put to ſuch ‘ tales as were done by him (13).’ We are alſo told, that Boyſe ‘ received at the rate of threepence a line ‘ for his trouble (14).’

[*N*] *His poem called Deity.*] From this piece we ſhall ſelect the following lines, which will enable our readers to form ſome judgment of the performance:

‘ Far hence, ye viſionary charming maids,
‘ Ye fancy'd nymphs that haunt the Grecian ſhades!
‘ Your birth, who from conceiving fiction drew,
‘ Your ſelves producing phantoms as untrue;
‘ But come, ſuperior Muſe! divinely bright,
‘ Daughter of heav'n, whoſe offspring ſtill are light;
‘ Oh condeſcend, celeſtial ſacred gueſt!
‘ To purge my ſight, and conſecrate my breaſt;
‘ While I preſume Omnipotence to trace,
‘ And ſing that Pow'r, who peopl'd boundleſs ſpace!
‘ Thou preſent wert, when forth th' Almighty rode
‘ While Chaos trembled at the voice of God!
‘ Thou ſaw, when o'er th' immenſe his line he drew,
‘ When Nothing from his Word exiſtence knew!
‘ His Word, that wak'd to life the vaſt profound,
‘ While conſcious Light was kindl'd at the ſound!
‘ Creation fair! ſurpriz'd th' angelic eyes,
‘ And ſov'reign Wiſdom ſaw that all was wiſe!
‘ Him, ſole Almighty Nature's book diſplays,
‘ Diſtinct the page, and legible the rays!
‘ Let the wild ſceptic his attention throw,
‘ To the broad horizon, or earth below;
‘ He finds thy ſoft impreſſion touch his breaſt,
‘ He feels the God,—and owns him unconfeſs'd!
‘ Should the ſtray-Pilgrim, tir'd of ſands and ſkies,
‘ In Libya's waſte behold a Palace riſe,
‘ Would he believe the charm from atoms wrought?
‘ Go, Atheiſt, hence, and mend thy juſter thought!
‘ What hand, Almighty Architect! but thine
‘ Could give the model of this vaſt deſign?
‘ What hand but thine adjuſt th' amazing whole?
‘ And bid conſenting ſyſtems beauteous roll!
‘ What hand but thine ſupply the ſolar light?
‘ For ever waſting, yet for ever bright!
‘ What hand but thine the ſtarry train array,
‘ Or give the moon to ſhed her borrow'd ray?
‘ What hand but thine the azure convex ſpread?
‘ What hand but thine trace out the ocean's bed?
‘ To the vaſt main the ſandy barrier throw,
‘ And with that feeble curb reſtrain the foe!
‘ What hand but thine the wintry flood aſſwage,
‘ Or ſtop the tempeſt in its wildeſt rage!
‘ Thee infinite! what finite can explore?
‘ Imagination ſinks beneath thy pow'r;
‘ Thee could the ableſt of thy creatures know,
‘ Loſt were thy Unity, for he were Thou!
‘ Yet preſent to all ſenſe thy pow'r remains,
‘ Reveal'd in Nature, Nature's Author reigns!
‘ In vain would error from conviction fly,
‘ Thou every where art preſent to the eye!
‘ The ſenſe how ſtupid, and the ſight how blind,
‘ That fails this univerſal truth to find?
‘ Go!—all the ſightleſs realms of ſpace ſurvey,
‘ Returning trace the *Planetary Way!*
‘ The ſun, that in his central glory ſhines,
‘ While ev'ry planet round his orb inclines;
‘ Then at our intermediate globe repoſe,
‘ And view yon lunar Satellite that glows!
‘ Or caſt along the azure vault thy eye,
‘ When golden day enlightens all the ſky;
‘ Around behold earth's variegated ſcene,
‘ The mingling proſpects, and the flow'ry green;
‘ The mountain brow, the long extended wood,
‘ Or the rude rock that threatens o'er the flood!
‘ And ſay are theſe the wild effects of chance?
‘ Oh ſtrange effect of reas'ning ignorance!
‘ Nor pow'r alone confeſs'd in grandeur lies,
‘ The glittering planet, or the painted ſkies!
‘ Equal, the elephant's or emmet's dreſs,
‘ The Wiſdom of Omnipotence confeſs;
‘ Equal, the cumbrous whale's enormous maſs,
‘ With the ſmall inſect in the crouded graſs;
‘ The mite that gambols in its acid ſea,
‘ In ſhape a porpus, tho' a ſpeck to thee!
‘ Ev'n the blue down the purple plum ſurrounds,
‘ A living world, thy failing ſight confounds!
‘ To him a peopled habitation ſhows,
‘ Where millions taſte the bounty God beſtows.
‘ Great Lord of life, whoſe all-controlling might
‘ Thro' wide creation beams divinely bright,
‘ Nor only does thy pow'r in forming ſhine,
‘ But to annihilate, dread King! is thine.
‘ Shouldſt thou withdraw thy ſtill-ſupporting hand,
‘ How languid Nature would aſtoniſh'd ſtand!
‘ Thy frown Night's antient empire would reſtore,
‘ And raiſe a blank —— where ſyſtems ſmil'd before!
‘ See in corruption, all-ſurprizing ſtate,
‘ How ſtruggling life eludes the ſtroke of fate;

‘ Shock'd

(11) Cibber, *ubi ſupra*, p. 173.

(12) *Ibid.*

(13) *Id. ibid.*

(14) *Id. ibid.*

liſhed in 8vo, in 1752. It is ſtyled by the Rev. Mr. James Hervey ‘ a beautiful and ‘ inſtructive poem (*u*);’ and is alſo ſpoken of with commendation by Mr. Henry Fielding [*O*]. Some of Mr. Boyſe's friends adviſed him to turn his thoughts towards the drama, as that ſpecies of poetical compoſition is more lucrative than any other, and they thought him qualified for it (*w*): but he appears never to have attempted any thing of that kind.] T.

(*u*) Meditations and Contemplations, Vol. ii. p. 239. edit. 1767.

(*w*) Cibber, *ubi ſupra*, p. 174.

‘ Shock'd at the ſcene, tho' ſenſe averts its eye,
‘ Nor ſtops the wond'rous proceſs to deſcry;
‘ Yet juſter thought the myſtic change purſues,
‘ And with delight Almighty Wiſdom views!
‘ The brute, the vegetable world ſurveys,
‘ Sees life ſubſiſting ev'n from life's decays!
‘ Mark there, ſelf-taught, the penſive reptile come,
‘ Spin his thin ſhroud, and living build his tomb!
‘ With conſcious care his former pleaſures leave,
‘ And dreſs him for the buſineſs of the grave!
‘ Thence, paſs'd the ſhort-liv'd change, renew'd he
‘ ſprings,
‘ Admires the ſkies, and tries his painted wings!
‘ With airy flight the inſect roves abroad,
‘ And ſcorns the meaner earth he lately trod (15).’

(15) Deity, p. 21—26.

[O] *Spoken of with commendation by Mr. Henry Fielding.*] That ingenious writer gives a quotation from it, which he ſtyles ‘ a very noble one,’ and then adds, ‘ It is taken from a poem called the DEITY, ‘ publiſhed about nine years ago, and long ſince buried in oblivion; a proof that good books, no more ‘ than good men, do always ſurvive the bad (16).’

(16) Hiſt. of Tom Jones. Book vii. ch. 1.

Mr. Boyſe himſelf ſaid, that, upon the firſt publication of the *Deity*, a gentleman acquainted with Mr. Pope took occaſion to aſk that poet, if he was not the author of it; to which Mr. Pope replied, ‘ that he ‘ was not the author, but that there were many lines ‘ in it of which he ſhould not be aſhamed.’ This Mr. Boyſe conſidered as a very great compliment (17).

(17) Cibber, *ubi ſupra*, p. 173.

We are told, that when Mr. Hervey heard that the author of this poem was in neceſſitous circumſtances, he depoſited two guineas in the hands of a truſty perſon, to be given him whenever his occaſions ſhould preſs (18). If Mr. Hervey's friend had proper information concerning Boyſe, he certainly was under no neceſſity of keeping the money long in his hands.

(18) *Ibid.* p. 172.

BRACTON (HENRY de), a moſt celebrated Engliſh Lawyer and Judge in the XIIIth century. According to the ſentiments of a certain Antiquary, this worthy writer was a native of Devonſhire (*a*) [*A*]. He ſtudied in his younger years at Oxford, and became a Doctor of both Laws. He afterwards applied himſelf to the ſtudy of our own laws, and became ſo conſiderable by his knowledge in them (*b*), that King Henry III. made him one of his Judges itinerant in the 29th year of his reign, that is, about the year 1244 (*c*); and being ſtill highly in his favour, about ten years afterwards he gave him the Earl of Derby's houſe in London, to ſerve him for his habitation in town, till the heir of that Earl became of age (*d*). Many of our modern writers have obſerved from Bale and Pits, that he was made Chief Juſtice of England, which poſt he is ſaid to have held twenty years (*e*). Some doubts have been raiſed about this fact, becauſe the accurate Sir William Dugdale takes no notice of this promotion; which, however, is reported on better authority than theſe late writers are aware of, as will be ſhewn in the notes [*B*]. He exerciſed his great office with much honour and integrity, at a time when other Judges acted in a very different manner (*f*). That which hath chiefly contributed to render him famous to poſterity, is his excellent work of the Laws of England, to which it is ſaid he himſelf gave the title of *Brito* (*g*), and hence perhaps ſo many miſtakes happened in writing his name [*C*]. This work, as it is one of the ancienteſt,

(*a*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 52.

(*b*) Bale Script. Illuſtr. M. Bryt. Cent. III. cap. xcviii. p. 282. edit. Baſil. 1557. Pits, Relat. Angl p. 310.

(*c*) Dugdale in Chron. Ser. p. 13.

(*d*) *Id.* Origin. Jurid. p. 56.

(*e*) See this article in the General Dictionary.

(*f*) Sir R. Cotton, in his Short View of the Long Reign of Henry III.

(*g*) Leland, de Scr. cap. cclxxvi.

[*A*] *This worthy writer was a native of Devonſhire.*] This was firſt aſſerted by Sir William Pole, in his Deſcription of Devonſhire, which is ſtill in MS. (1) From him Mr. Prince took it, who tells us farther, that in all probability he was born in the pariſh of Bracton or Bratton, near Oakhampton. That there was an ancient Devonſhire family of his name is out of doubt (2); neither is it at all improbable, that the Judge might be of it. Yet none of theſe writers pretend to ſay what became of his deſcendants, excepting that Mr. Prince conjectures, his line might end in an heireſs, who married one of the Cary family, becauſe he finds the arms of Bracton quartered amongſt many others by the Lord Hunſdon (3).

(1) Ap. Prince's Worthies of Devon.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Keep's Monument. Weſtmon. p. 327.

[*B*] *As will be ſhewn in the notes.*] We owe to Sir William Dugdale all the few dates which we have been able to inſert in this life. In his Chronica Series, he tells us, that in the 29th of Henry III., Henry de Bracton and others were conſtituted Juſtices Itinerant, for the counties of Nottingham and Derby (4), and in the 30th of the ſame reign, for the counties of Northumberland, Weſtmorland, Cumberland, and Lancaſter (5). In another place he recites the writ, whereby the King grants him the cuſtody of the houſe of William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, which bears date at Wincheſter, 25th May, in the 38th of the ſaid King (6). As to his being Chief Juſtice, it was firſt mentioned by the celebrated John Leland (7), and he tells us plainly, that he found it in one of the MSS. of our Judge's book, then preſerved in a certain library. Hence alſo Bale took it, for he does not mention him in the firſt edition of his book, printed in 1549, becauſe probably he had not the opportunity of conſulting Leland's book; but in the edition of Baſil, in 1557 (8), he tranſcribes Leland very exactly. Pits wrote after him only according to his uſual cuſtom. He runs out into a long panegyric on the Judge's virtues (9); for which, however, he had no other warrant than what he met with in Bale. One thing is obſervable, that theſe writers call our author *Bractonus* in Latin, whereas Leland calls him *Brachedunus*, which is one reaſon, perhaps, why his authority has been by many people overlooked. If we ſhould ſuppoſe that he was made Chief Juſtice, when he had the houſe given him at London, we muſt then place his death in anno Domini 1273, that is, in the firſt year of Edward I. which agrees perfectly well with the other authorities, and with the dates in his own writings.

(4) Page 13.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) Origin. Jurid. p. 56.

(7) De Script. Brit. cap. cclxxvi.

(8) Page 282.

(9) Page 310.

[*C*] *So many miſtakes happened in writing his name.*] Biſhop Nicholſon tells us, that his name was variouſly written in the records neareſt his own time, wherein, ſays he, we find him called Bratton, Breton, Bretton, Briton, Britton, and Bryćton (10): he might have added a great many more, ſince at this time he took his name to be John, confounding him with John Breton, Biſhop of Hereford, who was a Doctor of both laws, and who wrote a very large work, concerning the laws of England (11). It is to Leland we owe the knowledge of our author's giving the title of Brito to his work (12), which he found in the before-mentioned MS., though it is generally intitled, De Legibus et Conſuetudinibus Angliæ. In his firſt chapter, our author tells us fairly, that, ‘ whereas England was governed by unwritten ‘ cuſtoms, which differed in ſeveral places, theſe ‘ laws were liable to frequent miſconſtructions, not ‘ only from the ignorance of thoſe who took upon ‘ them to decide before they were well verſed in the

(10) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, Part iii. p. 139, Lond. 1699.

(11) Vide Bale de Script. in Vit. Joan. Briton.

(12) De Script. Brit. cap. cclxxvi.

cienteſt, ſo it has been always eſteemed one of the moſt accurate and methodical treatiſes on our laws [*D*]. Some authors, however, who have quoted it very freely, have ſtrangely miſtaken the writer's meaning; and ſome who have pretended to criticiſe them, inſtead of mending matters, have made them much worſe [*E*]. We have no kind

'laws, but alſo from the arrogance of others, who 'taking advantage of theſe differences, ſought rather to follow their own opinions, than the laws; 'therefore, for the ſake of the leſs knowing, he, the 'ſaid *Henry de Bracton*, had reſolved to reduce theſe 'things into a regular method, under proper heads, 'of which he deſires the reader's favourable acceptance (13).' There are indeed ſome variations in the MSS., even in this paſſage: however, we may be ſure that Brachdon, Bracton, or Bratton, was certainly his name, and that all the other appellations muſt either be referred to his book, or to the beforementioned Biſhop. As to his chriſtian name, there never was any diſpute about it, Biſhop Nicholſon's calling him John (14), being a plain miſtake, and not the only one neither into which he has fallen about our author, either for want of reading his work, or for want of attending to what he read, as will ſufficiently appear in ſome of the following notes.

[*D*] *Methodical treatiſes on our laws.*] We have already given the title of this book, wherein our author profeſſes to treat of the laws and cuſtoms of England, and therefore we need not repeat it. It is divided into five books, and thoſe again, excepting the two firſt Books, into ſeveral tracts, of which the third contains two, the fourth ſeven, and the fifth five. The method is plainly the ſame with that of the Emperor Juſtinian (15), as Biſhop Nicholſon obſerves from the preface to one of the printed editions (16): but it is a great miſtake to ſay he begins with the ſeveral legal methods of procuring properties, for this is the ſubject of his ſecond book. In the firſt he ſpeaks of the diviſion of things, of law in general, of the ſeveral kinds of laws, of perſonal diſtinctions, and of ſeveral kinds of eſtates. Then he ſhews how property may be lawfully acquired, how it is to be maintained and defended, and how recovered. Throughout the whole there runs a proper regiſter of writs; and whatever he delivers as law, is juſtified by the report of caſes adjudged; ſo that it is not eaſy to conceive how a more regular or uſeful book could be compoſed at the time in which he lived. The author's great deference for the Papal power is the only thing that can be objected to him; and for this the author of the preface endeavours to account, by ſaying that Bracton wrote but a little after King John had reſigned his crown to the Pope, in which Biſhop Nicholſon follows him preciſely, though without quoting (17). But unluckily Bracton ſets this excuſe aſide; ſince by the records he cites, it is plain that he did not ſet pen to paper till between fifty and ſixty years after that event (18), and conſequently he could not be much influenced thereby. The true reaſon of his writing in this ſtyle, was his being himſelf a Canoniſt, and becauſe in thoſe days the laws of the land favoured the Papal power: the error, therefore, was in them, and not in him, ſo that any excuſe is needleſs. The firſt printed edition of Bracton is at London, in 1569 in folio. In 1640, it was printed in 4to, and great pains were taken, by collating various MSS. to make the text as perfect as might be, of which we have a large account in the preface. There is alſo a table of various readings, and an excellent one of contents. Mr. Selden mentions our author frequently in ſeveral of his works, particularly in his Titles of Honour (19). It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that his remarks relate to the firſt edition, which was indeed very faulty.

[*E*] *Inſtead of mending matters, have made them much worſe.*] The trial and execution of King Charles I. were things of ſuch an extraordinary nature, that we need not wonder that thoſe who had any hand in acting or defending them, ſhould have recourſe to any ſuch paſſages in our law books as might ſeem to warrant things of this nature. Serjeant Bradſhaw, therefore, who was Preſident of the High Court of Juſtice, cited Bracton in his ſpeech at giving ſentence (20) on the King. But Milton, in his defence of the people of England againſt Salmaſius (21), quotes him more preciſely; his words are theſe: 'Our ancient and famous Lawyer Bracton, in his firſt 'book, chap. 8. *There is no King in the caſe, ſays he, 'where will rules the roaſt; and law does not take 'place.* And in his third book, chap. 9. *A King is 'a King ſo long as he rules well; he becomes a tyrant 'when he oppreſſes the people committed to his charge.* 'And in the ſame chapter, *The King ought to uſe the 'power of law and right, as God's Miniſter and Vicegerent; the power of wrong is the devil's, and not 'God's; when the King turns aſide to do injuſtice, he is 'the Miniſter of the devil* (22).'——A little after he ſays: 'Since our Kings therefore are liable to be 'judged, whether by the name of Tyrants or of 'Kings, it muſt not be difficult to aſſign their legal 'Judges. Nor will it be amiſs to conſult the ſame 'authors upon that point. Bracton, book 1. chap. 16. Fleta, book 1. chap. 17. *The King has his ſuperiors in the Government: The law, by which he is made King, and his Court, to wit, the Earls, and the Barons: Comites (Earls) are as much as to ſay, Companions; and he that has a Companion, has a Maſter; and therefore if the King will be without a bridle, that is, not govern by law, they ought to bridle him* (23).' It is no wonder that ſuch as were no Lawyers, knew not how to anſwer theſe authorities. To avoid loſing time, therefore, we ſhall paſs by their anſwers, and give the reader the paſſages from which Milton makes his citations at large in Bracton's own words, and then the reader will eaſily judge, what weight his authority ought to have. The firſt quotation is from a ſection which has this title: *De Dignitate Regis, et quod Rex non habet parem*, that is, *Of the Royal dignity, and that the King hath no equal* (24). The whole ſection runs thus, *Sunt et ſub Rege Milites, &c.* 'There are under the King Knights or military 'perſons, who are choſen to exerciſe arms, that with 'the King and the Nobility they may fight and defend their country, and the people of God. There 'are alſo under the King freemen, and ſuch as are 'ſubject to them; but all are under him, and he is 'under none ſave God alone, for he hath no equal 'in his kingdom; otherwiſe the maxim would fail, 'an equal over his equal hath no authority; much 'leſs can he have any greater, or his ſuperior, for 'then he muſt be beneath his ſubjects, and inferiors 'cannot be equal to ſuperiors. The King, therefore, ought not to be under man, but under God 'and the law, and under the law becauſe the law 'makes him King. The King ought to reſpect the 'law, becauſe the law reſpects him, by giving him 'dominion and authority, *for he is not a King where 'will, but where the law prevails.* And that he 'ought to be under the law, as he is God's Vicegerent, evidently appears from his likeneſs to, in 'this reſpect, Jeſus Chriſt, who came here upon 'earth, becauſe the all-merciful God, when he reſolved to reſtore loſt mankind, made choice rather 'of this method of deſtroying the works of the devil, 'not by the force of power, but of juſtice, and ſo 'would have him under the law, that he might redeem thoſe who were under the law, declining to 'uſe force, but rather reaſon and judgment; and ſo 'the bleſſed Virgin Mary, the mother of our Lord, 'though by a ſingular privilege ſhe was above law, 'yet to give an example of humility, refuſed not 'ſubmiſſion to the legal inſtitutions. In like manner the King, that his power may not be without 'reſtraint, though there is none greater in his kingdom to do juſtice, ought, in ſubmitting thereto, to 'ſhew the ſame readineſs as the meaneſt of his ſubjects. But if any claim be made againſt him, as 'his writ cannot run againſt himſelf, the method 'muſt be by petition that he would correct and 'amend his own act, which if he doth not do, it is 'ſufficient puniſhment for him that he muſt be accountable unto God. For no man muſt preſume 'to diſpute his actions, much leſs to controul them.' Milton's next citation is from a ſection of our author's, wherein he propoſes to ſpeak of the King's ordinary juriſdiction. He tells us, it conſiſts in his acting as God's Vice-gerent: this, he ſays, is the duty and office of a King: whereas he who governs tyrannically,

(13) De Legib. fol. 1.

(14) Page 139.

(15) Vide Præfat. per T. N. ad edit. Lond. 1640, 4to.

(16) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, Part iii. p. 140.

(17) Page 141.

(18) Lib. iii. Tract. ii. c. xxxvii. § 12. fol. 159.

(19) Edit. Lond. 1614, 4to, p. 263. 270. 281. 334.

(20) See his Speech in the State Trials, Vol. i. p. 993.

(21) Defenſ. Popul. Anglican. &c. edit. Lond. 1652, 24to, cap. viii. p. 155.

(22) A Defence of the People of England, by John Milton, 1695, 8vo, p. 194.

(23) *Ibid.* p. 195.

(24) Bracton de Legibus, lib. i. cap. viii. § 5. fol. 5, 6.

kind of certainty as to the time of our author's death; yet Bale and Pits ſeem to place him too high, when they ſay he flouriſhed in 1240, ſince we are ſure he did not write his book till after the year 1262 (*b*), perhaps not till ten years after, ſo that probably he ſurvived his maſter, and died in the reign of Edward I. It is very true, that in Holinſhed (*i*), he is mentioned in the liſt of learned men, who flouriſhed under the reign of Henry, and nothing is ſaid of him under that of Edward; but this does not prove that he did not outlive King Henry, but that he did not long outlive him, or make a great figure under his ſon, which is allowed ſo to be; and at this diſtance of time, we muſt, in reference to ſuch things, with probable conjectures learn to be content.

(*i*) The Chronicles of England, Vol. iii. p. 276.

(*b*) Bracton de Legib. edit. Lond. 1640, 4to. fol. 159.

tyrannically, is the miniſter of the devil (25). Thence he takes occaſion to ſhew of how great importance it is to Kings themſelves, that they conſider the dignity of their office, and act ſuitably thereto. Immediately after he adds, 'But if a King be deſtitute of this knowledge, he deſtroys himſelf, becauſe from a corrupt head there muſt deſcend corruption to the members; and if there be not ſenſe and ſpirit in the governing member, it follows, that the reſt cannot long perform their functions.' As to the laſt citation, it is drawn from that part of Bracton's book, wherein he is ſpeaking of Royal Charters, and the beſt way to underſtand his true ſenſe is to conſider his own words (26). 'None, ſays he, can judge either of the King's Act or of his Charter, ſo as to make the deed of our Lord the King void. But a perſon may ſay that the King ought to do juſtice, and in ſo doing that he acts right, and if he acts otherwiſe wrong; and then it is incumbent upon him to redreſs the injury, that he and his Juſtices may avoid puniſhment, at the judgment of the living God. *For the King hath for his ſuperior God, as alſo the law by which he is made King. Likewiſe his Court, conſiſting of Earls and Barons, the former being ſtiled Comites, becauſe they are as it were companions of the King, and he who hath a companion hath a Maſter; wherefore if the King be without a bridle, that is without law, then ought they to bridle him, leſt they as well as the King, be without bridle, and in this caſe the ſubjects cry out and ſay, O Lord Jeſus Chriſt, put a bit and bridle in their jaws, and reſtrain them; to which our Lord ſhall anſwer, I will call a ſtrong nation from afar, a nation whom they have not known, and whoſe language they are ignorant of, and they ſhall deſtroy them, and root them out from the earth; even ſuch ſhall their Judges be, becauſe they refuſe to judge their ſubjects juſtly, and in the end they ſhall be bound hand and foot, and be thrown into a lake of fire, and utter darkneſs, where there ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of teeth.*' It muſt be allowed that nothing in this paſſage of Bracton juſtifies a coercive power over the perſon of the King, becauſe we muſt underſtand it in ſuch a ſenſe as is agreeable to the paſſage firſt cited from him; and ſo it appears, that if Bracton be conſiſtent with himſelf, the ſcope of his book muſt be conſiſtent with that doctrine, which Mr. Milton cites him to ſupport. A late editor of another very ancient law-writer, who intitled his book Fleta (27), I mean the very ingenious Mr. Clarke of the Middle-Temple, obſerves, that both his author and Bracton have been cited, by ſome magnifiers of royal power, as favourable to the boundleſs authority of Kings. But, as he rightly obſerves, ſuch authors are always to be underſtood, in a legal ſenſe (28): and indeed it were to be wiſhed, that Kings and ſubjects would regulate their conducts according to the maxims of our old law-books, wherein the former are ſaid to be abſolute in doing good, and incapable of doing evil, becauſe none can be legally warranted by them ſo to do; as on the other hand the latter are exhorted to a conſtant and perpetual obedience, becauſe it is for their own good. Before we take leave of Bracton, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that one of the moſt authentic MSS. of this work of his was burnt in the fire which happened in the Cotton Library at Aſhburnham houſe, October the twenty-third, 1731 (29). C.

⁂ [Dr. Campbell obſerves, in the preceding note, that 'if Bracton be conſiſtent with himſelf, the ſcope of his book muſt be inconſiſtent with that doctrine, which Mr. Milton cites him to ſupport.' The caſe ſeems to be, that the paſſages in Bracton are not perfectly conſiſtent; and he probably did not chuſe to expreſs himſelf very clearly on ſo delicate a ſubject as that of puniſhing or oppoſing Kings. But he evidently aſſerts, that the nobility have a right to *bridle the King*, if he acts without law; and if they had a right to bridle him, they muſt have a right to exerciſe ſome coercive power over him. But whatever might be the ſentiments of Bracton concerning Kings, there can be no doubt in the preſent age, but that the regal power is limited by law, and that it is juſtifiable to oppoſe invaſions of the rights of the people. Before the Revolution, the inhabitants of this country often nobly aſſerted their liberties: but ſince that event, the prerogatives of the prince, and the rights of the people, have been more exactly aſcertained. The monarchs of this country are now, by the conſtitution, as much under the controul of the law as the meaneſt of their ſubjects: nor can the doctrine of paſſive obedience be now maintained by any real friend to the preſent regal eſtabliſhment.] T.

(25) Lib. iii. Tract. i. cap. ix. § 3. fol. 107. b.

(26) *Id.* lib. i. cap. xvi.

(27) Lond. 1735, folio.

(28) Page 28, note *b*.

(29) Report from the Committee appointed to view the Cotton Library, p. 92, xii.

BRADFORD (John) a faithful Profeſſor of, and valiant Sufferer for, the Reformed Religion, under the cruel perſecutions of Popery, in the reign of Queen Mary, was born in the former part of King Henry the VIIIth's reign, of genteel parents, in the town of Mancheſter in Lancaſhire, where he received good education, not only in the Latin tongue, but arrived to great perfection in writing and accompts; ſo that he had few equals in thoſe parts (*a*), for his qualifications of that kind. Theſe excellencies of the pen to which he had attained, recommended him to the ſervice of Sir John Harrington, a noble Knight, in great eſteem with that King, and his ſon Edward VI., under whom he was divers times Treaſurer, and Pay-maſter of the Engliſh forces, and builder of the military works or fortifications at Boulogne in France (*b*); where Mr. Bradford's dexterity in writing, his exactneſs in auditing accompts, and readineſs of diſpatch, rendered him a very uſeful and much approved clerk, ſo that it was ſcarcely to be told, whether either lived to the other more beloved, or more profitable (*c*). He paſſed ſeveral years in this employment, lived in great credit, made a ſplendid appearance, and was in a fair way both to wealth and honour. Nor was he only entruſted with the care of tranſacting his maſter's buſineſs with the pen, but with his purſe alſo; ſo that he appears rather his Deputy than his Clerk, from his own words; where, ſpeaking of one Maſter Thomas Huſſey of Lincolnſhire, who was ſome time an officer in the Duke of Norfolk's family, his coming to viſit and confer with him, by private directions from the Prelates, when Bradford was, ſeveral years after, under their examination at St. Mary Overies for his opinions in religion; and ſaying, he would ſpeak with

me,

(*a*) See J. Fox his Acts and Monuments, &c. Vol. iii. 1684, fol. 232. Alſo Dr. Fuller's Abel Redivivus, 4to, 1651, p. 180. In the Life of Mr. Bradford.

(*b*) *Idem.*

(*c*) See Mr. John Bradford's Lyfe, prefixed to his Examinations, &c. before the Lord Chancellor, Biſhop of Wincheſter; the Biſhop of London, and other Commiſſioners, &c. printed at London, by W. Griffith, 8vo, 1561, p. 2.

me, ſays Bradford, for old acquaintance ſake, he adds; ‘ for I was at Muttrel journey a Pay-maſter; in which he was, and had often received money at my hands *(d)*.’ And this ſeems to have been in the year 1544, when King Henry, provoked beyond patience at the aſſiſtance which the King of France afforded the Scots againſt him, went thither with an army in perſon, conquered Boloign, and articled afterwards that it ſhould not be reſtored till he was paid eight hundred thouſand crowns (*e*). We have met with but one author who has diſcovered, and that with a commendable ſincerity, the real occaſion of Mr. Bradford's changing this ſecular for a religious courſe of life. 'Tis certainly one of the moſt remarkable circumſtances in it: for to know how men came by the viciſſitudes of their fortune or condition, is one of the moſt inſtructive and deſirable particulars in their memoirs; and that incident being communicated to the world by an intimate acquaintance of his, it therefore highly deſerved to have been revived by all who have related his ſtory. Yet Fox, Holland, Fuller, and others, by whom he has been moſt largely commemorated, have been ſilent in this important occurrence; whether through their being unacquainted with it, or any needleſs tenderneſs towards his memory; as if a flaw in his private character could diminiſh the merit of his ſuffering ſo heroically in a public one. In ſhort, his pen, which raiſed him to that ſtation in civil life, removed him to an eccleſiaſtic one, in which he became more laſtingly eminent, and exemplary; I ſay, the volubility of that pen appears to have been ſuch, that either by under or over charging an article in his accounts, whereby the King was ſome conſiderable loſer, he never reſted at eaſe, eſpecially after he had heard a ſermon of Mr. Latimer's upon *Reſtitution*, till he had made full ſatisfaction, and finally ſettled himſelf in a more ſevere calling, above the temptation of all worldly enſnarements. But firſt of all, after his retiring from that employment in the army, we find him reſiding for a while in the Inner-Temple; where, as it is ſaid, he ſtudied the common laws of this realm *(f)*, and for ſome time ſolicited ſuits there, for Sir John Harrington, as Dr. Fuller informs us *(g)*. In another part of this author's works, it is ſaid, that Bradford beſtowed ſome few hours every day there, in hearing the Reader of the Common Law (*h*). But whatever he ſtudied, or heard in the Temple, it appears by his letters from thence, to his pious friend Mr. Traves, that he heard more Sermons than Law-Lectures there; and that he was already grown a Divine, before he had taken the orders of one; but not a word either of the practice or ſtudy of the Law does he mention: and indeed how little that profeſſion interfered with the humiliation, contrition, and deep repentance which had now poſſeſſed his heart for the miſconduct aforeſaid, may be read in his own words, and thoſe of other credible authors [*A*]. It appears

(d) The Examinations of the Conſtant Martyr of God Mr. John Bradford, &c. as before, in the chapter of the private talk had with him, by ſuch as the Prelates ſent to him, p. 2.

(e) Speed's Hiſt. of Great Britain, fol. 1623, p. 1050, &c. Alſo John Stow's Annals, fol. 1615, p. 591. Alſo in Biblioth. Cotton Tiberius, C. VIII. 53.

(f) Mr. John Bradford's Lyfe, before his Examination. Alſo Fox, and Fuller, as above.

(g) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Lancaſhire.

(h) Abel Redivivus, in the Life of Mr. Bradford, p. 181.

[*A*] *May be read in his own words, and thoſe of other credible authors.*] Concerning that buſineſs of his repentance, and the reſtitution to be made, as above ſpoken of, we ſhall firſt recite what he mentions himſelf, in ſome of his Letters to his ſaid pious friend, Mr. John Traves, Miniſter of Blackley, both after he was removed to the Temple, and to Cambridge. In one of theſe letters, written from the Temple, the Sunday after the aforeſaid famous ſermon, as he calls it, which wrought ſo much upon him, was preached by Latimer, he has theſe words: ‘ Since my coming to London, I was with Mr. Latimer; whoſe counſel is, as you ſhall hear, which I purpoſe by God's grace to obey. He willed me, as I have done, to write to my maſter, who is in the country, and to ſhew him, that, if within a certain time, which I appointed, fourteen Days, he do not go about to make *Reſtitution*, that I will ſubmit myſelf to my Lord Protector, and the King's Majeſtie's Council, to confeſs the fault, and aſk pardon. This life is uncertain, and frail; and when time is, it muſt not be deferred; and what ſhould it profit me, to win the whole world, and to loſe my own ſoul? If, as I juſtly have deſerved, I be put to death for it, God's will be done. At the leaſt, ſlander, reproach, rebuke, loſs of worldly friends, loſs of living, &c. ſhall enſue: What then? Lord, thy will be done, thine I am; if death come, welcome be it; if ſlander, &c. Even as thou wilt, Lord, ſo be it. Only grant me a penitent, loving, obedient heart; and of mere love to go forwards herein, and not to ſhrink; to ſtand, and not to fall; that thy name only be praiſed herein. *Amen* (1).’ In another letter written by Mr. Bradford to the ſaid Mr. Traves, he appears ſtill very ſolicitous with Sir John Harrington, to accommodate this matter. He ſays therein, That his ſaid maſter had been in London a few days after he wrote his laſt, and that he had entreated him to diſcharge the account, or he would ſubmit himſelf. Sir John anſwered him, That if the books would declare it, he would give ſatisfaction. Bradford ſhewed the books; whereupon Sir John promiſed, ſays he, as much as I could aſk. But Sir John being more moved than he had cauſe, Bradford deſired to know how, and in what time, he would diſcharge *them both?* Hereupon Sir John thinking him over-curious, anxious, or ſcrupulous, ſaid, he ſhould not know; nor would he, by anſwering thoſe words, have his head under his girdle. Yet did Bradford ſtill deſire, many times, to know, in what manner, and by what time the ſaid diſcharge was to be effected; and ‘ doubting, ſays he, worldly wiſdom, which uſeth delays, to reign in him, with this mammon, I was ſomething more ſharp, and told him, *Non ego tamen ſed gratia tua, Domine*; I would obey God more than man: The which he lightly regarding, as it ſeemed, I departed, and went to Mr. Latimer, to have had him brought me to my Lord Protector, who then purpoſed ſhortly to take his journey to viſit the Ports.’ Wherefore Latimer adviſed him to ſtay till his return; which was to be before Eaſter. In the mean time, his maſter having made one of his ſons an inſtrument to move Bradford with ſome worldly views, he thereat prevailed upon him to ſhew Sir John, more plainly, his farther purpoſe; which when Sir John knew, it ſo moved and terrified him, that he began ſomewhat to relent, and then made fair promiſes, That whatever Bradford ſhould propoſe, he would comply with: But Bradford's propoſitions pleaſed not. And his maſter, departing out of London, unknown to him, ſent him word by another of his ſons, who was not of ſo good principles as the former, and therefore more ſuſpected, that he would do all things Bradford deſired; only his fame and ability preſerved. And by that ſon, his maſter alſo ſent a bill, wherein he declared himſelf contented, within twelve months, to deliver into Bradford's hands the whole money: But he not thinking it ſo expreſſive as it might have been, drew another, and ſent it to him, deſiring he would ſign and ſeal it; which Mr. Latimer thought would be ſufficient: ‘ But as yet, ſays Bradford, I hear not of it, doubting *worldly wiſdom*; which was the whore that overcame *Sampſon*; that moved *David* to

(1) Fox's Acts and Monuments, as before, Vol. iii. p. 296.

appears by the earlieſt dates in theſe letters, that he was at the Temple in the year 1547, and part of the year following; and that he is often cenſuring and upbraiding himſelf in them with great and undeſerved ſeverity; as if his mind were not fully weaned from worldly allurements, or his renunciation of them was not ſincere, but that nature unwillingly yielded to thoſe degrees of mortification, whereunto he was habituating himſelf: yet at laſt, his reſolution ſo abſolutely ſubdued that reluctance, which aroſe from a diſtruſt of his abilities, that he removed to Cambridge about the month of Auguſt 1548, and there changed his ſtudy as well as his profeſſion, as it may again appear from the words of thoſe who knew him, as well as his own [*B*]. He ſoon took his degree of Maſter

‘ to ſlay *Urias*; that brought wiſe *Solomon* to idolatry; that crucified *Chriſt*; the which moved me to perpetrate *hoc facinus*; the which worketh in my maſter's heart; having higher place there, than *Timor Domini*.’ In the concluſion of this letter, after mentioning the preſent he had made of a fair Engliſh and Latin Teſtament, in one print and volume, to Sir Thomas Hall, he deſires Mr. Traves to peruſe a letter he had herewith ſent, then ſeal and deliver it to Sir Nicholas Wolfoneros, having not called it to remembrance this winter, of his being in the country; and wiſhed, ‘ ſome occaſion, if any could be had, before the delivery of the ſaid letter, by ſome ſtory or communication, that he did know that abomination to be ſin; for I fear me, adds he, he thinketh it to be none: The Lord open our eyes, and forgive us, *Amen*, &c. From the Temple this 22d of March 1547: Yours, in Chriſt moſt bounden, John Bradford (2).’ In the next letter following, to the ſaid father Traves, as our author calls him, farther progreſs of this buſineſs is thus mentioned: ‘ Concerning the great matter you know of, it hath pleaſed God to bring it to the end, that I have a bill of my maſter's hand, wherein he is bound to pay the ſum afore Candlemas next coming. This, thinks Mr. Latimer to be ſufficient. Therefore I pray you to give the gracious Lord thanks, and thanks, and thanks upon it, for me, a moſt wicked ingrate ſinner, who have alſo, in other things, no leſs cauſe to praiſe God's name, as for that I have and ſuſtain my maſter's ſore diſpleaſure, the which hath brought me, God, I ſhould ſay, through it, unto more contempt of worldly things, through the ſequeſtration of ſuch his buſineſs as tofore I had ado withal. — There is yet another thing whereof I will advertiſe you, even to this end, that you might pray, if it be God's will, that as I truſt ſhortly to begin, ſo he may vouchſafe to confirm that he hath begun; as, if I be not deceived, I believe it is in working: If the thing ſeem, by God's ſpirit in you, that I preſume, then for the Lord's ſake advertiſe me; for I am much given to that diſeaſe, the Lord deliver me, I have moved my maſter therein already by letters, to ſee if I ſhall have any living of him, as hitherto I have had; but I have thereof no anſwer, nor, as our natural ſpeech is, any likelihood of any grant. Yet, that I have already, I truſt will ſuffice me for three years.—I am minded, afore Midſummer, to leave London, to go to my book at Cambridge, and if God ſhall give me grace, to be a Miniſter of his word.—Perchance I do fooliſhly to forſake ſo good a living as I have. I will ſay no more hereof, but pray for me. I truſt, as I ſaid, for three years ſtudy, I have ſufficient, if my maſter take all from me, and when this is ſpent, God will ſend more. I do not write this, that you ſhould think me to be in need of worldly help; and therefore, as Friers were wont, ſecretly to beg. No, in the Lord's name, I require you not to take it ſo; for I had rather never ſend letter, afore I ſhould be herein a croſs to you; for *ſufficit ſua diei afflictio*: We are more ſet by, than many ſparrows. But if my mother, or Sir Thomas Hall murmur at it or be offended with me; as you can, remedy it, with your counſel. Howbeit, as yet, I will not write to them of it, until ſuch time as I be going. I am ſomething fickle-minded, and inconſtant, therefore pray for me, that my hand being put to the plough, preſumptuouſly ſpoken! I look not back. You may gather by my words in this letter, the heroical heart which lieth in me! I have ſent you a book of *Bucer* againſt *Wincheſter*, in Engliſh, lately tranſlated, which I never read, therefore I cannot praiſe it. And, as I call to remembrance, I did ſend you with the other books, more than you received; at leaſt one of them I remember, which is called *The Common Places*, or *The Declaration of the Faith*, by *Urbanus Rhegius*. Aſk for it, or ſend me word in whom the default is you have it not. Hereafter, and that ſhortly, by God's grace, I will ſend you *Primitiæ Laborum Meorum*, a work or two, which I have tranſlated into *Engliſh*, ſo ſoon as they be printed; which will be afore Whitſontide, &c. (3).’ In the concluſion of this letter, which is dated from the Temple, the 12th of May, 1548, he expreſſes his deſire to ſpeak with Sir Tho. Hall, and thinks he may chance to ſee him the winter following, if he diſcharges not himſelf of his office. But whether thereby is meant his office under his maſter aforeſaid, or any other, he might have in that inn of court, we pretend not to explain. Thus have we ſeen from his own words, what advancement this reparation was in, for the miſdemeanor aforeſaid; alſo what progreſs he had made in his ſtudies, and what reſolution he had taken to finiſh them at the Univerſity, in the profeſſion of Divinity. Now we may compendiouſly ſee, how that Reſtitution was provided for, out of his own fortune, from the words of his intimate acquaintance, above in the text ſpoken of, named Thomas Sampſon, ſome time Dean of Chriſt Church, Oxon. That author informs us, that during this time of his obſtructions to enter into that holy life which he now coveted, and ſoon compaſſed, ‘ He was much helped forward by a continual meditation, and practice of repentance and fayth in Chriſt; in which he was kept, by God's grace, notably exerciſed all the dayes of his lyfe; and that, even in this mean time (of thoſe obſtructions) he heard a ſermon, which that notable preacher Maiſter *Latimer* made before King *Edward* the ſixt, in which he did earneſtly ſpeake of *Reſtitution* to be made of things falſely gotten; whych dyd ſo ſtrike *Bradford* to the heart, for one daſh of a pen which he had made, without the knowledge of his maiſter, as full often I have heard him confeſſe, with plentie of teares; beyng Clarke to the Treaſurer of the Kynge's Campe beyond the ſeas, and was to the deceiving of the King, that he could never be quiet, tyll, by the aduice of the ſame Maiſter *Latimer*, a Reſtitution was made: Whych thyng to bring to paſſe, he did wyllingly forbeare and foregoe all the priuate and certain patrimonye which he had in earth. Let all bribers, and polyng officers, which get to themſelves great revenues in earth, by ſuch ſlippery ſhiftes, folow his example, leſt in taking a contrarye courſe, they take a contrarye way, and never come where Bradford now is (4).’ How, and in what degrees this reſtitution was finally made, will appear in the concluſion of the next note.

[*B*] *From the words of thoſe who knew him, as well as his own.*] His acquaintance aforeſaid, Thomas Sampſon, ſays alſo of thoſe two changes in Bradford's life, thus; ‘ Touching the firſt, after that God touched his heart with that holy and effectual calling, he ſold his chaynes, rynges, brooches, and juels of gold, which before he uſed to weare, and did beſtow the price of this his former vanitie, in the neceſſary relief of Chriſt's poor members, which he could hear of, or finde lying ſicke, or pining in povertie. Touching the ſecond, he ſo declared his great zeale and love to promote the Lord Jeſus, whoſe goodneſs and ſaving health he had taſted, that to do the ſame more pithely, he changed his ſtudye, and being in the Inner Temple, London, at the ſtudy of the common lawes, he went to Cambridge, to ſtudy divinitie (5).’ And to the ſame ſenſe, ſays another author, *Ex rixoſo cau-*

(2) Fox, as before, to p. 298.

(3) Acts and Monuments, *ibid.*

(4) Tho. Sampſon's Preface to the Reader, before Two notable Sermons, made by that worthy Martyr of Chriſt Maiſter John Bradford; the one of Repentance, the other of the Lord's Supper, &c. 8*vo*, 1574, p. 6.

(5) *Idem.* p. 3.

Maſter of Arts at Katherine-Hall; and Dr. Nicholas Ridley, who was not then Biſhop of London, as Bradford's friend miſtakes (*i*), being Biſhop of Rocheſter from near a twelvemonth before Bradford went to the Univerſity, to the beginning of the year 1550 (*k*), and alſo Maſter of Pembroke-Hall, invited him before that year, together with his godly companion Maſter Thomas Horton, to become Fellows of that Hall;

ſidico mitiſſimus Chriſti Apoſtolus (6). What he ſays himſelf of his removal to, and ſtudies at, Cambridge, we ſhall gather briefly from his letters to Mr. Traves aforeſaid: One of which he wrote to him, the day he went thither; though it is not dated. In that he ſtill arraigns his own preſumption, in adventuring upon ſo high a charge, or vocation, as he was entering upon; and deſires his friend to pray for him, That God's will be done in him, whether he lives, or dies; ſo that His name be honoured. ‘My maſter which ‘was, adds he, hath denied me all his benefice: ‘But I have, for this life, more than enough, thanks ‘be to God, as this winter I intend by God's favour ‘to declare more unto you. This book which I ‘have ſent (7), take in good part. It is the firſt, I ‘truſt it ſhall not be the laſt, God hath appointed me ‘to tranſlate. The print is very falſe, I am ſorry ‘for it. I pray you be not offended at my babbling ‘in the prologues.’ Then he concludes, with this poſtſcript, ‘I will lye, God willing, this ſummer at ‘*Catharine Hall* in *Cambridge* (8).’ Accordingly, in his next letter to the ſame perſon, we find him there in the middle of Auguſt, which we take to be in the year laſt ſpoken of, 1548: For he dates it from Catharine Hall upon the Aſſumption day (9). And in his next following, dated the 22d of October, he ſays, he has taken his degree of Maſter of Arts; to qualify him for the fellowſhip he was promiſed (10). In his next, which ſeems to be written in 1549, he has theſe expreſſions; ‘You know that ‘God hath exonerated my loaden conſcience, of the ‘great weighty burthen; for ſo I did write to you. ‘Yea, the Lord hath in a manner unburthened me ‘of the leſſer burthen alſo: For I have an aſſurance ‘of the payment of the ſame by Candlemas. Lo, ‘thus you ſee, what a good God the Lord is unto ‘me! O Father Traves, give thanks for me and pray ‘God to forgive me my unthankfulneſs! But what ‘ſhould I rehearſe the benefits of God towards me? ‘Alas, I cannot, I am too little for his mercies; ‘yea, I am not only unthankful, but I am too far ‘contumelious againſt God: For where you know ‘the ſun, the moon, and the ſeven ſtars, did forſake ‘me, and would not ſhine upon me; you know what ‘I mean, *Per herum et heriles amicos*; yet, the Lord ‘hath given me here, in the Univerſity, as good a ‘living as I would have wiſhed for. I am now a ‘Fellow of Pembroke Hall; for the which, neither ‘I, nor any other for me, did ever make any ſuit. ‘Yea, there was a contention between the Maſter of ‘Catharine Hall (11), and the Biſhop of Rocheſter, ‘who is maſter of Pembroke Hall (12), whether ‘ſhould have me: *Fit hoc tibi dictum.* Thus you ‘may ſee, the Lord's carefulneſs for me. My Fellowſhip is worth ſeven pounds a year; for I have ‘allowed me eighteen-pence a week, and as good as ‘thirty-three ſhillings and four-pence a year; beſides my chamber, launder, barber, *&c.* and I am ‘bound to nothing, but once or twice a year to keep ‘a problem (13).’ He concludes this letter, after many expreſſions of his own unworthineſs, with a requeſt to his correſpondent, That he would exhort his mother, now and then, with his ſiſter Margaret, to fear the Lord; and, if his mother had not parted with the fox-fur which was in his father's gown, he deſires, ſhe would ſend it him, *&c.* which is here mentioned, that the reader may better gueſs at the profeſſion of Mr. Bradford's ſaid father (14). In the laſt letter that has been preſerved of his, written to the ſame perſon, while Bradford continued at Cambridge, after having made the like rigorous reflections upon himſelf, for his backwardneſs in ſpiritual improvements, as he had made in his foregoing letters, he tells Mr. Traves concerning Father Latimer, ‘I ‘am as familiar with him, as with you: Yea, God ‘ſo moveth him towards me, that his deſire is to ‘have me come and dwell with him, whenſoever I ‘will, and welcome. This do I write once more to ‘occaſion you to be thankfull for me to the Lord, ‘*&c.* (15).’ Thus we ſee it is not without reaſon that he has been deſcribed to have been a man in his diſpoſition, behaviour, and converſation, ſingularly agreeable and engaging; ſince we ſaw before, how attractive they rendered him to Dr. Sandys, and Biſhop Ridley; and now, to Biſhop Latimer; of which there is a farther teſtimony in Dr. Fuller; who ſays, ‘It is a demonſtration to me, that he was of a ‘ſweet temper, becauſe, *Perſons* (the Jeſuit), who ‘will hardly afford a good word to a Proteſtant, ‘ſaith, *That he ſeemed to be of a more ſoft and mild* ‘*nature, than many of his fellows* (16). Indeed, continues Fuller, he was a moſt holy and mortified ‘man; who, ſecretly in his cloſet, would ſo weep ‘for his ſins, one would have thought he would never have ſmiled again; and then, appearing in ‘publick, he would be ſo harmleſly pleaſant, one ‘would think he had never wept before (17).’ Now for the concluſion of that great buſineſs which had ſo oppreſſed his mind; that burthen, before in this note ſpoken of, which he was ſo thankful to God, he ſhould be eaſed of by Candlemas following; as Biſhop Latimer was made privy to, and chiefly conſulted in it, we conceived hopes he might poſſibly have preſerved ſome other particulars of it. Therefore having, with ſome difficulty, procured an old edition of that Biſhop's ſermons, we have diligently ſought in them, for that above mentioned, which wrought this notable converſion; and have found, as we ſhall read preſently in his own words, that he preached the ſaid ſermon at court, in the time of Lent, and as we compute, in the year 1548. There are two ſermons in this collection, or one divided into two parts, compoſed directly upon the ſubject, *of rendering unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's*; but they are ſaid to have been preached by him at Stamford, in the month of October, and two years later; all which may be true, and yet it may be the ſame ſermon he preached at court in Lent, and in the year before mentioned, while Bradford reſided in the Temple. But there is another ſermon next following theſe, preached by Latimer before the ſaid King Edward and his Council, in his court at Weſtminſter, in the year 1550, which will give us light to ſome purpoſe in that important matter of the reſtitution above mentioned: And yet has it been taken notice of by no writer of Bradford's life before. It is grounded upon a text, which nearly borders on the other, *Videte, et cavete ab avaritia: Take heed and beware of covetouſneſs.* In that part of this ſermon, where Latimer reads ſuch a lecture, in his frank and familiar manner, upon the abuſes of the King's officers, as no doubt made the ears of ſome among them tingle upon hearing it, we have the following remarkable and pertinent paſſage. —‘I have now preached three Lentes: The firſt ‘time I preached *Reſtitution.* Reſtitution, quoth ‘ſome! what ſhould he preach of Reſtitution? Let ‘him preach of Contrition, quoth they, and let Reſtitution alone: We can never make Reſtitution. ‘Then, ſay I, if thou wilt not make Reſtitution, ‘thou ſhalt goe to the devill for it. Now chuſe thee ‘either, Reſtitution, or els endleſſe damnation. But ‘now there be two manners of Reſtitution; ſecret ‘Reſtitution, and open Reſtitution; whether of both ‘it be, ſo that Reſtitution be made, it is all good ‘enough.—At my firſt preaching of Reſtitution, *One* ‘*man tooke remorſe of conſcience*, and acknowledged ‘himſelf to me, that he had deceived the King; and ‘willing he was to make Reſtitution; and ſo the firſt ‘Lent, came to my hands *twenty pounds*, to be reſtored to the King's uſe. I was promiſed twenty ‘pounds more, the ſame Lent, but it could not be ‘made; ſo that it came not: Well, the next Lent ‘came *three hundred* and *twenty pounds* more; I received it myſelf, and paid it to the Kinges Council; ſo I was aſked, what he was that made this ‘Reſtitution? But ſhould I have named him? Nay, ‘they ſhoulde as ſoon have this weaſand of mine: ‘Well, now, this Lent, came *one hundred fourſcore* ‘*pounds ten ſhillings*; which I have paid and delivered this preſent day to the Kinges Council; and ‘ſo this man hath made a godly Reſtitution (18).’

(*i*) T. Sampſon, in the Preface to Bradford's Sermons, as quoted in the notes.

(*k*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. Et Rymeri Fœd. Tom. xv. p. 164, 222.

(6) J. Bale, Deſcr. Brit. Cent. VIII. Numb. 87.

(7) Mentioned in the foregoing note.

(8) Acts and Monuments as before, p. 299.

(9) *Idem.*

(10) *Ibid.*

(11) Dr. Edwyn Sandys, afterwards Archbiſhop of York. MSS. Rev. Tho. Baker.

(12) Dr. Nic. Ridley, as above-mentioned, in the text.

(13) Fox, as before, p. 300.

(14) *Idem.*

(15) *Ibidem.*

(16) See Rob. Perſons his Three Converſions of England, Part ii. 8*vo*, 1603, in his Examination of Fox's Kalendar, for the Martyrs in July.

(17) Worthies of England, in Lancaſhire.

(18) Biſhop Latimer's Sermons, printed by John Day, Lond. 4*to*, 1584, p. 111.

as it is obſerved by the firſt writer of his life, who ſays, ‘ he laboured ſo vehemently in ‘ the Univerſity at his ſtudies, that the firſt year of his coming thither, he was made ‘ Maſter of Arts, and was ſoon after choſen Fellow of Pembroke-Hall, where he ſo ‘ profited by the heavenly dexterity of his wit, that he was had in eſtimation of all good ‘ men (*l*),’ which is pretty tolerably agreed to in the Computation of a later author, who was not over aſſiduous in guiding his readers by the light of Chronology, one of the beſt illuminators of Hiſtory, where he ſays, ‘ That after a year and ſome few months ‘ ſpent in the Univerſity, he attained his degree of Maſter of Arts, whereunto others ‘ are hardly admitted after long examination, and ſeven years ſtudy. But ſuch was his ‘ carriage, diligence, and proficiency, that this favour, though extraordinary and inſolent, was thought well beſtowed upon him by the whole Univerſity; and leſt any man ‘ may think it was rather differenced to his years, than his abilities, he was immediately hereafter, without any interpoſal of time, choſen Fellow of Pembroke-Hall (*m*).’ The Jeſuit who ſuggeſted, that Bradford could not be a man of great learning, becauſe he was of ſo ſhort ſtanding in the Univerſity, did not, or would not pretend to know, that he was ſo good a ſcholar before he went thither, as to have tranſlated books out of the Latin tongue, which were printed at his firſt going to Cambridge; as is already in the notes obſerved: for, as Fuller, where he is laſt quoted, truly ſays of Bradford, ‘ he ‘ had always been a hard ſtudent from his youth; and his writings and diſputings give ‘ a ſufficient teſtimony of his learning.’ Yet were his modeſty and diffidence ſo great, that when Dr. Martin Bucer, with whom he was in great eſteem there, exhorted him to reſerve his talents no longer in private, but to exerciſe them publicly through the Miniſtry of the Goſpel in the great work of reformation, and he ſtill pleaded his inability, Bucer would reply, ‘ Though thou couldſt not feed them with fine cakes, and white ‘ bread, yet ſhould you ſatisfy them with barley bread (*n*).’ Such like frequent exhortations emboldened him to proceed, though he was ſufficiently inclined of his own accord, and only had too ſcrupulous and humble an opinion of himſelf. The manner of his laying his paſt ſins before his eyes, by the catalogues he made of them, and his inward and retired exerciſe of Prayer; his praying with himſelf, as well as with his pupils; and, above all, the diary he kept of whatever was remarkable and ſerviceable to his ſteady advancement in the practice of piety, are particularly deſcribed among his exerciſes, whilſt he was at the Univerſity, by the friend before mentioned, who could beſt do it: more eſpecially of this laſt taſk, he ſpeaks in theſe words, ‘ He uſed to make ‘ unto hym ſelfe an *Ephemeris*, or a Journal, in which hee uſed to write all ſuch notable ‘ things as either hee dyd ſee, or heare, eche day that paſſed. But whatſoever hee dyd ‘ heare or ſee, hee dyd ſo penne it, that a man might ſee in that, the ſignes of his ſmitten heart. For if he dyd ſee or heare any good in any man, by that ſight, he found ‘ and noted the want thereof in hymſelfe; and added a ſhort prayer, craving mercy and ‘ grace to amende. If he dyd hear or ſee any miſery he noted it, as a thing procured ‘ by his own ſyns; and ſtill added, *Domine, miſerere mei: Lord, have mercy upon me.* He ‘ uſed in the ſame booke, to note ſuch evyll thoughts as dyd ryſe in him; as of envying ‘ the good of other men; thoughts of unthankfulneſs; of not conſidering God in his ‘ workes; of hardneſs and unſenſibleneſs of heart when he dyd ſee others moved and ‘ afflicted: And thus he made *to hymſelfe*, and *of hymſelfe*, a book of dayly practiſes of ‘ repentance (*o*).’ In ſhort, as a full proof of theſe practices, he had now made a reſtitution to the King, ſo voluntarily and uncompelled, of above five hundred pounds, in three yearly payments; that the laſt, which was made the year above mentioned, was before the King or his Council knew (and perhaps they never knew) who had wronged him, as we have more particularly obſerved before (†). And now his conſcience being totally clear and diſburdened, he vigorouſly proceeded in the heavenly progreſſion; and, by the effectual courſes he took to arrive at that ſpiritual perfection he aſpired to, he became ſo eminent, that Biſhop Ridley, who, in the beginning of the year 1550, was tranſlated to the See of London (*p*), ſent for him from the Univerſity, to take upon him Deacon's orders; which having received, together with a Licence (*q*), he ſoon became ſuch a famous Preacher of Piety, and ſuch an exemplary pattern of what he preached, that the ſaid Biſhop obtained of the Privy-Council, a grant, that he might be admitted one of his chaplains; a circumſtance unmentioned hitherto by any writer of his hiſtory [*C*]: Though one of them partly intimates as much, where having informed

(*l*) Mr. John Bradford's Lyfe, before his Examinations, as above.

(*m*) The Life of Mr. Bradford in Abel Rediv. aforeſaid, p. 181, &c.

As none of theſe authors mention his ſettling in any other college, we may look upon it as an error in H. Holland's Herωologia Anglica, fol. 151. And in Donald Lupon's Hiſt. of the Modern Proteſtant Divines, p. 222, where it is ſaid, that Bradford was of Queen's-college, took all degrees there, and was Maſter thereof.

(*n*) The Lyfe of Mr. Bradford before his Examinations. See alſo Fox, and in Abel Redivivus.

(*o*) Tho. Sampſon's Preface, as above, p. 11.

(†) At the end of note [*B*].

(*p*) J. Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, fol. 1716, p. 180.

(*q*) The Lyfe of Mr. Bradford before his Examinations, as above.

[*C*] *A circumſtance unmentioned hitherto by any writer of his hiſtory.*] Our authority for it is derived from the Biſhop's own words; who in a letter he wrote to Mr. Cheke, afterwards the well-known Sir John Cheke, now one of the ſaid Council, has theſe words: ‘ Syr, in God's cauſe, for God's ſake, and in his ‘ name, I beſeech you, of your helpe and furtherance towards God's word. I did talk with you of ‘ late, what caſe I was in, concerning my Chaplens: I have got the good-will and grant, to be ‘ with me, of three preachers, men of good learning; and, as I am perſuaded, of excellent virtue; ‘ which are able, both with life and learning, to ſet ‘ forth God's word in London, and in the whole ‘ dioceſe of the ſame; where is moſt neede, of all ‘ parts in Englande: For from thence, goeth example, as you know, into all the reſt of the King's ‘ Majeſties whole realme. The mens names be theſe, ‘ M. *Grindall*, whom you know to be a man of virtue and learning; M. *Bradforde, a man by whom,* ‘ *as I am aſſuredly informed, God hath, and doth work* ‘ *wonders, in ſetting forth of his worde*: The thirde, ‘ is a preacher, the which for detecting, and confuting, the Anabaptiſts and Papiſts in Eſſex, both ‘ by informed us, that the Biſhop now gave him a Prebend in St. Paul's church; he adds, that he alſo lodged him in his own houſe, and ſet him to work in preaching (r). And now, from this time, to the end of King Edward's reign, he did ſo conſtantly, ſo ardently, and prevailingly, engraft the true principles of religion, not in the ears only, but in the hearts and minds of the people; ſo reformed the vicious, reclaimed the perverted, and fixed the wavering, that no Preacher of his time was more followed, or more famed than Maſter Bradford. ‘Sharply he opened and reproved ſin, ſweetly he preached Chriſt crucified, pithely he impunged hereſies and errors, earneſtly he perſwaded to a godly life (s).’ He became ſo eminent for the ſermons he preached in London, chiefly at Paul's Croſs; and ſeveral places in Lancaſhire (t); where it ſeems from his own words (u), that he had been diligently inſtructing his countrymen in their duty to God, and each other, all the ſummer of the year 1552; that he was ſworn to ſerve the King, as one of his Chaplains, about the beginning of the next year, as appears in one of his *examinations*; wherein we ſhall find, that he was ſworn no leſs than ſix times in that reign, never to conſent, in any wiſe, to the Pope's authority in this kingdom. In one of the ſermons he preached at Court, before the ſaid King Edward in Lent, in the laſt year of his Majeſty's reign (1553), he ſhewed the tokens of God's judgments at hand, for the contempt of his Goſpel, in ſeveral recent examples; as that of thoſe gentlemen, who croſſing the Thames in a wherry, to ſee the bear-baiting at Paris-Garden on a Sunday, were all drowned; and of a dog that was met at Ludgate, carrying a piece of a dead child in his mouth: upon which he broke out in a prophetical ſpirit to the congregation, and ſummoned them all to the *Judgment of God: for*, ſaid he, *it is at hand*; as ſhortly after, in the beginning of July following it came to paſs, in the death of that excellent young King (w). Soon after this, Mr. Bradford preaching another ſermon, he did, in his entrance upon the high character of the ſaid Prince's great virtues, and pathetic lamentations for the kingdom's loſs of him, in a manner foreſhew the farther miſeries which befel it; of which himſelf endured ſo great a ſhare, as we ſhall ſoon relate. But in no part of that character, and account of the King's death, is it any ways ſo much as intimated, that the King fell a ſacrifice to the endeavours that were uſed by him (x), to fruſtrate a Popiſh ſucceſſion in his ſiſter Mary, as by ſo undaunted a Preacher it would probably have been, had he thought it true [D]. Though

‘by his preaching, and his writing, is enforc'd now to beare Chriſt's croſs, &c. (19).’ The Biſhop proceeds to tell Mr. Cheke, that there was now fallen a Prebend in Paul's called *Cantrélles*, by the death of one Layton; and calls it an honeſt man's living, of thirty-four pounds and better, in the King's books. This he wanted to give Mr. Grindall; but William Thomas, one of the clerks of the Council, having formerly ſet ſome of that board upon the Biſhop, to grant, That Layton might alienate the ſame to him, and his heirs, and the Biſhop, not conſenting to it, without he might acquaint the King therewith, before the collation of it, Mr. Thomas deſpaired of procuring it for himſelf, therefore prevailed on his ſaid friends to inform the Biſhop, That the King had appropriated it to the furniture of his Majeſty's ſtable. Upon this the Biſhop beſeeches Mr. Cheke, for God's ſake, to ſpeak to whomſoever he thought he could do any good withall, in the redreſs of this grievance; and if he could not ſpeak himſelf, that he would let this letter ſpeak to Mr. Gates, Mr. Wrothe, and Mr. Cecill; all whom he takes for men that fear God. And he is the more ſolicitous to know the King's pleaſure herein, and whether he may beſtow this living upon Mr. Grindall, as he is very deſirous of doing, becauſe he was a man ſo noted for his virtue, honeſty, diſcretion, wiſdom, and learning; and ſuch were now more eſpecially wanted; ſince the Biſhops were ſo lately charged by the King, and his council themſelves, both in their own perſons, and by their preachers, to cry out againſt the unſatiable ſerpent of covetouſneſs: ſo he concludes with aſking, ‘What preachers ſhall I gett to open and ſet forth ſuche matters, and ſo, as the King's Majeſtie and the Council do command them to be ſet forth, if either ungodlye men, or unreaſonable beaſtes bee ſuffered to pull awaye, and devour the good and godlye learned preachers livings?’ Dated from *Fulham*, 23d of July, 1551, and ſigned *Nicholas London*. Though this Prebend was now deſigned for the ſaid Mr. Grindall, who was afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, it rather appears that the Biſhop gave it, or another, if his enemy above got that, as below it ſhould ſeem he did, to Mr. Bradford: For all the old writers of his ſtory agree (20), That upon his entering into orders, the Biſhop gave him a Prebend in his cathedral of St. Paul's. And for Mr. Grindall, thoſe who have written moſt accurately of him, inform us, That he was collated, in Auguſt the ſame year laſt mentioned, *Præcentor* of St. Paul's, void by the death of John Sherry (21), and the next year was inſtalled, a Prebendary indeed, but it was of the then cathedral church of St. Peter at Weſtminſter (22). As for that William Thomas, againſt whom Biſhop Ridley, above, ſo heartily exclaims; he was a Welſhman born, a learned and ingenious man, but of a violent and deſperate temper. He fled the kingdom in 1544, and, after King Henry's death, returned out of Italy, well acquainted with that country, and its language, of both which we have his books in print; and of his manuſcripts, there are, his *Dialogue*, intitled *Le Peregryne*, in defence of King *Henry* VIII., dedicated to the famous Tuſcan Poet, *Pietro Aretine*; and about half a dozen political Diſcourſes more, preſerved in the Cotton Library (23). There was a French Dialogue called *Le Peregrin* printed in the Gothic letter at Paris, 8*vo*. 1540. quære if the ſame. In April 1550, he was made Clerk of the Council (24); ſoon after, a Prebend of *Cantleurs*, in St. Paul's, lately convey'd to the Crown, as we are told, and parſon of Preſthend in South Wales (25); but being ſaid to have imbibed the principles of Chriſtopher Goodman againſt the regimen of women, and too freely vented them, with perhaps ſomething againſt the Spaniſh match, he was deprived of all by Queen Mary. Upon this, perpetrating revenge, he attempted her life, as ſome writers agree (26), only Bale ſays, his deſign was upon Biſhop Gardener (27); for which he was impriſoned in the Tower of London, in the latter end of the year 1553, with Sir Nicholas Throkmorton and others; where, hopeleſs of reprieve, he ſtabbed himſelf with a knife in the breaſt; but the wound not proving mortal, he was, after trial and condemnation at Guild-Hall, for conſpiring the death of the Queen, hanged, drawn and quartered, at Tyburn, on the 18th of May 1554. And in his laſt ſpeech declared, *He died for his country* (28).

[D] *As by ſo undaunted a Preacher it would probably have been, had he thought it true.*] For all that Bradford ſays of King Edward is this, ‘You all know, he was but a child in yeares; defiled he was not, with notorious offences; defiled, quoth he! Nay rather adorned, with ſo many goodly giftes, and wonderful qualities, as never Prince was, from

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(r) T. Sampſon's Preface, &c.

(s) Fox, Vol. iii. p. 233.

(t) Sampſon's Preface, as before.

(u) Mr. Bradford's Epiſt. before his Sermon of Repentance, then preached, and printed the year following, at the requeſt of ſeveral of his auditors, with enlargements; and reprinted by T. Sampſon, as above.

(w) T. Sampſon's Preface.

(x) See Archbiſhop Cranmer's Apologetical Letter to Queen Mary, in which he declares he was not moved by the Duke of Northumberland, but by the King himſelf, to ſign his Will, whereby his ſiſter was excluded; in Biſhop Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, 4*to*, 1564, p. 2.

(19) Certain moſt Godly, Fruitful, and Comfortable Letters, of ſuch true Saints, and holy Martyrs of God, as in the late bloody Perſecution here, within this Realme, gave their Lives for the Defence of Chriſtes Holy Goſpell: Written in the Time of their Affliction, and cruel Impriſonment. Publiſhed by Miles Coverdale (ſome time Biſhop of Exeter). Printed by John Day, 4*to*, 1564, p. 683, &c.

(20) As the Lyfe of Mr. Bradford before his Examinations. T. Sampſon's Preface. Fox, &c.

(21) J. Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Grindall, fol. 1710, p. 6. J. Le Neve's Lives of the Archbiſhops ſince the Reformation, 8*vo*, 1720, p. 30. And his Faſti, or Church Dignitaries, fol. 1716, p. 201. *Ex Regiſt. Bonner*, fol. 312.

(22) Le Neve, ut ſupra, ex Regiſt. Weſtm.

(23) Sub. Effig. Veſpaſian. D. XVIII.

(24) The Journal of King Edward VI. Alſo The Council Book for the four laſt years of his Reign.

(25) Anthony Harmer's Specimen of Errors in Dr. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, 8*vo*, 1693, p. 159.

(26) See Richard Grafton's Chron. Nich. Sanders, John Stow, &c.

(27) De Scriptor. Britan. Part ii. p. 110.

(28) Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 90.

Though by the death of this Prince, the religion was now changed to Popery under Queen Mary, yet Bradford changed not; but kept diligently preaching on the Reformed Doctrine, till he was unjuſtly, there being as yet no law againſt it, deprived both of his office, his liberty, and at laſt his life, by her cruel Council, more eſpecially the eccleſiaſtics in it; to the performing of which, becauſe they had no legal cauſe, they took occaſion to inflict theſe ſufferings, for an action ſo charitable, as even among Turks and Infidels would have been moſt thankfully rewarded [*E*], and with great favour accepted; as indeed it did no leſs deſerve (*y*). Though his great humanity in this action is ſufficiently apparent in the note laſt referred to, and his generoſity in ſaving the life of a Popiſh Prieſt, with ſo great danger to his own; yet was the prejudice of the Papiſts ſo violent againſt him, that by the moſt perverſe and barbarous interpretation, they made his very merits criminal. For, three days after, on the 16th of Auguſt in the year aforeſaid, he was ſummoned by the Council and Biſhops to the Tower of London, where the Queen then was, and charged in the action aforeſaid with ſedition; and in his preaching with hereſy. All his purgations availed him not; but they committed him cloſe priſoner where he was. Of his examination here, there is nothing now extant, excepting one paſſage repeated in his next (*z*). But there he was kept in reſtraint nearly a year and half; then they removed him into other priſons, and from thence into the flames. While he thus lay in the Tower, and other places of confinement, he wrote ſeveral pious diſcourſes and exhortations, which were ſuſpected to have reclaimed ſome who had revolted to Popery, and known to have confirmed many who were unſettled in the Proteſtant Faith; but all by ſtealth; for he was denied the uſe of pen and ink. But nothing more irritated his adverſaries, than the many epiſtles he ſecretly wrote, and conveyed to the citizens of London, the Univerſity and town of Cambridge, the towns of Walden and Mancheſter; and alſo to many noble and learned friends, as well as his

(*y*) Acts and Monum. as above.

(*z*) Bradford's Life, in Abel Redivivus, p. 185.

'the beginning of the worlde, ſhould I ſpeake of hys 'wyſedom, of hys rypeneſs in judgment, of hys 'learning, of hys godly zeale, heroicall heart, fa'therly care for his commons, nurcely ſolicitude for 'religion, *&c.!* nay, ſo many things are to be 'ſpoken in the commendation of God's exceeding 'graces in this childe, that as Saluſt writeth of Car'thage, I had rather ſpeak nothing than too little, 'in that too much, is too little. This gift God 'gave unto us Engliſhmen, before all nations, un'der the ſunne; and that of his exceeding love to'wardes us: But alas and welaway, for our unthank'fulneſs ſake, for our ſins ſake, for our carnality 'and prophane living, God's anger hath touched, 'not only the body, but alſo the mynde of our King, 'by a long ſyckneſs, and at length hath taken him 'away by death, death, cruel death! fearful death '(29)!' And yet we find it, in a Popiſh author, ſo little heeded, to make his party liable to be ſuſpected with the moſt horrid wickedneſs herein, that it is ſaid, 'The Apothecary who poiſoned him, for the horror 'of the offence, and the diſquietneſs of his conſci'ence, drowned himſelf: and that the landreſs 'who waſhed his ſhirt, loſt the ſkin off her fingers '(30):' However, it may be meant to reflect on the Duke of Northumberland, who is indeed ſtrongly inſinuated by others to have haſtened the King's death, but by the hands of a certain gentlewoman (31) through his impatience for the coronation of his daughter-in-law, the Lady Jane; which, manifeſtly enough, brought them both to a violent end; as, among others, *Michaelangelo Florio* has related at large (32). And how greedy, at his execution, the people were of the Duke's blood, catching it in their handkerchiefs, under the ſcaffold, through the crevices thereof, in abhorrence of his ambition, or affection to his cauſe, may be ſeen in a ſcarce tract, written not long after, by a foreigner, who having been about that time in London, might be an eyewitneſs thereof, and among ſome other remarkable obſervations on our country, has recorded the ſame (33). But on that Popiſh author's aforeſaid account of the King's death, a Proteſtant author has made this reflection; 'If his *Hiſtory* be no better than his '*Divinity*, we who juſtly *condemn* the one, can do 'no leſs than *ſuſpect* the other (34).' And Speed, who expreſsly mentions the King's diſeaſe to have been a conſumption of the lungs, does not, in the leaſt, ſuggeſt any other cauſe of his death (35).

[*E*] *Such a charitable action, as even among Turks and Infidels, would have been moſt thankfully rewarded.*] The fact was this: On the 13th of Auguſt, in the firſt year of Queen *Mary*'s reign aforeſaid, Gilbert Bourne, then preacher at Paul's Croſs, but not then Biſhop of *Bath* as *Fox* miſtakes (36), he not being elected to the ſaid See before the beginning of the next year (37), made a ſeditious ſermon at the ſaid croſs; wherein he ſo much traduced the late king, and harangued ſo intolerably in favour of Popery, that it moved the auditory with ſuch indignation, as made them ready to pull him out of the pulpit. Neither could the reverence of the place, nor the preſence of the Biſhop of London, nor the authority of the Lord Mayor, reſtrain their rage. Bourne, ſeeing himſelf in this peril, and his life particularly aimed at, by a drawn dagger that was hurled at him in the pulpit, which narrowly miſſed him, turned about, and perceiving Bradford behind him, he earneſtly begged him to come forwards and pacify the people. Good Bradford was no ſooner in his room, where he recommended peace and concord to them, but with a joyful ſhout at the ſight of him, they cried out, *Bradford, Bradford, God ſave thy life, Bradford!* and then, with profound attention to his diſcourſe, heard him enlarge upon the topic of peaceful and chriſtian obedience; which when he had finiſhed, the tumultuous people, for the moſt part, diſperſed; but, among the reſt who perſiſted, there was a certain gentleman, with his two ſervants, who coming up the pulpit ſtairs, ruſhed againſt the door, demanding entrance upon Bourne; Bradford reſiſted him, till he had ſecretly given Bourne warning, by his ſervant, to eſcape; who thereupon, flying to the Mayor, once again eſcaped death. Yet conceiving the danger not fully over, Bourne beſeeched Bradford not to leave him till he was got to ſome place of ſecurity; in which Bradford again obliged him, and went at his back, ſhadowing him from the people with his gown, while the Mayor and Sheriffs, on each ſide, led him into the neareſt houſe, which was Paul's School; and ſo was he a third time delivered from the fury of the populace. Let the reader now conſider Bourne's peril (38), through the reſentment of the multitude; and Bradford's charity, which reſcued that railing preacher againſt King Edward from death, not without the hazard of his own life, which thoſe who would have been revenged on that preacher, did not diſſemble; among whom, one gentleman cried out, *Ah! Bradford, Bradford, doſt thou ſave his life, who will not ſpare thine? Go, I give thee his life; but were it not for thy ſake, I would thruſt him through with my ſword.* The ſame Sunday, in the afternoon, Bradford preached at Bow-Church in Cheapſide, and ſharply rebuked the people for their outrageous behaviour aforeſaid (39). Thus has our reader had the whole account of Mr. Bradford's generous and chriſtian deportment in this tumult, whereby it may be judged what reward he deſerved: you ſhall next above hear what reward he received.

(29) Bradford's Sermon of Repentance, 8*vo*, 1574: The Epiſtle to which is dated July 12, 1553, ſix days after that King's death.

(30) Mat. Pateſon's Image of both Churches, Hieruſalem and Babel, Unity and Confuſion, Obedience and Sedition, *&c.* 8*vo*, Tournay 1623, & Lond. 1652, p. 423.

(31) Sir J. Hayward's Life of King Edward, 4*to*, 1630, p. 177.

(32) Hiſtoria de la Vita è de la Morte de Giovanna Graia, gia Regina eletta é publicata d'Inghilterra, 8*vo*, 1607.

(33) Deſcrip. des Royaulmes d'Angleterre, & d'Eſcoſſe, par Eſtienne Perlin. 8*vo*, Paris, 1558, p. 13, 14.

(34) T. Fuller's Church Hiſtory, lib. vii. p. 425.

(35) Hiſt. of Great Britain, fol. 1122.

(36) Acts and Mon. Vol. iii. p. 233.

(37) Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, P. ii. p. 276; alſo Rymer, Vol. xv. p. 384.

(38) The Lyfe of Mr. Bradford, before his Examinations, *&c.*

(39) *Ibid.* Alſo in Fox, Abel Redivivus, *&c.*

pious relations; which letters and diſcourſes are moſt of them extant [*F*]. In theſe letters ſhine forth ſuch a ſpirit of inflexible conſtancy in his principles, ſuch a primitive and

[*F*] *Which letters and diſcourſes are, moſt of them, extant.*] The number of Mr. Bradford's letters, in Biſhop Coverdale's collection, is ſeventy-two, beſides an admonition, written before a New Teſtament; and they take up nearly thirty ſheets, or a third part of the volume: The time they were written in, as appears from thoſe that are dated, was between the ſixth of October 1553, and the twenty-fourth of June 1555. The places they are written from, are the Tower, the King's-Bench priſon, and the Poultry-Counter: The perſons to whom, more particularly, they were written, are, To the Faithful Profeſſors of God's Word in the City of London. To the true Profeſſors in the Univerſity and Town of Cambridge. To thoſe in Lancaſhire and Cheſhire. To thoſe at Walden. To Queen Mary, the Council, and Parliament; as a preface to a ſupplication (againſt the Popiſh Biſhops). To the Lady Vane. To his mother, ſiſters, and other relations. To the Lord Ruſſel (afterwards Earl of Bedford). To Sir James Hales, priſoner in the Counter. To Sir William Fitzwilliams, Marſhal of the King's-Bench. To Dr. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. To Dr. Hill the Phyſician. To Mr. Lawrence Saunders, John Philpot, and John Careleſs. To Richard Hopkins, Sheriff of Coventry, and priſoner in the Fleet. To Robert Cole, N. Shatterden, Mr. Warcop, George Eaton, Mr. Shalcroſſe, Mr. Coker at Malden, and Auguſtine Bernehere (*); alſo to John Trew, and Thomas Abington, and other maintainers of Free-Will, with the Pelagians and Papiſts, &c. (†). His Letters to theſe perſons are not here enumerated as they are printed in the book, nor printed there in the due order of time; to which many, indeed, would not give direction, being without dates. In this collection of Coverdale's, there are none of thoſe letters before quoted out of Fox, which Bradford ſent to Mr. Traves, before he took upon him the Miniſtry of the Goſpel. In Fox's account of Bradford, beſides thoſe letters of his to the ſaid Mr. Traves, which are ten in number, and no where elſe printed, that we know of, there are many printed out of Coverdale's collection, to the number of about forty-five; taking up nine ſheets and a half; not in the ſame order as in Coverdale, nor yet in the regular order of time.——There are other letters and treatiſes written by, to, and concerning Mr. Bradford, which have not been gathered into either of thoſe collections; whereof ſome are in print, others in manuſcript. The firſt of them in print, were, as beforementioned, what he called his *Primitiæ*, or Firſt-Fruits, being ſome tranſlations which he publiſhed upon his going to the Univerſity, as we obſerved, in 1548, and which he complains were faultily printed (40). There was *A Godly Treatiſe of Prayer*, tranſlated into Engliſh by John Bradford, printed in St. Paul's Church-yard by John Wight, 8*vo*, without date. It was written by Philip Melancthon, and the tranſlator has a preface before it of ſix leaves, in which it appears it was publiſhed ſoon after his ſermon on *Repentance*, a copy of which was in the Harleian Library (41), and is the ſame work that has been aſcribed to him by others (42). There was alſo a remarkable piece publiſhed in his name, while he was in the Tower, as we compute, and not long before King Philip was married to Queen Mary, intitled, *The Copy of a Letter ſent by* John Bradford *to the Earls of* Arundel, Darby, Shrewſbury, *and* Pembroke, *declaring the Nature of* Spaniards, *and diſcovering the moſt deteſtable Treaſons which they have pretended moſt falſeleye againſt our moſt noble Kingdome of* Englande, &c. This little book is printed in 8*vo*, without any name of the printer, editor, place where, or time when, it was printed; and the prefacer inſinuates, that though many men have one name, the author has ſo plainly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his ſaid letter, that if he ſhould be found where the Spaniards had any power, he could not eſcape their vengeance. And in the letter itſelf we are led to imagine, it was not this John Bradford we are here ſpeaking of, but another of the name, who wrote this ſharp invective againſt the Spaniards, exhorting thoſe Miniſters of State above, and the reſt, moſt honeſtly and heartily, by many ſubſtantial arguments, like a true patriot and lover of his country, to prevent the coronation of Philip and Mary, as what would, many ways, ſubject the ſame to ſlavery and ruin; one John Bradford, who in King Edward's time ſerved Sir William Skipwith of Lincolnſhire, but was afterwards, as it is pretended, Chamberlain to one of King Philip's Council, and now in Flanders. Some ſingularities might be taken notice of in the printing of this book, which yet do not, to me, ſufficiently give it the air of a foreign publication; and the ſubject of it may be compared to that, which in the next reign was written againſt the match propoſed between Francis Duke of Anjou, brother to Henry III., King of France, and Queen Elizabeth (43); for which the author, John Stubbs of Lincoln's-Inn, Gent. and his publiſher, William Page, had their right hands cut off in the market-place at Weſtminſter, according to an Act of Philip and Mary, *againſt the Authors and Publiſhers of ſeditious Writings* (44), occaſioned in all probability, by the publication of that letter above, by John Bradford, among other things. Leſs doubtfully, however, may be aſcribed to our author another tract, intitled *His Complaint of Verity:* it was printed in 8*vo*, 1559; but whether it was any tranſlation, or imitation of John Conſtable's QUERELA VERITATIS, my author knows not (45). *His Three Examinations* by the Commiſſioners, and his *private Talk* with their prieſts, were publiſhed, as we have before obſerved, in 8*vo*, 1561; with *The Original of his Life prefixed*, by the anonymous editor. This is the work of which H. Holland ſpeaks in theſe words, *Reliquit nobis accuratiſſimas adverſus Papiſticos Prælatos Diſputationes ſuas* (46): He left us his moſt accurate Diſputations againſt the Popiſh Biſhops, &c. Theſe are reprinted in Fox. We have alſo, before mentioned, his *Two notable Sermons:* One *Of Repentance*, dated at the end of the author's preface, July 12, 1553: Republiſhed with the other, on *The Lord's Supper* (*), never before printed, by T. Sampſon, 8*vo*, 1574, whoſe preface has been above uſeful to us. They were reprinted, or the latter of them, in 1631. *His Anſwer to certain Letters, deſiring to know whether one might go to Maſs*, is undated in the authors who mention it (47): but it may be prefixed to his tract called *The Hurt of hearing the Maſs*; one edition whereof was printed in 8*vo*, 1580. And thoſe letters might be written by the Lady Vane, as it may appear by his anſwers to her (48). We find, moreover, aſcribed to him, *Godly Meditations made in Priſon*, called his *Short Prayers*; and, *Two Godly Letters for the Conſolation of ſuch as are afflicted in Conſcience*, 8vo, 1613. Alſo *Meditations on the Lord's Prayer, Belief, and Ten Commandments*; with a *Defence of Predeſtination*; *and ſome other Meditations and Prayers*, 8vo, 1622 (49), perhaps reprinted, in part, from ſome of the pieces above. Another of his tracts is intitled, *The good old Way*; or, *A Treatiſe of Repentance*, 8vo, 1652 (50); and laſtly, *A Letter written by Mr.* John Bradford *the Martyr, never before printed*; *and publiſhed by Dr.* Gilbert Ironſide; with Biſhop *Ridley*'s Tracts *on the Sacrament*, &c. 4to, *Oxon.* 1688 (51). Of his Manuſcripts, there are ſome copies remaining in the Univerſities both of Oxford and Cambridge, as his *Tract of Predeſtination*, a more enlarged work, it ſeems, than his letter before-mentioned upon the ſame ſubject (52). He alſo writ a treatiſe *Not to fear Death*. Theſe two, among other diſcourſes, written by *Trew*, *Abington*, *Bernehere*, &c. againſt the doctrine of Predeſtination, are preſerved among the MSS. in the former of thoſe Univerſities (53); and in the latter, there are, among the volumes of Letters, Diſputations, Prayers, &c. of the Holy Martyrs, and Confeſſors, in Queen Mary's days, ſeveral written by and to Mr. Bradford (54). The titles of which we ſhall here recite, as they were drawn out from the manuſcripts themſelves, by a late learned Prelate, in one of the books wherein he was wont to minute down what he thought obſervable in his hiſtorical reſearches, and might propoſe to make uſe of in his own compoſitions: Only we ſhall alter the interſperſed manner in which they are tranſcribed; and mention thoſe pieces which were of Mr. Bradford's

(*) Of Switzerland; was Latimer's ſervant, a faithful Miniſter in King Edward's reign, and diligent attendant upon the Priſoners in Qu. Mary's. He communicated his Maſter's Sermons to the Preſs.

(†) There was alſo one Henry Harte, deſcribed to have then been a chief Maintainer of Man's Free Will, and enemy to God's Free Grace: Therefore he was one of thoſe oppoſed by Bradford. See Letters of the Martyrs, p. 358.

(40) Fox, Vol. iii. p. 299.

(41) Catalogus Bibliothecæ Harleianæ, 8*vo*, Vol. v. 1745, p 327.

(42) Hollandi Her. Anglic. p. 152. And the Life of Mr. Bradford, in Abel Rediv. p. 190.

(43) Intitled, A Diſcoverie of a Gaping Gulph whereinto England is likely to be ſwallowed, by another French Marriage, if the Lord forbid not the Banes, &c. 8*vo*, 1579.

(44) Camden's Eliz. anno 1581.

(45) Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 14.

(46) Her. Anglic. fol. 151.

(*) Whether that is a Treatiſe of the Communion which he communicated to Biſhop Ridley, as mentioned in the Letters of the Martyrs, p. 60; or, Whether this was only his Tranſlation of that Biſhop's Diſputation at Oxford on the ſame ſubject into Engliſh, as mentioned in the ſaid Letters, p. 397, we cannot be ſure.

(47) H. Holland, as before; and Bradford's Life, in Abel Rediv.

(48) Biſhop Coverdale's Collection, &c. p. 334, 335, &c.

(49) Catal. Impreſſ. Libr. Bibl. Bodl. fol. Oxon. 1738, p. 183.

(50) *Idem.*

(51) Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 95.

(52) See Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, p. 471.

(53) Codices Manuſcripti Tho. Bodlei.

(54) Cod. Manuſc. Collegii Emanuel.

and apoſtolic zeal for the propagation of truth, ſuch a ſincere abhorrence of the groſs, mercenary, and preſumptuous deluſions of the Church of Rome, that it is as little wonder they have been ſo carefully tranſmitted to us, by the friends and favourers of the Reformation, as that the enemies to it ſhould cut off, as ſoon as they could, the increaſe of them. They having, therefore, ordered Bradford to be removed to the King's-Bench in Southwark; he was ſoon afterwards, on the 22d of January 1554 (*), led to his examination before Stephen, Biſhop of Wincheſter, then Lord Chancellor; Edmund, Biſhop of London, and others of them in commiſſion for that purpoſe. The ſubſtance of this Examination we ſhall relate below [*G*]. After it was over, he was ſent back to the

Bradford's writing, firſt, by themſelves, then thoſe written by other perſons to him; and ſo, they may appear thus—*The Explication of the Words Fleſh and Spirit, by* J. Bradford. *A Preface of* J. Bradford'*s out of Priſon, to a Book recommended to the Nobility and Gentry* (mentioning a brave Jury of Londoners), 1555. prin. after this book came to my hands, &c. *A Meditation of* John Bradford, *Pr.* This heavenly banquet wherein thou doſt witneſs thyſelf, &c. *A Prayer by* John Bradford, *to be ſaid at the Stake, by all them that God ſhall count worthy to ſuffer for his Truth*; *Pr.* O merciful God, and Father, &c. *A Godly Letter from* Erkinwold Rawlins *at* Antwerp, *to Mr.* John Bradford, *being Priſoner in the King's-Bench, Southwark,* 22 July, 1554. *Pr.* Altho' my dearly beloved, &c. (55). *A Letter from* Eliz. Longſho, *to* J. Bradford, *Pr.* Grete Cauſe have, &c. John Careleſs *his laſt Letter to* John Bradford; *Pr.* Before that I had red, &c. (56). He alſo ſeems to have been the author of a treatiſe, not mentioned among his pieces above, either in print or manuſcript, upon *The Baptiſm of Children,* which he ſent a little before his death to Auguſtine Bernehere for him to tranſcribe, and when that was done, he told him he ſhould have other things (57).

[G] *The ſubſtance of this Examination we ſhall relate below.*] After the ſaid Lord Chancellor (*), and the reſidue of the Queen's Counſel in commiſſion with him, had ended their talk with Maſter Farrar, late Biſhop of St. David's (†), the Under-Marſhal of the King's-Bench was commanded to bring in Maſter Bradford; whom the Chancellor looked earneſtly upon, as if he would out-face him; and he as ſtedfaſtly fixt his eyes on the Chancellor; only once caſt them up to Heaven, and ſo out-faced him. Then the Chancellor told him, he had been long impriſoned juſtly, for his behaviour at Paul's-Croſs, the thirteenth of Auguſt 1553, for his falſe preaching, and arrogance, in taking upon him to preach without authority. But now, ſaid he, the *Time of Mercy is come*; therefore the Queen by us hath ſent for you to give you the ſame, if you will with us return: If you will do as we have done, you ſhall find as we have found. To which Bradford obediently anſwered, My Lords, I confeſs, that I have been long impriſoned and unjuſtly, for that I did nothing ſeditiouſly, falſely, or arrogantly, in word or fact, by preaching or otherwiſe, but ſought peace as an obedient and faithful ſubject, both in attempting to ſave the preſent Biſhop of Bath, then Maſter Bourne, the preacher at the Croſs, and in preaching for quietneſs accordingly. Here the Chancellor cut him ſhort, and told him, he lyed. The fact was ſeditious, ſaid he, as you my lord of London (‖) can bear witneſs. You ſay true, anſwered he, I ſaw him with mine own eyes, when he took upon him to rule, and lead the people malapertly; thereby declaring that he was the author of the ſedition. Bradford anſwered, with wonderful patience, That notwithſtanding the Biſhop's ſeeing and ſaying, what he had told, was truth, which one day God Almighty would reveal; yet, in the mean time, becauſe he could not be believed, he was ready to ſuffer, as now, by what he had *ſaid*, ſo whatſoever God ſhould licenſe him to *do*. I know, ſaid the Chancellor, thou haſt a glorious tongue, and godly ſhews thou makeſt; but all are lyes that thou doeſt. I have not forgotten how ſtubborn thou wert before us in the Tower, to which thou was committed concerning Religion. I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talk; where, worthily thou haſt been kept in priſon, as one that would have done more hurt than I will ſpeak of. My Lord, ſaid Bradford, I ſtand as before you, ſo before God, as one day we ſhall all ſtand before him: Truth will then be the truth; though you will not now ſo take it: Yet I dare ſay, my Lord of Bath will witneſs with me, that I ſought his ſafeguard, with the peril of my own life. That's not true, quoth Bonner, for I ſaw thee take upon thee too much. No, ſaid Bradford, I took nothing upon me undeſired, and that of Maſter Bourne himſelf, as if he were here, I dare ſay he would affirm; for he deſired me both to help him to pacify the people, and not to leave him till he was in ſafety: And as for my behaviour in the Tower, if I did or ſaid any thing that did not beſeem me, and your Lordſhips would inform me, I would ſpeedily make you anſwer. Well, ſaid the Chancellor, to leave this matter; How ſayeſt thou now, wilt thou return again, and do as we have done, and thou ſhalt receive the Queen's mercy and pardon? My Lord, ſaid Bradford, I deſire mercy with God's mercy, but mercy with God's wrath, God keep me from; though I thank God my conſcience does not accuſe me of doing or ſpeaking any thing there, that ſhould need mercy or pardon: For all that I did, or ſpake, was agreeable to God's laws, and *thoſe of the Realm, at that preſent*; and did make much quietneſs. Well, ſaid the Chancellor, if thou wilt make this babbling, rolling in thy eloquence, being altogether ignorant and vain-glorious, and wilt not receive mercy offered to thee; know, for truth, that the Queen is minded to make a purgation of all ſuch as thou art. The Lord knows, replied Bradford, before whom I ſtand, as well as before you, what vain glory I have ſought! his mercy I deſire, and alſo would be glad of the Queen's favour, to live, as a ſubject, without clog of conſcience; but otherwiſe the Lord's mercy is to me better than life. And I know to whom I have committed my life, even to his hands which will keep it, ſo that no man may take it away, before it be his pleaſure. *There are twelve Hours in the day*, and as long as they laſt, ſo long ſhall no man have power thereon (58): Therefore his good will be done; life, in his diſpleaſure, is worſe than death; and death, in his favour, is true life. I know, ſaid the Chancellor, that we ſhould have glorious talk enough from thee; be ſure therefore, that as thou haſt deceived the people with falſe and deviliſh doctrine, ſo ſhalt thou receive. I have not deceived, ſaid Bradford, the people, nor taught any other doctrine, than by God's grace I am ready, and hope ſhall be ready, to confirm with my life: and as for deviliſhneſs and falſeneſs in the doctrine, I would be ſorry you could ſo prove it. Why, ſaid the Biſhop of Durham (*), what do you ſay to the adminiſtration of the Communion, as you now know it is? Here Bradford replied to them, *I have been ſix times ſworn* in no caſe to conſent to the practiſing of any juriſdiction, or any authority on the Biſhop of Rome's behalf within this realm of England; therefore I humbly pray your Honours to tell me, whether you aſk me this queſtion by his authority or not? If you do, I dare not, may not anſwer you any thing in his authority, you ſhall demand of me, except I would be forſworn, which God forbid. Haſt thou been ſworn ſix times, ſaid Secretary Bourne? What offices haſt thou borne? Here's another lye, ſaid the Chancellor. Bradford returned it upon him in theſe words: I was thrice ſworn in Cambridge; when I was admitted Maſter of Arts; when I was admitted Fellow in Pembroke-Hall; and when I was there, the Viſitors alſo came thither and ſwore the Univerſity: again, I was ſworn when I entered into the Miniſtry; when I had a Prebend given me; and when I was ſworn to ſerve the King, a little before his death. Tuſh, ſaid the Chancellor, Herod's oaths, a man ſhould make no conſcience at. Bradford replied, my Lord, theſe othes were no Herod's othes, no unlawful othes, but othes

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(*) 'Tis erroneouſly dated April 1555, in the firſt printed Examination, but rightly corrected as to the month by Fox, whom we herein follow; and the year is corrected, both from the preceding and ſubſequent matters of fact.

(55) See a Letter of Bradford's to the ſaid Erk. Rawlins, in Fox, Vol. iii. p. 263.

(56) Thus far, of theſe MSS. from a Note-Book of the late Biſhop Tanner's, in 8*vo*, MS. communicated by Mr. Joſeph Ames.

(57) Coverdale's Collection, &c. p. 469.

(*) Stephen Gardener, of whom ſee Biſhop Ponet's character in one of his pamphlets.

(†) Dr. Robert Ferrer was ſentenced to death by his uſurping ſucceſſor Henry Morgan, and burnt at Caermarthen, Mar. 30, 1555. Rymer, Vol. xv. Morgan was deprived in 1559, and died before the year was out. Ibid. et Ath. Oxon. See alſo Fox, and Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. of the horrid diſeaſe he endured from the time of that condemnation to his death, lib. viii. p. 24.

(‖) The bloody Edmond Bonner, whoſe true, or paternal name, moſt ſuitable to his nature, was *Savage*; ſince neither ſex, age, nor quality, eſcaped his brutiſh inhumanity; having moſt cruelly murdered two hundred perſons in the compaſs of three years: yet was he ſuffered afterwards, under the Proteſtants in Queen Elizabeth's reign, to die quietly in his bed! See Fox, and Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. lib. viii. p. 18.

(58) See Bradford's Letter, touching his Faith in God's Election and Predeſtination; which he confirms by his Tranſlation of St. Paul's Epiſt. to the Epheſians, cap. i. from the Greek: In Biſhop Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, before quoted, p. 391; he likewiſe wrote a diſtinct Tract on that topic, as we ſhall hereafter ſee. Coverdale alſo inclines to the ſame opinion in ſeveral of his Notes on thoſe Letters. Biſhop Latimer, in one of his Sermons, uſes the ſame argument with this of Bradford's in the text; and Biſhop Ridley wrote a learned and godly Treatiſe on God's Election and Predeſtination, as Coverdale informs us, in the Collection above, p. 359, which he promiſes ſhould come to light, p. 65.

(*) Cuthbert Tonſtall.

the ſaid priſon, under ſtricter reſtraint than before, eſpecially as to the exerciſe of his pen: but the ſweetneſs of his comportment towards his keepers ſo mollified and won upon them, that it defeated the ſeverity of his enemies commands in that particular; and his arguments, thus diſcharged out of priſon, were like gunpowder that makes a louder report, and has but the ſtronger effect the cloſer it is confined; thereby doing their cauſe more hurt, than all the terror of their tyrannical treatment did it good. A week after, that is, on the 29th of the ſame month, he was brought before them in the church of St. Mary Overies to his ſecond examination, in which, as there was ſome freſh matter of debate, as well as a repetition of ſeveral circumſtances that paſſed in the firſt, we ſhall but touch upon the heads of thoſe paſſages which have been already ſpoken of; and a little more expreſsly, in the ſame note, relate ſuch as have not [*H*]; but ſo comprehenſively

othes according to God's word, as you yourſelf have well affirmed in your book *De Vera Obedientia*. Here another of the Council, preſumed to be M. Rocheſter (*), ſaid, I never knew wherefore this man was in priſon before now, but I ſee well, it would not have been good that he had been abroad: whatſoever was the cauſe he was laid in priſon I know not, but I now ſee well, that not without cauſe he was, and is to be kept in priſon: Yes, ſaid Secretary Bourne, it was reported, this preſent parliament time, by the Earl of Derby, that he has done more hurt by letters, and exhorting thoſe that have come to him, in religion, than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his letters he curſeth all that teach falſe doctrine, for ſo he calls that which is not according to what he taught; and moſt earneſtly exhorteth them, to whom he writes, to continue ſtill in that they have received by him, and ſuch like as he is. All which words divers others of the Council affirmed; whereunto the ſaid Maſter Bourne added, ſaying, How ſay you, ſirrah, ſpeaking to Bradford, have you not thus ſeditiouſly written, and exhorted the people? I have, ſaid Bradford, neither written, nor ſpoken any thing ſeditiouſly; and I thank God I have not admitted any ſeditious cogitation, nor I truſt ever ſhall. Yea but thou haſt written letters, quoth Bourne. Why ſpeakeſt thou not, ſaid the Chancellor, haſt thou not written as he ſaith? That, replied Bradford, which I have written, I have written. Lord God, quoth M. Southwell (†), what an arrogant and ſtubborn boy is this, that thus ſtoutly and dallyingly behaves himſelf before the Queen's Council; and they all looked upon one another diſdainfully. My Lords, and Maſters, ſaid Bradford, the Lord God which is, and will judge us all, knoweth that as I am certain I ſtand now before his Majeſty, ſo with reverence in his ſight, I ſtand before you, unto yours; and accordingly, in words and geſture, I deſire to behave myſelf. If you otherwiſe take it, I doubt not but God in his time will reveal it. In the mean ſeaſon, I ſhall ſuffer with all due obedience, your ſayings and deeds too, I hope. Theſe be gay, glorious words, quoth the Chancellor of reverence, reverence! but as in all other things, ſo herein thou doſt nothing but lye. Well, ſaid Bradford, I would God the author of truth, and abhorrer of lyes, would pull my tongue out of my head before you all, and ſhew a terrible judgment on me here preſently, if I have purpoſed, or do purpoſe, to lye before you, whatſoever you ſhall aſk me. Why then, ſaid the Chancellor, doſt thou not anſwer? Haſt thou written ſuch letters, as here is objected againſt thee? As I ſaid, my Lord, quoth Bradford, That which I have written I have written. I ſtand now before you, who either can lay my letters to my charge, or not: If you lay any thing to my charge that I have written; if I deny it, I am then a lyar. We ſhall never have done with thee, I perceive now, replied the Chancellor. Be ſhort, be ſhort, wilt thou have mercy? I pray God, ſaid Bradford, to give me his mercy, and if therewith you will extend yours, I will not refuſe it; otherwiſe, I will not.——Here was now much ado among them, one ſpeaking this, another that, of his arrogancy, in refuſing the Queen's pardon, which ſhe ſo lovingly offered him. To this Bradford anſwered: My Lords, if I may live as a quiet ſubject, without clog of conſcience, I ſhall heartily thank you for your pardon; if otherwiſe I behave myſelf, then I am in danger of the fault. In the mean ſeaſon, I aſk no more than the benefit of a ſubject, till I be convinced of tranſgreſſion. If I cannot have this, as hitherto I have not had, God's good will be done. Upon theſe words, the Chancellor began a long proceſs of the falſe doctrine wherewith people were deceived in the days of King Edward; ſo aſked Bradford, what he thought of it? who anſwered, He believed the doctrine then taught, was God's pure religion; which he believed in more now, than ever he did. And therein, ſaid he, I am more confirmed, and ready to declare it, by God's grace, even as he will to the world, than I was, when I firſt came into the priſon. What religion mean you, ſaid the Biſhop of Durham, in King Edward's days? What year of his reign? Even that ſame year of his reign, replied he, that the King died, and I was preacher. Here Secretary Bourne wrote ſomething down. And after ſome pauſe, the Chancellor declared, that the doctrine taught in King Edward's days, was hereſy; uſing for demonſtration thereof, no ſcripture, nor reaſon, but this, that it ended with treaſon and rebellion; ſo concluded, that the very end of his reign was enough to prove the doctrine in it nought. Ah, my Lord, ſaid Bradford, that you would enter into God's ſanctuary, and mark the end of this preſent doctrine you now ſo magnify! What meaneſt thou by that, ſaid he? I ſuppoſe we ſhall have a ſnatch of rebellion enough now. No, replied Bradford, my Lord, I mean no ſuch end as you gather: I mean an end which none ſeeth but they who enter into God's ſanctuary. If a man look but on preſent things, he will ſoon deceive himſelf. Here his Lordſhip did again offer Bradford mercy, and he anſwered as before; mercy, with God's mercy, ſhould be welcome; but otherwiſe he would have none: whereupon the Chancellor rung a little bell to call in ſome of the attendants, for there were none preſent, but thoſe before named, and the Biſhop of Worceſter (*). When a perſon was entered the room, Secretary Bourne ſaid, it is beſt that you give the keeper a charge of this fellow; ſo was the Under-Marſhal called in. You ſhall take this man to you, ſaid the Chancellor, and keep him cloſe, without conference with any man, but by your knowledge; and ſuffer him not to write any letters, &c. for he is of another manner of charge with you now, than he was before, and ſo they departed; and Bradford preſerved the ſame cheerfulneſs of countenance, as any indifferent man could do, manifeſting thereby a deſire to lay down even his life, as a confirmation of what he had taught and written; and he was animated with thinking, that if he were forced to do ſo, he ſhould deſtroy more of the Philiſtines, as Sampſon did, by his death, than ever he did in his life (59).

[*H*] *And a little more expreſsly, in the ſame note, relate ſuch as have not.*] In this *ſecond Examination*, before thoſe Biſhops, &c. Bradford, after the excommunication of John Rogers, was called in, and told by the Chancellor, That they had offered him on the twenty-ſecond of January, the Queen's pardon, which he had both contemned, and profeſſed he would defend his erroneous doctrine, in public. Yet this and all his behaviour, declared but hypocriſy and vain glory. He alſo laboured much about clearing himſelf from thirſting after guiltleſs blood; but inſiſted upon Bradford's fact at Paul's Croſs, as preſumptuous, arrogant, and aſſuming to lead the people, which could not but turn to much diſquietneſs; and therefore being ſo refractory and ſtout in religion, he was then committed to priſon, and now continued there; whence he had written letters, to the great detriment of the people; as, by the Earl of Derby, in Parliament, was reported. And as he had ſo ſtubbornly behaved himſelf the laſt time before them, therefore he now more directly demanded of him his doctrine

(*) Maurice Griffith was Biſhop of Rocheſter from April 1554, to his death in Nov. 1558. Rymer, Vol. xv. Strype's Annals, p. 30. He was the firſt who, in Queen Mary's reign, condemned a Woman, Margery Polley, to be burnt for religion. Dr. Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. lib. viii. p. 18.

(†) Sir Richard Southwell, one of the Privy-Council; who, with Gardener and others, ſigned the Order of Thankſgiving for Queen Mary's great Belly. See A. Harmer's Spec. of Errors in Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. p. 177. Alſo John Speed's Hiſt. of Great Brit. edit. fol. 1623, p. 1147; and Fox, Vol. iii. p. 93.

(*) Ricard Pate. Vid. Godwin de Præſul. & Rymeri Fœd. Tom. xv.

(59) The Effect of Mr. Bradford's firſt Examination, &c. 8*vo*, 1561. And in Fox, Vol. iii. fol. 235.

prehenſively we hope, as neither to overburden the reader, nor leave him in obſcurity. In this examination, we ſee he was ſtill intractable to all their ſeducements and menaces, to

and religion? Bradford anſwered, That as to hypocriſy and vain glory, he truſted in God, to open one day, both their true and hearty dealings therein; in the mean time, would content himſelf with the teſtimony of his own conſcience; which, if it yielded to hypocriſy, would make God and man againſt him. As for his fact at Paul's Croſs, and his behaviour at the Tower, he doubted not, but God would reveal it to his comfort: And for his letters and religion, he anſwered as he did before. Here the Chancellor taxed him with ſaying, he would maintain the doctrine in King Edward's days. Bradford repeated his having been ſix times ſworn againſt the Pope's authority; therefore ſaid, he durſt not anſwer to any thing that ſhould be demanded on that head, leſt he ſhould by any unwary conſent thereto be forſworn; that he was now more confirmed in the doctrine preached in that King's days, than he was before he was in priſon; and thought, he ſhould be found more ready to reſign his life for the confirmation thereof. Here the Chancellor would have perſuaded him, that the oaths he had taken againſt the Pope, were of no validity; but he ſtill refuſed to enlarge upon that topic, leſt he ſhould be decoyed, or drawn, to make any compliance therein. Much diſputation there was upon this head; till the Chancellor told him, he followed the courſe of crafty covetous merchants; who, becauſe they would lend no money to their needy neighbours, pretend they had often ſworn they would lend no more, becauſe their creditors had ſo often deceived them: So do you now, ſaid he, to caſt a miſt in the people's eyes, and blear them with hereſy, greater and more hurtful to the Commonwealth, pretend your oath; whereby the people might make a conſcience, where they ſhould not. To this, Bradford ſaid, If he dared to anſwer him, for fear of being led into perjury, he would ſhow him the difference between oaths, which obliged him to keep this inviolable. Then the Chancellor urged, that this againſt the Biſhop of Rome, was againſt charity. Bradford anſwered, That could not be againſt charity, which was not againſt God's word. Is it not againſt God's word, ſaid the Chancellor, That a man ſhould take a King to be ſupreme head of the Church in his realm? No, replied he, It is with God's word. Where find you that, quoth the Chancellor? Bradford anſwered, where St. Paul writes, That every ſoul ſhould be obedient to the ſuperior power: And what power? *Quæ gladium geſtat*; *Which bears the ſword*, and that is not the ſpiritual, but the temporal power, as Chryſoſtom well notes upon the ſame place. Here the Chancellor was much ſtirred, and ſaid, that Bradford went about to deny all obedience to the Queen, and ſo would make God's word a warrant of diſobedience: For he would anſwer, when ſhe ſays, Now ſwear to the Biſhop of Rome, or obey his authority; No, for I am then forſworn; and ſo make the Queen, no Queen. No, ſaid Bradford, I go not about to deny all obedience, by denying it in this part; I was ſworn to King Edward, not ſimply, that is, not concerning his own perſon, but alſo concerning his ſucceſſors. Therefore in denying the Queen's requeſt herein, I deny not her authority, nor become diſobedient: Yes, that doſt thou, returned the Chancellor. And ſo he began a long tale, how if a man ſhould make an oath, to pay an hundred pound by ſuch a day, and the creditor ſhould forgive the debt; the debtor would ſay, No, you cannot do it, for I am forſworn, &c. But Bradford ſeeing into the ſophiſtry of this, and how improperly applicable to the purpoſe, told the Chancellor, he wondered how he could make ſuch trifles of ſolemn oaths made to God, and ſo great a matter of vows, as they call them, made to the Biſhops for the marriage of Prieſts. Here the Chancellor was highly diſguſted, and objected again to his refuſing obedience. No, my Lord, ſaid Bradford, I do not deny obedience to the Queen, if you will diſcern between Genus and Species; becauſe I may not obey in this, to reaſon, *ergo* I may not obey in the other, is not firm: as if a man let, or ſell a piece of his inheritance, yet all his inheritance is not let, or ſold: ſo all obedience I deny not, becauſe I deny it in this branch. I will have none of theſe ſimilitudes, ſaid the Chancellor. I would not uſe them, replied Bradford, if you went not about with them to perſuade the people, I mean that which I never meant; for I myſelf, not only mean obedience, but will give example of all moſt humble obedience to the Queen's Highneſs; ſo long as ſhe requireth not obedience againſt God. No, no, ſaid the Chancellor, all men may perceive your meaning; there is no man, though he be ſworn to the King, doth therefore break his oath, if afterwards he be ſworn to the French King, and to the Emperor. Here Bradford ſhewed him how different the caſe was; Thou ſhalt not ſwear, ſaid he, to the Biſhop of Rome at any time; if, in like manner, we were ſwörn, Thou ſhalt not ſerve the Emperor, &c. You ſee there were ſome alteration, and more doubt. But I beſeech your Honour to remember, *what you yourſelf have written*, anſwering the objections here againſt, in your book *De vera Obedientia, Vincat modo Domini verbi veritas*; *Let God's Word, and the reaſons thereof, prevail.* Here the Chancellor was thoroughly incenſed, and turned the diſcourſe upon Bradford's writing ſeditious letters, perverting the people, and defending the doctrine in King Edward's time; all which, Bradford denied; but ſaid, what he had written and ſpoken, he would never deny: and now reſolved to anſwer, whatever he ſhould aſk, though he ſaw his life depended thereon. Then the Chancellor aſked him, what he ſaid to the Sacrament, and whether he believed Chriſt to be preſent, in his natural body? To which, when he anſwered, That he thought Chriſt might be corporally preſent unto faith; the Chancellor wanted more words of him, to explain himſelf. But Bradford anſwered, I have been now a year, and almoſt three quarters (*) in priſon, and in all this time, you never queſtioned me herein; *when I might have ſpoken my conſcience without peril*; *but now, you have a law, to hang up, and put to death*, if a man anſwer freely, and not to your appetite (†); and ſo you now come to demand this queſtion: Ah! my Lord, continued he, Chriſt uſed not this way to bring men to faith; no more did the Prophets, or the Apoſtles. Remember what Bernard writeth to Eugenius the Pope, *Apoſtolos lego ſtetiſſe judicandos, ſediſſe judicantes non legi: Hoc erit, illud fuit. I read that the Apoſtles ſtood to be judged: but I have not read that they ſat to judge: This ſhall be, that was*, &c. Here the Chancellor was appeaſed (‖), as it ſeemed, and ſpake moſt gently, that he uſed not this means; but that it had been objected to him, he had been too gentle oftentimes; which others of his colleagues agreed in. To this Bradford ſaid, My Lord, I pray you ſtretch out your gentleneſs, that I may feel a little of it; for hitherto I never felt it. At this the Chancellor, thinking he would comply, again proffered him mercy, if with them he would return. Return! ſaid Bradford, God ſave me from going back: I mean, ſaid he, that I was three quarters of a year in the Tower, without paper, pen, or ink, and never, in all that time, nor ſince, did I feel any gentleneſs from you; but have rather looked for, as I have hitherto found, extremity; and I thank God I perceive now, you have kept me in priſon thus long, not for any matter you *had*, but for matter you *would have*: God's good will be done. Here ſeveral perſons came in, telling his Lordſhip it was dinner time; upon which, leaving Bradford ſpeaking, he roſe up, and ſaid, that in the afternoon they would talk more with him; ſo he was led into the veſtry, and waited there till it was dark night (‡). In the mean while, about four o'clock the ſame afternoon, Mr. T. Huſſey, before mentioned in the text, came into the veſtry, under a pretence of inquiring for a perſon who was not there, and ſeeing Mr. Bradford, he made himſelf ſoon known to him, and told him, he would come and have ſome converſation with him the next morning; which Bradford did not refuſe; the ſaid Huſſey being his old acquaintance, and had often received money of him, when he was Pay-maſter abroad, as we before obſerved. Bradford having waited in vain for farther examination that day, was at night conveyed again to priſon. The next morning, which was the thirtieth of January, the ſaid Mr. Huſſey came thither into his chamber,

(*) This is over-reckoned about a quarter of a year.

(†) The author of Bradford's Life in Abel Rediviv. ſays, p. 189, that all men obſerved, how they had firſt committed him without Law; and then, after a year's impriſonment, made one, to take away his life.

(‖) Appalled, Fox.

(‡) Here ends the ſecond Examination of Bradford, in the old 8*vo* edition before uſed: theſe Conferences which follow in this note, are not to be read in that edition till after Bradford's third Examination, being made introductory to the Private Talk he afterwards had with thoſe who were ſent to him by the Biſhops: but Mr. Fox, in due reſpect to the order of time, having judiciouſly rejoined theſe Conferences to this ſecond Examination, we follow him herein.

to all efforts of drawing him into that apoſtacy they had ſet him the pattern of: but ſtill, not in utter deſpair of gracing their example, and juſtifying their own compliance by his, they ordered him up to their inquiſition at the ſame place again the next day; and this being his laſt examination before that ſatanical ſynagogue (*a*), we muſt in another note remit our reader to a brief rehearſal or ſummary of what is moſt material therein [*I*]. Thus we ſee, for not allowing the groſſeſt impoſitions upon human underſtanding

(*a*) See Biſhop Ridley's Letter to Auguſtine Bernchere, in Coverdale, p. 71; and to Mr. Bradford, p. 62.

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chamber, to tamper with him, and, in a plauſible ſpeech, declared, how wonderfully well he had behaved himſelf before the Biſhops yeſterday, inſomuch that his greateſt enemies could perceive, they had no matter of objection againſt him; therefore adviſed him, as of his own good will, and without the privity or direction of any one, to intreat for time, and ſome learned men to confer with; which Bradford abſolutely refuſed, as what would give occaſion of thinking he was doubtful, or unſettled in the doctrine he had profeſſed. As they were thus talking, the door was unlocked, and in came Dr. Seyton, who, when he ſaw Mr. Huſſey, ſaid, What, Sir, are you come before me? which ſpeech Bradford marking, as made to one, who had told him, no man knew of his coming, he inwardly admoniſhed himſelf to *beware of theſe men*; for he ſaw they came to hunt the matter; that one might bear witneſs with the other. Then Dr. Seyton, after ſome bye-talk of Bradford's age, country, and the like, began a long ſermon, pretending that Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, had required conference, in order to induce Bradford to requeſt the like; but he anſwered as he did before. Then Dr. Seyton began to wheedle, as the other had done; telling him, that Maſter Runcorne had reported at the Chancellor's table, *That Bradford was able to perſuade as much as any one he knew*; and I myſelf, added he, though I never ſaw you before yeſterday, yet thought your modeſty was ſuch, your behaviour and talk ſo without malice and impatience, that I ſhould be ſorry you ſhould do worſe than myſelf; and farther told him, he perceived the Lord Chancellor had a favour towards him; ſo he alſo counſelled him to deſire a reſpite, and to confer with the learned: *but ſtill*, ſays Bradford, *I kept to my Cuckow*. This conſtant and unwavering temper in Bradford, made a change in the Doctor's, who hereupon grew angry; called him arrogant, proud, and vain-glorious. But this ſerving not his purpoſe, he then changed his note again, and urged how mercifully, and how charitably, he had been treated! But Bradford ſhewed him, he had not met with juſtice, much leſs charity; and that he was thus impriſoned, and handled, for nothing they had, but only ſomething they wanted againſt him, out of his own confeſſions. Here the Doctor flew from point to point, in hopes of pitching upon that ſomething, which might juſtify thoſe ſufferings; but all the Doctor ſaid, having no effect, Maſter Huſſey began to aſk him, whether he would not admit of conference, if the Lord Chancellor ſhould offer it him publicly? to which he anſwered, If that conference had been offered *before the law had been made*; or were offered ſo that he might be at liberty to confer, and as free as him with whom he ſhould confer, then, ſaid Bradford, it were ſomething; otherwiſe he ſaw not to what purpoſe it ſhould be offered, but to defer that which muſt come at length, and the lingering might give more offence, than do good: Yet, ſaid he, if his Lordſhip ſhould make ſuch an offer voluntarily, I will not refuſe to confer with whomſoever ſhall come. Here the Doctor was in a fume again, about this conference; called him arrogant ſtill, proud, and whatever came uppermoſt; till Bradford very ſedately beſought them both, perceiving he ſhould ſhortly be called for, to give him leave to *confer with God*, and beg grace of him; which, after their unwilling departure, he ſought in prayer, and obtained; to his great comfort and ſupport. Shortly after they were gone, he was carried out of priſon, to St. Mary Overie's church, and there tarried uncalled for, till eleven o'clock the ſame morning; that is, till Mr. Saunders was excommunicated, and inhumanly given over to the ſevereſt of deaths (60).

(60) The Effect of the ſecond Examination of J. Bradford in the Temple of St. Marie Overies, &c. 8*vo*, as before, and in Fox, Vol. iii. fol. 236.

[*I*] *A brief rehearſal, or ſummary, of what is moſt material therein.*] After the excommunication of Lawrence Saunders, Bradford was brought into the church, before the Biſhops; where the Chancellor, as before, declared, what mercy he ſhould find if with them, he would conform to the Popiſh religion, and recant his doctrine. Bradford ſtill inſiſted upon his oaths againſt the Pope, which he would not violate, he ſaid, that, when death came, as he expected from their hands, he ſhould not be troubled with the guilt of perjury. The Chancellor, angry hereat, ſaid, they had given him reſpite to deliberate, till this day, whether he would recant his hereſy about the Sacrament. Bradford alleged, that they gave him no time for any ſuch deliberation, nor that he ſaid any thing of the Sacrament which they diſallowed; for when, ſaid he, I had declared the preſence of Chriſt therein, to the faithful; you went from the matter, to purge yourſelf of cruelty, and ſo went to dinner. I perceive, ſaid the Chancellor, we muſt begin all over again with you: Did I not yeſterday tell thee plainly, that thou madeſt a conſcience where none ſhould be? Did I not make it plain, that the oath againſt the Biſhop of Rome, was an unlawful oath? No, replied Bradford; indeed, my Lord, you ſaid ſo, but proved it not; nor ever can do. Here the Chancellor had much diſpute again, about oaths; which were good, and which evil; captiouſly aſking often of Bradford, a direct anſwer; which Bradford would not give ſimply, but with ſome diſtinction. This much offended the Chancellor; but Bradford ſtill kept him at a bay, that the oath againſt the Biſhop of Rome, was a lawful oath; ſtill confirming himſelf, and confuting the Chancellor, out of his own book (*); withal, ſo cloſely proving the Word of God to be their judge, and by that word the oath to be lawful, that the Chancellor quitted his hold, and flew again to Bradford's pretended denial of the Queen's authority. But here again, Bradford proved, that one ſpecial cauſe of obedience denied by conſcience, makes no general denial of obedience in cauſes lawful. The Chancellor brought examples for his argument, as little to the purpoſe, as before; and Bradford again reproached him, in like manner as before, with being ſo ſtrict in vows for the marriage of Prieſts, made to themſelves, and ſo careleſs in ſolemn oaths made to God and the Prince. When the Chancellor told him the Queen did diſpenſe with them; Bradford anſwered, the Queen might remit her right, in things relating to herſelf or government, but not diſpenſe with oaths made to God. Here the Chancellor was wonderfully diſcompoſed, and plainly declared, that he ſlandered the whole realm of perjury, and took upon him to have more conſcience than all the wiſe men in England; and yet had none at all. At this, Bradford deſired the audience to obſerve, who had moſt; adding, he had been a year and half in priſon, and deſired to know, why he was impriſoned, and for what puniſhed? and becauſe the Chancellor had ſaid, that Bradford took upon him to ſpeak to the congregation undeſired, he appealed to Biſhop Bourne, there preſent; affirming, that he deſired in Chriſt's name, that he would ſpeak to the people, by whom he had like to have been ſlain, with the dagger that was thrown, and touched his ſleeve; and at his farther requeſt, did not leave, till he had ſafely houſed him; and though it was dangerous to upbraid the people with their reſentment towards the ſaid Bourne, he yet, in his ſermon the ſame afternoon, reproved the fact, and called it ſedition, at leaſt twenty times; for which he had been ſo long rewarded with a priſon, and was now about to be with death. He alſo taxed the Chancellor, with having owned, at his firſt being before him in the Tower, that the ſaid fact was good, though he pretended the mind was evil: and to this he anſwered, I cannot otherwiſe declare my mind to man, than by ſaying, and doing; but God, I truſt, will one day open, to my comfort, what my mind was, and your's is. Here the Chancellor was driven to eat his own words, and denied that he ever ſaid ſo. But when this would not do, he ſaid, that Bradford was firſt

(*) De Vera Obedientia, 8*vo*, 1535, &c.

ing to be reaſonable, and not believing ſuch abſurdities in the Popiſh Doctrine, as thoſe temporizing Prelates, thoſe enemies to juſtice, truth, and humanity itſelf, could only for their intereſt pretend to believe, how he was given up to death. After his condemnation, we find him on the 3d of February, a priſoner in the Poultry-Counter, in the City of London (*b*), and that he lay there almoſt five months, bated and worried great part of the time, by ſome or other of the Biſhops and their Chaplains or Prieſts, and others whom they ſet upon him, in hopes, all under the vizor of friendſhip and compaſſion, to worm out ſome confeſſions or other, of ſuch erroneous tenets as might give ſome colour to the world for their barbarity towards him. But he was invincible to them all; ſteady as a rock, repelling the ſtormy waves that invade it, and expoſing their inſolidity, by turning them into froth. His ſagacity in diſcerning their ſnares, and his readineſs in refelling their arguments from the Scriptures, the Fathers, and Themſelves were ſuch, upon thoſe politic and rational topics, of the ***Pope's authority*** here, and the ***real*** or

(*b*) Bradford's Private Talk with ſuch as the Prelates ſent to him; at the end of his Examinations before mentioned, 8*vo*, *ſignat*. B. v.

put into priſon, for not conforming to the Queen's religion. Bradford anſwered, My Lord, you know, that you would not then reaſon with me on religion; but ſaid, that a time ſhould afterwards be found; and if, as you ſay, I were put in priſon for religion, in that *my religion was then authoriſed by the public laws of the realm*; could conſcience therefore puniſh me, or caſt me into priſon? wherefore let all men judge in whom conſcience is wanting. Here Mr. Chamberlain, of Woodſtock, came forth, and objected, that Bradford had been a ſerving-man with Mr. Harrington, and had deceived his maſter of twenty-ſeven pounds (*); wherefore he went to be a Goſpeller, and a Preacher, ſaid he; adding, and yet you ſee, how he pretendeth conſcience! My Lord, replieth Bradford to the Chancellor, I ſet my foot to his, whoſoever he be, that can come forth, and juſtly vouch to my face, that ever I deceived my maſter; and as you are Chief Juſticer, by office, in England, I deſire juſtice upon thoſe that ſlander me, becauſe they cannot prove it. Here both the Chancellor and the other accuſer were ſtruck blank. Wherefore Bonner tried how ſucceſsful another untruth would prove, from him; ſo charged Bradford with writing letters to Dr. Pendleton; one, who was as great a time-ſerver, and turn-coat in religion, as Bonner, or the Chancellor himſelf (61); which Bradford denying, and he being not able to prove, this was given up. Then came in one Allen, a Clerk of the Council, and remembered the Chancellor of Bradford's letters, written into Lancaſhire; for which the Chancellor ſaid, they had his hand to ſhew. Bradford denied that they could ſhew his hand to any letters he had ſent thither, which his heart would not ſtand to, and prove to be lawful. Here they were all anſwered; and the Chancellor was driven back, in hopes of putting a new gloſs upon an old objection, to allege, that in his houſe, the other day, Bradford had contemned the Queen's mercy, and profeſſed he would maintain the erroneous doctrine in King Edward's days. Upon this, Bradford acutely ſhewed them, how the Chancellor had plainly foiled himſelf; ſaying, Well, I am glad that all men ſee now, that you have had no matter to impriſon me before that day: Now, ſay I, I did not contemn the Queen's mercy, but would have had it, with God's mercy; that is, without ſaying, and doing, any thing againſt God, and his truth; and, as for maintenance of doctrine, he repeated what he had ſaid before; that he was better confirmed than ever in it, and was ready to give up his life in teſtification thereof. Then the Chancellor ſhifted again, to another branch of yeſterday's controverſy, his opinion of the ſacrament; and told him again, they gave him reſpite till this day, to deliberate. Bradford anſwered, he ſpoke nothing of the Sacrament that they reproved, and was appointed no time to deliberate. But when he was again aſked whether he believed that Chriſt's body naturally, and really, was under the form of bread and wine? He anſwered again, he believed Chriſt there preſent, to the faith of the due receiver; but for *Tranſubſtantiation*, he plainly, and flatly, told them he believed it not. Here was much diſpute upon this head. And another Biſhop aſked him, whether the wicked man received Chriſt's body, or not? Bradford anſwered directly, No. And this raiſed many cavils, till Bradford put them to ſilence alſo in this, as he had done in the other arguments, and drove the Chancellor, to deny Chriſt had commanded any thing in the Sacrament, or the uſe of it; then confuted him from the expreſs words of the text, in the imperative mood, *Take and eate*; adding withal, My Lord, if it be not a commandment of Chriſt, to take and eat the Sacrament, why do any take upon them to command, and make of neceſſity that which God leaveth free? As you do, in making it a neceſſary commandment, that once a year, all who are arrived at lawful diſcretion, ſhould receive the Sacrament? Here the Chancellor called him ***Diabolus***, or ſlanderer; and this brought on a tedious contention about commandments, till Bradford quoted a very affronting commandment upon them; How ſay you, my Lord, quoth he? Chriſt ſays, to you Biſhops eſpecially, ***Ite, prædicate evangelium: Go and preach the Goſpel; feed Chriſt's flock***; Is this a commandment, or not? Here the Chancellor flew out beyond all bounds, and his reaſoning evaporated into rage. Another queſtion, of as great importance, was aſked him by the Biſhop of Durham,---When Chriſt began to be preſent in the Sacrament; before it was received, or not? Which Bradford ſhewed to be more nice than neceſſary to anſwer. Here was a great clutter again, and they all called him heretic. Thus perceiving all he could anſwer, did but the more inflame their rancour, and boil up their venom againſt him, he deſired them to proceed, in God's name; as he looked for that which God ſuffered them to do. And when the Chancellor objected, his holding herein, another hereſy, of fatal deſtiny; he replied, he ſpoke but as the Apoſtles did; 'Lord, ſee 'how Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Prelates, 'are gathered together againſt Thee, Chriſt; to do 'that, which thy hand and counſel hath before ordained them to do.' At theſe words, the Chancellor began to read his excommunication, and therein, when he came to the name of Bradford, ſtiled *laicus*, or layman, Why, ſaid he, art thou no Prieſt? No, returned Bradford, nor ever was, either Prieſt, or beneficed, or married, or any Preacher, before public authority had eſtabliſhed religion (*); but preached after public authority had eſtabliſhed religion; and yet, ſaid he, I am thus handled at your hands; but God, I doubt not, will give his bleſſing, where you curſe. And ſo he fell down on his knees, heartily thanked God, that he counted him worthy to ſuffer for his ſake; and prayed, that he would give them repentance. After the excommunication was read, he was delivered up to the Sheriffs of London; who firſt conveyed him to the Clink (†); where he remained a day or two, and was then removed to the Poultry-counter; from whence he hourly expected to be carried, and converted to aſhes (62). Thus we have gone through the three examinations of Mr. Bradford; for a copy whereof, which he ſent to Biſhop Ridley, in priſon at Oxford, that Biſhop returned him his thanks, and opinion of his conduct throughout the ſame, in theſe words: 'Bleſſed be the Holy-'Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy-Ghoſt, 'for your three-fold confeſſion! I have read all 'three, with comfort, and joy, and thankſgiving 'unto God, for his manifold gifts of grace, wherewith it is manifeſt to the godly reader, that God 'dyd aſſiſt you mightily; and bleſſed be God again, 'and again, which gave you ſo good a mind and remembrance, of your oath once made againſt the 'Biſhop of Rome; leſt you ſhould be partaker of 'the common perjury, which all men almoſt are now 'fallen into, in bringing in again that wicked uſurped power of his (63).'

(*) Seven ſcore pounds, as it is printed in Fox, p. 240, but neither being true, tis no matter which Bradford was here charged with.

(61) See Bradford's character of this Dr. Henry Pendleton, in his Letter To thoſe who profeſs the true religion in Lancaſhire, *&c.* among his others, in Coverdale's Collect. p. 264; and for Bonner's opinion publicly profeſſed againſt the Pope's Supremacy, read his Pref. to Biſhop Gardener's book *de Vera Obedientia*; and for Gardener's opinion againſt the ſame, read alſo his ſaid book. In Dr. W. Bulleyn's Dialogue Pleaſant and Pitiful, *&c.* 8*vo* edit. 1569, p. 16, *&c.* it is ſaid of Bonner, that *Avarus* was his couſin german, *Perjurus* his compupil, and that *Ambodexter* penned his Prologue or Preface to Gardener's book aforeſaid.

(*) Or, Preacher, after public authority had altered religion; as we read it in Fox, p. 241; which reading is alſo true.

(†) A Common Jayl in Long Southwark, at the weſt end, on the bank ſide of the Thames, near where the ſtews formerly ſtood.

(62) The Effect and Summe of his laſt Examination, 8*vo*, as before, and in Fox, Vol. iii. fol. 239.

(63) Biſhop Ridley's Letter to Mr. Bradford, in Coverdale's Collection, p. 65.

carnal preſence in the ſacrament, for the denial of which he was condemned (*c*); that his moſt clamorous antagoniſts were ſtruck with ſilence, and departed with admiration. To recite the conferences of theſe ſubordinate diſturbers of him, *verbatim*, might prove as great a penance to our readers, as the hearing of them was to him; being longer, though ſuccinctly related, than all his three examinations: therefore we ſhall only ſkim over the ſurface of them, to ſatisfy the curious how, upon what, and with whom, the ſhort remainder of his time was employed; eſpecially ſeeing it accounted for in the ſatiſfactory form of a Journal [*K*]. But, as we have here obſerved in the note, it deſcends no

[*K*] *Seeing it accounted for in the ſatiſfactory form of a Journal.*] The firſt day that Bradford was in the Poultry-Counter, which was the 3d of February, as was before ſaid, Biſhop Bonner came thither to degrade Dr. Taylor. When he ſaw Bradford, off went his cap, and out ſtretched his hand, to greet him, upon hearing he was deſirous of conference; wherefore he had brought Archdeacon Harpsfield: but it proved a miſtake; for Bradford kept to his old note, That he did not deſire, yet was not afraid to confer with any man. And upon upbraiding the Biſhop with condemning him for his faith, ſo ſoon as he uttered it at their requeſt, before he had committed any thing againſt their laws, they parted. Upon the 4th of February came a gentleman of the Chancellor's to him, and told him how mighty well his Lord loved him; therefore he alſo offered him to confer. This having the ſame anſwer, they parted. On the 7th of February came one Wollerton, a Chaplain of Bonner's, to prove Tranſubſtantiation, and how wicked men received Chriſt's body. Bradford diſproving his authorities, they agreed to exchange their reaſons in writing; ſo they parted. The next day that Chaplain ſent a paper, which no way inducing to conſent, he came himſelf, and accuſed Bradford with ſwerving from the Church. Bradford ſhewed it was not from Chriſt's Church, but his; which robbed the people of the Lord's cup, and of Divine Service in their own tongue: and when the other inſiſted that every thing muſt be learned of the Prieſt, Bradford anſwered, Then I ſee you would bring the people to hang up Chriſt, and let Barabbas go; as the Prieſts then perſuaded the people. Upon this, the Chaplain had no ſtomach to talk any more: but Bradford winding up the diſcourſe with ſome reaſons againſt Tranſubſtantiation, he promiſed, upon parting, to ſend him an anſwer to them, which he never did. On the 12th of February, one of the Earl of Derby's men, Mr. Stephen Beich, came with his Lordſhip's wiſhes, that he would have a regard to himſelf; to whom he ſaid, he could not regard himſelf, more than God's honour. Then t'other ſet before him his mother, ſiſter, kinsfolks, friends, &c. But he ſaid, he had learned to forſake father, mother, brothers, ſiſters, and even himſelf, or he could not be Chriſt's Diſciple. And when the other, upon urging that his death might do hurt, propoſed, that if his Lord ſhould obtain for him to depart the realm, whether he would be content with the Queen's appointment where he ſhould go? he anſwered, Thinking it but juſt, that thoſe who had reſolved upon the ſacrifice of his life ſhould have the ſhame of his death, that he had rather be burnt in England than beyond ſea; and ſo they ended. On the 14th of February came another old acquaintance, named Percival Creſwell, and with him a kinſman of Maſter Fecknham, to pray that they might make ſuit for him: he left them to their will, but ſtill deſired it not. In the afternoon they came again, and left with him a book of Sir Thomas More's, and deſired he would name whom he would confer with: but they were diſmiſſed like the reſt. Then came Dr. Harding, the Biſhop of Lincoln's Chaplain; whom Bradford ſeeing given up to Popery, and hearing himſelf accounted in a damnable ſtate by him, though he had formerly maintained the doctrine which Bradford did, he bid this Doctor farewel. On the 15th of February came Creſwell, and another again, with Nicholas Harpsfield, Archdeacon of London; and he made a long oration upon the way to heaven, through Chriſt, and the true Church: and they had much debate hereupon; but not agreeing at this meeting, Harpsfield the next day came again, and made a ſermon almoſt three quarters of an hour long, to prove the antiquity of his Church, with the ſucceſſion of Biſhops here in England, for eight hundred years; and deſired him to ſhew ſuch ſucceſſion in his Church. Bradford did ſhew ſuch ſucceſſion, of greater antiquity; not by ſucceſſion of High-Prieſts, but the faithful profeſſors of God's word: for his pretended pillars of the Church were the greateſt perſecutors of it; yet, not as contending for the law, but their interpretation of it. Harpsfield, though ſorry to ſee him ſo ſettled, argued farther with him about Tranſubſtantiation, the real preſence, and the receiving of Chriſt's body by the wicked, for which Bradford had been condemned; and finding, after all, that he would not intreat his intereſt for reſpite or conference, he left him the ſame man as he found him. After dinner his keeper, Maſter Clayden, came to him from the Earl of Derby, who had promiſed to move the Queen in his behalf, if he thought well of it: he anſwered, If his Lordſhip would do it of his own good-will, the favour would be more acceptable from him than any other. Then came an officer of the Queen's, and on his knees beſought him to make ſome ſuit; but Bradford, not liking his counſel, departed from him. On the ſeventeenth day he heard from Percival Creſwell, that the Chancellor ſaid, nothing would be done for him, if he did not make ſuit: but he refuſed to ſpeed on that condition, and looked for the arrival of the Sheriff every moment; for he had heard that one of the Queen's guards, who were appointed to convey him into Lancaſhire, had ſaid, they had a warrant the next day for him (†). When Biſhop Ridley heard at Oxford of this intended removal of Bradford, he wrote in a letter to him thus—'Where 'the Martyrs for Chriſt's ſake ſhed their blood, and 'loſt their lives; O what wondrous things hath 'Chriſt afterwards wrought to his glory, and confirmation of their doctrine! If it be not the place 'that ſanctifieth the man, but the holy man by 'Chriſt ſanctifieth the place, brother Bradford, then 'happy and holy ſhall be that place wherein thou 'ſhalt ſuffer, and be with thy aſhes, in Chriſt's 'cauſe, ſprinkled over. All thy country may rejoyce of thee, that ever it brought forth ſuch a one 'which would render his life again, in his cauſe, of 'whom he had received it (64).' On the next day, which was the eighteenth, he heard that the writ for his execution was called in again, and the Sheriff of Lancaſhire diſcharged of him for the preſent. Here we may obſerve again, by the bye, that after Biſhop Ridley had heard of this delay of his death, he ſent Bradford another letter, in which he has theſe words: 'Now, ſince they have changed their purpoſe, and 'prolonged your death, I underſtand it is no other 'thing than that once happened to Peter and Paul; 'the which, although they were of the firſt which 'were caſt in priſon, and as little ſhunned peril as 'any other did, yet God would not have them put 'to death with the firſt, becauſe he had more ſervice 'to be done by their miniſtry, which his gracious 'pleaſure was they ſhould do; ſo, without doubt, 'dear brother, I am perſuaded, that the ſame is the 'cauſe of the delay of your martyrdom (65).' In the afternoon of the day aforeſaid, Bradford heard from the Earl of Derby, that his Lordſhip had kneeled before the Queen for him, and that he ſhould be granted books, and time enough to peruſe them; which he held needleſs, and what would but prolong his ſufferings: however, he expreſſed his ſatisfaction thereat, that his Lordſhip, and others, might know he was not obſtinate, or held any opinion that he could not defend by authority of the learned, and dared not abide the ſifting of. On the nineteenth day Mr. Clayden was ſent from the Earl, to aſk if Bradford would be willing to ſpeak with the King's Confeſſor, and Alphonſus the Friar? Bradford anſwered, as he had all along done, that he neither deſired nor feared to ſpeak with any man. On the twenty-firſt day, the Archbiſhop of York(‖), his

(*c*) Bradford's Letter to the univerſity and town of Cambridge, in Coverdale, p. 257; in Fox, p. 258.

(†) Bradford had been at leaſt ten days in expectation of being burnt in Lancaſhire: for, in his letter to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, at Oxford, dated 8th Feb. 1554-5, wherein he expreſſes God's mercy, that the death which is due to ſin ſhould be made a teſtimonial of God's truth, he glories that ſuch a wretch, as he calls himſelf, was to be ſent for, like Elias, in a fiery chariot; that he was going to leave his fleſh where he had received it; and that he was to be conveyed thither, as Ignatius was to Rome, *Leopardis*, &c. Coverdale, p. 466.

(64) *Idem*, p. 63.

(65) *Ibid.* p. 65.

(‖) Nicholas Heath.

no lower than the fifth of April, in the year 1555; and if he had any other private conferences, they were probably but to the ſame purpoſe. We are informed, that, both while he lay in the King's-Bench, and now in the Counter, he preached twice a-day, unleſs ſickneſs hindered him; where alſo the Sacrament was often miniſtered; and, through his keeper's indulgence, there was ſuch reſort of pious people to him, that his chamber was uſually almoſt filled with them. He made but one ſhort meal a-day, and allowed himſelf but four hours reſt at night *(d)*. His gentle nature was ever relenting at the thoughts of his infirmities, and fears of being betrayed into inconſtancy: his behaviour was ſo humane, ſo affecting to all about him, that it won even many Papiſts to wiſh for the preſervation of his life. His very mien and aſpect begat veneration; being tall and ſpare, or ſomewhat macerated in his body; of a faint ſanguine complexion, with an auburn beard; and his eyes, through the intenſeneſs of his celeſtial contemplations, were often ſo ſolemnly ſettled, that the tears would ſilently gather in them, till he could not reſtrain them from overflowing their banks, and creating a ſympathy in the eyes of his beholders. The portions of his time he did not ſpend in prayer or preaching, he allotted to the viſitation of his fellow-priſoners; exhorting the ſick to patience, and diſtributing his money to the poor; ſome of them, thoſe who had been the moſt violent oppoſers of his doctrines; nor did he leave the felons themſelves without the beſt relief they were capable of receiving, under the diſtreſſes they had brought upon themſelves; ſuch as excited them to the moſt hearty and ſincere repentance. But by what means he obtained ſuch liberty, after his condemnation, both of his pen and perſon, who was ſo much forbidden the ſame in both reſpects before it, the author next quoted, who gives us inſtances of it, has not expreſsly revealed; but left room to conjecture, that ſuch lenity was now uſed by his perſecutors, to work him into that conformity which had been unſucceſsfully attempted by their rigour: yet how little covetous he was of that liberty, how entirely abſtracted from all other enjoyments of life, and how cheerfully prepared to reſign it, may moſt evidently appear, not only in the particulars given by Mr. Fox, but in the extracts here ſubjoined to them, from one or two only of the many letters written by and to Mr. Bradford [*L*]. The laſt

his old acquaintance, and the Biſhop of Chicheſter (*), came to viſit him; and, after ſome ceremony, the Archbiſhop, commending his godly life, fell into argument with him upon the Scriptures. From thence they proceeded to the Catholic and Viſible Church; and in the diſtinctions made here, Bradford was led to repeat the injuſtice of his condemnation; *the Laws of the Realm being then on his ſide.* After four hours controverſy upon theſe and other topics, in which he had before ſilenced others, and after having reproved their relapſe into Popery, and obtruſion of the ſame, to the great diſturbance of the nation, they were called away; ſo they packed up their common-place books, wiſhed him good in their words, and departed. On the 22d of February came early to him the two Spaniſh Friars, Alphonſus (†), and King Philip's Confeſſor. Here they had a long contention on the Sacrament, all in Latin; and they grew ſo hot with him, that they made it a loud one at laſt, when they found they could not turn him out of his guard, nor his temper, but that he calmly and clearly repelled all their deceitful and beaten poſitions upon Tranſubſtantiation, and the receipt of the carnal body, which he would no otherwiſe allow of, than to the faith of the worthy. To faith, ſaid Alphonſus, what's that? Bradford anſwered, As I have no tongue to expreſs it, ſo you have no ears to hear and underſtand it; for faith ſays more than man can utter. Yes, replied the other; but I can tell all I believe. You believe not much then, returned Bradford; for if you believe the joys of heaven, and believe no more than you can tell, you will not much deſire to come thither: for as the mind is more receptive than the mouth, ſo it will conceive more than the tongue can expreſs. In ſhort, he ſo confounded them both, that they ſometimes could only look upon one another, and at others only vent themſelves in anger, declaring they came not thither to be taught; ſo left him, without bidding him farewel. We meet with no farther moleſtation of him till the 21ſt of March, when Dr. Weſton, Dean of Weſtminſter, came to him, and offered him a leſſon, which himſelf had never learnt, of forbearing to hold any opinions for the ſake of vain-glory, or ſingularity of private judgment; which he renounced: and, laſtly, the Doctor deſired him to write him down the heads of his faith in Tranſubſtantiation, and ſend them to him; which he did, in the Latin tongue; and the Engliſh tranſlation is preſerved by Mr. Fox (66). After many inveigling arguments uſed by the Doctor to convert him, and, among others, ſome upon the *Fears of Death*, which Bradford ſaid were to no purpoſe, the Doctor having drank with him, took his leave, and promiſed to return. On the 28th of March, Dr. Pendleton came to him, with others; and after Bradford had ſtaggered him with a deſire to know how he came to change his faith, he began to turn fleſh and blood into bread and wine too, but as ineffectually as any of the reſt had done; ſo he went his ways, and promiſed to come back; but it appears not that he did. In the afternoon returned Dr. Weſton, to deſcant upon the paper of heads before mentioned, which Bradford had ſent him. Before they began to read it, the Doctor told him, he had inquired of his converſation at Cambridge, and frankly acknowledged to his face; becauſe, as he now ſaid, he ſaw Bradford was not given to the glory of this world (though he had juſt before cautioned him againſt vain-glory), that he had learned *his life was ſuch always there, that all men, even his greateſt enemies, could not but praiſe him*; and therefore he loved him better than ever he did: ſo they fell to ſifting and canvaſſing thoſe heads which Bradford had ſent him; but the Doctor's objections, arguments, and authorities, proving quite unſatisfactory, Bradford, after an hour's diſcuſſion upon the ſame things he had ſo often ſhewed himſelf ſettled in, quite weary, roſe up; and the Doctor, after ſome promiſes how greatly he would befriend him, parted very civilly, as before. He returned on the 5th of April; ſaid he had ſpoken to the Queen for him, and that death was not near him: but, after ſome difference about the viſibility of Chriſt's Church, he wiſhed him well, and departed. After this, his keeper, and the Lord Derby's man, Stephen Beich, treated him no otherwiſe than as his utter enemies. Henceforth we meet with no more of thoſe Doctors viſits, and conferences, or altercations, upon any of the topics aforeſaid; only a ſhort colloquy, that is recorded in Fox, between Mr. Bradford and the ſervant of a gentlewoman who had been ſeverely afflicted, by her own father and mother, for forſaking, as it ſeems, the Maſs; in which colloquy there appears an inſtance of Bradford's fortitude againſt the fears of death, though he apprehended it ſo near him as the next day. Yet, indeed, from that laſt conference with Dr. Weſton, it was near three months before he was brought to his end.

[*L*] *Not only in the particulars given by Mr. Fox, but in the extracts from one or two letters only, written by and to Mr. Bradford.*] Mr. Fox informs us, that while Bradford was priſoner in the King's-Bench, he

(*d*) Fox, Vol. iii. p. 233.

(*) George Day.

(†) Mr. Jer. Collier, in his Eccleſ. Hiſt. P. ii. p. 382, calls this Alphonſus the ſaid King's Confeſſor; ſays, he was a Franciſcan; and that, in preaching before the King, he would declare againſt all ſanguinary methods in religion, and inveigh againſt the ſeverities, in particular, of our Biſhops, for hauling people to execution becauſe they could believe no better. He is called *Alphonſus a Caſtro* by others. See Fra. S. Clara, whoſe true name was Chriſt. Davenport, in Hiſt. Min. Provinciæ Angliæ Fratr. Minorum, p. 54; and the Antiq. of the Engl. Franciſcans, 4*to*, Lond. 1726, p. 250, &*c.* The other Spaniſh Friar's name, whom Bradford calls the King's Confeſſor, might alſo, in theſe authors, perhaps be found, if it were worth while to hunt after it.

(66) Vol. ii. p. 251.

night he lay in the Counter, which was June the 29th, he was much troubled in his ſleep with dreams of the iron chain being brought to the priſon-gate which was to bind him

obtained licence, upon his bare promiſe to return again the ſame night, to go into London, without any keeper, to viſit a ſick perſon living near the Still-yard; and that he returned to priſon again before his hour, rather than he would give the leaſt apprehenſion of breaking his word. The ſame author alſo acquaints us, that while Bradford was in the ſaid priſon, and Mr. Saunders in the Marſhalſea, they met on the back-ſide of thoſe two priſons, and conferred together, when they would; where the place was ſo unconfined, and there was ſuch liberty, that he might have eſcaped at pleaſure: but the Lord, ſays Mr. Fox, had another work to do for him. Moreover, while Bradford lay there, his keeper alſo gave him privilege to ride into Oxfordſhire, to viſit a merchant of his acquaintance; but he was prevented of taking that journey by ſickneſs (67). Among others whom he ratified there, in the Proteſtant faith, Biſhop Farrar was one; who having ſo far yielded to the deluſive perſuaſions of the Prieſts, as to promiſe that he would receive the Sacrament among them, Bradford uſed ſuch means with him, that he ever after reſiſted their temptations, and, by reſigning his body to ſacrifice, convinced them of his incorruptible mind (68). Whether it was in the ſame priſon, or in the Counter, that author expreſſes not; but in one of them an old friend came to Bradford, and aſked, if he ſhould get his liberty, what he would do, or whither he would go? Bradford anſwered as if he was indifferent whether he went out or no; but if he did, he would marry, and ſtill continue in England, and ſtill teach the people as he had done, and as the times would ſuffer him (69). Of the laſt letters which paſſed between him and his friends here in the Counter, we ſhall firſt tranſcribe a few lines out of that in which he takes his final farewel of his mother, a week before he ſuffered, as follows: ‘ My moſte deare mother; in the bowels of Chriſt, I hearteley pray and beſech you to be thankful for me unto God, which thus now taketh me unto himſelf. I die not, my good mother, as a theife, as a murtherer, an adulterer, &c. but I die as a witneſs of Chriſt hys goſpel and veritye; which hetherto I have confeſſed, I thanke God, as well by preaching, as by priſonment; and now, even preſently, I ſhall moſte willingly confyrme the ſame by fyre. I knowledge, that God moſte juſtlye myght take me hence, ſymply for my ſinnes, whiche are manye, greate, and grevous; but the Lord, for his mercy in Chriſte, hath pardoned them all, I hope; but now, deare mother, he taketh me hence, by this deathe, as a confeſſour and witneſs that the religion taught by Chriſte Jeſu, the Prophetes, and the Apoſtles, is God's truth. The Prelates doe perſecute in me, Chriſte, whom they hate; and his truth, which they may not abyde, becauſe their workes are evil, and may not abyde the truth and lyght, leſt men ſhould ſee their darkneſs. Therefore, my good and moſt deare mother, geve thankes for me to God, that hath made the fruit of your wombe to be a witneſs of hys glory, and attend to the truth, whiche, I thank God for it, I have truly taught out of the pulpit at Mancheſter: uſe often and continual prayer to God the Father, through Chriſte; harken, as you may, to the Scriptures; ſerve God after hys word, and not after cuſtome: beware of the Romyſh Religion in England, defyle not yourſelf wyth it; carry Chriſtes croſs as he ſhall lay it upon your backe; forgeve them that kill me; pray for them, for they know not what they do,’ &c. So, charging her to be mindful of her daughters, and do as ſhe pleaſed with the writings he ſent her by his brother Roger, &c. he takes his laſt farewel in this life; ‘ beſeecheng the Almighty and Eternal Father to grant they may meet in the life to come, where they ſhall give him continual thanks and praiſe for ever.’ Dated the 24th of June, 1555 (70). We ſhall only here add two or three quotations out of another letter, written by Mr. John Careles of Coventry, now priſoner in the King's-Bench; being an anſwer to one Bradford had ſent him, full of the moſt prophetic promiſes and conſolations; as that for his penitent and believing heart all his offences were clearly pardoned, and that he ſhould not die (71), or be put to death for his faith; which indeed he was not, though he had long looked and longed for that dignity, which the higheſt angels in heaven were not preferred to (72), but died in the priſon aforeſaid, about a twelvemonth after Bradford. In return to this, Careles has, in his ſaid laſt letter to Bradford, among others, theſe words: ‘ Ever ſince the good Mr. Philpot ſhewed me your laſt letter (my deare hart in the Lord), I have continued in great heavyneſs and perplexity; not for any hurt, or diſcommodity, that I can perceive coming towards you, unto whom, doubtleſs, death is made life, and great felicitie; but for the great loſs that God's Church, here in England, ſhall ſuſtain, by the taking away of ſo godly, worthy, and neceſſary an inſtrument, as the Lord hath made you to be. *Ah! that my life, and a thouſand ſuch wretched lives more, might go for your's* (*). Ah! why doth God ſuffer me, and ſuch other caterpillars, to live, that can do nothing but conſume the almes of the Church, and take you away, ſo worthy a workman and labourer in the Lord's vineyard? But woe be to our ſins, and great unthankfulneſs, which is the greateſt cauſe of the taking away of ſuch worthy inſtruments of God, as ſhould ſet forth his glory, and inſtruct his people. If we had been thankful unto God for the good miniſters of his word, we had not been ſo deprived both of it and them.’ And a little farther: ‘ But what go I about, to mingle your mirth with my mourning, and your juſt joy with my deſerved ſorrow? If I loved you indeed, as I have pretended, I ſhould ſurely rejoice with you moſt heartily, and praiſe God on your behalf, from the very bottom of my heart: I ſhould praiſe God day and night for your excellent election, in and through his great mercy; and ſhould give him moſt humble thanks for your vocation, by his goſpel, and your true knowledge in the ſame: I ſhould earneſtly praiſe him for your ſweet juſtification, whereof you are moſt certain by God's grace and ſpirit; and ſhould inſtantly pray unto him for your glorification, which ſhall ſhortly enſue: I ſhould rejoice, and be glad to ſee you ſo dignified with the crown of martyrdom, and to be appointed to that honour, to teſtify his truth, and to ſeal it with your blood: I ſhould highly extol the Lord, who hath given you a glorious victory over all your enemies, viſible and inviſible; and hathe given you grace and ſtrength to finiſh the tower that you have begun to build: Finally, if I loved you, I ſhould moſt heartily rejoice, and be glad to ſee you delivered from this body of ſin, and vile priſon of the fleſh, and brought into that heavenly tabernacle, where you ſhall be ſafely kept, and never offend him more. This, and much more, ſhould I do, if I had a good heart towards God, or you his dear child: but, alas! I am an hypocrite, and do ſeek nothing but my own commodity.——Ah! my dear heart, now I muſt take my leave of you, and, as I think, my *ultimum vale*, in this life; but in the life to come, I am right well aſſured, we ſhall merrily meet together, and that ſhortly, I truſt. And in taking my leave of you, my dear heart in the Lord, I ſhall deſire you faithfully to remember all the ſweet meſſages that the Lord our good God, and moſt dear loving Father, hath ſent you, by me, his moſt unworthy ſervant; which, as they are moſt true, ſo ſhall they be moſt truely accompliſhed upon you, eternally; and for the more aſſurance and certificate thereof to your godly conſcience, he hath commanded me to repeat the ſame unto you again, in his own name, and word: Therefore (as he goes on, in a more extraordinary ſtrain) now give ear, and faithful credence. Hearken, O ye heavens, and thou earth give ear, and bear me witneſs at the great day, that I do, here faithfully, and truly, the Lord's meſſage unto his dear ſervant, his ſingularly beloved and elect child, John Bradford. John Bradford, thou man ſo ſpecially beloved of God! I pronounce and teſtify unto thee, in the word and name of the Lord Jehovah, that all thy ſins, whatſoever they be, be they never ſo many, ſo grievous, or ſo great, be fully and freely pardoned, releaſed, and forgiven thee, by the mercy

(67) Acts and Mon. Vol. iii. p. 233.

(68) *Ibid.* p. 234.

(69) *Ibid.*

(70) Coverdale's Collection, &c. p. 454.

(71) Fox, Vol. iii. p. 602.

(72) *Idem*, p. 603.

(*) It has been obſerved, and very juſtly, that this expreſſion from an uncondemned man, as J. Careleſs was, to his friend Bradford, was *truly generous*; and that the late Lord Balmerino's wiſh, *That he could pay the reckoning, both for himſelf and his noble fellow-ſufferer*, the Earl of Kilmarnock, was but *ſeemingly ſo*: for theſe being both condemned, it ſpoiled the compliment; as he could then be at no greater expence in paying for both, than he was in paying only his own reckoning. *Vid.* Seaſonable Reflections on the Dying Words and Deportment of Arthur, Lord Balmerino, in Anſwer to Mr. T. Ford's Account of the Behaviour of thoſe Lords, &c. 8*vo*, 1746, p. 11, ſaid to be written by Mr. Joſeph Elderton, an Attorney.

him to the ſtake; alſo of being removed the next day to Newgate, and burnt in Smithfield the morning after; all which exactly came to paſs. He quitted his unquiet bed about three o'clock in the morning, and, by his old exerciſe of reading and prayer, ſoon recovered that compoſure of mind which continued to the laſt. When the keeper's wife, almoſt beſide herſelf, brought him intelligence the next day, that the *chain* was buying, and that he muſt die on the morrow, he pulled off his cap, and, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, ſaid, *I thank God for it, I have looked for it a long time; therefore it comes not ſuddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour; the Lord make me worthy of it.* When he ſhifted himſelf into the ſhirt he was to die in, he made ſuch applications of it to the *Wedding-Garment*, as raiſed the admiration of all who were about him. When he went out of the priſon, he diſtributed his money to every ſervant and officer of the houſe, and all the priſoners took their leave of him with weeping eyes: ſo, about midnight, he was carried to Newgate, attended by a vaſt multitude of people, who, becauſe they had heard he was to ſuffer by break of day, that the fewer ſpectators might be witneſſes of his death, they either ſtayed in Smithfield all night, or returned in greater numbers thither by four o'clock the next morning, which was the firſt of July, 1555; but Bradford was not brought thither till nine o'clock, and then came under a ſtronger guard of halberdeers than was ever known on the like occaſion. As he came out of Newgate, he gave his velvet cap and his handkerchief to an old friend, with whom he had a little private talk. But his brother-in-law, Roger Beſwick, for only taking leave of him, had his head broke, till the blood ran down his ſhoulders, by the Sheriff Woodroſe (*). When he came to Smithfield, and in his company a Yorkſhire youth, who was an apprentice in London, named John Lyeſe, and to be burnt at the ſame ſtake with him, for maintaining the like faith in the Sacrament, and denying that Prieſts had any authority to exact auricular confeſſion, Bradford went boldly up to the ſtake, laid him down flat on his face on one ſide of it, and the ſaid young man, John Lyeſe (†), in like manner, went and laid himſelf on the other; where they had not prayed to themſelves above the ſpace of a minute, before the ſaid Sheriff bid Bradford ariſe, and make an end; for the preſs of the people was very great [*M*]. When they were on their feet, Bradford took up a faggot and kiſſed it, and

(*) The conſtruction which was made of the dreadful diſeaſes which buried this cruel Sheriff in his bed eight years before he died, may be read in Fox and Fuller, in the Life of Mr. Bradford, p. 188, &c.

(†) Fox, or his Printers, call him *Leaf*; but we perceive not any authority they had to vary from the ſpelling of his name, as it is here reſtored, from the firſt Life of Mr. Bradford, before his Examinations, &c. as before quoted.

'of God, in Jeſus Chriſt, thine only Lord and ſweet 'Saviour, in whom thou doſt undoubtedly believe. 'Chriſt hath cleanſed thee with his blood, and 'cloathed thee with his righteouſneſs, and hath made 'thee, in the ſight of God, his Father, without ſpot, 'or wrinkle: So that, when the fire doth his appointed office, thou ſhall be received, as a ſweet 'burnt-ſacrifice, into heaven; where thou ſhalt joyfully remain in God's preſence for ever, as the true 'inheritor of his everlaſting kingdom; unto which 'thou waſt undoubtedly predeſtinate and ordained, 'by the Lord's infallible purpoſe and decree, before 'the foundation of the world was laid. And that 'this is moſt true that I have ſaid, I call the whole 'Trinity, the Almighty and eternal Majeſty of God 'the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, to my 'record at this preſent; whom I humbly beſeech to 'confirm and eſtabliſh in thee, the true and lively 'feeling of the ſame; Amen. *Selah* (73).'

(73) Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, p. 628. and Fox, Vol. iii. as before.

[*M*] *For the preſs of the people was very great.*] Among the numerous throng of people who were ſpectators at his execution, there was that memorable gentlewoman, Mrs. Mary Waters, the daughter of Robert Waters, of Lenham in Kent, Eſq; and wife of Robert Honeywood, Eſq; of Charing, in the ſame county. This lady, in the days of Queen Mary, was wont to viſit the priſons, and relieve the confeſſors there. Now, when Mr. Bradford was at the ſtake, ſhe being deſirous of getting near it, that ſhe might diſtinctly hear him, and ſee the end of his ſufferings, was ſo crowded and preſſed by the multitude, that her ſhoes were trodden off, and ſhe forced to go barefoot from Smithfield to St. Martins, before ſhe could furniſh herſelf with a new pair for her money (74). This is the lady, whoſe mind being perplexed with ſome religious doubts of ſalvation, many miniſters repaired to her; and, among the reſt, Mr. John Fox, the Martyrologiſt; and though ſhe could not have choſen an abler inſtrument to reconcile her afflicted mind, all his arguments proved ineffectual; inſomuch, that, in the agony of her ſoul, ſhe threw a Venice-glaſs, which ſhe had in her hand, with great vehemence to the ground, and burſt forth, at the ſame time, into this expreſſion: 'I am as ſurely 'damned as this glaſs is broken;' but it rebounded from the ground, and was taken up whole (75). This alſo is that Dame Honeywood, who, by her only huſband aforeſaid, left alive at her deceaſe, lawfully deſcended from her, three hundred ſixty and ſeven children; that is, ſixteen of her own body, one hundred and fourteen grandchildren, two hundred and twenty-eight of the third generation, and nine of the fourth. She lived a moſt pious life, and in a Chriſtian manner died at Markeſhall in Eſſex, the eleventh of May, 1620, in the ninety-third year of her age, and the forty-fourth year of her widowhood (76). It ſhould ſeem, that, before Mr. Bradford died, ſhe had conſulted him for ſatisfaction, in the doubts and deſpondency before mentioned, in like manner as, after his death, ſhe adviſed with Mr. Fox; there being ſome letters of Bradford's writing, to a gentlewoman under the like perturbation of mind, extant among his others; but becauſe her name is not mentioned, we ſhall forbear to make any tranſcripts from them; and alſo becauſe ſome readers may think this article of Bradford already copious enough; eſpecially thoſe who may not know, that what Mr. Fox has thought worthy of preſerving concerning him, is not comprehended in leſs than ſeventeen ſheets of paper. Throughout the ſame, in what he has copied from preceding authors, we muſt do him the juſtice to ſay, that he has, as far as we have had occaſion to trace and collate them, approved himſelf a faithful hiſtorian. And though the ſufferers under Popiſh governments were not all to be admitted ſtrictly as martyrs, nor were meant by him as ſuch, who may appear in his calendar; though he might be miſtaken in ſome recent examples, by the haſte of delineating truth, in her unſettled flight, upon the wings of report, and before her perfect form, features, and proportions, were fixed and confirmed in the writings of other men; though he might be miſinformed in ſeveral parts of his intelligence (and purpoſely, it is preſumed, in ſome, by his adverſaries, to pave the way for a detection of thoſe parts, and diſcredit the whole), which miſinformations he yet afterwards corrected, in as much as came to his knowledge; inconveniences that muſt attend the compiler of ſo large a body of modern hiſtory as his chiefly is; no man being likely to receive, from various hands, ſuch a multitude of matters of fact, as are all perfect truth, and digeſt and diſplay them as perfectly without error: yet of what weight are theſe objections, or more of the like, which Stapleton, or Parſons, or any other Jeſuit, can offer, in contempt of the *Foxian* martyrs, to overthrow ſuch a ſolid and immoveable

(74) Fuller's Worthies in Kent.

(75) *Idem.*

(76) So the inſcription on her monument in Markeſhall church.

and did the like to the ſtake. When he pulled off his cloaths, he deſired they might be given to his ſervant; which was granted. Then, at the ſtake, holding up his hands and his face to Heaven, he ſaid aloud, *O England, England, repent thee of thy ſins! Beware of idolatry, beware of antichriſts, leſt they deceive you.* Here the Sheriff ordered his hands to be tied; and one of the fire-rakers told him, if he had no better learning than that, he had beſt hold his peace. Then Bradford forgiving, and aſking forgiveneſs of, all the world, turned his head about, comforted the ſtripling at the ſame ſtake behind him, and embracing the flaming reeds that were near him, was heard among his laſt words to ſay, *Strait is the way, and narrow is the gate*, &c. Thus he left the droſs of his body among the aſhes upon the earth, while his ſoul, by that ſearching ſeparation, the purer aſcended to Heaven; and thus, by his death, he confirmed moſt effectually the truth of that doctrine which he had ſo powerfully preached in his life.

immoveable fabric? It is compiled of ſo many undeniable evidences of Popiſh barbarity, of which this Mr. Bradford is one not the leaſt conſpicuous, that, allowing all Mr. Fox's own real, but involuntary, miſtakes, they can never diſcountenance his work, till the ſlaves and ſcavengers of Rome have purged their own legendary and lying martyrologies of their wilful, their ſtudied, yet ſtupid and moſt deteſtable, impoſtures. But as his *Acts and Monuments* have long been, they will ſtill remain, ſubſtantial *Pillars* of the *Proteſtant Church*; of more force than many more volumes of bare arguments, to withſtand the tide of *Popery*; and, like a *Pharos*, ſhould be lighted up in every age, to warn our unwary countrymen from the deceitful and deſtructive *Rocks* therein. O.

⁂ [BRADLEY (JAMES), a very learned and able aſtronomer, was the third ſon of William and Jane Bradley, of Shireborn, in the county of Glouceſter, where he was born in the year 1692 (*a*). He was inſtructed in grammar-learning at a boarding-ſchool at North Leach in that county, from whence he was ſent to the univerſity of Oxford, and admitted a Commoner of Baliol-college on the 15th of March, 1710-11 (*b*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts on the 14th of October, 1714; and that of Maſter on the 21ſt of January, 1716-17 (*c*). On the 24th of May, 1719, he was ordained a Deacon, by the Biſhop of London, in St. Paul's cathedral; and was admitted to Prieſt's orders, by the Biſhop of Hereford, on the 25th of July, 1719 (*d*). He became chaplain to that prelate, who had a great eſteem for him, and beſtowed on him the vicarage of Bridſtow in Herefordſhire (*e*), to which he was inſtituted on the 27th of the ſame month (*f*). The Hon. Mr. Molyneux, then Secretary to the Prince of Wales, afterwards King George II., ſoon after procured him the rectory or ſinecure of Landewy Welfry, in the county of Pembroke, and dioceſe of St. David's, to which he was inducted on the 30th of April, 1719 (*g*).

(*a*) Supplement to the New and Gen. Biog. Dict. 8*vo*, p. 54.

(*b*) *Idem, ibid.*

(*c*) *Idem, ibid.*

(*d*) *Idem, ibid.*

(*e*) Gentleman's Mag. Vol. xxxv. p. 361. Annual Regiſter, Vol. viii. p. 23. Supplement to the firſt edit. of the Biographia Britannica, art. *Young*, note [*A*].

(*f*) Supplement to the New and Gen. Biog. Dict. *ut ſupra.*

(*g*) *Idem, ibid.*

Theſe were the only preferments which Mr. Bradley ever enjoyed in the church; though it is probable, that, from the connexions which he had formed in early life, he might have ariſen to ſome eminence in it, if his inclinations had not led him to prefer other ſtudies to thoſe of divinity. His favourite purſuit was aſtronomy, and it was this propenſity which ſeems to have firſt brought him acquainted with Mr. Molyneux, who was much attached to the ſame ſcience. Mr. Bradley was alſo encouraged in his mathematical ſtudies by his uncle, Dr. James Pound, who then reſided at his living of Wanſtead in Eſſex, where our aſtronomer was for ſome time curate (*h*). With this gentleman, who was well known in the learned world, being eminent as a divine, a phyſician, and a mathematician [*A*], Mr. Bradley ſpent all the time that he could ſpare from the duties of his function (*i*). It appears, that at this period of his life he firſt began to make ſuch aſtronomical obſervations at Wanſtead, as led to thoſe important diſcoveries which afterwards diſtinguiſhed him as one of the greateſt aſtronomers of his age (*k*).

(*h*) Annual Regiſter, and Gentleman's Magazine, *ut ſupra.*

(*i*) Supplement to the New and Gen. Biog. Dict. *ut ſupra.* Biog. Brit. firſt edit. art. *Young*, note [*B*].

(*k*) Annual Regiſter, *ut ſupra.*

On the death of Dr. Keil, Mr. Bradley was choſen Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Oxford. His appointment bears date the 31ſt of October, 1721 (*l*). This promotion being perfectly agreeable to his taſte, he reſigned the living of Bridſtow, and alſo the ſinecure of Landewy Welfry; and henceforward he devoted his time and attention

(*l*) Supplement to the New and Gen. Biog. Dict. *ut ſupra.*

[*A*] *Being eminent as a divine, a phyſician, and a mathematician.*] We are informed, that it was in the two former capacities Dr. Pound went to the Eaſt Indies, in the ſervice of that company. It is added, that he 'was one of the chief of thoſe who had the 'good fortune to eſcape from the maſſacre of the 'factory, on the iſland of Pulo Condore, in Cochin 'China. An account of this ſhocking ſcene remains 'amongſt Dr. Bradley's papers, written by Dr. 'Pound, together with a journal kept by him on 'board the Roſe ſloop, till, after many difficulties 'and diſtreſſes, they arrived at Batavia the 18th of 'April, 1705. The public ſuffered much in this 'cataſtrophe, by the loſs of Dr. Pound's papers, and 'other valuable curioſities, collected by him, which 'all periſhed in the conflagration; as he had no 'time to ſave any thing but his own life (1).'

It appears, that 'there are ſeveral iſlands that lie 'off the coaſt of Cambodia, and among theſe are 'thoſe of Pulo Condore, or the iſlands of Condore, 'which are ſituated in eight degrees forty minutes 'north latitude, and are twenty leagues ſouth-by-'eaſt from the mouth of the river Cambodia. The 'largeſt, which is the only one of theſe iſlands that 'is inhabited, is between four and five leagues long, 'and three broad in the wideſt part. The next in 'ſize is about three miles long, and half a mile over, 'and with the other forms a commodious harbour. 'The Engliſh ſettled on the largeſt of theſe iſlands 'in 1702; but having bargained with ſome Macaſ-'ſers, natives of the iſland of Celebes, to ſerve for 'ſoldiers, and help to build the fort, and not diſ-'charging them at three years end, according to the 'contract, but threatening them for letting two ſlaves 'eſcape out of their cuſtody, they roſe in the night, 'and murdered every Engliſhman they found in his 'bed, then ſet fire to the fort, in which nineteen 'Engliſhmen had been ſlain, among whom was 'Mr. Lloyd the governor. Eleven or twelve made 'their eſcape in a ſloop to Malacca; and of ſixteen 'who ſtaid behind, with the hopes of ſaving the 'money in the fort, all were murdered by the 'Cochin-Chineſe, except one or two who were taken 'priſoners, and afterwards ſuffered to eſcape (2).'

(1) Supplement to the New and Gen. Biog. Dict. p. 53.

(2) Fenning and Collier's Syſtem of Geography, Vol. i. p. 155, 156, 4th edit.

almoſt entirely to aſtronomy. In 1724, he communicated to the Royal Society ſome obſervations made by him at Wanſtead upon a comet ſeen towards the cloſe of the preceding year (*m*); and, in 1726, ſome curious aſtronomical obſervations having been tranſmitted to that ſociety from Liſbon, among which were ſeveral eclipſes of the firſt ſatellite of Jupiter, Mr. Bradley examined whether he had made any at Wanſtead which tallied with them: and he communicated a paper on this ſubject to the Royal Society, of which he was now become a member; and his obſervations were publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, N° 394 (*n*).

(*m*) Theſe obſervations were publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 382. *Vid.* the Abridgment, Vol. vi. Part i. p. 259.

(*n*) Abridgment, Vol. vi. Part i. p. 412.

In 1728, he publiſhed his Theory of the Aberration of the Fixed Stars (*o*) [*B*], which is acknowledged to be one of the moſt uſeful and ingenious diſcoveries in modern aſtronomy.

(*o*) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 406. Abridgment, Vol. vi. Part i. p. 149.

[*B*] *His theory of the aberration of the fixed ſtars, &c.*] In the courſe of the obſervations which led to this diſcovery, Dr. Bradley produced a remarkable confirmation of the hypotheſis of Monſ. Roëmer, concerning the ſucceſſive propagation of light, and likewiſe a proof that the velocity of light is the ſame after reflexion as after its firſt emiſſion. And, therefore, the ingenious Dr. Prieſtley, in his very valuable 'Hiſtory and preſent State of Diſcoveries relating to Viſion, Light, and Colours,' hath given the following particular account of Dr. Bradley's obſervations and inquiries, with a particular reference to the doctrine of light: 'Dr. Bradley, Aſtronomer-Royal, and his friend Mr. Molyneux, thinking to verify ſome obſervations of Dr. Hooke, concerning the parallax of the fixed ſtars, obſerved the ſtar γ *Draconis*, at Kew, on the 20th of December, 1725, and found that it appeared more ſoutherly than it had done at the beginning of the ſame month, and the month preceding. This ſurpriſed them, and the more ſo, as it was the contrary way from what it would have been, had it proceeded from an annual parallax. But being pretty well ſatisfied that it could not be entirely owing to the want of exactneſs in the obſervations, and having no notion of any thing elſe that could cauſe ſuch an apparent motion as this in the ſtar, they began to think that ſome change in the materials, &c. of the inſtrument itſelf might have occaſioned it. In this perſuaſion they remained ſome time; but being at length fully convinced, by ſeveral trials, of the great exactneſs of the inſtrument; and finding, by the gradual increaſe of the diſtance of the ſtar from the pole, that there muſt be ſome regular cauſe that produced it, they took care to examine nicely, at the time of each obſervation, how much it was *; and, after ſeveral obſervations for that purpoſe, the firſt hypotheſis that occurred to them was, that it was occaſioned by the nutation of the earth's axis; but this was ſoon found to be inſufficient. They alſo found that it did not depend upon any variety of the ſeaſons of the year, meaning probably the variation of the ſtate of the atmoſphere; and comparing their obſervations upon two ſtars together, it appeared that the apparent differences of declination from the maxima were always nearly proportional to the verſed ſine of the ſun's diſtance from the equinoctial points. This was an inducement to think, that the cauſe, whatever it was, had ſome relation to the ſituation of the ſun with reſpect to thoſe points. But not being able to frame any hypotheſis, at that time, ſufficient to ſolve all the phænomena, and being very deſirous to ſearch a little farther into this matter, Dr. Bradley began to think of erecting an inſtrument for himſelf at Wanſted; that, having it always at hand, he might, with the more eaſe and certainty, inquire into the laws of this new motion.

* Phil. Tranſ. Abridgment, Vol. vi. p. 168.

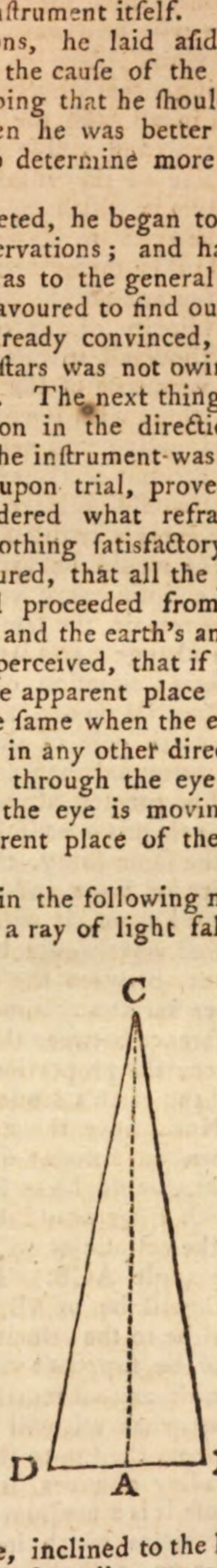
'He had not been long in obſerving, before he perceived that the notion he had before entertained, of the ſtars being fartheſt north and ſouth when the ſun was about the equinoxes, was only true of thoſe that were near the ſolſtitial colure; and after he had continued his obſervations a few months, he diſcovered what he then apprehended to be a general law, obſerved by all the ſtars, *viz.* that each of them became ſtationary, or was fartheſt north or ſouth when they paſſed over his zenith, at ſix of the clock, either in the morning or the evening. He perceived, likewiſe, that whatever ſituation the ſtars were in, with reſpect to the cardinal points of the ecliptic, the apparent motion of every one tended the ſame way, when they paſſed his inſtrument about the ſame hour of the day or night; for they all moved ſouthward while they paſſed in the day, and northward in the night; ſo that each was fartheſt north when it came about ſix of the clock in the evening, and fartheſt ſouth when it came about ſix in the morning.

'Examining the matter more particularly, he found that the greateſt alteration of declination in theſe ſtars was as the ſine of the latitude of each reſpectively. This made him ſuſpect that there might be the like proportion between the maxima of other ſtars; but finding that the obſervations of ſome of them would not perfectly correſpond with ſuch an hypotheſis, and not knowing whether the ſmall difference he met with might not be owing to the uncertainty and error of the obſervations, he deferred the farther examination into the truth of this hypotheſis, till he ſhould be furniſhed with a ſeries of obſervations, made in all parts of the year; which might enable him not only to determine what errors the obſervations were liable to, or how far they might be ſafely depended upon, but alſo to judge whether there had been any ſenſible change in the parts of the inſtrument itſelf.

'Upon theſe conſiderations, he laid aſide all thoughts at that time about the cauſe of the forementioned phænomena; hoping that he ſhould the more eaſily diſcover it, when he was better provided with proper means to determine more preciſely what they were.

'When the year was completed, he began to examine and compare his obſervations; and having pretty well ſatisfied himſelf as to the general laws of the phænomena, he endeavoured to find out the cauſe of them. He was already convinced, that the apparent motion of the ſtars was not owing to a nutation of the earth's axis. The next thing that offered itſelf was an alteration in the direction of the plumb-line with which the inſtrument was conſtantly rectified; but this, upon trial, proved inſufficient. Then he conſidered what refraction might do; but here alſo nothing ſatisfactory occurred. At laſt he conjectured, that all the phænomena hitherto mentioned proceeded from the progreſſive motion of light, and the earth's annual motion in its orbit: for he perceived, that if light was propagated in time, the apparent place of a fixed object would not be the ſame when the eye is at reſt, as when it is moving in any other direction than that of the line paſſing through the eye and the object; and that when the eye is moving in different directions, the apparent place of the object would be different.

'He conſidered this matter in the following manner: He imagined CA to be a ray of light falling perpendicularly upon the line BD; that, if the eye is at reſt at A, the object muſt appear in the direction AC, whether light be propagated in time or in an inſtant. But if the eye is moving from B towards A, and light is propagated in time, with a velocity that is to the velocity of the eye as CA to BA, then light, moving from C to A, whilſt the eye moves from B to A, that particle of it by which the object will be diſcerned when the eye comes to A, is at C when the eye is at B. Joining the points B, C, he ſuppoſed the line CB to be a tube, inclined to the line BD in the angle DBC, of ſuch a diameter as to



aſtronomy. It was received with great applauſe by the learned world, and deſervedly procured Mr. Bradley a great reputation. Some of the experiments which led to this diſcovery

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‘ admit but one particle of light. Then it was eaſy to conceive, that the particle of light at C, by which the object muſt be ſeen, when the eye, as it moves along, arrives at A, would paſs through the tube BC, if it is inclined to BD in the angle DBC, and accompanies the eye in its motion from B to A; and that it could not come to the eye placed behind ſuch a tube, if it had any other inclination to the line BD. If, inſtead of ſuppoſing CB ſo ſmall a tube, we imagine it to be the axis of a larger; then, for the ſame reaſon, the particle of light at C would not paſs through that axis, unleſs it is inclined to BD in the angle CBD. In like manner, if the eye moved the contrary way, from D towards A, with the ſame velocity, then the tube muſt be inclined in the angle BDC. Although, therefore, the true or *real* place of an object is perpendicular to the line in which the eye is moving, yet the *viſible* place will not be ſo, ſince that, no doubt, muſt be in the direction of the tube; but the difference between the true and apparent place will be, *cæteris paribus*, greater or leſs, according to the different proportion between the velocity of light and that of the eye. So that if we could ſuppoſe that light was propagated in an inſtant, then there would be no difference between the real and viſible place of an object, although the eye were in motion: for, in that caſe, AC being infinite with reſpect to AB, the angle ACB, the difference between the true and viſible place, vaniſhes. But if light be propagated in time, it is evident, from the foregoing conſiderations, that there will be always a difference between the real and viſible place of an object, unleſs the eye is moving either directly towards or from the object. And in all caſes the ſine of the difference between the real and viſible place of the object will be to the ſine of the viſible inclination of the object to the line in which the eye is moving, as the velocity of the eye is to the velocity of light.

‘ He then ſhews, that if the earth revolve round the ſun annually, and the velocity of light be to the velocity of the earth's motion in its orbit, as one thouſand to one, that a ſtar really placed in the very pole of the ecliptic would, to an eye carried along with the earth, ſeem to change its place continually; and neglecting the ſmall difference on the account of the earth's diurnal revolution on its axis, would ſeem to deſcribe a circle round that pole every way diſtant from it 3′ ½; ſo that its longitude would be varied through all the points of the ecliptic every year, but its latitude would always remain the ſame. Its right aſcenſion would alſo change; and its declination, according to the different ſituation of the ſun with reſpect to the equinoctial points, and its apparent diſtance from the north pole of the equator, would be 7′ leſs at the autumnal than at the vernal equinox.

‘ The greateſt alteration of the place of a ſtar in the pole of the ecliptic, or which, in effect, amounts to the ſame thing, the proportion between the velocity of light and the earth's motion in its orbit being known, it will not be difficult, he obſerves, to find what would be the difference, upon this account, between the true and apparent place of any other ſtar at any time; and, on the contrary, the difference between the true and apparent place being given, the proportion between the velocity of light and the earth's motion in its orbit may be found.

‘ Now, ſince the apparent declination of γ Draconis, on account of the ſucceſſive propagation of light, would be to the diameter of the little circle which a ſtar would ſeem to deſcribe about the pole of the ecliptic as 39″ to 40″, 4; the half of this is the angle ACB. This, therefore, being 20″, 2, AC will be to AB, that is, the velocity of light will be to the velocity of the eye (which in this caſe may be ſuppoſed the ſame as the velocity of the earth's annual motion in its orbit) as 10210 to 1; from whence it will follow that light moves, as far as from the ſun to the earth in 8′ 12″. This, Dr. Bradley obſerves, is very probably the truth, becauſe it is a medium between 7 and 11, which were the times which it had before been ſuppoſed to take up, according to different obſervations of the eclipſes of Jupiter's ſatellites. Comparing his obſervations on other ſtars, he afterwards concluded, that light is propagated from the ſun to the earth in 8′ 13″, and the near agreement of his obſervations induced him to think that this ſuppoſition could not differ ſo much as a ſecond of a degree from the truth; ſo that the time which light ſpends in paſſing from the ſun to us may be determined by theſe obſervations within 5″ or 10″, which is ſuch a degree of exactneſs as we can never hope to attain from the eclipſes of Jupiter's ſatellites.

‘ Theſe different methods thus agreeing in the reſult, he thought he might reaſonably conclude, not only that theſe phænomena are owing to the cauſes to which he had aſcribed them, but alſo that, in the ſame medium, light is propagated with the ſame velocity after it has been reflected as before. For this will be the conſequence, if it be allowed that the light of the ſun is propagated with the ſame velocity before it is reflected as the light of the fixed ſtars; which will hardly be queſtioned, if it can be made to appear that the velocity of the light of all the fixed ſtars is equal, and that their light moves through equal ſpaces in equal times, at all diſtances from them; and both theſe he thought were ſufficiently proved from the apparent alteration of the declination of ſtars of different luſtre; for that is not ſenſibly different in ſuch ſtars as ſeem near together, though they appear of very different magnitudes. Whatever their ſituations were, he found, that, according to the foregoing hypotheſis, the velocity of light from ſtars of the fifth or ſixth magnitude was the ſame as from thoſe of the ſecond or third, which, in all probability, are placed at very different diſtances from us (*).’

Of Dr. Bradley's theory of the aberration of the fixed ſtars, the following account and illuſtration have alſo been given: ‘ It had been long obſerved, that the poſitions of the fixed ſtars were ſubject to ſome variations, which in no ſort correſponded with the apparent motion of a degree in ſeventy-two years, which gives the preceſſion of the equinoxes. The late Abbé Picard had remarked theſe variations in the pole ſtar in 1671, but he did not attempt either to reduce them to any ſettled rule, or to account for them. Dr. Bradley not only verified Picard's obſervations, but diſcovered many other variations which had never before been thought of: he found that ſome ſtars appeared to have, in the ſpace of about a year, a variation of longitude backward and forward, but without any variation of latitude; that others varied in latitude, but not in longitude; and others, by far the greater number, appeared to deſcribe, in the ſpace of a year, a ſmall ellipſis of different degrees of elongation.

‘ The period of a year, in which all theſe motions, ſo different from each other, were performed, ſeemed to prove, that they had a connection with the revolution of the earth in its orbit; but the difficulty was, to diſcover in what manner the ſtars were apparently influenced by that revolution. This was attempted for ſome time by Mr. Bradley, but without ſucceſs: at laſt, however, his ſagacity and his diligence ſurmounted all difficulties, and he found the cauſe of theſe ſeemingly capricious appearances in the ſucceſſive motion of light co-operating with the motion of the earth round the ſun.

‘ Light had long been ſuppoſed to move with a velocity phyſically infinite; but the late Mr. Roëmer, of the Royal Academy of Paris, diſcovered the contrary, and even aſſigned the time in which it moved through a ſpace of ſixty-ſix millions of leagues, the ſuppoſed diameter of the annual orbit: he had obſerved, that the emerſions of the firſt ſatellite of Jupiter were delayed in proportion as Jupiter was diſtant from the oppoſition; and that, in thoſe eclipſes which happened neareſt to the conjunction, this delay amounted to eleven minutes: he concluded, therefore, that this ſpace of eleven minutes was no more than the time which the ray of the ſatellite that firſt iſſued from the ſhadow took to paſs the diſtance between the two poſitions of the earth, that neareſt the oppoſition, and that neareſt the conjunction: it followed, therefore,

(*) Hiſtory of Diſcoveries relating to Viſion, Light, &c. p. 394—401.

diſcovery were performed by our aſtronomer, in conjunction with his friend Mr. Molyneux (*p*). Mr. Bradley's merit now became ſo conſpicuous, as to recommend him to the notice and friendſhip of the Earl of Macclesfield, Sir Iſaac Newton, and other eminent mathematicians, aſtronomers, and patrons of ſcience. Dr. Halley, who was his colleague in the Savilian profeſſorſhip, had alſo a great eſteem and regard for him (*q*).

In 1730, he was appointed Lecture-reader of Aſtronomy and Experimental Philoſophy in the univerſity of Oxford. He held this office till within a year or two of his death; and diſcharged the duties of it in a manner equally honourable to himſelf, and beneficial to the univerſity (*r*). In 1737 were publiſhed, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, N° 446, ſome obſervations made by Mr. Bradley upon the comet that appeared in January, February, and March, that year (*s*). At the deceaſe of Dr. Edmund Halley [*C*], he was made Regius Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Greenwich; the appointment to which is dated the 3d of February, 1741-2 (*t*). Upon this promotion he was honoured with the degree of Doctor in Divinity, by diploma from the univerſity of Oxford, dated in convocation the 22d of the ſame month (*u*). In 1744, he married Mrs. Suſannah Peach, daughter of Samuel Peach, Eſq; of Chalford, in Glouceſterſhire; by whom he had one daughter, who ſurvived him (*w*).

(*p*) Abridgment of the Philoſoph. Tranſ. Vol. vi. Part i. p. 150. Dr. Prieſtley's Hiſt. of Diſcoveries relating to Viſion, Light, and Colours, p. 394.

(*q*) Supplement to the New and Gen. Biog. Dict. p. 55, 56.

(*r*) *Id. ibid.*

(*s*) Abridgment of the Philoſ. Tranſ. Vol. viii. Part i. p. 210.

(*t*) *Id. ibid.*

(*u*) *Id. ibid.*

(*w*) *Id. ibid.*

'that the velocity of light was not only finite, but meaſureable.

'But however natural this theory might be, and however well it might be ſupported, it was then thought too bold, and poor Roëmer did not live to ſee it adopted (3). It has, however, been ſince univerſally agreed, that the motion of light is ſucceſſive; and upon this ſucceſſive motion of light Mr. Bradley built his explanation of the irregular variations which he had obſerved in the ſtars, and which he called their ***aberration***. His theory was this:

'Let us ſuppoſe a ſeries of very ſmall particles, united into a thread, to fall in a direction perpendicular to the horizon; and let ſeveral of theſe threads or particles fall at the ſame time, in the ſame direction, ſo as to be parallel to each other, in the ſame manner as drops of rain in a dead calm. Let us then ſuppoſe a tube to be placed in this rain, in a vertical poſition, and it is manifeſt that the drop of water which enters the aperture at the upper end of it, will iſſue at the aperture below, without touching the inſide of the tube.

'But if the tube be moved parallel to itſelf, though ſtill kept in a poſition parallel to the direction of the water, it is clear, that this motion of the tube will cauſe the drop that enters it to touch one of its ſides, before it gets to the bottom; and that this contact will happen ſooner, in proportion as the motion of the drops is ſlow, compared with the motion of the tube; and it is eaſy to demonſtrate, that if the motion of the tube and that of the rain are equal, the drop which falls in the center of the upper aperture of the tube, will come in contact with the inſide of the tube, when it has paſſed down the tube the diſtance of half its diameter; and, conſequently, that the line of its direction will make an angle of five-and-forty degrees with the axis of the tube. It follows, therefore, that, to prevent the drops of water from touching the inſide of the tube, notwithſtanding its motion, the tube muſt be inclined in an angle of five-and-forty degrees, on the ſide towards which it moves; and that, if this inclination ſhould be ſucceſſively made round the circumference of a circle, the tube would deſcribe round the vertical line, drawn from the center of its baſe, a curve, the angle of which would be ninety degrees.

'But what has been ſaid with reſpect to an inclination of the tube neceſſary to make the drop paſs through it, notwithſtanding its motion, without touching the inſide of it, abſolutely depends upon the proportion between the motion of the tube, and the motion of the drop; and in proportion as the motion of the drop is greater than that of the tube, the leſs the tube muſt be inclined: ſo that, if the motion of the drop be ſuppoſed to be infinite, no inclination at all of the tube would be neceſſary; for the drop would reach the bottom of the tube as ſoon as it reached the top, and the ſpace through which the tube could have advanced, during that trajection, would be infinitely ſmall.

'In order to apply this theory to the aberration of the fixed ſtars, we muſt ſubſtitute for the drops of water, uniting into a thread, the rays of light that come from thoſe ſtars; and for the tube, which we have ſuppoſed to be firſt at reſt, and then in motion, that of the teleſcope uſed to determine the poſition of the ſtars, which is carried round with the earth, in its revolution about the ſun; and we muſt ſuppoſe, that the velocity of the ray of light, having a finite relation to the velocity of the earth's motion, the tube ought to change its inclination, in proportion as that motion changes its direction; whence it follows, that each ſtar muſt have a ſeries of different poſitions; or, which is the ſame thing, an apparent motion in the heavens, which cauſes it to deſcribe, in the ſpace of a year, ellipſes more or leſs elongated according to its poſition.'

'M. Clairaut, of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, afterwards made this diſcovery the ſubject of a Memoir, which he printed in 1737. In this Memoir, he examines the principles on which the theory of the aberration is founded, and gives the neceſſary rules for putting it in practice. From the calculations of this gentleman it follows, that the velocity of light, as fixed by the aberrations of the ſtars, is the ſame with what M. Roëmer ſuppoſed it to be, and exactly quadrates with the retardation of the eclipſes of the firſt ſatellite of Jupiter. A new proof of the truth of this hypotheſis, if any new proof had been neceſſary (4).'

[*C*] *At the deceaſe of Dr. Edmund Halley.*] It has been obſerved, that, 'from letters found among Dr. Bradley's papers, it appears, that Dr. Halley was greatly deſirous (from a perſonal eſteem and knowledge of his abilities) that our aſtronomer ſhould ſucceed him. In one letter, when he found himſelf declining, he deſired his leave to make intereſt for him. But he owed this new acquiſition chiefly to the friendſhip of that great patron of ſcience, the Right Honourable George, Earl of Macclesfield, the late Preſident of our Royal Society (5).'

Another writer ſays, that 'Mr. Bradley always preſerved the eſteem and friendſhip of Mr. Halley, who, being worn out by age and infirmities, thought he could do nothing farther for the ſervice of aſtronomy, than procure for Mr. Bradley the place of Regius Profeſſor of aſtronomy at Greenwich, which he had poſſeſſed himſelf many years with the greateſt reputation. With this view he wrote many letters, which have been ſince found among Mr. Bradley's papers, deſiring his permiſſion to apply for a grant of the reverſion of it to him, and even offering to reſign in his favour, if it ſhould be thought neceſſary: but before Mr. Halley could bring this kind project to bear, he died. Mr. Bradley, however, obtained the place afterwards, by the favour and intereſt of my Lord Macclesfield, who was afterwards Preſident of the Royal Society (6).'

(3) This aſſertion muſt be underſtood with ſome limitation. M. Roëmer did not live to ſee his theory univerſally acknowledged, but many aſtronomers in his own time were brought to adopt it. Dr. Prieſtley, after obſerving that the oppoſition made to this theory was ineffectual, ſays, 'M. Roëmer had already brought the greateſt part of aſtronomers to his opinion; and later and more accurate obſervations have ſhewed it to be perfectly agreeable to all celeſtial appearances.' Hiſt. of Diſcoveries relating to Viſion, Light, &c. p. 140.

(4) Gentleman's Mag. Vol. xxxv. p. 361—363. Annual Regiſter, Vol. viii. p. 24—26.

(5) Supplement to the New and Gen. Biog. Dict. p. 56.

(6) Annual Regiſter, Vol. viii. p. 27.

Dr. Bradley continued to proſecute his ſtudies with great ardour, and with proportionable ſucceſs; and, in 1747, communicated another important aſtronomical diſcovery, concerning the nutation of the terreſtrial axis [D], to the Royal Society, in a letter to the Earl of Macclesfield, their preſident; which was publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, N° 485 (*x*), and procured him the honour of their annual prize-medal (*y*). He was greatly aſſiſted in his aſtronomical inquiries by the excellency of the inſtruments which he made uſe of, and in this reſpect expreſſed the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of the merit of that able artiſt, Mr. George Graham [E]. His conviction of the importance

(*x*) Abridgement of the Philoſ. Tranſ. Vol. x. Part i. p. 32.

(*y*) Supplement to the New and Gen. Biog. Dict. p. 56.

[D] *Another important aſtronomical diſcovery.*] Of this diſcovery the following account has been given: ‘ In the courſe of his obſervations, which were innumerable, he diſcovered that the inclination of the earth's axis, upon the plane of the ecliptic, was not always the ſame, but that it varied backwards and forwards ſome ſeconds, and that the period of theſe variations was nine years. This period ſeemed altogether unaccountable, as it could not be ſuppoſed to have any thing in common with the revolution of the earth, which is performed in one year. Mr. Bradley, however, diſcovered the cauſe of this phænomenon in the Newtonian ſyſtem of attraction.

‘ The firſt principle of that ſyſtem is known to be, that all bodies mutually attract each other in the direct ratio of their maſſes, and in the inverſe ratio of the ſquares of their diſtances. From this mutual attraction, combined with motion in a right line, Newton deduces the figure of the orbits of the planets, and particularly that of the earth. If this orbit was a circle, and if the terreſtrial globe was a perfect ſphere, the attraction of the ſun would have no other effect than to keep it in its orbit, and would cauſe no irregularity in the poſition of its axis; but neither is the earth's orbit a circle, nor its body a ſphere; for the earth is ſenſibly protuberant towards the equator, and its orbit is an ellipſis, which has the ſun in its focus. When the poſition of the earth is ſuch, that the plane of its equator paſſes through the center of the ſun, the attractive power of the ſun acts only ſo as to draw the earth towards it, ſtill parallel to itſelf, and without changing the poſition of its axis; and this happens at the equinoxes. In proportion as the earth recedes from thoſe points, the ſun alſo goes out of the plane of the equator, and approaches that of one or other of the tropics; the ſemi-diameter of the earth, which is then expoſed to the ſun, being no longer equal, the equator is more powerfully attracted than the reſt of the globe, which cauſes ſome alteration in its poſition, and its inclination upon the plane of the ecliptic: and as that part of the orbit, which is compriſed between the autumnal and vernal equinox, is leſs than that which is compriſed between the vernal and the autumnal, it follows, that the irregularity cauſed by the ſun, during his paſſage through the northern ſigns, is not entirely compenſated by that which he cauſes during his paſſage through the ſouthern ſigns; and that the paralleliſm of the terreſtrial axis, and its inclination with the ecliptic, will be a little changed. But though the irregularity is now accounted for, we are ſtill at a loſs for the cauſe of its happening in a period of nine years. This difficulty, however, will immediately diſappear.

‘ The ſame effect which the ſun produces upon the earth, by its attraction, is alſo produced by the moon, which acts with greater force, in proportion as it is more diſtant from the equator. Now, at the time when its nodes concur with the equinoctial points, its greateſt latitude is added to the greateſt obliquity of the ecliptic. At this time, therefore, the power which cauſes the irregularity in the poſition of the terreſtrial axis, acts with the greateſt force; and the revolution of the nodes of the moon being performed in eighteen years, it is clear, that in eighteen years the nodes will twice concur with the equinoctial points; and, conſequently, that twice in that period, or once every nine years, the earth's axis will be more influenced than at any other time; ſo that it will have a kind of balancing backward and forward, the period of which will be nine years, as Mr. Bradley had obſerved; and this balancing he called *the Nutation of the Terreſtrial Axis* (7).’

(7) Gent. Mag. Vol. xxxv. p. 363, 364. Annual Regiſter, Vol. viii. p. 26, 27.

[E] *He was greatly aſſiſted in his aſtronomical inquiries by the excellency of the inſtruments which he made uſe of*, &c.] In his letter to the Earl of Macclesfield, he ſays, ‘ The great exactneſs with which inſtruments are now conſtructed hath enabled the aſtronomers of the preſent age to diſcover ſeveral changes in the poſitions of the heavenly bodies; which, by reaſon of their ſmallneſs, had eſcaped the notice of their predeceſſors. And although the cauſes of ſuch motions have always ſubſiſted, yet philoſophers had not ſo fully conſidered what the effects of thoſe known cauſes would be, as to demonſtrate *a priori* the *phænomena* they might produce; ſo that theory itſelf is here, as well as in many other caſes, indebted to practice, for the diſcovery of ſome of its moſt elegant deductions. This points out to us the great advantage of cultivating *this*, as well as every other branch of natural knowledge, by a regular ſeries of obſervations and experiments.

‘ The progreſs of aſtronomy indeed has always been found to have ſo great a dependence upon accurate obſervations, that, till ſuch were made, it advanced but ſlowly: for the firſt conſiderable improvements that it received, in point of theory, were owing to the renowned Tycho Brahè; who far exceeding thoſe that had gone before him, in the exactneſs of his obſervations, enabled the ſagacious Kepler to find out ſome of the principal laws relating to the motion of the heavenly bodies. The invention of teleſcopes and pendulum-clocks affording proper means of ſtill farther improving the *praxis* of aſtronomy; and theſe being alſo ſoon ſucceeded by the wonderful diſcoveries made by our great Newton, as to its theory; the ſcience, in both reſpects, had acquired ſuch extraordinary advancement, that future ages ſeemed to have little room left for making any great improvements. But, in fact, we find the caſe to be very different; for, as we advance in the means of making more nice inquiries, new points generally offer themſelves, that demand our attention.’——

‘ The apparent motions of the heavenly bodies are ſo complicated, and affected by ſuch a variety of cauſes, that in many caſes it is extremely difficult to aſſign to each its due ſhare of influence, or diſtinctly to point out what part of the motion is the effect of one cauſe, and what of another: and whilſt the joint effects of *all* are only attended to, great irregularities and ſeeming inconſiſtencies frequently occur; whereas, when we are able to allot to each particular cauſe its proper effect, harmony and uniformity uſually enſue.

‘ Such ſeeming irregularities being alſo blended with the unavoidable errors to which aſtronomical obſervations muſt be always liable, as well from the imperfection of our ſenſes, as of the inſtruments that we uſe, have often very much perplexed thoſe who have attempted to ſolve the *phænomena*: and till means are diſcovered, whereby we can ſeparate and diſtinguiſh the *particular* part of the whole motion that is owing to each reſpective cauſe, it will be impoſſible to be well aſſured of the truth of any ſolution. For theſe reaſons, we generally find, that the more exact the inſtruments are that we uſe, and the more regular the ſeries of obſervations is that we take, the ſooner we are enabled to diſcover the cauſe of any new *phænomenon*: for when we can be well aſſured of the limits wherein the errors of the obſervations are contained, and have reduced them within as narrow bounds as poſſible, by the perfection of our inſtruments, we need not heſitate to aſcribe ſuch apparent changes, as manifeſtly exceed thoſe limits, to ſome other cauſes. Upon theſe accounts, it is incumbent upon the *practical* aſtronomer to ſet out at firſt with the examination

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importance of good inſtruments led him to embrace the opportunity of the annual viſit made by the Royal Society to the obſervatory at Greenwich, in order to examine the inſtruments, and receive the profeſſor's obſervations for the year, to repreſent ſo ſtrongly the neceſſity of repairing the old inſtruments, and purchaſing ſuch new ones as were wanted, that the Society thought proper to lay the affair before his Majeſty King George II., who, in the year 1748, was pleaſed to grant one thouſand pounds for that purpoſe (z). This ſum was laid out under the direction of Dr. Bradley, who, with the aſſiſtance of his friend Mr. Graham, and Mr. Bird, furniſhed the royal obſervatory with the moſt complete collection of aſtronomical inſtruments that could be procured (a).

It was in the year 1748 that he was elected a foreign member of the Academy of Sciences at Paris; and about the ſame time he became intitled to Biſhop Crew's benefaction of 30*l. per ann.* to the lecture-reader in experimental philoſophy in the univerſity of Oxford (b). He was likewiſe choſen a member of the Royal Pruſſian Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres, but at what time does not appear (c).

After Dr. Bradley was ſettled at Greenwich as Aſtronomer-royal, the living of that pariſh, which is of conſiderable value, became vacant; and it was offered to him in the King's name, by Mr. Pelham, in conſideration of his great merit. This living was the rather offered to him, becauſe it was ſuppoſed that it would be particularly convenient to him, on account of his reſidence at Greenwich (d). But this preferment he declined, from a very laudable and conſcientious motive: he alleged, 'that the duty 'of a paſtor was incompatible with his other ſtudies and neceſſary engagements.' His Majeſty, unwilling that he ſhould be a loſer by his integrity, granted him an annuity or yearly penſion of 250*l.* during pleaſure (*), 'in conſideration' (as the ſign-manual, dated Feb. 15, 1752, expreſſes it) 'of his great ſkill and knowledge in the ſeveral 'branches of aſtronomy, and other parts of the mathematics, which have proved ſo 'uſeful to the trade and navigation of this kingdom (e). The ſame year he was choſen one of the Council of the Royal Society, in the room of Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, deceaſed (f).

In 1754, he was appointed a member of the Academy of Sciences at Peterſburgh, by diploma from the whole academy (g). In 1756, two aſtronomical eſſays, in Latin, addreſſed to Dr. Bradley [*F*], were publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (h). On the 16th of June, 1757, he was choſen a member of the Academy of Sciences inſtituted at Boulogne (i). The ſame year were publiſhed, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (k), obſervations made by him upon the comet that appeared in the months of September and October that year.

He continued to proſecute his ſtudies with great aſſiduity, till about two years before his death, when he is ſaid to have been much afflicted by an oppreſſion upon his ſpirits, which is attributed to the great intenſeneſs of his application. His chief diſtreſs is repreſented to have ariſen from an apprehenſion that he ſhould ſurvive his rational faculties (l); but this misfortune did not befal him. In the year 1760, he became very weak and infirm (m), and about the end of June, 1762, he was attacked with a total ſuppreſſion of urine, cauſed by an inflammation of the reins (*), which put a period to his life at Chalford in Glouceſterſhire, on the 13th of July following, in the ſeventieth year of his age (n). He was interred at Mitchin Hampton, in that county, in the ſame grave with his mother and his wife (o).

Dr. Bradley was extremely amiable in his private character, as well as illuſtrious for his ſcientific knowledge. His temper was gentle and placid, and he was eminently characteriſed by his modeſty. He appears to have taken little pains to attract the notice of mankind, and it was his ſingular merit alone which procured him the general eſteem and regard of the friends of learning and ſcience. Among his acquaintance and friends were many of the firſt perſons in this kingdom, both for rank and abilities;

'of the correctneſs of his inſtruments, and to be aſ'ſured that they are ſufficiently exact for the uſe he 'intends to make of them; or at leaſt he ſhould 'know, within what limits their errors are con'fined.'——

'A mind intent upon the purſuit of any kind of 'knowledge, will always be agreeably entertained 'with what can ſupply the moſt proper means of at'taining it: ſuch, to the practical aſtronomer, are 'exact and well-contrived inſtruments; and I re'flect with pleaſure on the opportunities I have en'joyed, of cultivating an acquaintance and friend'ſhip with the perſon that, of all others, has moſt 'contributed to their improvement. For I am ſen'ſible, that if my own endeavours have, in any re'ſpect, been effectual to the advancement of aſtro'nomy, it has principally been owing to the advice 'and aſſiſtance given me by Mr. George Graham; 'whoſe great ſkill and judgment in mechanics, joined 'with a complete and practical knowledge of the 'uſes of aſtronomical inſtruments, enable him to con'trive and execute them in the moſt perfect man'ner (8).'

[*F*] *Two aſtronomical eſſays, in Latin, addreſſed to Dr. Bradley.*] Theſe eſſays were written by Mr. Charles Walmeſley, F. R. S. who, in a letter prefixed to them, addreſſes Dr. Bradley in the following terms: 'I have taken the liberty to addreſs to you 'two little eſſays, that relate to aſtronomy; for as 'no one is more maſter of that ſcience, or has en'riched it with greater diſcoveries, than yourſelf, 'you can beſt judge of the worth and uſe of any per'formance in that kind. The firſt eſſay is a theory 'on the preceſſion of the equinoxes, and the nuta'tion of the earth's axis; which, as it is indebted to 'you for the diſcovery of the cauſe on which it is 'founded, as alſo for the ſettling of the effects with 'which its reſult is to be compared, ought to be laid 'before you as an homage that of right is due.'— 'The ſecond eſſay is a theory of the irregularities 'that may be occaſioned in the annual motion of the 'earth by the actions of Jupiter and Saturn (9).']

(z) Gent. Mag. and Annual Regiſter, *ut ſupra.*

(a) Supplement to the New and Gen. Biog. Dict. *ubi ſupra.*

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) *Ibid.*

(d) Supplement to the New and Gen. Biog. Dict. and Gent. Mag. *ut ſupra.*

(*) This penſion was continued till the death of King George II., and afterwards renewed by his preſent Majeſty.

(e) Supplement, *ubi ſupra.*

(f) *Ibid.*

(g) *Ibid.*

(h) Vol. xlix. Part ii. p. 700. 704, &c.

(i) Supplement, *ubi ſupra.*

(k) Vol. l. Part i. p. 408.

(l) Supplement, *ubi ſupra.*

(m) Gent. Mag. *ubi ſupra.*

(*) An account of his caſe, which was thought ſomewhat ſingular, was publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, Vol. lii. Part ii. p. 635, in a letter from Daniel Lyſons, M. D. to the Earl of Macclesfield.

(n) Supplement to the New and Gen. Biog. Dict. *ubi ſupra.*

(o) Gent. Mag. *ubi ſupra.*

(8) Abridgment of the Philoſ. Tranſ. Vol. x. Part i. p. 32—35.

(9) Phil. Tranſ. Vol. xlix Part ii. p. 700, 701.

and it is ſaid, that there was not an aſtronomer of any eminence in the world, with whom he had not a literary correſpondence. He ſpoke well, and expreſſed his ideas with great preciſion and perſpicuity; notwithſtanding which, he was a great lover of ſilence: and it has been obſerved of him, that he ſeldom ſpoke, except when he conceived it abſolutely neceſſary. He was, however, very ready to communicate uſeful knowledge to others, and eſpecially in that ſcience which he more particularly profeſſed, whenever he thought there was a proper opportunity. He alſo encouraged thoſe who attended his lectures to propoſe queſtions to him, by the exactneſs with which he anſwered them, and his obvious ſolicitude to accommodate himſelf to every capacity. He was cenſured by ſome, for having withheld his obſervations from the public uſe and benefit; but this charge appears not to have been well founded: and it has been alleged, on the contrary (*p*), that the facility with which he made his communications was made an unfair uſe of; that his obſervations were very ungenerouſly tranſmitted abroad; and that, by ſuch practices, foreigners have been enabled to gain reputation, and to adopt the fruits of his labour as their own.

(*p*) Supplement, *ubi ſupra.*

He was extremely temperate, even to abſtinence; and he enjoyed a great ſhare of health, and was active and robuſt, till towards the cloſe of his life. Eminently remarkable for the equanimity of his temper, he was yet in a very great degree compaſſionate and liberal; and was extremely generous to ſuch of his relations as needed his aſſiſtance (*q*).

(*q*) *Vid.* the Gent. Mag. Annual Regiſter, and Supplement to New and Gen. Biog. Dict. *ut ſupra.*

Though he was unqueſtionably one of the greateſt aſtronomers of the age, he has publiſhed very little; which ſeems to have ariſen from his natural diffidence, and from that ſolicitous accuracy, which made him always apprehenſive that his works were imperfect. He has, however, left behind him thirteen volumes in folio, and two in quarto, of his aſtronomical obſervations (*r*), which muſt be conſidered as of great importance to the ſcientific world; and which, we are informed, will be publiſhed by the Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Oxford.] T.

(*r*) Supplement, *ubi ſupra.*

BRADY (ROBERT), a noted Hiſtorian and Phyſician in the laſt century, was born in the county of Norfolk, and admitted in Caius-college in Cambridge, February 20, 1643 (*a*). He took his degree of Bachelor of Phyſic in 1653 (*b*), and was created Doctor in that faculty September 5, 1660, by virtue of the King's mandatory letters (*c*). On the firſt of December the ſame year, he was, in purſuance of King Charles's mandate, elected Maſter of his college, upon the reſignation of Dr. Bachcroft (*d*). About the year 1670, he was appointed Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London (*e*); in which office, how well he employed himſelf in peruſing thoſe moſt valuable monuments in his poſſeſſion, is abundantly plain from his hiſtorical works, of which an account will be given below. Some time after, he was choſen Regius Profeſſor of Phyſic in the Univerſity of Cambridge (*f*). In 1679, he wrote a letter to Dr. Sydenham, which is publiſhed among that learned perſon's works [*A*]. But his largeſt and moſt conſiderable performance was, ‘ An Introduction to the old ‘ Engliſh Hiſtory [*B*],’ and ‘ A Complete Hiſtory of England, from the firſt En‘ trance of the Romans, unto the End of the Reign of King Richard II.’ in three Vols. fol. [*C*], about which he was employed ſeveral years. In the year 1681, he was choſen one

(*a*) College Regiſter.

(*b*) Univerſity Regiſter.

(*c*) Univerſity Regiſter, and Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, p. 251.

(*d*) College Books, and Kennet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 870. and J. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 428.

(*e*) From Memoirs communicated to us. But Mr. Holmes, Deputy Keeper of the Records in the Tower, has ſince aſſured us, that he was not made Keeper of the Records till 1685.

(*f*) From the ſame Memoirs.

[*A*] *He wrote a letter to Dr. Sydenham*, &c.] It is dated from Cambridge, December 30, 1679, and is placed at the head of Dr. Sydenham's *Epiſtolæ reſponſoriæ duæ*. In this letter Dr. Brady obſerves, that no phyſician had yet duly conſidered the influence of the air on human bodies; nor ſhewed the force of it, in fermenting, altering, and circulating the blood, and in all animal motions whatſoever: and therefore he commends Dr. Sydenham for his account of acute diſtempers, and their cure; and deſires him to publiſh what obſervations he had made of late years on that ſubject. Next, he entreats him, if he knew any thing particular on the uſe of the Indian (or Peruvian) bark, to communicate it to him. And, laſtly, Dr. Sydenham having recommended frequent bleeding in the rheumatiſm, Brady inquires of him, whether a leſs ſevere and cruel method could not be found out to cure that diſtemper? In anſwer to theſe ſeveral queries, Dr. Sydenham wrote his *Epiſtola reſponſoria prima*, which is printed among his works. It was firſt printed at London in 1680, 8*vo*.

[*B*] *An Introduction to the old Engliſh Hiſtory.*] What the contents of this book are, will beſt appear by the title, which is as follows: ‘ An Introduction ‘ to the old Engliſh Hiſtory, comprehended in three ‘ ſeveral tracts. The firſt, An Anſwer to Mr. *Petyt's* ‘ *Rights of the Commons aſſerted*; and to a book in‘ tituled, *Jani Anglorum Facies nova*: The ſecond ‘ edition, very much enlarged. The ſecond, An An‘ ſwer to a book intitled, *Argumentum Antinormanni‘ cum*, much upon the ſame ſubject; never before ‘ publiſhed. The third, An exact Hiſtory of the ‘ Succeſſion of the Crown of England: The ſecond ‘ edition, alſo very much enlarged. Together with ‘ an Appendix, containing ſeveral Records, and a ‘ ſeries of great Councils and Parliaments before and ‘ after the Conqueſt, unto the End of the Reign of ‘ Henry the Third: And a Gloſſary, expounding ‘ many Words uſed frequently in our ancient Records, ‘ Laws, and Hiſtorians.’ One Vol. fol. London, 1684. The ſubſtance of the whole book may be compriſed in theſe three Propoſitions: 1. That the Repreſentatives of the Commons in Parliament [*viz.* Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes] were not introduced till the forty-ninth of Henry III. 2. That William, Duke of Normandy, made an abſolute conqueſt of the nation. 3. That the Succeſſion to the Crown of England is hereditary (deſcending to the neareſt of blood), and not elective.

[*C*] *Introduction to the old Engliſh Hiſtory, and A Complete Hiſtory of England*, &c.] The Introduction, as mentioned in the laſt note, contains one Volume fol. and the Hiſtory is generally bound in two more. The firſt was printed at London, 1685, and the ſecond in 1700. At the end of each is a large Appendix of Original Papers. This Hiſtory is full of records, and other valuable materials for a Hiſtory of England; but it is far from being a *Complete Hiſtory*; for the author hath neglected, or paſſed over, numberleſs facts, and omitted ſuch as ſerved not for his purpoſe: ſo that it can be juſtly and properly called nothing elſe but a heap of valuable undigeſted materials.

one of the repreſentatives for the Univerſity of Cambridge, in that Parliament which met at Oxford *(g)*; and again in 1685, in the Parliament of King James II *(h)*. He was likewiſe Phyſician in Ordinary to this King: and, on the twenty-ſecond of October 1688, was one of thoſe perſons who gave in their depoſitions concerning the birth of the pretended Prince of Wales (*i*). This learned Doctor died on the nineteenth of Auguſt 1700 (*k*). He was an accurate writer, and a curious and diligent ſearcher into our ancient records. But he hath alſo been charged with ſeveral faults. The chief is, that throughout his Complete Hiſtory, as he calls it, he is ſo wholly taken up in endeavouring to prove the novelty of Parliaments, that his book does by no means anſwer the title *(l)*. For, in order to pleaſe an arbitrary Court, to whom the Houſe of Commons hath always been an invincible check, and to repreſent the origin of that auguſt body, as grounded upon the rebellion of Simon de Montfort, in King Henry the IIId's reign (*m*), he hath taken great pains to prove, 'That the Commons of England, repreſented 'by Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes in Parliament, were not introduced; nor were 'one of the three eſtates in Parliament, before the forty-ninth of Henry III. (*n*); and 'that, before that time, the body of the Commons of England, or freemen collectively 'taken, had not any ſhare or votes in making of laws for the government of the king'dom (*o*), nor had any communication in affairs of State, unleſs they were repreſented 'by the Tenents *in capite* [*D*].' Another point which he ſtrenuouſly maintains, and endeavours to ſupport with monſtrous heaps of quotations out of ancient Hiſtorians and Records, is, 'That William, Duke of Normandy, did by degrees, though not at firſt, 'make an abſolute conqueſt of the Engliſh nation *(p)*: That he altered the whole con'ſtitution, brought a new law, and impoſed it upon the people; and from him, and 'his Normans, we received our tenures, the manner of holding our eſtates in every 'reſpect, and the cuſtoms incident to thoſe eſtates. And farther, that he took away 'from the Engliſh their eſtates, and gave them to his Normans [*E*]; and this he did 'from

(g) Notitia Parliamentaria, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Lond. 1730, Vol. i. p. 180.

(h) Ibid.

(i) See the ſeveral Declarations, together with the ſeveral Depoſitions, &c. concerning the birth of the Prince of Wales; p. 37.

(k) J. Le Neve's Faſti, &c. p. 428.

(l) Hearne's Duct. Hiſtoric. Vol. i. 3d edit. Lond. 1714, p. 174.

(m) See the ancient Right of the Commons of England aſſerted, by Will. Petyt, Eſq; Lond. 1680: and Jus Anglorum ab antiquo: and Hiſt. of England, by Ja. Tyrrell, Eſq.

(n) Anſwer to W. Petyt's Rights of the Commons, &c. in the Introduction.

(o) *Ibid.*

(p) Anſwer to Argumentum Antinormannicum, in Introduct. to old Engl. Hiſt. p. 235.

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rials. It was in oppoſition to this Hiſtory, and in order to ſet things in a different light, that James Tyrrell, Eſq; wrote his General Hiſtory of England, in which he freely cenſures the Doctor's miſtakes. Beſides theſe three Volumes, Dr. Brady wrote 'A 'Treatiſe on Burghs,' in a thin folio.

[*D*] *Unleſs they were repreſented by the Tenents in capite.*] This is the ſubſtance of his Anſwer to Mr. Petyt's book, intitled, 'The ancient Right of the 'Commons aſſerted; or, a Diſcourſe proving by Re'cords and the beſt Hiſtorians, that the Commons of 'England were ever an eſſential Part of Parliament.' Lond. 1680, 8*vo.* and to Mr. Atwood's book, called '*Jani Anglorum Facies nova*; or ſeveral Monuments 'of Antiquity touching the great Council of the 'Kingdom. Lond. 1680, 8*vo.*' Mr. Atwood replied, in his '*Jus Anglorum ab antiquo*: or, a Con'futation of an impotent Libel againſt the Govern'ment by King, Lords, and Commons. Under 'pretence of anſwering Mr. Petyt, and the author of '*Jani Anglorum Facies nova.*' Lond. 1681, 8*vo.* But the Doctor's moſt conſiderable and powerful opponent was James Tyrrell, Eſq; who, in the general Introduction to his Hiſtory (1), and in the appendix to his third volume (2), hath endeavoured to prove, 'That the great Councils, or Parliaments, conſiſted, 'in the Saxon times, of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Ab'bots, Ealdormen, and the whole body of Thanes, 'or Freeholders, who were then all Gentlemen either 'by birth or eſtates (3);' and, after the Norman conqueſt, were compoſed of Archbiſhops, &c. as above, the Commons having there alſo their Repreſentatives (4). The whole controverſy turns upon this: Parliaments, in the ancienteſt times, conſiſted unqueſtionably of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, and Barons; and alſo of *other perſons*, which, in Records and Hiſtories, are ſtyled *Wiſe*, *Great*, *Chief*, *Noble*, &c. What perſons theſe were, is the queſtion. Brady ſays, it was only the Tenents *in capite* (5); and Tyrrell maintains, that they were the leſſer Barons, or conſiderable Freeholders, whoſe poſſeſſions were then very large; there being, in thoſe times, no ſuch little Freeholders as there are at preſent (6).

[*E*] *He took away from the Engliſh their eſtates, and gave them to his Normans*, &c.] This the Doctor aſſerted, and ſtrenuouſly maintained, in oppoſition to a book written by Mr. Cook, and entitled, '*Argumentum Anti-Normannicum*: or an Argument prov'ing, from ancient Hiſtories and Records, that Wil'liam, Duke of Normandy, made no abſolute Con'queſt of England by the Sword, in the Senſe of our 'modern Writers.' Lond. 1682, 8*vo.* Mr. Cook's opinion is warmly eſpouſed, and ſtrongly ſupported, by Mr. Tyrrell, in the Introduction to his ſecond volume of the Hiſtory of England, and in the reign of William I.—After all their diſputes, the caſe may be thus fairly and impartially repreſented. William I. came to conquer and dethrone Harold, and ſubdue his adherents. After Harold's death, he took into his protection all ſuch as would ſubmit to him; and, at his coronation, ſwore, that he would govern both his Engliſh and French ſubjects by the ſame equal law (7). Many of them rebelling afterwards againſt him, he deprived them of their eſtates, which he diſtributed amongſt his favourites. Now, that is no more than what is done every day in caſe of treaſon; though perhaps he might carry his revenge, and extend his prerogative, further than he ought to have done. M.

*** [In the piece above mentioned, intitled, *Argumentum Anti-Normannicum*, againſt which Dr. Brady wrote, the author, Mr. Cooke, in order to prove that William the Norman did not claim the crown by mere right of conqueſt, or take poſſeſſion of it as an abſolute prince, ſhews, that William, at his coronation, took an oath which was in ſenſe and ſubſtance the very ſame with that which the ancient Saxon kings uſed to take at their coronations; and by which alſo he ſwore, 'that he would govern both the Eng'liſh and French by the ſame equality of law (8).' He alſo makes it appear, that 'William the Firſt was 'ſo far from cancelling and aboliſhing King Edward's 'laws, that he made them to be the common ſtand'ing laws of the land, to be equally and inviolably 'obſerved, as well by the Normans as the Engliſh '(9):'—that 'the Engliſh, at leaſt thoſe who lived 'in peace before, and at his coming to the poſſeſſion 'of the Engliſh throne, did quietly and peaceably 'enjoy their inheritances; and their titles and claims 'to them from their Saxon anceſtors were held good 'and allowed (10):' and that 'there were general 'Councils, or Parliaments, in William the Firſt's 'time; that in theſe parliaments the Engliſh barons, 'as well as the French barons, were preſent; and 'that there likewiſe was, as an eſſential part thereof, 'the *Communitas Anglorum*, the community of Eng'liſhmen (11).'

Lord Lyttelton juſtly obſerves, that a 'diſtinction 'is to be made between the *government* of William 'the Firſt, which was very tyrannical, and the *con'ſtitution* eſtabliſhed under him in this kingdom, 'which was no abſolute monarchy, but an engraft'ment of the feudal tenures, and other cuſtoms of 'Normandy, upon the ancient Saxon laws of Edward 'the

(1) Vol. i. p. lxxxviii, &c.

(2) Page 1, &c.

(3) General Introduct. *ubi ſupra*, p. xciii. Bibliotheca Politica, Dialog. 6, 7, 8.

(4) *Ibid.* and Appendix to Vol. iii.

(5) Anſwer to Mr. Petyt, throughout.

(6) Biblioth. Politic. *ubi ſupra*. and Hiſt. in Gen. Pref. and Append.

(7) — Æquo jure Anglos, quo Francos, tractaret--W. Malmſb. de Geſtis Pontif. p. 271, edit. Francof. 1601.

(8) Argumentum Anti-Normannicum, p. 11—14.

(9) *Ibid.* p. 55.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 60.

(11) *Ibid.* p. 111.

' from his firſt coming in (*q*): ſo that all the Biſhops, Earls, and Barons of England, did hold their lands, earldoms, and baronies of the Crown, or of the King, as of his perſon, and that was *in capite* (*r*).' All this Brady aſſerted and maintained, with a view (as was thought) to enlarge the prerogative, to overthrow all pretences to an original compact, and all claims of rights and privileges enjoyed by our Saxon anceſtors (*s*); and to repreſent the Engliſh nation as a parcel of ſlaves, who depend for their eſtates and fortunes upon the King (*t*), and whoſe liberties and laws were the grants and conceſſions of our Kings (*u*); particularly, that the Commons right to ſend repreſentatives to Parliament was extorted by force from the crown, and in rebellious times; and conſequently that the whole might be repealed or reſumed.

⁂ [It is obſerved, by the learned Dr. Gilbert Stuart, that 'Mr. Hume, ſtruck with the talents of Dr. Brady, deceived by his ability, diſpoſed to pay adulation to government, or willing to profit by a ſyſtem formed with art, and ready for adoption, has executed his hiſtory upon the tenets of this writer. Yet, of Dr. Brady it ought to be remembered, that he was the ſlave of a faction, and that he meanly proſtituted an excellent underſtanding, and admirable quickneſs, to vindicate tyranny, and to deſtroy the rights of his nation (*w*).']

(*q*) Anſwer to Mr. Petyt's book, in the ſame Vol. p. 14.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 115.

(*s*) See Preface to the reader, in Vol. i. of Brady's Hiſt.

(*t*) General Preface at the beginning of Vol. i. of Brady's Hiſt. p. vi—xvii.

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. xxxiv. See Tyrrell's Preface to Biblioth. Polit. p 111. and Preface to Appendix in Vol. iii. of his Hiſt.

(*w*) View of Society in Europe, p. 327, 328.

' the Confeſſor. He more than once ſwore to maintain thoſe laws, and in the fourth year of his reign confirmed them in parliament: yet not without great alterations, to which the whole legiſlature agreed, by a more complete introduction of the ſtrict feudal law, as it was practiſed in Normandy; which produced a different political ſyſtem, and changed both power and property in many reſpects; though the firſt principles of that law, and general notions of it, had been in uſe among the Engliſh ſome ages before. But that the liberty of the ſubject was not ſo deſtroyed by theſe alterations, as ſome writers have ſuppoſed, plainly appears by the very ſtatutes that William enacted, in one of which we find an expreſs declaration, "That all the freemen in his kingdom ſhould hold and enjoy their lands and poſſeſſions free from all unjuſt exaction, and from all tallage; ſo that nothing ſhould be exacted or taken of them but their free ſervice, which they by right owed to the crown, and were bound to perform." It is farther ſaid, "That this was ordained and granted to them, as an hereditary right for ever, *by the Common Council of the kingdom*:" which very remarkable ſtatute is juſtly ſtyled by a learned author, Nathaniel Bacon, *the firſt Magna Charta of the Normans*. And it extended no leſs to the Engliſh than to the Normans. But it was ill obſerved by William, who frequently acted as if his will had been the only law to both nations. It muſt be alſo allowed, that by the interpoſition of many *meſne Lords* between the crown and the people, and by many offices of judicature and military command being rendered hereditary, which under the Saxons had been either elective, or granted for a ſhort term, the conſtitution became more ariſtocratical than before, more unequally balanced, and in ſome reſpects more oppreſſive to the inferior orders of freemen. Nor was the condition of the nobles themſelves to be envied. For there were certain burthens annexed to this ſyſtem of fiefs, which, as they naturally grew out of that policy, were impoſed on the higheſt vaſſals as well as on the loweſt, and were more grievous than any that the Saxons had borne under their conſtitution (12).'] T.

(12) Hiſt. of King Henry the Second, Vol i. p. 59, 60. edit. 8*vo*. 1769.

BRADY (NICOLAS), D. D. was the ſon of Major Nicolas Brady, an officer of the King's army in the rebellion of 1641, being lineally deſcended from Hugh Brady, the firſt Proteſtant Biſhop of Meath [*A*]. He was born at Bandon, in the county of Cork, on the twenty-eighth of October 1659, and educated in that county till he was twelve years of age, when he was removed to Weſtminſter ſchool, where he was choſen King's ſcholar, and from thence elected Student of Chriſt-Church, Oxford. After continuing there about four years, he went to Dublin, where his father reſided: at which univerſity he immediately commenced B. A. and the following year M. A (*a*). When he was of due ſtanding, his diploma for the degree of Doctor of Divinity was, upon account of his uncommon merit, preſented to him from that Univerſity while he was in England, and brought over by Dr. Pratt, then ſenior Travelling-Fellow, afterwards Provoſt of that College. His firſt preferment in the Church was to a Prebend, in the Cathedral of St. Barry's, in the city of Cork, and to the pariſh of Kinaglarchy, in the county of Cork; to which he was collated by Biſhop Wettenhall, to whom he was domeſtic Chaplain. He was a zealous promoter of the late happy Revolution, and an eminent ſufferer for it. In 1690, when the troubles broke out in Ireland, by his intereſt with King James's General, Mac Carty, he thrice prevented the burning of Bandon town, after three ſeveral orders given by that Prince to deſtroy it. The ſame year, having been deputed by the people of Bandon, he went over to England to petition the Parliament for a redreſs of ſome grievances they had ſuffered, while King James was in Ireland. During his ſtay there, and to the time of his death, he was in the higheſt eſteem among all ranks of perſons in that kingdom, for his eminent attachment to the true intereſt of his country. Having quitted his preferments in Ireland, he ſettled in London, where he became noted for his abilities in the pulpit, and, upon that account, was elected Miniſter of St. Catherine-Cree Church, and Lecturer of St. Michael's Wood-ſtreet. He afterwards became Miniſter of Richmond in Surry, and Stratford-upon-Avon in Warwickſhire, and at length Rector of Clapham, in the county

(*a*) Regiſt. Coll. Dub.

[*A*] *Firſt Proteſtant Biſhop of Meath.*] William Walſh, Biſhop of Meath, who was a Papiſt, was deprived in the year 1560 for preaching againſt the book of Common Prayer, then lately eſtabliſhed, and the Queen's ſupremacy. Hugh Brady was advanced (1) in his room, though not till the year 1563, the See being kept vacant, on account of the unſettled ſtate of religion at that time.

(1) Pat. Canc. Hib. 21 Octob. 5 Eliz.

above mentioned; which laſt, together with Richmond, he held to the time of his death. He was alſo Chaplain to the Duke of Ormond's troop of horſe guards, as he was to their Majeſties King William and Queen Mary, and afterwards to Queen Anne. He died on the twentieth of May 1726, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age; leaving behind him the character of being a perſon of a moſt obliging, ſweet, affable temper, a polite gentleman, an excellent preacher, and a good poet; of which he gave proofs in ſome pieces [*B*].

[*B*] *Gave proofs of his poetry in ſome pieces.*] Such of his poetical pieces as are publiſhed are (for what we know) only theſe. 1. *A new Verſion of the Pſalms of David*, which are in part his work, and in part Mr. Tate's, with whom he joined in this tranſlation ſoon after he had ſettled in London, and it is now ſung in moſt churches of England and Ireland, inſtead of that obſolete verſion made by Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins, in the reign of King Edward VI. —2. *The Æneids of Virgil*, which were publiſhed by ſubſcription in four volumes in 8*vo*, the laſt of which came out in 1726, a little time before the author's death.—He alſo publiſhed, in his lifetime, *Three Volumes of Sermons* in 8*vo*, each conſiſting of fourteen, all printed in London; the firſt in 1704, the ſecond in 1706, and the third in 1713. After the Doctor's death, his eldeſt ſon, who was lately a Clergyman at Tooting, Surry, publiſhed *three other volumes of his father's Sermons*, each alſo conſiſting of fourteen, printed London, 1730, 8*vo*. The firſt Sermon he publiſhed ſeparately, was preached at his church of St. Catherine-Cree, on the 26th of November, 1691, and printed, London, 1692, 4*to*. and a ſecond, which he preached at St. Bride's church, on Monday, November the 22d, 1697, being St. Cæcilia's day, intitled, *Church Muſic Vindicated*.—Printed, London, 1697, 4*to*. H——s.

⁂ [A ſhort manuſcript Life of Dr. Brady was ſome time ago put into our hands, by a grandſon of his, ſince dead *, from which we ſhall ſelect a few particulars, not mentioned in this article. The Doctor's father, Major Brady, was much eſteemed by all that knew him, for his ſenſe, honour, courage, and worth; and his mother (Martha), who was daughter of Luke Gernon, a Judge of ſingular meekneſs and probity, was a Lady of great beauty, virtue, and goodneſs. The ſchool at which he had the firſt rudiments of his grammatical learning, in Ireland, was at St. Fin-Berry's, in the county of Cork, under the care of a Dr. Tindall; and when he was placed at Weſtminſter ſchool, Dr. Buſby, upon examining him, deſired his father to tell Dr. Tindall, that *he* ſaid 'he was an honeſt man.' Dr. Buſby had always a particular regard for young Brady, who was elected King's Scholar at Weſtminſter, and from thence to Chriſt-Church, both times as the firſt and captain among all the candidates. On the 29th of June, 1690, he married Lætitia, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Synge, Archdeacon of Cork, and a near relation of the Biſhops of that name. By this Lady he had four ſons and four daughters. He was invited to the living of Richmond by the gentlemen of that place, in conſequence of a high eſteem they had conceived for him during a retreat which he had made thither, while he was tranſlating the Pſalms. The vicarage of Stratford-upon-Avon was preſented to him by the great Earl of Dorſet; and the rectory of Clapham by Dame Rebekah Atkins, relict of Sir Richard Atkins, Bart. The whole of his preferments, which were in very pleaſant and eligible ſituations, amounted to ſix hundred pounds a year. His qualifications would undoubtedly have raiſed him, it is ſaid, to ſome of the greateſt dignities in the church, if the ſingular humanity and benevolence of his diſpoſition would have ſuffered him to have run in with the violence of either prevailing party, or had he not ſettled in a country where he was regarded as a foreigner: beſides which, his public ſpirit rendered him careleſs of his private intereſt and fortune. We are told that, as a poet, Dr. Brady diſcovered a ſurpriſingly early genius; for that, ſome years before his entrance at Weſtminſter ſchool, he delivered extemporary compoſitions, of which he need never have been aſhamed. The ſame authority aſſures us, that his tranſlation of the Æneid will be a laſting monument of his ſkill in poetry. It muſt, however, be now allowed, that his reputation as a poet is not very great. His tranſlation of the Æneid hath never fallen into our hands: nor do we recollect that any notice hath been taken of it in the numerous criticiſms which have been publiſhed on the tranſlators of Virgil. It hath certainly ſunk into oblivion, if not into contempt.] K.

* William Brady, Eſq; of Sydenham, Kent.

BRAMHALL (JOHN), Archbiſhop of Armagh in the ſeventeenth century, was born at Pontefract in Yorkſhire, about the year 1593, being deſcended from an ancient and genteel family (*a*) [*A*]. He received his firſt education in the place of his birth; and when he was qualified for the Univerſity, was ſent to Sidney-College in Cambridge, where he was admitted February the twenty-firſt, 1608 (*b*), and put under the care of Mr. Hulet (*c*) [*B*]. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the year 1612, and that of Maſter in 1616 (*d*). After taking the latter, he quitted the Univerſity, and entering into Holy Orders, had a living given him in the city of York (*e*). He was, likewiſe, preſented to the Rectory of Elvington, or Eterington, in Yorkſhire, by Mr. Wandesford, afterwards Maſter of the Rolls, and ſome time Lord Deputy of Ireland. About the ſame time he married a clergyman's widow, of the Hally's family, an agreeable woman, and of a good fortune, with whom he had a valuable library, left by her former huſband; by which he was ſo wedded to his ſtudies, that all the temptations of a new-married life could not divorce him from them, or give any intermiſſion to his duty of conſtant preaching. This he performed with ſo much aſſiduity, prudence, and gravity, that he became as eminent in the Church, as before in the Univerſity, and greatly beloved by all degrees of men (*f*). In the year 1623, he had two public diſputations at North-Allerton, with a ſecular Prieſt and a Jeſuit [*C*], which gained

(*a*) The Life of John Lord Archbiſhop of Ardmagh, prefixed to his Works, edit. 1677, fol. by John, Biſhop of Lymerick, p. 2. It is not paged.

(*b*) From Dr. Sherman's *Tabulæ Sidneianæ*.

(*c*) Sir James Ware's Works, edit. 1739, under the Life of our Primate.

(*d*) From the Grace book of Sidney-college.

(*e*) Life, &c. as above.

(*f*) Life, p. 2, 3.

[*A*] *Being deſcended from an ancient and genteel family.*] Namely from the Bramhalls, of Bramhall-Hall in Cheſhire, related by intermarriage to the Kereſfords, of Keresford in Yorkſhire, a houſe that has flouriſhed in a direct line from the time of King Henry II (1).

[*B*] *And put under the care of Mr. Hulet.*] The Right Rev. author of his life, Biſhop Veſey, informs us, That 'he became there maſter of the arts and ſciences before he had the degree; all his acts and exerciſes being ſtill performed with that eaſineſs and ſmoothneſs which argues clean ſtrength and ſufficiency (2).'

[*C*] *He had two public diſputations at North-Allerton, with a ſecular Prieſt and a Jeſuit.*] Theſe two Papiſts (3) had ſent a public defiance to all the Proteſtant Clergy in that country (at a time when the match between Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain was in agitation, and they expected from thence great advantages and countenance to their own religion),

(1) Life, &c. as above, p. 2.

(2) Life, &c. as above, p. 2.

(3) Hungate, a Jeſuit; and Houghton, a Secular Prieſt. See Archbiſhop Bramhall's Works, p. 624.

gained him great reputation, and ſo recommended him in particular to the Archbiſhop of York's (g) eſteem, that he made him his Chaplain, and took him into his confidence. During the life of the Archbiſhop, he was made Prebendary of York [D], and after of Rippon; at which laſt place he went and reſided after the Archbiſhop's death (which happened in 1628), and conducted moſt of the concernments of that church in the quality of Sub-Dean. Here he preached conſtantly for ſeveral years, and became ſo eminent, not only for his abilities in the pulpit, but alſo for his knowledge in the laws, that he was frequently choſen arbitrator between contending parties; and by that, and his good behaviour in all other reſpects, he obtained ſo much honour and intereſt, that there was ſcarcely any public tranſaction over which he had not a conſiderable influence; even in the elections for Members of Parliament, ſuch as he named at Rippon, and other corporations, carrying the vote and favour of the people. He was alſo appointed one of his Majeſty's High Commiſſioners; in which office he was very curious in the diſquiſition of all cauſes, and by ſome was accounted ſevere: but, however rough his ſpeech might ſometimes be, his dealings were generally ſmooth and gentle (h). In the year 1623 he took the degree of Bachelor, and in 1630 that of Doctor in Divinity (i) [E]. Soon after, he was invited to Ireland by the Lord Viſcount Wentworth, Deputy of that kingdom, and Sir Chriſtopher Wandesford, Maſter of the Rolls; and he accepted of their invitation, though he had a proſpect of being promoted in his native country, and was offered to be made one of the King's Chaplains in Ordinary. Having therefore reſigned all his Church preferments in England, he went over into Ireland in the year 1633; and, a little while after, obtained the Archdeaconry of Meath, the beſt in that kingdom. The firſt public ſervice he was employed in, was a regal viſitation, in which he was either one of the King's Commiſſioners with Baron Hilton Judge of the Prerogative, or ſuch a co-adjutor that all was governed by his directions. In this viſitation he found the revenues of the Church miſerably waſted, the diſcipline ſcandalouſly deſpiſed, and the Miniſters but meanly provided. The biſhoprics, in particular, were wretchedly dilapidated by fee-farms, and long leaſes and ſmall rents [F]. But he applied, in proceſs of time, proper remedies to theſe ſeveral evils. He likewiſe endeavoured to deſtroy ſome opinions of general credit, that he judged very prejudicial to a good life [G]; which yet were reverenced almoſt like articles of faith (k). In the year 1634,

(g) Toby Matthews.

(h) Life, &c. p. 4, 5.

(i) From the Grace book of Sidney college, as above.

(k) Life, &c. p. 7, 8, 9.

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gion), and when none durſt accept the challenge, our author undertook the combat. Though he was then but about thirty years of age, and a ſtripling in the ſchool of controverſy, yet he managed the diſpute ſo well, that his antagoniſts, and their whole party, had reaſon to repent of the inſolence of their adventure. One of the ſubjects of the diſputation was the article of Tranſubſtantiation, from whence they eaſily ſliding into that other of the Half-Communion, he ſhamefully baffled their doctrine of Concomitancy, and drove the diſputant up to ſo narrow a corner, that he affirmed that eating was drinking, and drinking was eating in a material or bodily ſenſe. Mr. Bramhall looked on this as ſo elegant a ſoleciſm, that he needed no greater trophy, if he could get under his hand, what he had declared with his tongue, which being deſired, was by the other, in his heat, and ſhame to ſeem to retreat, as readily granted. But upon cooler thoughts, finding perhaps, after the heat of the conteſt was over, that he could not quench his thirſt with a piece of bread, he reflected ſo ſadly on the diſhonour he had ſuffered, that, not being able to digeſt it, in ten days he died. Archbiſhop Matthews hearing of this diſputation, ſent for Mr. Bramhall, and at firſt rebuked him for his hardineſs in undertaking a diſputation ſo publicly without allowance; but ſoon forgave him (4).

[D] *During the life of the Archbiſhop he was made Prebendary of York.*] So we are aſſured by the Right Rev. author of his Life (5). But, according to Brown Willis, Eſq; (6) he was not made Prebendary of York till the thirteenth of June, 1633, five years after the death of Archbiſhop Matthews; ſo that one of theſe two authors muſt be miſtaken. The Prebend he had, was that of Huſtwaith, in the Church of York.

[E] *He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity.*] The theſis he diſputed upon, on that occaſion, was this: *Pontifex Romanus eſt cauſa vel procreans vel conſervans, omnium vel ſaltem præcipuarum controverſiarum in orbe Chriſtiano*, i. e. 'The Pope is the author, or maintainer, of all, or at leaſt of the chief, controverſies in the Chriſtian world.' And in all his exerciſes, then, he made it appear that he had not loſt his time in the country, nor evaporated all in pulpit-diſcourſes, but that he had furniſhed himſelf with very ſubſtantial learning (7).

[F] *The biſhoprics were dilapidated by fee-farms, and long leaſes and ſmall rents.*] Theſe had been granted, partly by the Popiſh biſhops, who reſolved to carry as much with them as they could, and partly by their Proteſtant ſucceſſors, who might fear another turn, and were, having their example, diſpoſed enough to make uſe of the ſame arts. By ſuch means on the one ſide and the other, many biſhoprics were made extremely ſmall; ſome reduced to one hundred pounds *per annum*; ſome to fifty, as Waterford, Kilfenoragh, &c. Some to five marks, as Kilmacduagh; and particularly Cloyne, the Biſhop whereof was called *Epiſcopus quinque marcarum*, the five marks Biſhop. Aghadoe was only one pound one ſhilling and eight pence; and Ardfert but ſixty pounds. Lymerick had above five parts in ſix made away by fee-farms, or encroached on by undertakers. The like was done in Caſhel, Emly, Waterford, Liſmore, and Killaloe.—In ſome dioceſes, as in Ferns and Leighlin, there was ſcarcely a living left that was not farmed out to the patron, or to ſome for his uſe, at two, three, four, or five pounds *per annum*, for a long time, three lives, or a hundred years (8).

[G] *He likewiſe endeavoured to deſtroy ſome opinions of general credit, that he judged very prejudicial to a good life.*] He was very deſirous to abate of their value, and to reduce them to what they ought only to paſs for, ſchool-opinions, that ſo men might have the liberty of their private reaſons. He could not endure to ſee ſome perſons enſlave their judgment to a perſon or a party, that cry up nothing more than Chriſtian liberty. He thought that liberty was much confined, by being chained to any man's chair, as if all he uttered were oracles, and to be made the ſtandard and teſt of orthodoxy: That the Chriſtian faith and liberty are then moſt in danger, when ſo many things are crouded into confeſſions, that what ſhould be practical, becomes purely a ſcience, of a rule of life a uſeleſs ſpeculation, of a thing eaſy to be underſtood, a thing hard to be remembered: That it was the intereſt of the Proteſtant Church to widen her bottom, and make her articles as charitable and comprehenſive as ſhe could, that thoſe nicer accuracies that divide the greateſt wits in the world, might not be made the characteriſtics of reformation, and give occaſion to one party to excommunicate and cenſure another. Thus he ſaw the Church of England conſti-
tuted;

(4) Life, &c. as above, p. 3.

(5) As above, p. 4.

(6) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. edit. 1727, 4to, Vol. i. p. 145.

(7) Life, &c. as above, p. 5.

(8) Life, &c. as above, p. 7, 8. 25.

1634, he was promoted to the biſhopric of Londonderry, and conſecrated the ſixteenth of May, in the chapel of the caſtle of Dublin *(l)*. While he enjoyed this See, he very much improved it, not only in advancing the rents, but alſo in recovering lands (*m*) detained from his predeceſſors; by which means he doubled the yearly profits of that biſhopric (*n*). But the greateſt ſervice he did the Church of Ireland, was, by getting, with the Lord Deputy's aſſiſtance, ſeveral Acts paſſed, in the Parliament which met in that kingdom, July 14, 1634 [*H*]. In purſuance of theſe acts, he aboliſhed the fee-farms that were charged on church lands, and obtained compoſitions for the rent, inſtead of the ſmall reſerved rents. He, likewiſe, was very inſtrumental in getting ſuch impropriations as remained in the Crown, veſted by King Charles I. on the ſeveral incumbents, after the expiration of the leaſes. Some he recovered by law, and perſuaded many perſons poſſeſſed of tithes to reſtore them, or ſufficiently to endow the vicarages, or to grant a proper ſalary at leaſt to the Curates. Moreover, he himſelf purchaſed abundance of impropriations, either with his own money, or by large remittances from England; by money given by his Majeſty to pious uſes; by borrowing large ſums, and ſecuring them out of the iſſues of the impropriations he bought; by voluntary contributions; and by a ſhare of the goods of perſons dying inteſtate. By theſe, and other means, he regained to the Church, in the ſpace of four years, thirty or forty thouſand pounds a year (*o*). In the Convocation that met at the ſame time, he prevailed upon the Church of Ireland to be united in the ſame faith with the Church of England [*I*], by embracing the XXXIX Articles of Religion agreed upon in the Convocation holden at London in the year 1562. He would fain alſo have got the Engliſh Canons eſtabliſhed in Ireland: but, notwithſtanding his utmoſt endeavours, he could obtain no more than that ſuch of our Canons as were fit to be tranſplanted among the Iriſh ſhould be removed thither, and others new framed, and added to them. Accordingly, a book of Canons was compiled, chiefly by our Biſhop, and having paſſed in Convocation, received the Royal confirmation. For all theſe ſervices, he met, from ſeveral quarters, with a great deal of detraction and envy; and, according to the faſhion of thoſe times, was charged with Arminianiſm and Popery: but he was not of a ſpirit to be terrified from what he thought his duty with noiſe and ill words *(p)*. Having thus, for a conſiderable time, laboured for the good of others, he thought it time to make ſome proviſion for his own family. In order to it, he took a journey to England in 1637, and was received with much reſpect by perſons of the higheſt quality, particularly in his native county. But when he came to London, he was ſurpriſed with the news of an information exhibited againſt him in the Star-Chamber [*K*], of which, however,

(l) Sir James Ware, *ubi ſupra.*

(m) A Term in Colahy, &c.

(n) Life, &c. as above, p. 10, 11.

(o) *Ibid.* p. 14, 15, 16.

(p) Life, &c. as above, p. 17, 18, 19, 20. *Never fear when the Cauſe is juſt,* was one of his uſual ſayings. *Ibid.* p. 20.

tuted; both Calviniſts and Arminians ſubſcribing the ſame propoſitions, and walking to the houſe of God as friends (9).

[*H*] *Several acts paſſed in the Parliament which met in that kingdom, July the* 14*th*, 1634.] The firſt was, 'A ſtatute for the maintenance and execution of pious 'uſes, obliging all Archbiſhops and Biſhops to per'form every ſuch truſt, according to the true intent 'of the deeds in that behalf made, or to be made '(10).' The next was, 'A ſtatute for confirmation 'of leaſes made by the Lord Primate, and other Bi'ſhops of Ulſter, of ſuch endowments as had been 'made by King James to the Archbiſhopric of Ar'magh, the Biſhoprics of Derry, Clogher, Raphoe, 'and Killmore, giving them power, any time within 'five years, to make leaſes for ſixty years of ſuch 'lands (11).' By this ſtatute, the Church was enabled, on the ſurrender of titles to fee-farms, and ſome improvement of rent, to make leaſes, as above, for ſixty years; by which means ſhe was in many places bettered at preſent, and had a hopeful proſpect of recovering her full right at laſt. But the beſt defence of the Iriſh Church, was the ſtatute entitled, 'An Act for the preſervation of the inheritance, 'rights, and profits of lands belonging to the Church, 'and perſons eccleſiaſtical (12).' This limited them to time and rent, preſcribed what they might ſet, and for what, and how long, and is the ſecurity of ſucceſſion.—Care alſo was taken of the inferior clergy, in another act, which enableth reſtitution 'of impro'priations and tithes, and other rights eccleſiaſtical, 'to the clergy, with a reſtraint of aliening the 'ſame, and directions for the preſentations to 'churches (13).'

[*I*] *In the Convocation that met at the ſame time, he prevailed upon the Church of Ireland to be united in the ſame faith with the Church of England.*] The faith of both was the ſame in the main, only with this difference, that the Iriſh articles were more rigid and Calviniſtical. Of this no better reaſon can be given, than that the firſt reformers in Ireland, on account of the great number of Papiſts in that kingdom, endeavoured to guard againſt them as much as poſſible. Therefore, like burnt children, which ſo much dread the fire that they think they can never be far enough from their fear, they became very dogmatical in ſome propoſitions (moſt oppoſite, as they conceived, to the Church of Rome), left undetermined by the Church of England. Now Biſhop Bramhall laboured, in the Convocation, to have the correſpondence more accurate and entire; and diſcourſed with great moderation and ſobriety, of the convenience of having the articles of peace and communion in every national Church worded in that latitude, that diſſenting perſons, in thoſe things that concerned not the Chriſtian faith, might ſubſcribe, and the Church not loſe the benefit of their labours, for an opinion which perhaps they could not help; that it were to be wiſhed ſuch articles might be contrived for the whole Chriſtian world, but eſpecially that the Proteſtant Churches under the King's dominion might all ſpeak the ſame language; and particularly, that thoſe of England and Ireland being reformed by the ſame principle and rule of ſcripture, might confeſs their faith in the ſame form. Perſuaded by theſe arguments, the Convocation drew up a canon, which is as follows: 'For the 'manifeſtation of our agreement with the Church of 'England in the confeſſion of the ſame Chriſtian 'faith, and the doctrine of the ſacraments, we do re'ceive and approve the book of articles of religion 'agreed upon by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and 'the whole Clergy in the Convocation, holden at 'London in the year 1562, &c. And therefore if 'any hereafter ſhall affirm, that any of thoſe articles 'are in any part ſuperſtitious or erroneous, or ſuch 'as he may not with a good conſcience ſubſcribe 'unto, let him be excommunicated, and not abſolved 'before he make public revocation of his error (14).'

[*K*] *An information exhibited againſt him in the Star-Chamber.*] The charge was, 'That he was pre'ſent at Rippon when one Mr. Palmes had made 'ſome reflecting diſcourſe upon his Majeſty, and that 'his Lordſhip had taken no notice of it, either to re'prove him or inform againſt him.' The words deſerved

(9) Life, &c. as above, p. 9.

(10) Sir Richard Bolton's Statutes of Ireland, Seſſ. 3. c. 1. fol. 50.

(11) *Ibid.* c. 5. fol. 56.

(12) Seſſ. 4. c. 3. fol. 78.

(13) *Ibid.* c. 2. fol. 75. In purſuance of, and by the benefit of theſe Acts, the Rents of the See of Ardmagh in particular were improved 735 *l.* 4 *s.* 4 *d.* yearly, more than uſual. Life, &c. as above, p. 13.

(14) Life, &c. p. 17, 18.

ever, he ſoon cleared himſelf. After having received much honour from King Charles I. and many civilities from Archbiſhop Laud, and other great perſons, he returned to Ireland; and with ſix thouſand pounds, for which he ſold his eſtate in England (but brought over at ſeveral times), he purchaſed another of good value, and began a plantation at Omagh, in the county of Tyrone. But the diſtractions in that kingdom hindered him from bringing it to perfection (*q*); for he was not without his ſhare in the troubles that brought Ireland to the brink of deſtruction. On the fourth of March 1640-41, articles of high-treaſon againſt him, and ſeveral of the Prime Miniſters of State (*r*), were exhibited by the Houſe of Commons to the Houſe of Lords in Ireland; wherein they were charged with having conſpired together to ſubvert the fundamental laws and government of that kingdom, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government; to have pronounced many falſe, unjuſt, and erroneous judgments, againſt law, which had occaſioned divers ſeditions and rebellions; and to have laboured to ſubvert the rights of Parliament, and the ancient courſe of parliamentary proceedings (*s*). The Biſhop was then at Londonderry, when he received intelligence of this accuſation, on the ſixth of March. All his friends wrote to him to decline the trial, but he thought it diſhonourable to fly. On the contrary, he repaired to Dublin, and ſhewed himſelf the next day in the Parliament-houſe, where his enemies ſtood ſtaring upon him for a while, and then made him a cloſe priſoner. But though all perſons were encouraged to contribute to his ruin, they found little to object, but his endeavours to retrieve the ancient patrimony of the Church. Notwithſtanding they examined all his actions with ſeverity, they could not fix the leaſt tincture of private advantage on him; none of his relations, family, or friends, being one farthing the richer for any thing he had recovered to the Church. Not being able, therefore, to make any thing good on that head, they accuſed him of having attempted to ſubvert the fundamental laws. In this diſtreſs he wrote to the Primate Uſher, then in England, for his advice and comfort [*L*]; who mediated ſo effectually in his behalf with the King, that his Majeſty ſent a letter over to Ireland, to ſtop proceedings againſt Biſhop Bramhall. But this letter was very ſlowly obeyed: however, the Biſhop was at length reſtored to liberty, but without any public acquittal, the charge lying ſtill dormant againſt him, to be awakened when his enemies pleaſed (*t*). Shortly after his return to Londonderry, Sir Phelim O'Neil contrived his ruin in the following manner: He directed a letter to him, wherein he deſired, ‘ that, ‘ according to their articles, ſuch a gate of the city ſhould be delivered to him,’ expecting that the Scots in the place would, upon the diſcovery, become his executioners. But the perſon who was to manage the matter, ran away with the letter. Though this deſign took no place, the Biſhop found no ſafety there. The city daily filling with diſcontented perſons out of Scotland, he began to grow afraid they would deliver him up. One night they turned a cannon againſt his houſe to affront him; upon which, being perſuaded by his friends to look on that as a warning, he took their advice, and privately embarked for England. He went into Yorkſhire, where, by his example, his frequent exhortations from the pulpit, his inceſſant labours with the gentry, and his prudent advices to the Marquis of Newcaſtle, he put great life into the King's affairs. Moreover, he ſent a conſiderable preſent of plate to his Majeſty at Nottingham, and compoſed ſome things in favour of the Royal cauſe, of which we ſhall give an account below (*u*). Thus he continued active all the time of his being in England; that is, till the unfortunate battle of Marſton-moor: but, after that, the King's affairs being grown entirely deſperate, the Biſhop embarked with ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, and

(*q*) Life, &c. as above, p. 21, 22.

(*r*) *Viz.* Sir Rich. Bolton, Knt. Lord Chancellor of Ireland; Sir Gerard Lowther, Knt. Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas; and Sir George Radcliffe, Knt.

(*s*) See the Articles at length, printed in 1641, 4to.

(*t*) Life, &c. as above, p. 24, 25, 26.

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 26, 27. See below, note [*U*]. It was then he wrote *Fair Warning, Serpent-Salve*, &c.

ſerved no very capital puniſhment, if they had been true, being no more than, ‘ That he feared a Scottiſh miſt was come over their town;’ becauſe the King had altered his lodgings from Rippon, where he had deſigned them, to one Sir Richard Graham's houſe, not far from that place: But the Biſhop eaſily cleared the whole company (15).

(15) Life, &c. p. 22.

[*L*] *In this diſtreſs he wrote to the Primate Uſher, then in England, for his advice and comfort.*] Part of his letter to him was as follows: ‘ It would have ‘ been a great comfort and contentment to me, to ‘ have received a few lines of counſell or comfort in ‘ this my great affliction which has befallen me for ‘ my zeal to the ſervice of his Majeſtie, and the good ‘ of this Church, in being a poor inſtrument to reſtore ‘ the uſurped advowzons and appropriations to the ‘ Crown, and to encreaſe the revenue of the Church, ‘ in a fair juſt way, alwaies with the conſent of parties, which did ever uſe to take away errors: but ‘ now it is ſaid, to be obtained by threatning and ‘ force. What force did I ever uſe to any? What ‘ one man ever ſuffered for not conſenting? my force ‘ was only force of reaſon and law. The ſcale muſt ‘ needs yield when weight is put into it. And your ‘ Grace knows to what paſs many Biſhoprics were ‘ brought, &c. (See above, note [*F*]) how the ‘ Chantries of Ardee, Dondalk, &c. were employed ‘ to maintaine Prieſts and Fryers, which are now the ‘ chief maintenance of the incumbents. In all this, ‘ my part was only labour and expence; but I find ‘ that loſſes make deeper impreſſion than benefits. I ‘ cannot ſtop men's mouths, but I challenge the world ‘ for one farthing I ever got either by references or ‘ Church-preferments. I fly to your Grace as an anchor at this time, when my friends cannot help me. ‘ God knows how I have exulted at night, that day I ‘ had gained any conſiderable revenue to the Church, ‘ little dreaming that in future times that act ſhould ‘ be queſtioned as treaſonable. I never took the oath ‘ of Judge or Counſellor, yet do I not know wherein ‘ I ever in all thoſe paſſages deviated from the rule of ‘ Juſtice, &c.’—This letter is dated April 26, 1641.

Archbiſhop Uſher, in his anſwer, has theſe words: ‘ I aſſure you, my care never ſlackened in ſoliciting ‘ your cauſe at Court, with as great vigilancy as if it ‘ did touch mine own proper perſon. I never intermitted any occaſion of mediating with his Majeſtie ‘ in your behalf, who ſtill pittyed your caſe, acknowledged the faithfulneſs of your ſervices both to the ‘ Church and to him, avowed that you were no more ‘ guilty of treaſon than himſelf, and aſſured me that ‘ he would do for you all that lay in his power, &c. ‘ (16).’

(16) Life, as above, p. 25.

landed at Hamburgh, July 8, 1644 (*w*) [*M*]. Thence he went to Bruſſels, where he continued for the moſt part till the year 1648, with Sir Henry De Vic, the King's Reſident, preaching conſtantly every Sunday, and frequently adminiſtering the ſacrament. The Engliſh merchants of Antwerp, ten leagues thence, uſed to be monthly of his audience and communion, and were his beſt benefactors. In the year 1648 he returned into Ireland; and after having undergone ſeveral dangers and difficulties [*N*], narrowly eſcaped thence in a little bark [*O*]. On his arrival in foreign parts, Providence ſupplied him with a conſiderable ſum of money, of which he greatly ſtood in need (*x*); for having had ſeven hundred pounds long due to him, for ſalmon caught in the river Bann (*y*), and ſent abroad, which debt he looked upon as loſt, he was now ſo fortunate as to recover it, which proved a ſeaſonable relief both to him and to many Royaliſts that partook of his generoſity. During this ſecond time of his being abroad, he had many diſputes about religion with the learned of all nations, ſometimes occaſionally, and at other times by appointment and formal challenge; and wrote ſeveral things in defence of the Church of England (*z*). He, likewiſe, purpoſed to draw a parallel between the liturgy of the Church of England, and the public forms of the Proteſtant Churches; and for that end deſigned a journey into Spain; but he met with an unexpected diverſion in his firſt day's journey into that kingdom (*a*) [*P*]. At the ſame time, there was a great friendſhip and correſpondence between him and the Marquis of Montroſe, whoſe cauſe he often recommended to the favour and juſtice of foreign Princes (*b*). Upon the reſtoration of the Church and Monarchy, Biſhop Bramhall returned to England (*c*); and was, from the firſt, deſigned for ſome higher promotion. Moſt people imagined it would be the archbiſhopric of York; but at laſt he was appointed Archbiſhop of Armagh, Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland (*d*) [*Q*], to which he was tranſlated the eighteenth of January 1660-61 (*e*). Not long after, he conſecrated, in one day, Dr. Margetſon, Archbiſhop of Dublin; Dr. Pullen, of Tuam; and the following ten Biſhops, Dr. Boyle, Biſhop of Cork; Dr. Parker, of Elfin; Dr. Jeremy Taylor, of Down; Syng, of Lymerick; Price, of Leighlin; Baker, of Waterford; Wild, of Derry; Leſly, of Dromore; Worth, of Killalow; and Hall, of Killala. The ceremony was performed in the cathedral church of St. Patrick, Dublin, the Lords Juſtices and Council attending (*f*). In this ſame year he viſited his dioceſe, where he found great diſorder; ſome having committed horrible outrages, and many imbibed very ſtrong prejudices, both againſt his perſon and the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church: but by lenity and reproof, by argument, perſuaſion, and long-ſuffering, he gained upon them even beyond his own expectation. He uſed to ſay, men muſt have ſome time to return to their wits, that had been ſo long out of them: therefore, by his prudence and moderation he greatly ſoftened the ſpirit of oppoſition, and effectually obtained the point he aimed at (*g*) [*R*]. As he was, by his place, Preſident of the Convocation

[*M*] *And landed at Hamburgh, July* 8, 1644.] Shortly after, at the treaty of Uxbridge, the Parliaments of England and Scotland made this one of their preliminary demands, That Biſhop Bramhall, together with Archbiſhop Laud, &c. ſhould be excepted out of the general pardon. This was accordingly done, in an ordinance of indemnity paſſed by the Rump-Parliament in 1652 (†).

[*N*] *And after having undergone ſeveral dangers and difficulties.*] All the while he was there, he had his life continually in his hand; being in perils by Iriſh, in perils by his own countrymen, and in perils by falſe brethren. At Lymerick, the Earl of Roſcommon had ſuch a fall coming down a pair of ſtairs, that he lived only ſo long to declare his faith (at Biſhop Bramhall's inſtance) as it is profeſſed in the Church of England: which gave ſuch offence to the Romaniſts there, who would have reported he died a Papiſt, if he had not ſpoken at all, that they threatened the Biſhop's death, if he did not ſuddenly depart the town. At Portumnagh, indeed, he and ſuch as went with him enjoyed afterwards more freedom under the Marquis of Clanrickard's protection, and an allowance of the Church-ſervice: but, at the revolt of Cork, he had a very narrow deliverance, which Cromwell was ſo troubled at, that he declared he would have given a good ſum of money for that *Iriſh Canterbury* (17).

[*O*] *Narrowly eſcaped thence in a little bark.*] This eſcape of his is accounted very wonderful: for, the little bark he was in was cloſely hunted by two of the Parliament-frigates, many of which were on that coaſt; and when they were come ſo near, that all hopes of being ſaved were taken away, on a ſudden the wind ſlackened into a perfect calm, and as it were flew into the ſails of the little veſſel, and carried her away in view (18).

[*P*] *But he met with an unexpected diverſion in his firſt day's journey into that kingdom.*] For he no ſooner came into the houſe where he intended to refreſh himſelf, but he was known and called by his name by the hoſteſs. And his Lordſhip admiring at his being diſcovered, ſhe ſoon revealed the ſecret, and ſhewed him his own picture, and aſſured him there were ſeveral of them upon the road; that being known by them, he might be ſeized and carried to the Inquiſition; and that her huſband, among others, had power to that purpoſe, which he would certainly make uſe of if he found him. The Biſhop ſaw evidently he was a condemned man, being already hanged in *effigie*, and therefore made uſe of the advertiſement, and eſcaped out of the power of that Court (19).

[*Q*] *Archbiſhop of Armagh, Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland.*] The author of his Life obſerves (20), That 'no man could be more acceptable to the 'Clergy there, becauſe none ſo fit to repair the 'breaches of the Church, by knowing to what part 'every ſtone and every piece of timber belonged, as 'this ſkilful architect; who, by aſſigning the proper 'place for every thing, had the ſatisfaction to ſee the 'building riſe ſuddenly out of its aſhes, without the 'noiſe of hammer, or any contradiction; the authority of his perſon and of his judgment ſilenced all 'the oppoſition which one of leſs veneration might 'poſſibly have met with. All men's expectations 'were fixed on him; and many of the prime Nobility and Clergy in England, particularly the Queen 'of Bohemia, congratulated the Church's happineſs 'in his promotion.'

[*R*] *And effectually obtained the point he aimed at.*] We have one inſtance of his prudence, in turning the edge of the moſt popular objection of that time againſt Conformity. When the benefices were called over at the viſitation, ſeveral appeared, and exhibited only ſuch titles as they had received from the late powers. He told them, 'they were no legal titles, but in re'gard

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(*w*) Hiſtorical Collections, &c. by J. Ruſhworth, Vol. v. edit. 1721, p. 637.

(*x*) Life, &c. p. 27, 28.

(*y*) Where there is a fine ſalmon fiſhery belonging to the Biſhop of Londonderry. The Biſhop had alſo ſome relief from the Lord Scudamore. See View of the Churches of Door, &c. Lond. 1727, 4to, by Mr. Gibſon, p. 110.

(*z*) See below, note [*U*]; and Life, p. 29, &c.

(*a*) Life, &c. p. 33; and Works, p. 511.

(*b*) Life, p. 29.

(*c*) In October 1660. Public Intelligence, 4to.

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 34.

(*e*) Sir James Ware's Works, as above.

(*f*) Ware's Works, in the Lives of thoſe reſpective Prelates; and Life, as above, p. 35.

(*g*) Life, &c. as above, p. 35, 36.

(†) Dugdale's View, &c. p. 741.

(17) Life, as above, p. 27, 28.

(18) *Ibid.* p. 28.

(19) Life, as above, p. 33.

(20) Page 34.

tion which met the eighth of May 1661, ſo was he alſo, for his merit, choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, in the Parliament which met at the ſame time [*S*]. And ſo great a value had both Houſes for him, that they appointed Committees to examine what was upon record in their books concerning him and the Earl of Strafford, and ordered the charges againſt them to be torn out, which was accordingly done. In this Parliament many advantages were procured, and more deſigned, for the Church, in which Archbiſhop Bramhall was very induſtrious. Several of the Biſhops obtained their augmentations through his interceſſion; as likewiſe the inferior clergy the forfeited impropriate tithes; and the whole Church all the advantageous clauſes in the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. There were two bills, for the paſſing of which he took great pains, but was defeated in both: one was, for making the tithing-table of Ulſter the rule for the whole kingdom; the other, for enabling the Biſhops to make leaſes for ſixty years (*h*). About this time he had a violent ſickneſs, being the ſecond fit of a palſey, which was very near putting an end to his life, but he recovered. Before his death, he was intent upon a Royal viſitation, in order to the correction of ſome diſorders he had obſerved, and the better ſettlement of Miniſters upon their cures, by a more convenient diſtribution or union of pariſhes, and the building of churches (*i*): but he could not put this, and ſome other deſigns he had formed, in execution. A little before his death he viſited his dioceſe, and having provided for the repair of his cathedral, and other affairs ſuitable to his paſtoral office, he returned to Dublin about the middle of May 1663. The latter end of the month following, he was ſeized with the third fit of the palſey [*T*], which quickly put an end to his life. By his wife, mentioned above, he had four children, a ſon and three daughters. The ſon, Sir Thomas Bramhall, Bart. married the daughter of Sir Paul Davys, Knt. Clerk of the Council, and died without iſſue. Of the daughters; the eldeſt was married to Sir James Graham, ſon to the Earl of Monteith; the ſecond to Alderman Foxteath of Drogheda; and the third to Standiſh Hartſtrong, Eſq. Among other benefactions, the Archbiſhop left a legacy of five hundred pounds for the repair of the cathedral of Armagh, and St. Peter's at Drogheda (*k*). We ſhall give an account of his works in the note [*U*]. With regard to his perſon and character; he was of

(*h*) Life, &c. as above, p. 37, 38.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 39.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 39. 42, 43.

'gard he heard well of them, he was willing to make 'ſuch to them by inſtitution and induction; which 'they thankfully accepted of.'—But when he deſired to ſee their letters of orders, ſome had no other but their certificates of ordination by ſome Preſbyterian claſſes, which, he told them, did not qualify them for any preferment in the Church. Upon this, the queſtion aroſe, 'Are we not Miniſters of the Goſpel?' To which his Grace anſwered, That is not the queſtion; at leaſt, he deſired for peace ſake, that might not be the queſtion for that time. 'I diſpute not, 'ſaid he, the value of your ordination, nor thoſe acts 'you have exercifed by virtue of it; what you are, 'or might be here when there was no law, or in other 'Churches abroad. But we are now to conſider our'ſelves as a national Church limited by law, which 'among other things takes chief care to preſcribe 'about ordination: and I do not know how you could 'recover the means of the Church, if any ſhould re'fuſe to pay you your tithes, if you are not ordained 'as the law of this Church requireth; and I am de'ſirous that ſhe may have your labours, and you ſuch 'portions of her revenue, as ſhall be allotted you in 'a legal and aſſured way.' By this means he gained ſuch as were learned and ſober (21).

(21) Life, &c. p. 35, 36.

[*S*] *Choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, in the Parliament which met at the ſame time.*] The author of his Life obſerves (22), that it is not eaſy to ſay which of the two places he filled beſt; whether the Stateſman or Divine ſhined with greater brightneſs. He had a judgment ſo clear, and a ſpeech ſo plain and perſuaſive, that he could readily unravel any intricacy, and divide all the parts of the controverſy into their proper ſides, ſo that the heavier ſcale would eaſily ſhew itſelf. In ſhort, he ſo moderated and ſtated all queſtions that aroſe, that few aſſemblies can boaſt of ſo great an intereſt being diſputed with ſo little noiſe (though there wanted not ſome) in thoſe kind of arguments wherein men are not uſually the moſt ſilent.

(22) Page 37.

[*T*] *The latter end of June he was ſeized with the third fit of the palſey.*] He had then a trial for ſome part of his temporal eſtate, at Omagh, with Sir Audley Mervyn, depending in the Court of Claimes; and there, at the time of hearing, the third fit of the palſey ſo ſmote him, that he ſunk in the Court, was carried out ſenſeleſs, and continued ſo till death finiſhed his work. Had the cauſe been unjuſt, as the author of his Life obſerves (23), or adjudged againſt him, ſome cenſcrious ſpirits would not have ſpared to have made left-hand judgments from the circumſtances of his death: but his right ſo appeared on the argument, that he was a conqueror in his death, and victory and honour waited on him to the grave.

(23) Page 42.

[*U*] *We ſhall give an account of his works,* &c.] They were moſt of them publiſhed at different times. But they were all reprinted at Dublin, in the year 1677, in one volume folio, under this title: 'The 'Works of the moſt Reverend Father in God, John 'Bramhall, D. D. late Lord Archbiſhop of Ardmagh, Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland. 'Some of which never before printed. Collected into 'one volume. To which is added (fcr the vindica'tion of ſome of his writings), an exact Copy of the 'Records, touching Archbiſhop Parker's Conſecra'tion, taken from the Original, in the Regiſtry of 'the See of Canterbury. As alſo, the Copy of an 'old Manuſcript, in Corpus-Chriſti College, in 'Cambridge, of the ſame Subject.' This volume is divided into four tomes, or parts. Tome I. containeth the Diſcourſes againſt the Romaniſts, viz. 1. 'An 'Anſwer to M. De la Militiere, his impertinent De'dication of his imaginary Triumph (intitled *The 'Victory of Truth)*; or his Epiſtle to the King of 'Great Britain (King Charles II.), wherein he in'viteth his Majeſty to forſake the Church of Eng'land, and to embrace the Roman Catholic Reli'gion.' With the ſaid Militiere's Epiſtle prefixed. This was firſt publiſhed at the Hague, in 16 4, 12*mo*, but not by the author. The occaſion of it was, That the Romaniſts endeavoured to perſuade King Charles II. during his exile, to hope his reſtoration, by embracing their Religion: and for that purpoſe employed M. de la Militiere, Counſellor in Ordinary to the King of France, to write him this epiſtle (24). 2. 'A juſt Vindication of the Church of England, 'from the unjuſt Aſperſion of criminal Schiſm. 'Wherein the Nature of criminal Schiſm, the divers 'Sorts of Schiſmatics, the Liberties and Privileges of 'National Churches, the Rights of Sovereign Ma'giſtrates, the Tyranny, Extortion, and Schiſm of 'the Roman Court, with the Grievances, Com'plaints, and Oppoſition of all Princes and States of 'the Roman Communion of old, and at this very 'Day, are manifeſted to the View of the World.' Firſt printed at London, in 1661, 8*vo*. In this Diſcourſe he proves (25), That the ſeparation from the Court of Rome was not made by Proteſtants, but Roman Catholics themſelves: That the Britannic Churches

(24) Life, &c. as above, p. 29, 30.

(25) Ch. iii.

of a middle ſtature and active, but his mien and preſence not altogether ſo great as his

Churches were ever exempted from all foreign juriſdiction for the firſt ſix hundred years ; and had both ſufficient authority and ſufficient grounds to withdraw their obedience from Rome (26). 3. ‘ A Replication to the Biſhop of Chalcedon's [Richard Smith] Survey of the Vindication of the Church of England from criminous Schiſm, clearing the Engliſh from the Aſperſion of Cruelty. With an Appendix, in Anſwer to the Exceptions of S. W.’ Printed at firſt, with *A juſt Vindication*, &c. 4. ‘ Schiſm guarded, and beaten back upon the right Owners. Shewing, That our great Controverſie about Papal Power, is not a Queſtion of Faith, but of Intereſt and Profit, not with the Church of Rome, but with the Court of Rome, wherein the true Controverſie doth conſiſt, who were the firſt Innovators, when, and where, theſe Papal Innovations firſt began in England, with the Oppoſition that was made againſt them.’ This is an anſwer to a book intitled, *Schiſm Diſpatched*, by S. W. *i. e.* William Serjeant. And, among other things, our author proves, That the Pope hath no legiſlative nor judiciary power in England (27). 5. ‘ The Conſecration and Succeſſion of Proteſtant Biſhops juſtified. The Biſhop of Dureſme vindicated. And that infamous Fable, of the Ordination at the Nag's-head, clearly confuted.’ This is an anſwer to a calumny of two Jeſuits, Father Talbot, and Father B——, againſt our author. And the Biſhop of Durham here vindicated, is Biſhop Morton, who was charged by the ſame Fathers, ‘ in 1640, when ſome Preſbyterian Lords preſented to the Upper Houſe a book, proving, that the Proteſtant Biſhops had no ſucceſſion or conſecration, and therefore were no Biſhops———to have made a ſpeech againſt that book ; and endeavoured to prove ſucceſſion from the laſt Catholic Biſhops, who, by impoſition of hands, ordained the firſt Proteſtant Biſhops at the Nag's-head in Cheapſide.’ —In oppoſition to this, Biſhop Morton, and ſuch of the ſpiritual and temporal Lords as were in the Houſe in 1640, and ſtill living in 1658, made ſolemn proteſtations (inſerted in this book) ‘ That no ſuch book was ever preſented, nor ſuch a ſpeech made by Biſhop Morton.’—Tome II. Againſt the Engliſh Sectaries ; comprehends, 1. ‘ A fair Warning to take heed of the Scottiſh Diſcipline, as being of all others moſt injurious to the Civil Magiſtrate, moſt oppreſſive to the ſubject, moſt pernicious to both.’ Written in the beginning of the civil wars. 2. ‘ The Serpent Salve : or, A Remedy for the biting of an Aſpe. Wherein the Obſervator's Grounds are diſcuſſed, *&c.*’ Written Dialogue-wiſe, and in vindication of King Charles I. Wherein the author endeavours to prove, that power is not originally inherent in, and derived from, the people, *&c.* Firſt printed in 1643. 3. ‘ Biſhop Bramhall's Vindication of himſelf, and the Epiſcopal Clergy, from the Preſbyterian Charge of Popery, as it is managed by Mr. Baxter, in his Treatiſe of the Grotian Religion.’ Tome III. Againſt Mr. Hobbes. 1. ‘ A Defence of true Liberty, from antecedent and extrinſical Neceſſity. Being an Anſwer to a late Book of Mr. Thomas Hobbes of Malmſbury, intitled, A Treatiſe of Liberty and Neceſſity.’ Firſt printed in 1656, *4to*. 2. ‘ Caſtigations of Mr. Hobbes, his laſt Animadverſions, in the Caſe concerning Liberty and univerſal Neceſſity.’ Firſt printed in 1658. 3. ‘ The Catching of Leviathan : or, the Great Whale. Demonſtrating, out of Mr. Hobbes his own Works, that no man who is thoroughly an Hobbiſt, can be a good Chriſtian, or a good Commonwealth's Man, or reconcile himſelf to himſelf, becauſe his Principles are not only deſtructive to all Religion, but to all Societies ; extinguiſhing the Relation between Prince and Subject, Parent and Child, Maſter and Servant, Huſband and Wife ; and abound with palpable Contradictions.’ Tome IV. contains, 1. ‘ The Controverſies about the Sabbath, and the Lord's Day ; with their reſpective Obligations ; clearly, ſuccinctly, and impartially ſtated, diſcuſſed, and determined.’ 2. ‘ A Sermon preached in York Minſter, before his Excellency the Marquis of Newcaſtle, being then ready to meet the Scotch army, Jan. 28, 1643.’ Printed firſt at York, 1643. 3. ‘ A Sermon preached at Dublin, upon the twenty-third of April 1661, being the Day appointed for his Majeſtie's Coronation ; with two Speeches made in the Houſe of Peers, the eleventh of May 1661, when the Houſe of Commons preſented their Speaker.’ 4. ‘ The right Way to Safety after Shipwrack : in a Sermon preached to the Honourable Houſe of Commons, in St. Patrick's Church, Dublin, June 16, 1661, at their ſolemn receiving of the bleſſed Sacrament.’ 5. ‘ A ſhort Diſcourſe to Sir Henry de Vic, about a Paſſage at his Table, after the chriſtening of his Daughter Anne Charlott ; of Perſons dying without Baptiſm (28).’ 6. ‘ An Anſwer to two Papers brought him June the 19th, 1645, about the Proteſtants Ordination, *&c.*’ 7. ‘ Proteſtants Ordination defended, *&c.* or, An Anſwer to the twentieth Chapter of the Guide of Faith : or, The third Part of the Antidote of S. N. Doctour of Divinity.’—He had, likewiſe, prepared an hundred ſermons for the preſs, but they were torn by the rats before his death. M.

⁂ [If the idea of eccleſiaſtical ſubordination had not been carried very high, Archbiſhop Matthews would ſcarcely have thought it a cenſurable thing for Mr. Bramhall to engage in a public diſputation againſt the Papiſts, without having previouſly aſked the conſent of his ſuperiors. Not to mention that he was thirty years of age, and fully equal to the taſk, ſurely every Divine has a juſt right to vindicate his principles as a Proteſtant, without a particular permiſſion.

The conduct of Biſhop Bramhall, in the Iriſh convocation of 1634, doth not ſeem entitled to any very extravagant applauſe. It was his aim to have the Articles of the Church of Ireland ſomewhat leſs Calviniſtical ; and in the management of this affair he ſhewed great ‘ dexterity,’ as it is well expreſſed by the ingenious author of the Confeſſional (29). But the latter part of the canon, which is ſaid to have been procured by our Prelate's arguments, is totally inconſiſtent with any proper regard to free enquiry, or any juſt ſentiments of religious liberty.

The ſtory of Biſhop Bramhall's danger in Spain is very extraordinary : for unleſs he had done ſomething relative to that kingdom, of which we have now no account, it ſeems ſcarcely conceivable that ſuch meaſures ſhould be adopted for apprehending him.

The matter of re-ordination was a great difficulty, in the laſt century, with many Nonconformiſt Divines, who were otherwiſe diſpoſed to come over to the Church of England. Scruples on this head were not confined to enthuſiaſts or bigots, but were entertained by ſeveral learned and ſober, as well as conſcientious men. The eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners of 1689, propoſed to admit of ſome latitude in the affair ; and Archbiſhop Bramhall had furniſhed them with a precedent for ſo doing, by the manner in which he had received ſome Scots Preſbyters into the Church. In the orders which he gave to Mr. Edward Parkinſon, the following words were inſerted : ‘ Non annihilantes priores ordines (ſi quos habuit) nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorundem determinantes, multò minus omnes ordines ſacros eccleſiarum forinſecarum condemnantes, quos proprio judici relinquimus, ſed ſolummodo ſupplentes quicquid priùs defuit per canones eccleſiæ Anglicanæ requiſitum, et providentes paci eccleſiæ, ut ſchiſmatis tollatur occaſio, et conſcientiis fidelium ſatiſfiat, nec ulli dubitent de ejus ordinatione, aut actus ſuos Preſbyteriales tanquam invalidos averſentur. In cujus rei teſtimonium, *&c.* (30)’ It is plain, from this inſtance, as well as from others, that though our Prelate coincided with Laud in many reſpects, and eſpecially in his principles of civil government, he had, nevertheleſs, much greater moderation in religious matters. The temper and prudence, likewiſe, with which he conducted his deſigns, for the intereſt of the eſtabliſhed Church, were far ſuperior.

Archbiſhop Bramhall's anſwers to Hobbes have been deemed very valuable ; and perhaps it might not be amiſs for the preſent diſputants concerning liberty and neceſſity to look back to what he hath ſaid upon the ſubject.

Mr. Granger obſerves, that Dr. Bramhall was one of the moſt learned, able, and active Prelates of the age in which he lived, an acute diſputant, and an excellent preacher (31).] T. and K.

(26) Ch. v. and vi.

(27) Sect. I. ch. vi, vii.

(28) See above, in the text of this article.

(29) Confeſſional, p. 249, notes.

(30) Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 176.

(31) Biographical Hiſt. Vol II. p. 163, note, octavo edition.

endowments of mind. His complexion was highly ſanguine, pretty deeply tinctured with choler, which in his declining years became predominant, and would ſometimes overflow, not without ſome tartneſs of expreſſion, but it proceeded no farther *(l)*. As he was a great lover of plain-dealing and plain-ſpeaking(*m*), ſo his converſation was free and familiar, patient of any thing in diſcourſe but obſtinacy; his ſpeech ready and intelligible, ſmooth and ſtrong, free from affectation of phraſe or fancy, ſaying, it was a boyiſh ſport to hunt for words, and argued a penury of matter, which would always find expreſſion for itſelf. His underſtanding was very good, and greatly improved by labour and ſtudy. As a ſcholar, his excellency lay in the rational and argumentative part of learning. He was, alſo, well acquainted with Eccleſiaſtical and other Hiſtories; and in the pulpit an excellent perſuaſive orator. He was a firm friend to the Church of England, bold in the defence of it, and patient in ſuffering for it; yet he was very far from any thing like bigotry. He had a great allowance and charity for men of different perſuaſions, looking upon thoſe churches as in a tottering condition that ſtood upon nice opinions. Accordingly, he made a diſtinction between articles neceſſary for peace and order, and thoſe that are neceſſary to ſalvation; and he often declared, That the Church was not to be healed but by general propoſitions (*n*).

⁂ [BRAY (Sir REGINALD) * was ſecond ſon of Sir Richard Bray, one of the Privy Council to King Henry VI.; which Sir Richard lies buried in the north aile of Worceſter cathedral (*a*). One of this family (which were Lords of Braie, or Bray, in Normandy) (*b*), came with William the Conqueror (*c*) into England, where they flouriſhed in the counties of Northampton and Warwick *(d)*; but Edmond, the father of Sir Richard, is ſtyled of Eton Bray in the county of Bedford, which county they had repreſented in Parliament in 18 E. I. and 6 E. II. (*e*). In 1 R. III. this Reginald had a general pardon granted to him, probably on account of his having taken part with Henry VI., to whoſe cauſe he had a perſonal as well as hereditary attachment; being Receiver-general to Sir Henry Stafford *(f)*, who married Margaret Counteſs of Richmond, mother to the Earl of Richmond, afterward King Henry VII. He continued in her ſervice after the death of Sir Henry. When the Duke of Buckingham had concerted with Morton, Biſhop of Ely (then his priſoner at Brecknock in Wales), the marriage of the Earl of Richmond with the Princeſs Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Edward IV., and the Earl's advancement to the throne, the Biſhop recommended Sir Reginald for the tranſaction of the affair with the Counteſs, telling the Duke he had an old friend with her, a man ſober, ſecret, and well-witted, called Reginald Bray, whoſe prudent policy he had known to have compaſſed matters of great importance; and accordingly wrote to him in Lancaſhire, where he then was with the Counteſs, to come to Brecknock with all ſpeed. He readily obeyed the ſummons, entered heartily into the deſign, and was very active in carrying it on; and ſoon engaged Sir Giles Daubeney (afterwards Lord Daubeney), Sir John Cheney, Richard Guilford, Eſq; and many other gentlemen of note, to take part with Henry *(g)*. After the ſucceſs at Boſworth, he gradually roſe into great favor with the King, who eminently diſtinguiſhed and liberally rewarded his ſervices. His attachment to that Prince was ſincere and unremitted; and ſuch were his prudence and abilities, that he never forfeited the confidence he had acquired, during an attendance of ſeventeen years on the moſt ſuſpicious monarch of his time. He was made a Knight Banneret, probably at the battle of Boſworth; a Knight of the Bath at the King's coronation (*h*), and afterwards a Knight of the Garter (*i*). In the firſt year of the King's reign he had a grant of the Conſtableſhip of the caſtle of Oakham in Rutlandſhire, and was appointed joint Chief Juſtice, with the Lord Fitzwalter, of all the foreſts ſouth of Trent (*k*), and choſen of the Privy Council (*l*). After this he was appointed High Treaſurer (*m*), Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter (*n*), and High Steward of the univerſity of Oxford (*o*). At the Queen's coronation, the Ducheſs of Norfolk, &c. ſat at one ſide-table; at the other, Lady Ferrars of Chartley, Lady Bray, &c *(p)*. At the chriſtening of Prince Arthur, Sir Reginald bore a rich ſalt of gold which was given by the Earl of Derby (*q*). He was amongſt the Knights Bannerets when Henry, the King's ſecond ſon, was created Duke of York in 1494 (*r*). In the 7th year of the King, he by indenture covenanted to ſerve him in his wars beyond ſea an whole year, with twelve men, himſelf accompted, each having his cuſtrell and page, twenty-four demy lances, ſeventy-ſeven archers on horſeback, two hundred and thirty-one archers, and billes on foot twenty-four (*s*). In the 10th year he had a grant for life of the Iſle of Wight, caſtle of Cariſbrook, and the manors of Swainſton, Brixton, Thorley, and Welow, in that iſle, at the rent of 308 l. 6 s. 8 d. (*t*). Camden mentions the grant of the Iſle of Wight at the rent of 300 marks (*u*). In June 1497 he was at the battle of Blackheath, when the Lord Audley, having joined the Corniſh rebels, was taken priſoner; on whoſe execution and attainder, his manor of Shire Vachery and Cranley in Surry, with a large eſtate there, was given to Sir Reginald. He received many other marks of the King's bounty and favor, and died 5th Auguſt 1503, poſſeſſed of a very great eſtate; notwithſtanding which, and his activity as a Miniſter, under a Monarch whoſe love of money was the cauſe of great and juſt complaints amongſt the people, hiſtorians call him the Father of his Country, a ſage

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(l) Life, &c. as above, p. 43.

(m) *Ibid.* p. 21.

(n) *Ibid.* p. 43.

* This article hath been obligingly communicated to us by William Bray, Eſq; of Great Ruſſel-ſtreet, Bloomſbury, F.S.A.

(a) Willis's mitred Abbies. Thomas's Survey of Worceſter Cathedral, where he is ſaid to have been Phyſician to that King.

(b) Vincent's Book at the Herald's Office, quoting Tome ii. of l'Hiſtoire de la Maiſon de Harcourt, par le Roque, 1632.

(c) Harl. MS. No. 292, fo. 35, b. No. 542.

(d) Dugd. Warw. and Bridge's Northamptonſhire.

(e) Willis's Notitia Parl. Vol. i.

(f) Dugd. Bar. Vol. ii. 167.

(g) Hall, fo. 37.

(h) MS. Collection of Mr. Anſtis for a Hiſtory of the Knights of the Garter.

(i) Aſhmole's Order of the Garter.

(k) Anſtis, *ubi ſupra.*

(l) Hall.

(m) Holinſhed, 1254.

(n) Anſtis; and original Letters in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Weſtminſter.

(o) Anſtis; and Wood's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Oxford, B. ii. 442.

(p) Cotton Library, Julius XII. 106.

(q) Cotton Library, Julius XII. 106.

(r) *Id. ib.*

(s) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. xii. 480.

(t) Anſtis.

(u) Camd. Brit. Vol. i. 222.

and grave perſon, a fervent lover of juſtice, and one who would often admoniſh the King when he did any thing contrary to juſtice or equity (*w*). That he ſhould do this, and the King ſtill continue his favor, is an ample proof of the ſenſe which his Sovereign entertained of his ſervices and abilities. He appears to have taken great delight in architecture, and to have had no ſmall ſkill in it, as he had a principal concern and direction in building Henry VIIth's chapel in Weſtminſter-abbey, and in the finiſhing and bringing to perfection the chapel of St. George at Windſor, to which he was a liberal benefactor in his lifetime, and for the completion of which he made farther proviſion by his will (*x*). His arms, creſt and device (R B.) are exhibited on the cieling of the chapel at Windſor in many places, and in the middle of the ſouth aile is a ſpacious chapel erected by him, and ſtill called by his name, in which alſo, by his own particular direction, he was interred, though his executors neglected to erect a tomb for him, as he deſired. Perhaps they thought his merit would be the moſt laſting monument. It is ſuppoſed that he is buried under the ſtone which covers Dr. Waterland; for, on opening the vault for that gentleman, who died in 1740, a leaden coffin, of ancient form and make, was found, which by other appearances alſo was judged to be that of Sir Reginald, and was, by order of the Dean, immediately arched over with great decency (*y*). He was of great devotion, according to the piety of the times, and a bountiful friend, in his lifetime, to many churches. In one of the letters mentioned in the notes, John, abbot of Newmynſter in Northumberland, addreſſes him as founder of the monaſtery of Pipwell (in Northamptonſhire); but this muſt be on account of ſome donations, as that houſe was founded by William Boutevileyr in 1143 (*z*). In 1494, being then High Steward of Oxford, he gave 40 marks to repair the church of St. Mary's, in a window of which were the figures of him and his wife kneeling, their coats of arms on their backs, remaining in 1584 (*a*). The Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, in recompence for his ſervices to them, receive him and my Lady his wife to be brother and ſiſter of their Chapter, and to be partakers of all ſuffrages, prayers, maſſes, faſtings, alms-deeds, and other good deeds, whatever they be, done in the ſaid Church, both in their lives and after their deceaſes (*b*). The Prior of the Cathedral Church of Durham receives him in like manner (*c*). In a ſouth window of the Priory Church of Great Malvern in Worceſterſhire, were the portraits of Henry VII., Elizabeth his Queen, Prince Arthur, Sir Reginald Bray (*d*), John Savage, and Thomas Lovell, Eſquires, with their coats of arms on their armour, and the following words underneath; ' Orate pro bono ſtatu nobiliſſimi et excellentiſſimi Regis Henrici Septimi et Elizabethæ Reginæ, ac Domini Arthuri Principis filii eorundem nec non prædilectiſſimæ conſortis ſuæ, ac ſuorum trium militum (*e*).' The portraits of the King and Sir Reginald remained in 1774, and are engraved in Mr. Strutt's View of the Arms and Habits of the Engliſh, Vol. II. Plate 60. The others have been broken and deſtroyed. He had no iſſue, and his elder brother John having only one daughter married to Sir William Sandes, afterwards Lord Sandes of the Vine, he left the bulk of his fortune to Edmund, eldeſt ſon of his younger brother John (for he had two brothers of that name). This Edmund was ſummoned to Parliament in 1530, as Baron of Eaton Bray; but his ſon John Lord Bray dying without iſſue in 1557, the eſtate was divided amongſt ſix daughters of Edmund. Sir Reginald left very conſiderable eſtates to Edward and Reginald, younger brothers of Edmund: From Edward the manor of Shire Vachery and Cranley, above mentioned, has deſcended to the Rev. George Bray, the preſent owner, 1778. Reginald ſettled at Barrington in Glouceſterſhire, where the male line of that branch became extinct about thirty years ago. Some extracts from Sir Reginald's will are added, in the note [*A*].]

(*w*) The words of Polydore Virgil are, " Elizabetha Regina enixa puellam, quæ paucos vixit dies, moritur. Secutus eſt reginam in cœlum redeuntem, Reginaldus Braius vere pater patriæ, homo ſeverus, ac ita recti amator, ut, ſi quid interdum peccatum eſſet, illud acriter in Henrico reprehenderet." p. 612. Hall, fo. 56.

(*x*) His Will in the Prerogative Office of Canterbury.

(*y*) Pote's Antiquities of Windſor.

(*z*) Dugd. Mon. Vol. i. 815.

(*a*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*b*) Original Letters, *ut ſupra.*

(*c*) *Ibid.*

(*d*) In proſperis et adverſis ſemper regi ſuo fidelis, ſays Thomas in his Antiquities of the Priory of Great Malvern, p. 22.

(*e*) *Ibid.*

[*A*] *Are added in the note.*] Sir Reginald, by his will, dated 4th Auguſt 1503 (now in the Prerogative Office of Canterbury), gives ſixty ſhillings to every houſe of Friars in England, to ſay a trentall of maſſes for his ſoul in the year he ſhould die, and another trentall the next year. He gives 200 l. to the Friars of Guldeford, where his mother Joan was buried, to pray for his ſoul, and thoſe of Richard his father, and Joan his mother, to be paid them at 10 l. a year for twenty years.

He gives to his wife Catherine, for life, his manors of Southmorton in Berks, Staunden in Berks and Wilts, Chelcheth in Middleſex, and lands and tenements there, and his eſtate in Eaſt, Weſt, and South Harting and Rogate in Suſſex, and half his plate.

He recites, That he has in his keeping Elizabeth and Agnes, daughters and co-heirs of Henry Lovell, and wills that one ſhall be married to one of his nephews, ſon of his brother John, and the other to another of his nephews, ſon of his ſaid brother John, which his executors ſhould pleaſe. After his wife's death, he gives the eſtates ſo deviſed to her for life, and alſo his manors and lands in Suſſex which he bought of Sir William Radmyll, to his nephews who ſhould marry the ſaid Elizabeth and Agnes, in moieties in tail, with croſs remainders over; remainder to the heirs male of his brother John.

He gives his manors of Fryfolk, Eaſt Widhay, and Quidhampton, in Southampton, to his nephew Richard Andrews and Elizabeth his wife in tail, remainder to the heirs male of his brother John.

His manors, lands, &c. (except as above) in Middleſex, Bedford, Bucks, Northampton, Warwick, Oxon, Berks, Eſſex, Surry, Glouceſter, and Somerſet, he gives to his nephew Edmund, ſon of his brother John, when he comes to the age of twenty-one, in tail male, ſo long as any of his name and blood ſhould remain, remainder to his niece Margery, wife of Sir William Sands.

He directs his body to be buried in the chapel on the ſouth ſide of the church of our Lady and St. George in the caſtle of Windſor, which he had new-made for that intent; and alſo in honour of Almighty God, &c. he wills that his executors after his deceaſe ſhould, with his goods and the iſſues and profits of his lands and tenements, make and perform the new works of the body of the ſaid church, and thoroughly finiſh them according to the form and intent of the foundation, in ſtone-work, timber, lead, iron, and glaſs, and all other things neceſſary, and that they

they ſhould cauſe a tomb to be made for him in the ſaid chapel.

He gives forty marks a year to the Dean and Canons, to diſtribute thirteen pence every day to thirteen poor men or women at the door of the ſaid chapel. He makes Smyth, Biſhop of Lincoln, and others, executors.

BRAY (Thomas), Doctor of Divinity, an eminent, learned, and pious Divine of the XVIIth century, was born at Marton in Shropſhire, in 1656. His parents were perſons of good reputation, and inhabitants of that place (*a*). His infancy diſcovering promiſing parts, he was early ſent to the ſchool at Oſweſtry, in the ſame county. His cloſe application to ſchool-learning ſoon qualified him for a remove, and determined his parents to dedicate him to religion and learning: accordingly, he was entered of Hart-hall in Oxford. Here he ſoon made a conſiderable proficiency in Divinity, as well as other ſtudies neceſſary for the profeſſion for which he was intended: but, labouring under the common diſadvantages of a narrow fortune, his circumſtances not permitting a longer reſidence at Oxford, he left the univerſity ſoon after he had commenced Bachelor of Arts (*b*). Much about this time he entered into Holy Orders; and the firſt pariſh wherein Providence placed him to exerciſe his ſpiritual function, was near Bridgenorth in Shropſhire, his native county, from which curacy he ſoon removed into Warwickſhire, officiating as Chaplain in Sir Thomas Price's family, of Park-hall, and had the donative of Lac Marſin given him by Sir Thomas, which proved a very advantageous change of ſituation for him; for living now in the neighbourhood of Coleſhill, his exemplary behaviour, and diſtinguiſhed diligence in his calling, introduced him into the acquaintance of Mr. Kettlewell, Sir Charles Holt, and the Lord Simon Digby. One incident which contributed to eſtabliſh his character at this juncture, was his preaching the aſſize ſermon at Warwick, on which occaſion Mr. Bray, though but young, acquitted himſelf to the ſatisfaction of the whole audience, particularly the Lord Digby, who was afterwards pleaſed to honour him with many proofs of his friendſhip and eſteem, recommending him to the worthy and honourable patronage of his brother, the late Lord Digby [*A*], who ſome time after gave him the vicarage of Over-Whitacre in the ſame county, ſince augmented by his patron's uncommon generoſity of endowing it with the great tithes. In the year 1690, the rectory of Sheldon being vacant, by Mr. Digby Bull's refuſing to take the oaths at the Revolution, his Lordſhip preſented Mr. Bray to it; which preferment he held till about a quarter of a year before his death, when he reſigned it by reaſon of his advanced age, and the known worth and abilities of his appointed ſucceſſor (*c*). Dec. 12, 1693, he took his Maſter of Arts degree in Hart-hall, in the univerſity of Oxford (*d*). In this pariſh of Sheldon he compoſed his Catechetical Lectures, a work which met with general approbation and encouragement [*B*], the publication of which, the firſt-fruits of his piety and learning, drew him out of his rural privacy to London, and introduced him into a more conſpicuous and remarkable ſcene of action: for the reputation Mr. Bray had acquired by theſe Catechetical Lectures, and the other ſhining qualities with which he adorned his function, immediately determined Dr. Compton, Biſhop of London, to pitch upon him as a proper perſon to model the infant Church of Maryland, and eſtabliſh it upon a ſolid foundation [*C*]. Accordingly, in April 1696, he propoſed to Mr. Bray to go on the terms of having the judicial office of Commiſſary, valued, as was repreſented to

(*a*) The Life and Deſigns of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Bray, 1746.

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*c*) *Ibid. ut ſupra.*

(*d*) A Catalogue of the Oxford Graduates in Law, Phyſic, Divinity, &c. in Oxford, from 1689 to 1726.

[*A*] *Recommending him to the worthy and honourable patronage of his brother the late Lord Digby.*] For Mr. Bray eſteemed it not the leaſt honour and happineſs of his life to be preferred by ſuch a patron as Lord Digby, who was never determined by any other conſideration, in the diſpoſal of preſentations, than of chuſing the moſt uſeful perſons to ſerve in the church, and ſuch as he was perſuaded would make the diſcharge of their duty the ultimate end of their views; an obſervation not a little to Mr. Bray's credit, as well as to the honour of Lord Digby, in an age wherein moſt patrons are governed by party-zeal, ſelf-intereſt, or the powerful ſolicitations of friends and relations. Of this Mr. Bray was ſo truly ſenſible, that he never mentioned his noble benefactor without the utmoſt gratitude for his own obligations, and profoundeſt veneration for all his excellent qualities. His Lordſhip, on the other hand, ſhewed the great eſteem he had for Mr. Bray, by not only preſenting him with the livings of Over-Whitacre and Sheldon, but by augmenting and endowing the firſt, for his ſake, with the great tithes; as laudable and uncommon an example, as his diſintereſtedneſs in his preſentations.

[*B*] *His Catechetical Lectures, a work which met with general approbation and encouragement.*] Theſe were ſo well received, and generally circulated, that three thouſand proved not too great a number for the firſt impreſſion. It was eſteemed by many of the firſt diſtinction in the Church, as the moſt accurate performance extant on that ſubject, and was dedicated to that learned prelate William Lloyd, then Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, by whoſe perſuaſion, and even *authoritative injunctions*, it was publiſhed (1), and of whoſe favour and eſteem Mr. Bray had a more than ordinary ſhare. There was ſoon a demand for the ſecond impreſſion, by both of which, at a very reaſonable price, he cleared upwards of ſeven hundred pounds; nor had he room to doubt of a much greater advantage from the ſucceeding parts, ſo faſt did the ſubſcriptions come in for the ſecond volume, which was in the preſs, but was ſuperſeded for another undertaking.

[*C*] *Determined the Biſhop of London to pitch upon him to model*, &c.] In the year 1691 and 1692, the then Governor and Aſſembly of Maryland divided that province into pariſhes, and eſtabliſhed a legal maintenance for the reſpective miniſters. In the month of October 1695, they took into conſideration the expediency of having ſome one Clergyman to preſide over the reſt; and, in order to ſupport ſome ſuch ſuperintendant Commiſſary or Suffragan, they unanimouſly agreed in a petitionary act to their then Majeſties King William and Queen Mary, to annex for ever the judicial office of Commiſſary, before in the diſpoſal of the Governor, to that which is purely eccleſiaſtical, and at the appointment of the Biſhop of London, to whom they wrote to deſire him to ſend them over ſome unexceptionable experienced Clergyman for the intended office (2).

(1) His Dedication to his Catechetical Lectures, p. 1, 3. 1696.

(2) The Life and Deſigns of Thomas Bray.

him, at four hundred pounds *per annum*, conferred upon him, for his ſupport in that ſervice (*e*). Mr. Bray, diſregarding his own intereſt, and the great profit which would have ariſen from finiſhing his Courſe of Lectures on the plan he had formed, ſoon determined, in his own mind, that there might be a greater field for doing good in the Plantations, than by his labours here. Being, therefore, always willing to be ſo diſpoſed of in any ſtation, as ſhould appear moſt conducive to the ſervice of God's Church, he no longer demurred to the propoſal, than to inquire into the ſtate of the country, and inform himſelf what was moſt wanting to excite good Miniſters to embark in that deſign, as well as enable them moſt effectually to promote it. With this view he laid before the Biſhops the following conſiderations:—That none but the poorer ſort of clergy could be perſuaded to leave their friends, and change their native country for one ſo remote; that ſuch perſons could not be able ſufficiently to ſupply themſelves with books; that without ſuch a competent proviſion of books, they could not anſwer the deſign of their miſſion;—that a library would be the beſt encouragement to ſtudious and ſober men to undertake the ſervice; and that, as the great inducement to himſelf to go, would be to do the moſt good of which he could be capable, he therefore propoſed to their Lordſhips, that if they thought fit to encourage and aſſiſt him in providing parochial libraries for the Miniſters that ſhould be ſent, he would then accept of the Commiſſary's office in Maryland. This propoſal for parochial libraries being well approved of by the Biſhops, and due encouragement being promiſed in the proſecution of the deſign, both by their Lordſhips and others, he ſet himſelf with all poſſible application to provide Miſſionaries, and to furniſh them with libraries, intending, as ſoon as he ſhould have ſent both, to follow after himſelf (*f*). But, upon his accepting of this employment of Commiſſary of Maryland, it fell to his ſhare to ſolicit at home whatever other matters related to that Church, more particularly to the ſettlement and eſtabliſhment thereof, which, with other matters conducing to the good and welfare of the Church, he laboured to promote with unwearied diligence, and ſpared neither expence or trouble. Of this the reader may find more particulars in note [*D*]. But, above all, it was his greateſt care, to endeavour to ſend over to Maryland, and the other colonies, pious men, of exemplary lives and converſations [*E*], and to furniſh out thoſe whom he had a hand in ſending, with good libraries of neceſſary and uſeful books, to render them capable of anſwering the ends of their miſſion, and inſtructing the people in all things neceſſary to their ſalvation: and theſe truly found him employment enough, though, on account of the more than ordinary ſervice ſuch a magazine of divine knowledge might be of, he could never be brought to regret the undertaking, however chargeable as well as laborious it proved: one half of either coſt or pains in which it engaged him, muſt have diſcouraged any one, leſs ſenſible to the impreſſions of a religious zeal,

(*e*) The Monthly Chronicle for February 1730.

(*f*) The Life of Dr. Bray, &c.

[*D*] *It fell to his ſhare to ſolicit*, &c.] It happened, that the law for the eſtabliſhment of the Church of Maryland, having been ſent over for the Royal aſſent, was rejected on account of a clauſe, whereby it was enacted, *that the great Charter of England ſhould be kept and obſerved, in all points, within the ſaid province*; being a clauſe of another nature than was ſet forth in the title of the ſaid law: and the Biſhop of London having obtained, at Council, that inſtructions ſhould be given to have another bill formed, and paſſed into an act, with promiſe that it ſhould be confirmed, if formed and paſſed according to theſe inſtructions, Mr. Bray, with the advice of his Lordſhip, and others well ſkilled in Plantation affairs, got a bill drawn up according to the inſtructions, and tranſmitted it to Maryland to be re-enacted in the ſucceeding Aſſembly.

In the mean time, till the return of the new act from Maryland, to be confirmed by the Sovereign, he was wholly and fully employed, under the Biſhop of London, in enquiring out and providing Miſſionaries to be ſent into that province, on a preſumption that the eſtabliſhment of the Church might be at laſt obtained; and alſo into the other colonies on the continent of America, and into moſt of the iſlands, ſeveral of which had never before enjoyed any ſtanding miniſtry (3).

(3) The Life and Deſigns of Thomas Bray, D. D.

In the year 1696, the law for eſtabliſhing and endowing the Church, was re-enacted in Maryland, and came over a ſecond time to the Lords Commiſſioners of Trade, together with a moſt humble addreſs, to be preſented to his Majeſty in behalf of the ſaid law, requeſting the Royal confirmation. But it being found, that this ſecond law alſo, contrary to the inſtructions, contained in it a clauſe of a different nature, by declaring *all the laws in England to be in force in Maryland*, it was thought adviſeable not to ſolicit the Royal aſſent to it, as being ſure it would be rejected for the ſame reaſon as the former, and then the Church's maintenance would wholly drop; and, in the mean time, it being promiſed at Court, that the then law, ſuch as it was, ſhould remain unrepealed till another ſhould be ſent over, agreeable to the Royal inſtructions, the Doctor (†) wrote to the Province to have it reviſed and re-enacted, according to the former inſtructions, ſignifying to them, that otherwiſe it would never paſs.

(†) Mr. Bray had then taken his Doctor's degree.

[*E*] *But above all, it was his greateſt care to endeavour to ſend over to Maryland, and the other Colonies, pious men of exemplary lives and converſations.*] Of theſe we ſhall, in this note, preſent our reader with an inſtance or two. Among other Miſſionaries ſent at this time with Libraries, Mr. Bray procured, and preſented to the Biſhop of London, two men as pious and happy in their conduct, as could have been found; one, Mr. Clayton, ſent to Philadelphia in Penſylvania; the other, Mr. Marſhal, ſent into Charles-Town in Carolina. Neither of theſe worthy perſons found, at their entrance, above fifty (of the Communion of the Church of England) to make up their congregation, and yet both approved themſelves ſo well to the inhabitants of their reſpective places, that in two years time the congregation at Philadelphia, the metropolis of the Quakers, was increaſed to ſeven hundred, and an handſome church was erected; and at Charles-Town, to nearly as many; where, out of reſpect to Mr. Marſhal, a new brick houſe for his better accommodation, a fine plantation, with a perpetual ſtock of two Negro ſervants and two cows, with 150 *l.* a year, were ſettled upon him, and his ſucceſſors, for ever. Both theſe worthy perſons died in about two years after their arrival, of contagious diſtempers, which they had taken in the execution of their duty, and in viſiting the ſick, leaving moſt amiable characters behind them. The libraries Mr. Bray ſent with theſe gentlemen, continue to their ſucceſſors; and he did, at ſeveral times afterwards, procure and make conſiderable additions to them, as he did to moſt others both in America and Africa (4).

(4) Life, &c. of Thomas Bray, D.D.

from

from proſecuting it. His only comfort was, that the libraries he had begun and advanced more or leſs in all the provinces on the Continent, and in moſt of the iſlands of America, as alſo in the factories in Africa, did not only ſerve the then Miniſters with whom they were firſt ſent, but by the care of ſome of the governments, and by Acts of Aſſembly, ſettling the rules he had preſcribed for their uſe and preſervation, they might be alſo of advantage to many ſucceeding generations. The ſenſe of the clergy and inhabitants, with reſpect to this, was teſtified by the ſolemn letters of thanks, returned him from the Aſſemblies of Maryland, from the veſtries of Boſton and Baintrie in New England, from Newfoundland, Rhode Iſland, New York, Philadelphia, North Carolina, Bermudas, and by the acknowledgments of the Royal African Company, on account of thoſe procured for their factories. About the ſame time it was, that the Secretary of Maryland, Sir Thomas Lawrence, with Mr. Bray, waited on the then Princeſs of Denmark, in behalf of that province, humbly to requeſt her gracious acceptance of the Governor's and country's dutiful reſpects, in having denominated the metropolis of the province, then but lately built, from her Royal Highneſs's name, *Annapolis*: and Mr. Bray being ſoon after favoured with a noble benefaction from the ſame royal hand, towards his libraries in America, he dedicated the primier library in thoſe parts, fixed at Annapolis, and which has books of the choiceſt kind belonging to it, to the value of four hundred pounds, to her memory, by the title of the *Annapolitan Library*, which words were inſcribed on the ſeveral books, as well in gratitude to her Majeſty, as for the better prevention of loſs or embezzlement (*g*). Another deſign was alſo ſet on foot, much about the ſame time, by Dr. Bray, having a reference to ſome ſervice at home as well as abroad, which was to raiſe lending libraries in every deanery [*F*] throughout England and Wales, out of which the neighbouring Clergy might

(*g*) The Life of Dr. Bray, &c.

[*F*] *To raiſe lending libraries in every Deanery.*] Dr. Bray may, perhaps, be here cenſured for concerning himſelf in carrying on this affair at home, at the ſame time that he was engaged to promote a foreign charity. But the good man's inducement to it, as he has been heard to declare, was, firſt, becauſe having never, for his own part, enjoyed in the Church what would enable him to furniſh himſelf with a ſufficient ſtock of neceſſary and uſeful books, to qualify himſelf for his profeſſion; he became, thereby, more ſenſible of the wants of his brethren in like circumſtances. Secondly, That in his ſolicitation, for benefactions to libraries in the Plantations, he often met with anſwers to this effect: That we had poor cures, and poor parſons enough in England, and that charity began at home. Now he thought it not amiſs to ſtrike the nail that would drive, and to give ſuch anſwerers an opportunity of exerciſing their beneficence to the Church, in the way to which they were moſt inclined; and, therefore, without the leaſt interruption of his endeavours for the Plantations, he ſet on foot this deſign alſo at home: and as thoſe libraries were intended for the Clergy to meet and confer in, rather than their private houſes, which would cauſe expence, or public houſes, which, beſides the expence, might give ſcandal; ſo if the ſame topics were made the ſubject of their converſation, as had been reſolved on in the firſt library of that kind, which was founded by a noble Lord, his neighbour and patron already mentioned, the Doctor could not imagine what could be better purſued, in order to keep the country Clergy to their rule, and cloſe to their duty, and thereby to advance their character and reputation, and to create a due veneration towards them. The reſolutions they formed were theſe: That they will meet in the library monthly, or oftner, to conſider, or confer upon ways and means of augmenting the ſame with the beſt books; alſo to conſult upon the beſt methods of furniſhing the common people with ſmall practical and devotional tracts; of principling the children and youth with catechetical inſtructions; for erecting ſchools for the education of poor children; of getting the laws put in execution againſt profaneneſs and immorality; and by what other means they can beſt diſcharge their paſtoral care and duty, and promote public good: And, in order to their better knowledge of the duties of their function, and forming no other reſolutions but what ſhall be agreeable to the conſtitution of our Church, that at every meeting they will read over ſome part, and that ſucceſſively, till they ſhall go through the whole, of their ordination vows, of the articles, rubricks, and canons of the Church, of the royal injunctions and proclamations, and acts of Parliament, ordered to be read in churches, thoſe eſpecially againſt profaneneſs and immorality; and, laſtly, the articles of enquiry exhibited at both epiſcopal and archidiaconal viſitations, and that as well to furniſh themſelves with proper and ſuitable matter for their converſation there, inſtead of news and other impertinences, as the better to know their duty, and take the beſt meaſures about it.

Now, had Dr. Bray had nothing farther in view in his eſſay, to promote neceſſary and uſeful knowledge, at home as well as abroad, than to repreſent the miſerable want of books among the parochial Clergy throughout the kingdom, the ill conſequences of ſuch want both to themſelves and people, and the eaſieſt method to ſupply it by means of lending libraries, one, at leaſt, in every Deanery, which, if placed in ſome market-town neareſt the centre, the neighbouring Clergy and others might, without farther trouble than the ſending on a market-day, by their own, or a neighbour's ſervant, borrow, at any time, the book they wanted; this alone conſidered, it ſeems to be a moſt laudable deſign, and the ſucceſs it has met with is ſuch, that there are not many dioceſes in the kingdom, where libraries of this kind are not more or leſs advanced.

But, in truth, he had ſomething farther in view, than his deſign of having public libraries for the parochial Clergy in every Deanery; which was, to reduce into practice, and to reſtore more and more by degrees, the ancient uſe of rural Deans, and the juriſdiction pertaining to their reſpective Deaneries, whereby, as an excellent diſcipline was formerly maintained in our Church, ſo it might be again, in a good meaſure, revived.

Indeed, whoever ſhall conſider the ancient conſtitution of our rural Deaneries, as repreſented in an extract the Doctor has made from ſome of our Antiquaries, and how admirably they were fitted for good diſcipline, and ſhall compare that with what is already found practicable in the Clergy's meeting at their libraries, ſpoken of above, he will be apt to conclude, that as her ancient diſcipline is the Church of England's wiſh, and deſire of all good people; ſo no means ſeem more likely to reſtore it, than the having libraries in our ſeveral rural Deaneries for the Clergy to meet in, where they may act to ſuch purpoſes, and according to ſuch powers, as ſhall be allowed them.

The Doctor obſerving alſo, that the Miſſionaries were often detained ſeveral weeks, and ſometimes months, in our ſea-ports, before they could go off; more eſpecially in time of war, when not only the want of wind, but of convoys, occaſioned ſuch ſtay; and reflecting upon it, as of conſequence to them, to have a library in each of the ſea-ports, where they uſually embark, in which they might ſtudy during their ſtay on ſhore; and this not only that they might loſe no time towards their better improvement, but to might borrow the books they had occaſion for, and where they might conſult upon matters relating to their function, and to learning. Upon this, many lending libraries were founded in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, beſides above a hundred and fifty parochial ones in Great Britain and the Plantations, from ten to fifty pounds value, thoſe in South Britain being afterwards ſecured to poſterity, by an Act of Parliament paſſed for that purpoſe in 1708 (*). Soon after, upon the repeated inſtances of the Governor and ſome of the country, Mr. Bray was at the charge of taking the degree of Doctor of Divinity, which degree, though it might be of ſome uſe, with reſpect to his having a better reſpect paid to the Church as well as himſelf, did, however, then but ill comport with his circumſtances. He took his degrees of Bachelor of Divinity, and Doctor, together, by accumulation, not of Hart-hall where he was entered, but of Magdalen-college, Dec. 17, 1696 (*b*). Soon after, the better to promote his main deſign of libraries, and to give the Miſſionaries directions in proſecuting their theological ſtudies, he publiſhed two books, one intitled, *Bibliotheca Parochialis* [G]; *or, A Scheme of*

(*) See note [*F*], and the Monthly Chron. for Feb. 1730, Vol. iii. p. 33.

(*b*) A Catalogue of the Oxford Graduates, in Law, Phyſic, Divinity, &c. in Oxford, from 1659 to 1726, &c.

to prevent alſo the expence and ſcandal to which they might be expoſed, by ſauntring away their time in coffee-houſes, or, perhaps, leſs ſober places; but could they have a library in each of thoſe ports, to be in all the time they could ſpare from their meals, and where they might recreate themſelves, after hard ſtudy, with the converſation of their brethren, whether Fellow-Miſſionaries, Sea-Chaplains, or other ingenious paſſengers or perſons; and were the uſe of thoſe libraries ſtrictly enjoined them at their departure, he preſumed, ſcarcely any thing could contribute more to the advantage and reputation of our Miſſions and Miſſionaries, the ports being generally very looſe places, and dangerous for young men to abide in long, and where, without employment, and a ſuitable retirement, they will be much expoſed to ſuch temptations as will ſtain their characters. Upon this conſideration, and preſuming withal, that if the foundation of ſuch ſea-port libraries were once laid but by a few books, it would be no great difficulty to obtain ſuch conſiderable additions from the benefactions of ſea-officers, who are uſually generous enough, as well as from other gentlemen, if the Clergy in ſuch places would be zealous and active in promoting the deſign; he formed proper propoſals for the raiſing ſuch libraries, obtained ſome benefactions towards making a beginning, and took with him ſome books to depoſit for that purpoſe, in each port that ſhould happen in his way: and being detained in three ſeveral places in his voyage to Maryland, he experienced himſelf the firſt uſe of thoſe libraries he had before projected. He accordingly put the deſign in execution in each of them, *viz.* at *Graveſend, Deal*, and *Plymouth*. He alſo made a beginning towards eſtabliſhing parochial catechetical libraries in the iſle of Man.

And now we are upon this head of libraries, we ſhall conſider how far he was alſo the inſtrument of eſtabliſhing them in ſeveral of the meaner cures of England and Wales.

In 1703, Dr. Bray publiſhed an Eſſay, to ſhew the incompetent proviſion in many pariſhes, through a greater part of the kingdom, to enable the Clergy to inſtruct the people; upon which, this excellent work of founding libraries, begun by him, was countenanced, and brought to perfection, by the patronage of the Legiſlature: for an act of Parliament paſſed in the ſeventh year of Queen Anne, intitled, *An Act for the better preſervation of parochial libraries in that part of Great Britain called England* (5). Sir Peter King, afterwards Lord Chancellor, was the gentleman who brought the bill into the houſe, one equally diſtinguiſhed by his knowledge in Chriſtianity, and zeal for it.

(5) The Life, &c. of Dr. Bray.

[G] *Bibliotheca parochialis.*] This book being a judicious performance, and of great uſe, eſpecially to the Clergy, has been much bought up; and, notwithſtanding there was a ſecond edition of it in 1707, is at preſent a little hard to be met with. One of his chief deſigns in this work, as well as making it a ſort of common-place book for the uſe of the Clergy and others, was in order, as we hinted in the text, to promote the forming and erecting of libraries of three ſorts, or degrees, both at home and abroad, *viz.* general, decanal or lending, and parochial libraries (7). How far this deſign had been already advanced, and how practicable it was to bring it to perfection, was intended to have been added to it in a prefatory account (8), ſetting forth alſo the hiſtory, nature, and uſe of libraries: but theſe articles making a good many ſheets, were too much to be added to the ſecond edition of this firſt volume, as it was already ſwelled, by great additions, to a very large octavo; and as the nature and deſign of this book had already, in a good meaſure, been underſtood and explained, by means of the introduction prefixed to the firſt edition: they were, therefore, deferred to be prefixed to the ſecond volume, which he tells us (9), was, in a manner, ready for the preſs. However, we do not find he ever publiſhed it, though he has given us twenty pages, in an analytical table, of all the heads, both general and particular, or a complete view of the contents of it, which are the ſeveral ſpecies, or ſorts, of hiſtory, *viz. Civil, Eccleſiaſtical, Literary, Perſonal* or *Biography*; *Topographical, ſecret, fabulous, various*, and *miſcellaneous Hiſtory* appendant to each, taking in, as preparative, *Geography, Voyages, Travels*, and *Chronology* (10). Having mentioned Biography here, it cannot be thought improper, in a work of this nature, to quote a paſſage from him, in which he gives us his ſentiments of it with reſpect to religion.

(7) See more about his Libraries under note [*F*].

(8) Bray's Bibliotheca Parochialis, title-page.

(9) Bibliotheca Parochialis, Advertiſement to the reader.

(10) Bibliotheca Paroch. chap. viii.

‘ It will be generally agreed by all who are converſant in books, that there is no part of hiſtory more uſeful and entertaining than Biography; or, the lives of perſons eminent in any way or profeſſion: But it is certain, when the lives of perſons of any rank or ſtation, either in Church or State; or, indeed, thoſe of inferior condition, who have been illuſtrious for their uncommon virtue, and more exalted piety; come to be drawn out by a ſkilful hand, wherein their conflicts with an evil world, their triumphs over the various and mighty temptations of it, and their conduct through all the difficulties of their ſtation in it; when theſe come to be advantageouſly ſet forth, and propoſed for imitation, they will unqueſtionably afford great light in ſteering the courſe of our own lives: they muſt kindle noble deſires in us to a virtuous emulation, and yield us a powerful ſupport under our soreſt trials, by letting us ſee, that when we are oppreſſed with ſufferings, and croſſed in the worthieſt undertakings, we are not yet the moſt forlorn and forſaken men, ſince others, who have gone before us, have ſuſtained a like trial of afflictions. And, laſtly, theſe furniſh a noble apology for the Chriſtian religion againſt our modern libertines; ſince the greateſt difficulties, they upbraid it withal, do appear, from thoſe examples, to have been ſurmounted; and the ſevereſt rules of piety are thereby demonſtrated to be not only practicable, but pleaſant. Nay, they will teach us, with St. Paul, to rejoice in ſufferings, through which our bleſſed Lord himſelf was made perfect (11).’

(11) Bibliotheca Paroch. p. 28, 29.

But to return. It ſeems a matter of no ſmall ſurprize, that this ſecond volume was never publiſhed, as he tells us the firſt edition of the firſt volume *had found ſo kind a reception from the public, as to occaſion the ſecond impreſſion to be very much deſired and enquired for* (12). And what he has publiſhed at the end of this analytical table, looks as if he had ſtill farther deſigns than a ſecond volume. It runs thus:

(12) *Ibid.* The end of the Advertiſement to the reader.

Part II.

‘ Or, Bibliotheca Parochialis Concionatoria.

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‘ will be the ſcheme of a library properly parochial;

of ſuch Theological and other Heads, as ſeem requiſite to be peruſed, or occaſionally conſulted by the Rev. Clergy, together with a Catalogue of Books, which may be profitably read on each of thoſe Points, &c. (*i*). The other, *Apoſtolic Charity, its Nature and Excellency conſidered, in a Diſcourſe upon Daniel* xii. 3. *preached at St. Paul's, at the Ordination of ſome Proteſtant Miſſionaries to be ſent into the Plantations. To which is prefixed, A General View of the Engliſh Colonies in America, in order to ſhew what Proviſion is wanting for the Propagation of Chriſtianity in thoſe Parts, together with Propoſals for the promoting the ſame, and to induce ſuch of the Clergy of this Kingdom, as are Perſons of Sobriety and Abilities, to accept of a Miſſion* (*k*). During this interval, *viz.* in the year 1697, a bill being brought into the Houſe of Commons to alienate lands given to ſuperſtitious uſes, and to veſt them in Greenwich Hoſpital, he preferred a petition to the Houſe, that ſome ſhare thereof might be appropriated for the propagation of the true religion in the Plantations, and that the ſame ſhould be veſted in a body politic, to be erected for that purpoſe; which petition was received very well in the Houſe, and a fourth part of all that ſhould be diſcovered, after one moiety to the diſcoverer, was readily and unanimouſly allotted by the Committee for that uſe, it being thought by far more reaſonable, to appropriate ſome part, at leaſt, of what was given to ſuperſtitious uſes, to uſes truly pious, than altogether to other, though charitable, purpoſes: but the bill was never ſuffered to be reported. In the year 1698, failing of a public and ſettled proviſion by law, for carrying on the ſervice of the Church in Maryland, and the other plantations, he addreſſed his Majeſty for a grant of ſome arrears of taxes due to the Crown; and ſome time after, was obliged to be at the charge and trouble of going over to the King in Holland, to have the grant completed. The recovery of theſe arrears of taxes was repreſented as very feaſible and very valuable, and alſo without any grievance to the ſubject: but as they proved troubleſome to be recovered, ſo they were ſcarcely of any value (*l*). All deſigns failing of getting a public fund for the propagation of the Goſpel in foreign parts, he thereupon formed a deſign, of which he then drew the plan, of having a Proteſtant congregation, *pro fide propaganda*, by charter from the King. But things did not ſeem ripe enough to encourage him to proceed at that time in the attempt, and ſo he laid it aſide till a more favourable opportunity. However, to prepare the way for ſuch a charter-ſociety, he ſoon after made it his endeavour, to find worthy perſons ready to form a voluntary ſociety, both to carry on the ſervice already begun for the Plantations, and to propagate Chriſtian knowledge as well at home as abroad, hoping afterwards to get ſuch a ſociety incorporated (†). This he laid before the Biſhop of London, in the year 1697, and a Society was conſtituted on this plan; and though the deſign of having them incorporated by charter could not then be brought to bear, yet they ſtill ſubſiſted and acted as a voluntary ſociety. But their number and benefactions at laſt increaſing, a different conſtitution, and more extenſive powers, appeared neceſſary, for the ſucceſs of the undertaking: application was, therefore, made by Dr. Bray, to his then Majeſty King William, for his royal charter. The Doctor's petition to his Majeſty, with other papers relating to the corporation to be erected for the propagation of the Goſpel in foreign parts, was read May 5, 1701, and his Majeſty's letters patent, under the great-ſeal of England, for erecting a corporation, by the name of *The Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in foreign Parts*, was laid before the Society, and read the ninth of June following (*m*). See Dr. Bray's petition, and more of this, below in note [*H*]. He received no advantage all this time from his Commiſſary's place in Maryland;

(*i*) Bray's Bibliotheca Parochialis, title-page, 1707.

(*k*) The Life and Deſigns of Dr. Thomas Bray, p. 16.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 17, 18.

(†) Monthly Chronicle for Feb. 1730, p. 33.

(*m*) The Minutes of the Society before, and at the time of the incorporation.

‘ wherein will be exhibited, a view of ſuch theological heads, as ſeem more peculiarly requiſite to be well ſtudied by every paſtor of a pariſh: Together with a catalogue of books, which will be read upon each of thoſe points.’

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‘ will be a ſcheme of concionatory Divinity: Or, a ſeries of all the points in Theology both doctrinal and moral, neceſſary to be preached upon: And thoſe digeſted withal in ſuch order, as they do naturally lie: Together with the moſt conſiderable tracts and diſcourſes, both ancient and modern; and the moſt valuable ſermons which have been written upon the ſame (13).’

(13) *Ibid.* The laſt page of the Analytical Table of the ſecond Volume.

[*H*] *Dr. Bray's petition to his Majeſty, and other things, relating to the Society for propagating the Goſpel.*]

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, the humble petition of *THOMAS BRAY*, D. D.

Humbly ſheweth,

‘ THAT the number of the inhabitants of your Majeſty's Provinces in *America*, have, of late years, greatly increaſed; that in many of the Colonies thereof, more eſpecially on the Continent, they are in much want of inſtruction in the *Chriſtian Religion*, and in ſome of them, utterly deſtitute of the ſame, they not being able, of themſelves, to raiſe a ſufficient maintenance for an orthodox Clergyman to live amongſt them, and to make ſuch other proviſion, as ſhall be neceſſary for the propagation of the Goſpel in thoſe parts.

‘ Your petitioner farther ſheweth, that upon his late arrival in England from thence, and his making known the aforeſaid matters in this city and kingdom, he hath great reaſon to believe, that many perſons would contribute, as well by legacy, as gift, if there were any BODY CORPORATE, and of perpetual ſucceſſion, now in being, and eſtabliſhed in this kingdom, proper for the lodging of the ſaid legacies and the grants therein.

‘ Now foraſmuch as your Majeſty hath already been graciouſly pleaſed to take the ſtate of the ſouls of your Majeſty's ſubjects in thoſe parts, ſo far into conſideration, as to found and endow a royal college in Virginia for the religious education of their youth, your petitioner is thereby the more encouraged to hope your Majeſty will alſo favour any like deſigns and ends, which ſhall be proſecuted by proper and effectual methods.

‘ Your petitioner, therefore, who has lately been among your Majeſty's ſubjects aforeſaid, and has ſeen their wants, and knows their deſires, is the more emboldened humbly to requeſt, that your Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to iſſue letters patent, to ſuch perſons as your Majeſty ſhall think fit, thereby conſtituting them a BODY POLITIC

‘ and

ryland; neither was any allowance made him at home, or preferment given him, to ſupport the charge of living altogether in town, to ſolicit the eſtabliſhment and endowment of the Church of Maryland, and to provide Miſſionaries for that, and all the colonies on the Continent; which, excepting Virginia, lay upon him; all the benefactions that were received being to be laid out to raiſe them libraries, which alſo he did faſter than money came in to anſwer the charge. This being obſerved by ſome of his friends, they endeavoured to perſuade him to lay his deſign of going abroad aſide, and take two good preferments that were then offered him at home, of as good or better value than what was propoſed to him in Maryland, *viz.* that of Sub-Almoner, and the donative of Aldgate in the City of London. But he declined all offers that were inconſiſtent with his going to Maryland, as ſoon as it ſhould become proper for him to take that voyage. By the year 1699, having waited upwards of two years for the return of the Act of Religion from Maryland, with ſuch amendments as would render it without exception at the Court of England (*n*); and it being preſumed by his ſuperiors, that it would be requiſite the Doctor ſhould now haſten over, as well to encourage the paſſing of that Act in their Aſſemblies, as to promote other matters for the ſervice of religion there, it was ſignified to him from them, that they would have him take the opportunity of the firſt ſhip: and indeed, the Doctor having, by this time, tried all ways he could think of, and done all he was able to do here, to ſerve thoſe parts; and according to propoſal having provided Maryland, as alſo many other colonies, with a competent number of Miſſionaries, and furniſhed them with good libraries, to be fixed in the places where they were ſent, to remain there for ever; he was himſelf eager to follow, and did ſo accordingly, even in the winter, though he had no allowance made him towards his charge of the voyage, and the ſervice he was to do; but was forced to diſpoſe of his own ſmall effects, and raiſe money on credit to ſupport him (*o*). With this poor encouragement, and thus, on his own proviſion, he took the voyage, December 16, 1699, and ſet ſail from the Downs the twentieth of the ſame month; but was driven back into Plymouth-ſound on Chriſtmas-eve, and remained in harbour almoſt all the holydays, where his time was not unuſefully ſpent, in the recovery of a tolerable library there out of duſt and rubbiſh, which was alſo indebted to him for a benefaction of books; and where he left a propoſal for taking in ſubſcriptions to make it a ſea-port library, for the uſe of Miſſionaries and Sea-Chaplains, as well as others. After an extremely tedious and dangerous paſſage, the Doctor arrived at Maryland the twelfth of March, where not being ſo much concerned at his own, as the Church's, unſettlement, he applied himſelf immediately and wholly to repair the breach made in the ſettlement of the parochial clergy; in order to which he conſulted, in the firſt place, the Governor, whom he found ready to concur in all proper methods for the re-eſtabliſhment of their maintenance. Before the next Aſſembly, which was to be in May following, he ſent to all the clergy on the weſtern ſhore, who only could come together in that ſeaſon, to be acquainted from them with the diſpoſition of the people, and their ſentiments on this occaſion, and to adviſe with them what was proper to be done, in order to diſpoſe the members of the Aſſembly to re-enact their law next meeting. Soon after he had diſmiſſed the clergy, he made his parochial viſitation, as far as it was poſſible for him at that ſeaſon; in which viſitation, he met with very ſingular reſpect from perſons of the beſt condition in the country, which the Doctor, by a happy conduct (of which he only was not ſenſible), turned to the advantage of that poor Church. During the ſeſſions of the Aſſembly, and whilſt the re-eſtabliſhment of the Church was depending, he preached very proper and ſeaſonable ſermons, and all of them with a tendency to incline the country to the eſtabliſhment of the Church and Clergy; all which were ſo well re-

(*n*) See note [C].

(*o*) Life of Dr. Bray, p. 26.

‘ and CORPORATE, and to grant them, and their ‘ ſucceſſors, ſuch powers, privileges, and immunities, as your Majeſty, in your great wiſdom, ſhall ‘ think meet and neceſſary for effecting the aforeſaid ‘ ends and deſigns,

and your petitioner ſhall ever pray,
THOMAS BRAY.

Whitehall, April 7th, 1701.

‘ His Majeſty having been moved upon this petition, is graciouſly pleaſed to refer the ſame to Mr. ‘ Attorney or Mr. Solicitor General, to conſider ‘ thereof, and report his opinion, what his Majeſty ‘ may fitly do therein; whereupon his Majeſty will ‘ declare his further pleaſure.

JA. VERNON.’

The gentlemen who compoſed that venerable body, were ſo ſenſible how much was owing to the zeal and ſolicitations of the Doctor, that it was reſolved, that thanks ſhould be returned him, for his great care and pains in procuring the grant of the ſaid letters. If this Society is now enabled, by a revenue ariſing from occaſional benefactions, and ſettled endowments, to ſupport a number of Miſſionaries, School-maſters, and Catechiſts, for the propagation of Chriſtianity in foreign parts, the zealous labours of Dr. Bray muſt be remembered with gratitude and honour, to which it owes its eſtabliſhment. One pamphlet has done him juſtice in the account of the origin of the incorporated Society, remarking, *that it took its riſe from the indefatigable endeavours of a reverend Clergyman now living (Dr. Bray) to promote Chriſtian knowledge in our foreign Plantations* (14). Theſe gentlemen have ſince increaſed to a conſiderable body, and no ſmall good has been done, as they aſſiſted him in ſending libraries abroad; and as they have diſperſed numbers of excellent books among our fleets and armies, raiſed charity-ſchools in and about the city, and promoted the ſame, by their correſpondence, in ſeveral parts of the kingdom. Several thouſand Pſalters, ten thouſand New Teſtaments, with great numbers of Catechiſms, ſhort hiſtories of the Bible, and moſt ſort of godly and religious books, have been printed by it, for the uſe of the eaſtern Churches. Several of theſe have been ſent over, and gratefully received, and this kingdom hath thereby had an opportunity of reſtoring, in ſome meaſure, the light of the Goſpel, both in *Syria*, *Arabia*, and *Egypt*, and alſo in thoſe countries from whence we firſt received it.

(14) A Letter from a reſiding Member of the Society of London for promoting Chriſtian Knowledge, to a correſponding Member in the country.

ceived,

ceived, that he had the thanks of the Aſſembly, by meſſages from the Houſe, for them, and for the ſervice done to that Church and province *(p)*. The Doctor was providentially on ſuch good terms with the Aſſembly, that they ordered the Attorney-General to adviſe with him in drawing up the bill; and that he himſelf might be the better adviſed in that caſe, he ſent for the moſt experienced clergy within reach, to ſuggeſt to him, what, upon their own and their brethren's experience, they found would be of advantage to them and the Church, to be inſerted in, or left out of it; by which means the conſtitution of that Church has much the advantage of any in America. It may not be amiſs to obſerve in this place, that as well during the General Court or Aſſize, which preceded the Aſſembly and laſted thirteen days, as during the ſeſſions of the Aſſembly itſelf, he was under a neceſſity of much civil, but chargeable, entertainment of the gentlemen of the province, who univerſally viſited him; a charge, however, which he thought requiſite as circumſtances then were, that he might ſtrengthen his intereſt in them, the better to promote the eſtabliſhment of the clergy's maintenance. The bill being prepared, paſſed with a *nemine contradicente*; but it was on all hands declared and confeſſed, that it was very providential that Dr. Bray came into the country at that juncture [*I*]. Soon after the Aſſembly was up, the Commiſſary cited the whole clergy of the province to a general viſitation at Annapolis, to be held May 22, 1700. At the cloſe of this viſitation, the clergy taking into conſideration, that the oppoſition of the Quakers againſt the eſtabliſhment of that Church would in all probability continue, ſo as to get the law for its eſtabliſhment ſo lately re-enacted, annulled again at home; they entered into debates, whether it would not be of conſequence to the preſervation and final ſettlement of that Church, that the Doctor ſhould be requeſted to go home with the law, and to ſolicit the Royal Aſſent (*q*). It had been before voted, at the paſſing the bill in the Houſe of Burgeſſes, that he ſhould be deſired to requeſt his Grace of Canterbury, and the Biſhop of London, to favour that good law, by obtaining his Majeſty's royal aſſent to it with all convenient ſpeed; and the members who gave him an account of paſſing their vote, told him withal, that it was the general opinion of the Houſe, that he could be moſt ſerviceable therein by waiting perſonally on their Lordſhips, rather than by letters, in which he could not crowd all that might be neceſſary to be repreſented concerning the then ſtate of the Church, and the neceſſity, at that time, of their utmoſt patronage: and it was in debate, Whether this ſhould not be the deſire of the Aſſembly: but it was thought too unreaſonable a requeſt from them, who were ſenſible of the great danger and fatigue he had already been at in the ſervice of that province, as they had a few days before acknowledged by a meſſage of thanks from that Houſe (*r*). Such were the ſentiments of the members of the Aſſembly, as to the neceſſity of his coming home to ſolicit the eſtabliſhment of that Church; and the clergy meeting at their viſitation, ſome weeks after, as they had time to know more fully the ſenſe of the province upon it; ſo they repreſented to him, as the earneſt deſire of the more ſenſible perſons throughout the country, as well as of the Aſſembly-men, that he ſhould go over with the law for England; being aware that the Quakers would this time openly, and the Papiſts covertly, make the utmoſt efforts againſt the eſtabliſhment of that Church, by falſe repreſentations at home of the numbers and riches of their party, and by inſinuating, that to impoſe upon them an eſtabliſhed maintenance for the clergy, would be prejudicial to the intereſt of the province, by obliging ſo many wealthy traders to remove from thence; the falſity of which, or any other ſuggeſtions, they thought him beſt able to make appear, by the information he had gained from this viſitation. There were alſo many other advantages to the Church in thoſe parts, which they propoſed by his coming home at that time, which were urged as reaſons for it (*s*); upon the conſideration of all which, though there was no proviſion could be made there to ſupport him in that charge, and the Commiſſary's office would alſo yield him no profit, it not being tenable by the law of the country but by one reſiding in it, yet upon the conſideration of much public good, he determined himſelf, and took his voyage ſoon after. He was no ſooner arrived in England, but he found their apprehenſions in Maryland not ill grounded; for the Quakers forthwith beſtirred themſelves ſo exceedingly, that it was amazing to ſee what prejudices they had quickly raiſed in thoſe who had then the cognizance of Plant-

(*p*) Life of Dr. Bray, p. 29.

(*q*) See the Acts of the Viſitation of Maryland.

(*r*) The Life and Deſigns of Dr. Bray, &c. p. 34.

(*s*) See the Acts of the Viſitation.

[*I*] *But it was on all hands confeſſed and declared, that it was very providential that Dr.* Bray *came into the country at that juncture.*] For it was looked upon as a difficult attempt, to have that law re-enacted, after two repulſes at home; it being contrary to the inſtructions given with all Governors, that when a law has been reverſed at home, a bill of the ſame nature ſhould be again paſſed in any of their Aſſemblies; and conſidering alſo the intereſts of the people to be raiſed of the forty *per* poll, and the bad humour the country was brought into by inſinuations of the Quakers and Papiſts, and the diſcouragement thoſe who were well affected to the Church met with, in having their laudable endeavours, for its eſtabliſhment and ſupport, ſo often repulſed. All theſe things conſidered, it was often univerſally owned, that had not the Doctor come in when he did, the eſtabliſhment would ſcarcely have been ſo much as attempted, much leſs have ſucceeded. It was undoubtedly deſigned by the Quakers, to put the greateſt ſlur upon this new Church, and totally to diſcourage any farther ſtrugglings to preſerve it from falling, that they contrived not only to have the Law for its eſtabliſhment annulled, juſt before the Commiſſary's going for Maryland, but that they ſent a Quaker with the order of Council in the very ſhip with him; which, however, rather contributed to its eſtabliſhment; for the conduct of the Quakers, in that contrivance, raiſed a great indignation in the friends to the ſettlement; and the Doctor's preſence did not a little animate them to attempt its reſtoration anew.

ation affairs, and what formidable computations they gave in of the clergy's charge to the country; which ſuggeſtions, when they were found to ſtick even with ſome that ſeemed well-affected to that Church, Dr. Bray refuted, by a printed memorial, repreſenting truly the ſtate of the Church of Maryland, to the full ſatisfaction of all to whom it was communicated. Happy was the province of Maryland in having its concerns managed, at this critical juncture, by ſuch an able and indefatigable agent [*K*]. The Quakers oppoſition to the eſtabliſhment now depending, was carried by united councils and contributions; but the Doctor refuted their ſpecious objections by unanſwerable reaſons, and placed the affair in ſuch an advantageous light, that his Majeſty decided, without any appearance of heſitation, in the Church's favour, and gave the royal aſſent in theſe remarkable words: ***Have the Quakers the benefit of a toleration? let the Eſtabliſhed Church have an eſtabliſhed maintenance.*** This chargeable and laborious undertaking having ſwallowed up the Doctor's own ſmall fortune, Lord Weymouth generouſly preſented him with a bill of 300 *l.* for his own private uſe, a large portion of which the Doctor devoted to the advancement of his farther deſigns. Though he was veſted with the character of Commiſſary, yet no ſhare of the revenue propoſed was annexed to it; and this diſappointment, though injurious in the higheſt degree, was not made by him either matter of complaint there, or of remonſtrance here: nay, his generoſity even induced him to throw in two ſums of fifty pounds each, that were preſented to himſelf in Maryland, towards defraying the charges of their libraries and law. But his generoſity and indefatigable endeavours to promote the intereſt of the Church, together with the ſucceſs which attended all his meaſures, for completing and perfecting the polity and eſtabliſhment of it, would ſwell this account too much, for which reaſon we ſhall refer the reader to the places where he may find thoſe heads treated of more at large (*t*). After the return of Dr. Bray from thence in 1701, he publiſhed his Circular Letters to the Clergy of Maryland, a Memorial, repreſenting the preſent ſtate of religion on the Continent of North America, and the Acts of his Viſitation held at Annapolis; for which he had the thanks of the Society above mentioned. Not only the Biſhop of London approved entirely of all theſe tranſactions, but alſo the Archbiſhop of Canterbury declared, that he was well ſatisfied with the reaſons of Dr. Bray's return from the Weſt-Indies, and added, that his miſſion thither would be of the greateſt conſequence imaginable to the eſtabliſhment of religion in thoſe parts. In 1706, he had the donative of St. Botolph without Aldgate offered him again, which he then accepted of, worth about 150 pounds *per annum* by ſurplice fees and voluntary ſubſcriptions (*), only eight pounds *per annum* being allowed by the impropriator (*u*). In the year 1712, the Doctor printed his *Martyrology*; *or*, *Papal Uſurpation*, in folio. That nothing might be wanting to enrich and adorn the work, he eſtabliſhed a correſpondence with learned foreigners of the firſt diſtinction, and called in the aſſiſtance of the moſt eminent hands. This work conſiſts of ſome choice and learned treatiſes of celebrated authors, which were grown very ſcarce, ranged and digeſted into as regular an Hiſtory as the nature of the ſubject would admit. He propoſed to compile a ſecond volume, and had, at no ſmall expence and pains, furniſhed himſelf with materials for it; but he was afterwards obliged to lay the proſecution of his deſign aſide, and bequeathed by Will his valuable collection of Martyrological Memoirs, both printed and manuſcript, to Sion-college. He was, indeed, ſo great a maſter of the Hiſtory of Popery, that few authors could be preſumed able, with equal accuracy and learning, to trace the origin and growth of thoſe exorbitant claims which are made by the See of Rome. He was happily formed by nature both for the active and for the retired life. Charity to the ſouls of other men, was wrought up to the higheſt pitch in his own: every reflection on the dark and forlorn condition of the Indians and Negroes, excited in his boſom the moſt generous emotions of pity and concern. He conceived nothing ſo deſirable, as to be the inſtrument of recovering thoſe loſt ſheep, and bringing them into the fold of their heavenly paſtor. His voyage to Holland, to ſolicit King William's protection and encouragement to his good deſigns, and the proofs he gave of a public ſpirit and diſintereſted zeal, in ſuch a ſeries of generous undertakings, obtained him the eſteem of M. d'Allone of the Hague, a gentleman not more celebrated for his penetration and addreſs in ſtate affairs, than for a pious diſpoſition of mind. An epiſtolary correſpondence commenced very early between him and the Doctor upon this ſubject; the reſult of which was, that M. d'Allone gave in his lifetime a ſum to be applied to the converſion of Negroes, deſiring withal the Doctor

(*t*) See the ſeveral Orders of Council, and Dr. Bray's own Letters to the Governor, Speaker, and Atorney-General of Maryland.

(*) See Newcourt's Repertorium Eccleſiaſticum Parochiale Londinenſ. Vol. i. p. 307. 309.

(*u*) Newcourt, *ut ſupra.* Monthly Chronicle for Feb. 1730, Vol. iii. p. 32.

[*K*] *Happy was the province of Maryland in having its concerns managed, at this juncture, by ſuch an able and indefatigable agent.*] Indeed, conſidering the oppoſition which was made to the law, when it came home, the Doctor's preſence ſeemed to be as ſeaſonable here, as it had been before thought in getting it re-enacted in Maryland: for no ſooner was the occaſion underſtood (and it did quickly ſpread abroad of itſelf, without the printed account he gave of it) but it created ſuch cenſures againſt thoſe, who appeared no well-wiſhers to that ſettlement, as, perhaps, were none of the leaſt occaſions that it fared not again as formerly it had done. But though the law, with much ſolicitation and ſtruggling, was preſerved from being totally diſannulled, yet many of the exceptions, which the Quakers made againſt it, ſticking with the Lords of Trade, all that could be obtained was, that Dr. Bray might, with advice of Counſel, draw up another Bill, according to the inſtructions of that Board, and ſending that bill to Maryland, to be paſſed into a law, had the promiſe that his Majeſty, upon its return, would confirm it here. In the drawing up of this bill, he was at great charge with Counſel; and after it had been thrice attended at the Plantation-Board, it was at laſt approved (15).

(15) The Life and Deſigns of Dr. Bray, p. 35, 36.

to accept the management and diſpoſal of it. But that a ſtanding proviſion might be made for this purpoſe, M. d'Allone bequeathed by Will a certain ſum, *viz.* 900 pounds, out of his Engliſh eſtate, to Dr. Bray and his aſſociates, towards erecting a capital fund or ſtock, for converting the Negroes in the Britiſh Plantations. This was in the year 1723, much about which time Dr. Bray had an extremely dangerous fit of illneſs, ſo that his life and recovery were deſpaired of. See more about this legacy and the diſpoſal of it in note [*L*]. In the year 1726, he was employed in compoſing and printing his *Directorium Miſſionarium*, his *Primordia Bibliothecaria*, and ſome other tracts of the like kind. About this time he alſo wrote a ſhort account of Mr. Rawlet, the author of the Chriſtian Monitor; and reprinted the Life of Mr. Gilpin. Some of theſe were calculated for the uſe of the Miſſion; and in one he has endeavoured to ſhew, that civilizing the Indians muſt be the firſt ſtep, in any ſucceſsful attempt for their converſion. In his *Primordia Bibliothecaria*, we have ſeveral ſchemes of parochial libraries, and a method laid down to proceed by a gradual progreſſion from ſtrength to ſtrength, from a collection not much exceeding one pound in value, to one of a hundred. His attention to other good works occaſioned no diſcontinuance of this deſign, the ſucceſs of which was ſo much the object of his deſires; and accordingly benefactions came in ſo faſt, that he had buſineſs enough upon his hands to form the libraries deſired, and to diſcharge himſelf of them. As the furniſhing the parochial clergy with the means of inſtruction, would be an effectual method to promote Chriſtian knowledge; ſo another expedient, manifeſtly ſubſervient to the ſame end, would be, he thought, to imprint on the minds of thoſe who are deſigned for the Miniſtry, previouſly to their admiſſion, a juſt ſenſe of its various duties, and their great importance. With a view to this, he reprinted the Eccleſiaſtes of Eraſmus [*M*], a name of great authority in the Republic of Letters, and to whom the re-eſtabliſhment of polite literature was principally owing. In the year 1727, an acquaintance of Dr. Bray's made a caſual viſit to Whitechapel priſon; and his repreſentation of the miſerable ſtate of the priſoners had ſuch an effect on the Doctor, that he immediately applied himſelf to ſolicit benefactions in order to relieve them; and he had ſoon contributions ſufficient to provide a quantity of bread, beef, and broth, on

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[*L*] *M. d'Allone bequeathed by Will a certain ſum,* viz. 900*l. to Dr. Bray and his aſſociates,* &c.] The Doctor finding, by the words of M. d'Allone's will, as well as by his letters in his lifetime, that he depended much upon him to form and model the deſign; that he might not be wanting to give the beſt aſſiſtance he could to a work ſo truly Chriſtian, immediately applied himſelf to form a ſcheme for the moſt effectual proceeding in this affair. Though the legacy could not ſoon be paid in, yet, in aſſurance of its certainty being intruſted to a perſon ſo truly honourable as Lord Palmerſton, he endeavoured, as occaſion offered, to ſet it a going: This he did, by ſounding the inclinations of ſome Miſſionaries, ſent to him by the Biſhop of London, whether they would engage in the meaſures propoſed for the inſtruction of the Negroes, whom they ſhould find in their ſeveral cures? Thoſe whom he obſerved well diſpoſed to it, he furniſhed with books, as neceſſary helps to them and their ſucceſſors, in diſcharging that part of their office; and as a farther encouragement, he furniſhed them with other ſmall pieces, more immediately proper for the inſtruction of the Negroes. When the legacy was paid, the early iſſues from it being too inconſiderable to begin the work in ſuch a manner as might aſſure himſelf, and his aſſociates, of the deſired event, there was an apparent neceſſity either of breaking in upon the capital, or of furniſhing books on its credit. The Doctor, therefore, being deſirous that the legacy might be handed down to his ſucceſſors in the truſt without any defalcation, choſe to make up the deficiencies at his own expence, and charge what was expended in thoſe proviſions on the fund. He did not propoſe to receive any intereſt for his money; and, at his death, obliged his Executrix to ſubmit to the diſadvantage of a gradual reimburſement. The better to prepare thoſe young Divines that came to him, who had not read much for the work, he lent them ſuch books as he thought proper to employ their ſtudies whilſt they ſhould remain in London, and put them upon a catechetical exerciſe on Sunday evenings in his own pariſh of St. Botolph's without Aldgate. Indeed he conceived it would be of ſingular uſe to have ſuch Miſſionaries under a probation here, before ſent abroad; and for this end founded a probationary Library, that, during the time of their probation, they might read over a whole courſe of Divinity, whereby they would be rendered more fit to teach, and give ſome ſpecimens of their preaching abilities (16).

[*M*] *He reprinted the* ECCLESIASTES *of* ERASMUS.] This treatiſe was written at the deſire of a Biſhop of the Romiſh Church; and it is well worthy our obſervation, with how much energy the learned author employs all his arguments that he could think proper, to excite a conſcientious regard to the weight of the miniſterial office, and a becoming diligence in the diſcharge of it. As excellent as this performance is, it lay before mixed and undiſtinguiſhed in his voluminous works, and could rarely fall into the hands of any, except thoſe few who have acceſs to public libraries; ſo that a diſtinct impreſſion of it is what the Doctor might juſtly intend, as a common benefit to the greater part of his order. Take his own opinion of the book, and his view in reprinting it, in his own words: ‘ Whenever I take into my hands ‘ this invaluable piece of Eraſmus his Eccleſiaſtes, ‘ methinks I experience what has been often ſaid by ‘ others, with reſpect to that of *Thomas à Kempis de* ‘ *Imitatione Chriſti*, namely, that let a man read him ‘ never ſo often, every time he will find ſomething ‘ new in him; ſo poignant, ſo penetrating, are the ‘ periods and ſentiments of the learned Eraſmus, relating to this great concern, even to the exceeding ‘ of himſelf in every thing he wrote: And it were ‘ much to be wiſhed, that among the many other ‘ tracts in Divinity, or relating to that ſubject, requiſite to be thoroughly read in our Univerſities by ‘ thoſe who are deſigned for the Miniſtry, previouſly ‘ to their entering into Holy Orders, this was alſo ‘ ſtrictly enjoined and inſiſted on. For, in ſhort, I ‘ may venture to ſay, that few of thoſe many who ‘ have written upon the nature and importance of the ‘ *Paſtoral Care*, ever exceeded the moſt eloquent and ‘ learned Eraſmus, in his awful way of delivering his ‘ ſentiments on this weighty office. Every period in ‘ his firſt book of Eccleſiaſtes being ſo pungent, and ‘ ſo admirably well levelled at the bold precipitancy ‘ and wretched views, with which many, too many, ‘ enter into Holy Orders; I am perſuaded, that being read over beforehand, it would deter ſome at ‘ leaſt from venturing, *illotis manibus*, upon an office ‘ they are ſo little qualified for, as a thing in itſelf ‘ horridly profane, and audacious in them; and the ‘ ſerious and frequent peruſal of the ſame afterwards, ‘ even through the whole courſe of miniſtry, would ‘ ſtimulate and invigorate even the beſt qualified and ‘ diſpoſed amongſt us, to execute the ſacred truſt in ‘ a proper manner (17).'

(16) Life of Dr. Bray, p. 45, 46.

(17) Bray's Primordia Bibliothecaria, p. 13, 14, 15.

Sundays, and now and then on the intermediate days, for this priſon and the Borough Compter (*w*). To temporal, he always ſubjoined ſpiritual, proviſions; and to enure them to the moſt diſtaſteful part of their office, the intended Miſſionaries were here employed in reading and preaching. On this occaſion the ſore was firſt opened, and that ſcene of inhumanity imperfectly diſcovered, which afterwards ſome worthy patriots of the Houſe of Commons took ſo much pains to inquire into and redreſs: that zeal and compaſſion which led them to carry on this inſpection, and regulate many groſs abuſes, could not but procure them the eſteem of one diſtinguiſhed by ſuch an extenſive benevolence as Dr. Bray. The divine guardianſhip apparently accompanied both his deſigns of founding libraries and converting Negroes. The former, particularly, was advanced under the patronage of perſons in the higheſt ſtations: but being now far advanced in years, and continually reminded of his approaching change, by the imbecility and decays of old age, he was deſirous of enlarging the number of his aſſociates, and adding ſuch to them, in whoſe zeal and integrity he might repoſe an entire confidence. His inquiry into the ſtate of the gaols, made him acquainted with Mr. (afterwards General) Oglethorpe, who accepted the truſt himſelf, and engaged ſeveral others, ſome of the firſt rank and diſtinction, to act with him and the former aſſociates [*N*]. To theſe two deſigns of founding libraries, and inſtructing Negroes, a third was now added, which, though at firſt view it appears to be of a different nature, has a perfect coincidence with them. The miſerable condition of multitudes for want of employment, has of late excited the higheſt degree of compaſſion in the breaſts of all charitable perſons: the proviſion which the legiſlature has made, by a late Act, for the erecting pariſh workhouſes, proves inſufficient; and therefore, out of the ſame charitable regard to mankind, a deſign was formed of eſtabliſhing a colony in America, than which nothing could be better intitled to conſideration and encouragement (*x*). The advantages which might accrue to the public from ſuch a ſettlement, is a ſubject of too large extent to be conſidered here. In ſhort, moſt of the religious ſocieties and good deſigns in London, owe grateful acknowledgment to his memory, and are, in a great meaſure, formed on the plans he projected; particularly the Society for the Reformation of Manners, Charity-ſchools, and the Society for the Relief of poor Proſelytes, *&c.* The Doctor having thus happily lodged his principal deſigns in the hands of able managers, and being on the verge of the grave, could not but review his undertakings with complacency, and thank the good providence of God, which appeared to lay ſuch trains for their advancement. His conſcience crowned him with a ſecret applauſe, which was an inexhauſtible ſource of comfortable reflections, and joyful preſages, in his laſt minutes, which happened on the fifteenth of February 1730, in the ſeventy-third year of his age (*y*), leaving iſſue (as we preſume) only one daughter (*z*).

(*w*) The Life of Dr. Bray, *ut ſupra*; p. 58. Monthly Chron. *ut ſupra.*

(*x*) Life of Dr. Bray, p. 54.

(*y*) Monthly Chronicle for Feb. 1730, Vol. iii. p. 32.

(*z*) See the Dedication of the Pamphlet intituled, Public Spirit illuſtrated in the Life and Deſigns of the Rev. Tho. Bray, D.D. to Mrs. Marten.

[*N*] *Him and his former aſſociates.*] It may not, perhaps, be diſagreeable to our reader to have a ſmall liſt of thoſe worthy perſons that aſſociated with the Doctor in this laudable deſign.

John Lord Viſcount Percival, late Earl of Egmont.—The Reverend Dr. Stephen Hales—William Belitha, Eſq;—The Honourable Edward Digby, Eſq;—The Right Honourable George Lord Carpenter.—Major-General Oglethorpe.—Edward Harley, Eſq;—The Honourable James Vernon, Eſq;—Edward Hughes, Eſq;—Robert Hucks, Eſq;—Thomas Tower, Eſq;—John Laroche, Eſq;—Rogers Holland, Eſq;—Major Charles Selwyn.—Robert More, Eſq;—William Sloper, Eſq;—Oliver St. John, Eſq;—Henry Haſting, Eſq;—George Heathcote, Eſq;—Francis Eyles, Eſq;—Mr. Adam Anderſon.—Sir James Lowther.—Captain Thomas Coram.—The Reverend Mr. Digby Cotes.—The Reverend Mr. Arthur Bedford.—The Reverend Mr. Samuel Smith.—The Reverend Mr. Richard Bundy.—The Reverend Mr. John Barton.—The Reverend Mr. Daniel Somerſcald, *&c.*

H——n.

⁂ [Mr. Whiſton, ſpeaking of the book, intitled, ‘Public Spirit illuſtrated, in the Life and Deſigns of ‘the Reverend Thomas Bray, D. D.’ aſſerts, that he can himſelf atteſt the contents of the book to be true; that he eſteemed Dr. Bray, not as one of the greateſt abilities, but as, by far, the moſt uſeful Clergyman, and the moſt indefatigable promoter of religion, and of the pious deſigns and ſocieties which conduce to it, he ever knew; that he always honoured and aſſiſted him, both in the Review of his Catechetic Lectures, and his other many charitable and Chriſtian attempts; and that he heard him comforting himſelf, near his death, with thoſe numerous good works he had ſo heartily promoted. When Dr. Bray was preparing to go as a Miſſionary or Commiſſary to the Weſt-Indians, and expected a handſome income to be provided for his ſupport there, he once ſaid to Mr. Whiſton, ‘Brother Whiſton, if you will ‘go with me, you ſhall go halves with me in my ‘profits.’ But Mr. Whiſton's ill health, and other circumſtances, did not permit him to accept the offer.

The ſame author farther relates, that when the very learned Mr. Maſon had been at Hanover, in his travels, ſome time before the ſucceſſion of that family to the Engliſh crown, and was come back, Dr. Bray, happening to be in company with him, obſerved, how happy and religious our nation would be, when the Houſe of Hanover came. Upon this, Mr. Maſon, who had ſeen what courts were in Germany, told him, ‘Matters of Religion would not ‘be mended when that Family came hither.’ This reply made Dr. Bray's blood then riſe in indignation againſt Mr. Maſon. ‘Yet, ſays Mr. Whiſton, when ‘that Family had been here ſome years, the good ‘Doctor was forced to alter his mind; and too ſadly ‘to acknowledge the truth of Mr. Maſon's melancholy prediction (18).’

Dr. Bray's opinion, that civilizing the Indians muſt be the firſt ſtep, in any ſucceſsful attempt for their converſion, is a proof of his good ſenſe, and of the juſt ideas he entertained on the ſubject. Chriſtianity, though perfectly rational and ſimple in its nature, is, perhaps, too enlarged and perfect a ſcheme to be eaſily admitted, where there has not been a certain previous degree of civilization, and of improvement in the human underſtanding.

Some farther account of the progreſs and ſucceſs of the ‘Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in ‘foreign Parts,’ will occur under the articles of Mayhew and Secker.] K.

(18) Whiſton's Memoirs of his own Life and Writings, p. 133, 134.

BRENT (Sir Nathanael), a learned perſon in the XVIIth century, was born at Little Woolford in Warwickſhire, in 1573 (*a*), being the ſon of Anchor Brent of that place, Gent. [*A*] In the year 1589, he became Portioniſt, commonly called Poſt-Maſter, of Merton-college in Oxford; and, on the twentieth of June 1593, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*b*). The year following he was admitted Probationer-Fellow of the college aforeſaid (*c*). On the thirty-firſt of October 1598, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*d*); and then entered upon the Law-line. In 1607, he was one of the Proctors of the univerſity (*e*). Some years after, namely in 1613, *&c.* he travelled into foreign parts, and became acquainted with ſeveral of the moſt learned men abroad. After his return, he married Martha daughter and heir of Dr. Robert Abbot, Biſhop of Saliſbury, and niece to Dr. George Abbot, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which was the cauſe of his ſucceeding great preferments (*f*). About the year 1618, he was ſent to Venice by Archbiſhop Abbot, on purpoſe to get a copy of the Hiſtory of the Council of Trent [*B*], then newly compoſed by the moſt renowned Padre Paolo Sarpi (*g*); in procuring of which he expoſed himſelf to very great dangers (*h*). In 1621, he was elected Warden of Merton-college (*i*), through the Archbiſhop's recommendation; who alſo made him his Vicar-General, Commiſſary of the dioceſe of Canterbury, Maſter of the Faculties, and at length Judge of the Prerogative (*k*) [*C*]. On the eleventh of October 1623, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Law (*l*). The twenty-third of Auguſt 1629, he received the honour of knighthood from King Charles I., at Woodſtock, being then ſuppoſed well-affected to the Church and Hierarchy (*m*). But in the great diſputes that aroſe between Archbiſhop Abbot and Biſhop Laud, he entirely ſided with the firſt, and his adherents, the Puritan party; and grew ſo inveterate againſt Laud, that he was a frequent witneſs againſt him at his trial (*n*). He likewiſe deſerted Oxford when King Charles I. garriſoned that place, and took the Covenant: for which reaſon he was deprived of his Wardenſhip of Merton-college, by his Majeſty's command; but reſtored again when Oxford garriſon was ſurrendered for the Parliament's uſe, in 1646 (*o*). In the years 1647 and 1648, he was appointed Chief Viſitor of that univerſity, and countenanced all the violent and arbitrary proceedings there uſed (*p*). When an order was made againſt Pluralities, he was forced to leave Merton-college, on the twenty-ſeventh of November 1651; at which time he refuſed alſo the oath called the Engagement (*q*). Upon this, retiring to his houſe in Little Britain in London (*r*), he died there November 6, 1652, aged ſeventy-nine; and was buried, the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, with great ſolemnity, in the church of St. Bartholomew the Leſs (*s*).

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. ii. col. 161. He was 79 years old at the time of his death, in 1652. *Ibid.* col 162.

(*b*) *Ibid.* Vol. i. Faſti, col. 145.

(*c*) Athenæ, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) *Ibid.* Faſti, col. 154.

(*e*) *Ibid.* col. 176.

(*f*) Athenæ, *ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) See *Some Letters relating to the Hiſt. of the Council of Trent*: publiſhed by Dr. Lewis Atterbury, Lond. 1705, 4*to.*

(*h*) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra.*

(*i*) *Idem,* Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 86.

(*k*) Athenæ, *ubi ſupra.*

(*l*) *Idem,* Faſti, Vol. i. col. 225, 226.

(*m*) Athenæ, *ut ſupra.*

(*n*) *Ibid.* See alſo Canterbury's Doome, by W. Prynne.

(*o*) Wood, Ath. & Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. *ut ſupra.*

(*p*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 369, *&c.*

(*q*) Athenæ, *ubi ſupra.* Kennet's Regiſt. and Chron. *&c.* edit. 1728, fol. p. 197.

(*r*) R. Smith, in his Obituary, ſays, that it was in Alderſgate-ſtreet. See F. Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. ii. lib. xiv. p. 25.

(*s*) *Ibid.* and Wood's Athen. *ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] *Being the ſon of Anchor Brent of that place, Gent.*] Who was a younger ſon of Richard Brent, Gent. eldeſt ſon of John Brent, of the houſe of Brent of Coſington in Somerſetſhire (1).

[*B*] *About the year* 1618, *he was ſent to Venice by Archbiſhop Abbot, on purpoſe to get a copy of The Hiſtory of the Council of Trent.*] This appears from two letters (publiſhed by Dr. Lewis Atterbury, in the collection above mentioned), from Archbiſhop Abbot to our author (2). The firſt of which, dated at Lambeth, June 21, 1618, is as follows: '*Salutem in* '*Chriſto.* I am glad that you are ſafely arrived whither you deſired to go. I have read your letters, 'and the *Canzoni* (3) incloſed, which are twelve in 'number, whereof I ſhall make ſuch uſe as is fit. I 'have not acquainted the greateſt with any thing of 'your perſon, nor with the matter ſo much deſired; 'ſo that you may confidently tell your two good 'friends (4), that they need to dread nothing. And 'I may ſay in general, that there is no man living, 'to whom I have made known any thing in this 'matter, ſaving to you; only in general the old 'man, that liveth with me, underſtandeth of my 'deſire to get what I can appertaining to thoſe ſongs. 'Perſiſt, I pray you, in that courſe, which you have 'begun; and ſo commending me unto you, and 'wiſhing you to live as privately as you can, I reſt

'Your very loving friend,

'G. CANT.

As Father Paul, and Father Fulgentio, the two joint authors of that excellent hiſtory, compoſed it, they privately delivered a copy of the ſame to Mr. Brent; who ſent it over weekly to the Archbiſhop in the original Italian; and it came to his hands, after five or ſix ſuperſcriptions to other perſons, for the greater ſecurity (5). When Mr. Brent had ſent it all over, he came back himſelf, and tranſlated it out of Italian into Engliſh and Latin. The original Italian was printed firſt at London in 1619, and dedicated to King James I. by D. Antonio de Dominis, Archbiſhop of Spalatro, who had been inſtrumental in procuring that Hiſtory (6). The Engliſh tranſlation was publiſhed in 1619, under this title, 'The Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, containing 'eight Books. In which, beſides the ordinary Acts 'of the Council, are declared many notable Occurrences, which happened in Chriſtendom, during 'the Space of forty Years and more. And particularly the Practices of the Court of Rome, to hinder 'the Reformation of their Errours, and to maintain 'their Greatneſs.' In folio. A new edition was printed in 1640; and another in 1676, with other pieces of Father Paul, at the end.——Beſides this tranſlation, Sir Nathanael Brent reviewed Mr. Fr. Maſon's 'Vindication of the Church of England, 'concerning the Conſecration and Ordination of the 'Biſhops, *&c.*' examined the quotations, compared them with the originals, and printed that book from the author's manuſcript, in 1625, fol. (7) Whatever elſe he compoſed, hath not been publiſhed.

[*C*] *Judge of the Prerogative.*] It is probable he was turned out of this place by Archbiſhop Laud. For thus we read in Whitelock's Memorials (8): 'The Commons took orders touching the Prerogative Court, and appointed Sir *Nathaniel Brent* to 'be the Judge of that Court.' M.

(1) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra.*

(2) Some Letters relating to the Hiſt. of the Council of Trent, *&c.* Lond. 1705, 4*to*, as above.

(3) That feigned name [which ſignifies *Songs* in Italian] they gave to the Sheets of The Hiſt. of the Council of Trent.

(4) F. Paul, and F. Fulgentio.

(5) See Some Letters, *&c.* as above, p. 2, 3.

(6) Echard's Hiſt. edit. 1720. p. 393.

(7) Wood, Ath. Vol. i. col. 464, and Vol. ii. col. 162.

(8) Edit. 1732, fol. p. 92.

BREVINT (Daniel), a learned Divine of the XVIIth century, was born in the Iſle of Jerſey, in the reign of King James I. (*a*), and probably educated in grammar-learning in that place. From thence he went and ſtudied Logic and Philoſophy in the Proteſtant univerſity of Saumur [*A*], where he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, on September

(*a*) In the year 1616. He was baptized May 11, 1616. Regiſter-book of St. John's in Jerſey.

[*A*] *From thence he went and ſtudied Logic and Philoſophy, in the Proteſtant Univerſity of Saumur.*] Before the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and till the encouragement, given by the foundation of the three Fellowſhips

September 12, 1634 (*b*). Coming to Oxford, he, in all likelihood, ſtudied for ſome time in that famous univerſity, and October 12, 1638, was incorporated there Maſter of Arts (*c*), as he ſtood at Saumur. About this time King Charles I., having, through Archbiſhop Laud's perſuaſion, founded three Fellowſhips in the colleges of Pembroke, Exeter, and Jeſus, for the Iſlands of Jerſey and Guernſey, alternately; Mr. Brevint was nominated, or choſen, to be the firſt Fellow at Jeſus-College upon this foundation, in 1638 (*d*). Here he continued till he was ejected from his fellowſhip by the Parliament-Viſitors [*B*], for refuſing to take the Solemn League and Covenant (*e*). Upon this he withdrew to his native country (*f*). But upon the reduction of that place by the Parliament's forces, he fled into France, and became Miniſter of a Proteſtant congregation in Normandy. Not long after, he had the honour of being made Chaplain to the Viſcount de Turenne, afterwards Marſhal of France, whoſe Lady was one of the moſt worthy and pious women in her time (*g*). Whilſt he was in that ſtation, he was one of the perſons 'employed about the great deſign then in hand, 'of reconciling the Proteſtant and Popiſh religions; which gave him an acceſs into, 'and made him acquainted with, every corner of that Church,' as he ſays himſelf (*h*). At the Reſtoration of King Charles II. he came back to England, and was preſented by that Prince (who had known him abroad) to the tenth prebend in the church of Durham, vacant by the promotion of Dr. J. Coſin to that See. He was inſtalled March 15, 1660-61 (*i*). By Biſhop Coſin, who had been his fellow-ſufferer, he was alſo collated to a living in the dioceſe of Durham (*k*). On the 27th of February, 1661-62, he took his degree of Doctor of Divinity at Oxford (*l*). Having, during his exile, ſeen Popery in its native deformity, and obſerved all the mean and diſhoneſt arts that are uſed to ſupport that weak and ill-ſhaped building, he took all opportunities to attack, and endeavour to pull it down. Accordingly, in 1672, he publiſhed *Miſſale Romanum; or, The Depth and Myſtery of the Roman Maſs laid open and explained, for the Uſe of both Reformed and Unreformed Chriſtians* [*C*]; and, the next year, *The Chriſtian Sacrament and Sacrifice, by way of Diſcourſe, Meditation, and Prayer, upon the Nature, Parts, and Bleſſings, of the Holy Communion* [*D*]; and, in 1674, *Saul and Samuel at Endor, or the new Waies of Salvation and Service, which uſually temt Men to Rome, and detain them there, truly repreſented and refuted.* At the end of which is, *A brief Account of R. F. his* Miſſale Vindicatum, *or Vindication of the Roman Maſs* [*E*], being an anſwer to *The Depth and Myſtery of the Roman Maſs*, above mentioned. The learning and other eminent qualifications of the author having recommended him to the eſteem of the world, and to the favour of his Sovereign, he was promoted to the Deanery of Lincoln, vacant by the death of Michael Honeywood, D. D. Into this dignity he was inſtalled January 3, 1681-82; and into the prebend of Welton-Payns-hall, annexed thereto, Ja-

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 927, edit. 1721; and Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. P. ii. p. 322.

(*c*) *Idem*, Faſti, Vol. i. col. 277.

(*d*) *Idem*, Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 927.

(*e*) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. Lond. 1714, fol. p. 120.

(*f*) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) From the information of a friend, who knew him.

(*h*) In Preface to Saul and Samuel at Endor, p. 5, edit. Oxf. 1674, 8*vo.*

(*i*) Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, &c. Lond. 1727, p. 273.

(*k*) From the information of a friend.

(*l*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. ii. col. 148.

Fellowſhips above mentioned, in the Univerſity of Oxford, the young gentlemen of the iſlands of Jerſey and Guernſey, deſigned for the miniſtry, were ſent to ſtudy among the Proteſtants in France, particularly at Saumur. This Univerſity was founded by the learned Philip de Mornay, Lord of Pleſſis Marly, who brought profeſſors to teach academical learning in that town, of which King Henry IV. had made him Governor (1). It was for ſeveral years in great repute, on account of its eminent Profeſſors of Divinity, John Cameron, Lewis Cappel, Moſes Amyrauld, John de la Place, &c. The learned Tannegui le Feve, father of Madam Dacier, was alſo one of the Regents, or Maſters, in that Univerſity. It was at length ſuppreſſed by Lewis XIV. in 1684.

[*B*] *He was ejected from his Fellowſhip by the Parliament-Viſitors.*] He muſt have been diſpoſſeſſed of it, or at leaſt have quitted it, before the general viſitation in 1647, &c.; for he ſays himſelf, that he was 'kept by the times of rebellion *ſeventeen years* abroad 'among the Romaniſts (2);' that is, from 1643 to 1660.

[*C*] *The depth and myſtery of the Roman Maſs.*] It was printed at Oxford 1672, and again in 1673, 8*vo.* In 1674 there came out an anſwer to it, intitled, *Miſſale Romanum Vindicatum; or, The Maſs vindicated from Dr. Dan. Brevint's calumnious and ſcandalous Tract*, 8vo. Of this the Doctor gave an account, with ſome ſhort obſervations upon it, at the end of his *Saul and Samuel at Endor*, as is mentioned in the text above.

[*D*] *The Chriſtian Sacrament and Sacrifice*, &c.] Printed at Oxford 1673, in 12*mo.* It paſſed through a ſecond edition; and the third was publiſhed at London in 1739, upon the following recommendation given of it by Dr. Waterland, in his Charge, intitled, *The Chriſtian Sacrifice explained* (3). 'He '[Dr. Brevint] was well read in the Euchariſtic Sacrifice: no man underſtood it better;——and he 'explained the practical uſes of that doctrine in ſo 'clear, ſo lively, and ſo affecting a way, that one 'can ſcarce meet with any thing on the ſubject that 'can be juſtly thought to exceed it. So that I could 'heartily join my wiſhes with a late learned writer (4), 'that that excellent little book, intitled, *The Chriſtian Sacrament and Sacrifice*, might be reprinted, 'for the honour of God, and the benefit of the 'Church.' In the dedication of this book, the author ſays, 'That it is one of the many tracts which 'he made at Paris, on ſeveral ſubjects, at the inſtance of thoſe two incomparable Princeſſes [of 'Turenne and Bouillon], who there, for many years 'during his baniſhment, employed him in their 'ſervice.'

[*E*] *Saul and Samuel at Endor*, &c.] It was printed at Oxford 1674, 8*vo*, and reprinted at London 1688, in 12*mo.* The deſign of it is, to ſhew the falſeneſs and abſurdity of the new ways of ſalvation and ſervice, which uſually tempt men to embrace the Romiſh religion; namely, 1. The Romaniſts pretending theirs to be the only true Catholic Church. 2. Romiſh miracles. 3. The protection and aſſiſtance of their imaginary ſaints, particularly the Virgin Mary. Under this article, he fully ſhews, to what an exceſſive degree of ſuperſtitious idolatry the veneration for her hath been carried by the Papiſts. They beſtow upon her the higheſt titles which are in Scripture attributed to God, and in their prayers and praiſes commonly join her with the Supreme Being. They apply to her the moſt illuſtrious paſſages of Scripture, that belong directly to Chriſt. They have compoſed a pſalter, *Pſalterium S. Bonaventuræ*; nay even a whole Bible, *Biblia Mariæ*, to her honour. 4. Another inducement to Popery is the beads, called the Roſary. 5. The next is, the Church's treaſury. 6. Indulgences. 7. Pardon of ſins, by means of holy confraternities and friends. 8. The girdle of St. Francis, the 150 beads of St. Dominic, and the ſcapulary of St. Simon Stock. 9. Relics, Agnus Dei's, &c. 10. Conſecrated images.

(1) Account of Jerſey, by P. Falle, 2d edit. Lond. 1733. p. 316.

(2) Preface to Saul and Samuel at Endor, *ubi ſupra.*

(3) Page 31.

(4) Dr. Hickes, Chriſt. Prieſthood, Prefat. Diſcourſe, Vol. i. p. 39, 40.

nuary 7th following (*m*). Beſides the books already mentioned, he hath publiſhed ſome others in Latin, of which there is an account in the note [*F*]. He died May 5, 1695, and was buried in the cathedral-church of Lincoln, behind the high altar (*n*); where, on a grave-ſtone, is an inſcription to his memory [*G*]. He was a perſon of great reading, eſpecially in the controverſy between the Proteſtants and Papiſts; zealous for the Church of England; and for his life and learning truly praiſe-worthy (*o*).

(*m*) Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedral of Lincoln, &c. 4to, p. 81. 261.

(*n*) Willis, *ubi ſupra*, p. 81.

(*o*) Wood's Ath. *ubi ſupra*.

[*F*] *He hath publiſhed ſome other books*, &c.] The titles of them are, I. *Eccleſiæ primitivæ Sacramentum & Sacrificium, à pontificiis corruptelis, & exinde natis controverſiis liberum*; written at the deſire of the Princeſſes of Turenne and Bouillon; *i. e.* 'The Sacrament and Sacrifice of the primitive Church freed 'from Popiſh corruptions, and the diſputes occaſioned thereby.' II. *Euchariſtiæ Chriſtianæ præſentia realis, & pontificia ficta, luculentiſſimis non teſtimoniis modo, ſed etiam fundamentis, quibus fere tota S. S. Patrum Theologia nititur, hæc exploſa, illa ſuffulta & aſſerta*; i. e. 'A confutation of the Real 'Preſence in the Euchariſt, as maintained by the 'Papiſts, with an account of the manner how Chriſt 'is preſent in the Sacrament, according to the writ'ings of the ancient Fathers.' III. *Pro Sereniſſima Principe Weimarienſi ad Theſes Jenenſes accurata Reſponſio*; i. e. 'An exact Anſwer to the Theſes of 'Jena, for the Princeſs of Weimar.' IV. *Ducentæ plus minus Prælectiones in S. Matthæi xxv capita, & aliorum Evangeliſtarum locos hiſce paſſim parallelos*; i. e. 'About two hundred Lectures upon twenty-five 'chapters of St. Matthew, and thoſe paſſages of the 'other Evangeliſts that are parallel thereto.' He alſo tranſlated into French The Judgment of the Univerſity of Oxford concerning the Solemn League and Covenant (5).

[*G*] *On a grave-ſtone is an inſcription to his memory.*] Which is as follows: 'Here lyeth the body of Da'niel Brevint, D. D. late Dean of this Cathedral 'Church of Lincoln, who departed this life May 5, '1695. I have waited for thy Salvation, O Lord '(6).' M.

(5) Wood's Ath. *ubi ſupra*; and Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. ii. p. 322.

(6) Br. Willis, *ubi ſupra*, p. 81.

BRIGGS (Henry), an eminent Mathematician of the XVIth century, deſcended from the ancient family of that name at Salle in Norfolk, was born at Warley Wood, a ſmall hamlet in the pariſh of Halifax in Yorkſhire (*a*). The time of his birth is uncertain; but, moſt probably, it was about the year 1556 [*A*]. After his education at a grammar-ſchool in the country, he was ſent to St. John's college in Cambridge about the year 1577, and admitted a ſcholar of the houſe November 5, 1579. In 1581, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, that of Maſter in 1585, and was choſen Fellow of his college March 29, 1588. He applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of the Mathematics, in which he greatly excelled; and, in 1592, was made Examiner and Lecturer in that faculty; and, ſoon after, Reader of the Phyſic-Lecture founded by Dr. Linacre. Upon the ſettlement of Greſham-college in London, he was choſen the firſt Profeſſor of Geometry there, about the beginning of March, 1596; and, ſome time after, he conſtructed a *Table*; by the help of which, the *Magnetical Declination* being given, the height of the *Pole* may eaſily be found. This Table was ſuited to an inſtrument deſcribed by Dr. Gilbert (*b*), and publiſhed by Mr. Blondeville (*c*). In 1609, Mr. Briggs contracted an intimacy with the learned Mr. James Uſher, afterwards Archbiſhop of Armagh, which was kept up many years by letters, two of which, written by our author, are yet extant (*d*). In the former of them, dated in Auguſt, 1610, he tells his friend, 'he was engaged in the ſubject of Eclipſes;' and in the latter, dated March 10, 1615, he acquaints him with his being 'wholly employed about the noble 'invention of *Logarithms*, then lately diſcovered;' in the improvement of which he was particularly concerned [*B*]. In the ſummer of the year 1616, he took a journey into

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 549; and Dr. T. Smith's Comment. de vit. et ſtud. H. Briggii, in his Vit. quorund. erudit. et illuſtr. Virorum, Lond. 1707, 4*to*. See alſo Mr. J. Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-college, Lond. 1740, p. 120; and the Rev. Mr. Blomefield's Topographical Hiſt. of Norfolk, Vol. i. p. 641.

(*b*) In his fifth Book of the Loadſtone.

(*c*) In his Theoriques of the Seven Planets, Lond. 1602, 4*to*.

(*d*) In Archbiſhop Uſher's Letters, No. 4 and 16, Lond. 1686, fol.

[*A*] *About the year* 1556.] Dr. Smith (1) places his birth *about the year* 1560; which, probably, he might collect from what is ſaid by Anthony Wood (2), that he died on the 26th of January, 1630, *aged ſeventy or more*; and likewiſe from Mr. Gellibrand, who, ſpeaking of his death, calls him *Apellem noſtrum Septuagenarium* (3). But, in a letter from Mr. Joſeph Mede, of Chriſt's College in Cambridge, dated the 6th of February, 1630, it is ſaid, *Mr. Henry Brigges of Oxford, the great Mathematician, is lately dead, at ſeventy-four years of age* (4). According to this account, which is more expreſs and determinate than either of the former, he muſt have been born in the year 1556.

[*B*] *He was particularly concerned in the improvement of* Logarithms.] Mr. Wood tells us (5), that 'one Dr. Craig, a Scotchman, coming out of Den'mark into his own country, called upon John Ne'per, Baron of Marcheſton, near Edinburgh, and 'told him, among other diſcourſes, of a new inven'tion in Denmark by Longomontanus, as it is ſaid, 'to ſave the tedious multiplication and diviſion in 'aſtronomical calculations. Neper being ſolicitous 'to know farther of him concerning this matter, 'he could give no other account of it, than that it 'was by *proportionable numbers*: which hint Neper 'taking, he deſired him at his return to call upon 'him again. Craig, after ſome weeks had paſſed, 'did ſo; and Neper then ſhewed him a rude draught 'of what he called *Canon mirabilis Logarithmorum.* 'Which draught, with ſome alterations, he print'ing in 1614, it came forthwith into the hands of 'our author Briggs, and into thoſe of William 'Oughtred, from whom the relation of this matter 'came.' As this ſtory is told, one would imagine it came from Mr. Oughtred. But there is no mention of it in his writings. And it ſeems ſtrange, that Longomontanus, had he any pretenſions to it, ſhould have nowhere laid claim to the honour of this admirable invention (6), but have left the glory of its firſt diſcovery to be ſolely aſcribed to the Baron of Marcheſton (7). This could not be for want of attention to a thing of that importance, or an opportunity of doing himſelf juſtice in ſo long a courſe of time: for he lived, as Voſſius tells us (8), to the year 1647, and was upwards of eighty years old when he died. Gaſſendus indeed mentions (9) a compendious method of calculation in Trigonometry, as diſcovered by Tycho Brahe, in which Addition and Subſtraction were uſed inſtead of Multiplication and Diviſion; and he adds this remark: *Quod ut fieri poſſit, docuit poſtmodum ſuo Logarithmorum Canone Neperus.* But that Neper's diſcovery was altogether different from the method ſpoken of by Gaſſendus, may appear by conſulting the authors, in which the artifice then uſed for that purpoſe is particularly explained (10). This invention was no ſooner known, than it gained the general applauſe of all the eminent mathematicians of that age, who found it to anſwer what the noble author had ſaid of it in his Dedication to Prince Charles, that *illius adminiculo plures quæſtiones mathematicæ unius horæ ſpatio, quam priſtina*

(1) Comment. de vit. et ſtud. H. Briggii, p. 1.

(2) Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 550.

(3) Pref. ad Trigon. Brit.

(4) Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-college, Lond. 1740, p. 120.

(5) *Ubi ſupra*, col. 549.

(6) *Vid.* Smith, *ubi ſupra*, p. 5.

(7) See Mackenzie's Lives of the Scots Writers, p. 522.

(8) De Natura Artium, l. iii. c. 46.

(9) Vit. T. Brahei, p. 109. 165, edit. 1655, 4*to*.

(10) *Vid.* Clavium de Aſtrolab. l. i. lemma 53. Pitiſci Trigonom. l. v. init. &c.

into Scotland, to converſe with John Neper, Baron of Marchiſton, near Edinburgh, upon his new invention of *Logarithms*; and the ſummer following made him a ſecond viſit (*e*). In 1617, for the ſake of his friends and hearers at Greſham-college, he printed, in 8*vo*, his *Logarithmorum Chilias Prima* [*C*]. In 1619, he was made Savilian Profeſſor of Geometry at Oxford [*D*]; but continued to hold his Profeſſorſhip of Greſham-college, till the 25th of July, 1620, and then reſigned it. Upon his going to Oxford, he ſettled himſelf at Merton-college, and ſoon after was incorporated Maſter of Arts in that Univerſity, where he continued till his death. In 1622, he publiſhed a ſmall tract, in 4*to*, concerning the *North-weſt Paſſage to the South-Sea, through the Continent of Virginia and Hudſon's Bay* (*f*). The reaſon which led him to it was, probably, his being then a member of the company trading to Virginia. His next performance was his great and elaborate work, intitled, *Arithmetica Logarithmica* [*E*]; and ſoon after he engaged in another grand work, intitled, *Trigonometria Britannica*.

(*e*) See remark [*B*].

(*f*) Reprinted in Purchas's Pilgrimes, Vol. iii. p. 852.

et communiter recepta forma Sinuum, Tangentium, et Secantium, vel integro die abſolvantur; i. e. 'By the 'help of this invention, more mathematical queſtions 'may be determined in one hour, than in a whole 'day by the old and commonly-received method of 'Sines, Tangents, and Secants.' But no one more extolled it than Mr. Briggs, who, in a letter to Mr. James Uſher (afterwards Archbiſhop of Armagh), ſpeaks of it thus: *Naper, Lord of Markinſton, hath ſet my head and hands at work with his new and admirable Logarithms. I hope to ſee him this ſummer; for I never ſaw a book which pleaſed me better, and made me more wonder* (11). This year the Baron publiſhed his *Rabdologia*, in the Dedication of which to the Lord Chancellor Seton, he mentions another ſpecies of *Logarithms*, different from what he had publiſhed in 1614, and which he had invented ſince that time. His words are theſe: *Logarithmorum ſpeciem aliam multo præſtantiorem nunc etiam invenimus, et creandi methodum una cum eorum uſu, ſi Deus longiorem vitæ et valetudinis uſuram conceſſerit, evulgare ſtatuimus. Ipſam autem novi Canonis ſupputationem, ob infirmam corporis noſtri valetudinem, viris in hoc ſtudii genere verſatis relinquimus; imprimis vero D. Henrico Briggs, Londini publico Geometriæ Profeſſori, et amico mihi longe chariſſimo*; i. e. 'I have lately in'vented another, and a much better, kind of *Loga'rithms*; and I purpoſe, if God grant me life and 'health, to publiſh the method of conſtructing them, 'together with their uſe. But, on account of the 'bad ſtate of my health, I leave the computation of 'the new Canon to perſons converſant in this kind 'of ſtudy; particularly to Mr. Henry Briggs, public 'Profeſſor of Geometry at London, and my moſt 'dear friend.' It ſeems from this paſſage, as if the Baron, being then ſenſible of his declining health, was deſirous, by this public notice of his new method of *Logarithms*, and his expectations from Mr. Briggs, to engage him more firmly in the proſecution of that uſeful, but very laborious, work here mentioned. Soon after the publication of the *Canon Mirificus Logarithmorum*, it was tranſlated into Engliſh by Mr. Edward Wright, and ſent to the author into Scotland for his peruſal, who approved of it very well. But Mr. Wright dying before the book was returned from Scotland, the care of the impreſſion was, both by him and the Baron, committed to Mr. Briggs, who publiſhed it in the year 1616, with a Preface of his own, containing ſome account of its excellent uſes, and a deſcription of the inſtrumental *Table*, to find the *part proportional*, placed at the end. We find, by the paſſage tranſcribed above from the Baron's *Dedication* of his *Rabdologia*, that what he propoſed to do himſelf in relation to the ſecond ſpecies of *Logarithms*, was only to give an account how they were made, and explain the uſe of them, and to leave the labour of their calculation to others, and particularly to Mr. Briggs. But he did not live to go through what he intended; and therefore, after his deceaſe, the manuſcript being ſent to Mr. Briggs, he made ſeveral additions to it, as will appear by looking into the contents of the book itſelf, publiſhed by the Baron's ſon (12). In 1615, Mr. Briggs, in explaining the ſubject of *Logarithms* to his hearers at Greſham College, obſerved, that it would be more commodious if they were ſo altered, that 0 ſhould be the *Logarithm* of the whole *Sine*, as in the *Canon*, and 10000000000 be made the *Logarithm* of a tenth part of the whole *Sine*, namely, 5 *degrees*, 44 *minutes*, and 21 *ſeconds*. And preſently after he acquainted the author with this by a letter; and, having calculated ſome *Logarithms* in that manner, he took a journey to Edinburgh, to ſhew the Baron what he had done. He was very kindly received by Neper, and ſtaid with him a month; and in their converſation upon that head, the Baron told him, he was ſenſible the *Logarithms* might be altered for the better, before he publiſhed his *Canon*; but choſe to have them printed in the manner he had prepared them, till he had leiſure and health to make others more commodious; which he thought would be beſt, if 0 was made the *Logarithm* of an *Unit*, and 10000000000 that of the whole *Sine*. Mr. Briggs agreed with him in this; and, at his deſire, after he came back to London, throwing by thoſe he had calculated upon his former ſcheme, made others in the manner ſuggeſted by the Baron, who highly approved of them, and earneſtly preſſed him to proceed (13). And upon this plan was Mr. Briggs's *Arithmetica Logarithmica* formed. *See the remark* [*E*].

(11) Uſher's Letters, p. 36.

(12) Edinburgi, 1619, 4*to*.

(13) See the Preface to Mr. Briggs's Arithmetica Logarithmica.

[*C*] His *Logarithmorum Chilias Prima*.] Theſe *Logarithms*, he tells us in the Preface, are of a different kind from thoſe publiſhed by the illuſtrious inventor of the art, in his *Canon Mirificus*. *Quod autem hi Logarithmi diverſi ſint ab iis, quos clariſſimus inventor, memoriæ ſemper colendæ, in ſuo edidit Canone Mirifico*, &c. And this *Chilias Prima* is what Sir Henry Bourchier refers to in the following paſſage of a letter written by him to Dr. Uſher: 'Our kind 'friend Mr. Briggs hath lately publiſhed a *Supple'ment* to the moſt excellent *Tables* of *Logarithms*, 'which I preſume he has ſent you (14).' This letter is dated December 6, 1617.

(14) Uſher's Letters, p. 62.

[*D*] *He was made Savilian Profeſſor of Geometry at Oxford*.] Sir Henry Savile, the founder of that lecture, had himſelf for ſome time diſcharged that province, and read thirteen lectures upon the firſt eight Propoſitions of Euclid's *Elements*, which were afterwards printed (15); and then he ſurrendered the chair to Mr. Briggs, taking leave of his audience, in his laſt lecture, with theſe words: *Trado lampadem ſucceſſori meo, doctiſſimo viro, qui vos ad intima Geometriæ myſteria perducet*. Mr. Briggs entered upon this new province January the 8th that year, which he opened with an eloquent oration, and the week following began his lectures with the ninth Propoſition of Euclid, where Sir Henry Savile had left off (16).

(15) Oxon. 1621, 4*to*.

(16) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii p. 324.

[*E*] *His* Arithmetica Logarithmica.] The title at length is, *Arithmetica Logarithmica; ſive, Logarithmorum Chiliades triginta, pro numeris naturali ſerie creſcentibus ab unitate ad* 20,000, *et à* 90,000, *ad* 100,000. *Quarum ope multa perficiuntur arithmetica Problemata et geometrica. Hos numeros primus invenit clariſſimus vir* Johannes Neperus, *baro Merchiſtonii; eos autem ex ejuſdem ſententia mutavit eorumque ortum et uſum illuſtravit* Henricus Briggius, *in celeberrima Academia Oxonienſi Geometriæ Profeſſor Savilianus: Londini*, 1624, *folio*. There was a ſecond edition of this noble work publiſhed by Mr. Adrian Vlacq, of Targou, in Holland, in which the intervening numbers from 20,000 to 90,000 were filled up. The title of that edition runs thus: *Arithmetica Logarithmica; ſive, Logarithmorum Chiliades centum, pro numeris naturali ſerie creſcentibus ab unitate ad* 100,000; *una cum Canone Triangulorum, ſeu Tabula artificialium ſinuum, tangentium, et ſecantium, ad radium* 10000000,00000, *et ad ſingula ſcrupula prima quadrantis. Quibus novum traditur compendium, quo nullum nec admirabilius, nec utilius, ad ſolvenda pleraque problemata arithmetica*

et

Britannica [*F*]. This great Mathematician died the 26th of January, 1630, in Merton-college [*G*], and was buried in the choir of the chapel there, under the honorary monument of Sir Henry Savile; a plain ſtone being laid over him, with his name only inſcribed on it. Beſides the pieces already mentioned, Mr. Briggs wrote many others; ſome of which have never been publiſhed [*H*], and others publiſhed by other perſons [*I*]. We ſhall give his character, and the opinions of writers concerning him, in the remark [*K*].

et geometrica. Hos numeros, &c. *Editio ſecunda, aucta per Adrianum Vlacq, Goudanum: Goudæ,* 1628, *folio.* This edition, ſoon after his death, was tranſlated into Engliſh, with the following title: ‘Logarithmicall Arithmetike, or, Tables of Logarithmes for abſolute numbers, from an unite to 100,000; as alſo for ſines, tangentes, and ſecantes, for ev'ry minute of a quadrant: With a plain deſcription of their uſe in arithmetike, geometrie, geographie, aſtronomie, navigation, *&c.* Theſe Numbers were firſt invented by the moſt excellent *John Neper*, Baron of Marchiſton; and the ſame were transform'd, and the foundation and uſe of them illuſtrated, with his approbation, by *Henry Briggs*, Sir Henry Savile's Profeſſor of Geometrie in the Univerſitie of Oxford: the uſes whereof were writen in Latin by the author himſelfe; and ſince his death publiſhed in Engliſh by diverſe of his friends, according to his mind, for the benefit of ſuch as underſtand not the Latin tongue. London, 1631, *folio.*’

[*F*] *A work intitled* Trigonometria Britannica.] He propoſed to complete it in two books, but lived to write the firſt only; leaving the ſecond to the care of his old friend Mr. Henry Gellibrand, who finiſhed the work, and publiſhed it under the title of *Trigonometria Britannica; ſive, De Doctrina Triangulorum: Libri duo,* &c. (17). This ſeems to be the work promiſed, in a manner, by our author in the *Diſſertation* prefixed to his *Arithmetica Logarithmica*, where he ſays, *Supereſt adhuc logarithmorum uſus nobiliſſimus, et maxime neceſſarius, in doctrina triangulorum ſphæricorum, quem ſeorſim, uti ſpero, peculiari libro exhibebo*; i. e. ‘The nobleſt, and the moſt important, uſe of Logarithms, namely, in the doctrine of Spherical Triangles, is ſtill behind; which I purpoſe to explain in a diſtinct treatiſe.’

[*G*] *He died* ——— *in Merton College.*] The following account of him ſtands yet in the College Regiſter. *Jan.* 26, 1630. *Obiit apud nos commenſalis, magiſter Henricus Briggs, vir quidem moribus ac vita integerrimus; quem in rebus Geometricis, quarum ſtudiis primum Cantabrigiæ in ſocietate Collegii S. Johannis ſeſe a juventute ſua addixerat, dein publicus prælector Londini in Collegio Greſhamenſi multos per annos ſuſtinuerat, omnium ſui temporis eruditiſſimum, D. Henricus Savilius, ut primo ex fundatione ſua geometriæ profeſſoris munere fungeretur, Oxonium evocavit: cujus exequias* 29 *die proxime ſequente, concione habita a magiſtro Sellar, et oratione funebri a magiſtro Creſſy, una cum primoribus Academiæ celebravimus.* We learn from this account, that the Heads, and other chief perſons, of the Univerſity attended his funeral; and that a ſermon was preached by Mr. Sellar, and a funeral-oration ſpoken by Mr. Creſſy (Fellows of Merton College), on that occaſion.

[*H*] *He wrote ſome pieces, which have never been publiſhed.*] They are, I. *Commentaries on the Geometry of Peter Ramus.* Mr. Wood (18) tells us, that, after the author's death, this treatiſe came into the hands of Mr. John Greaves, from him to his brother Dr. Thomas Greaves, and then to Mr. Theodore Haak, a Fellow of the Royal Society. II. *Duæ Epiſtolæ ad celeberrimum virum, Chriſtianum Longomontanum.* One of theſe letters contained ſome Remarks upon a Treatiſe of Longomontanus, about ſquaring the Circle; and the other a Defence of Arithmetical Geometry. Both of them were in the poſſeſſion of Dr. Smith, who intended to publiſh them, but did not live to execute his deſign (19). Theſe which follow, Mr. Ward tells us (20), are in the hands of Mr. Jones. III. *Animadverſiones Geometricæ.* 4to. IV. *De eodem Argumento.* 4to. Both theſe treatiſes contain great variety of Geometrical Propoſitions concerning the Properties of many Figures, with ſeveral Arithmetical Computations relating to the Circle, Angular Sections, *&c.* V. *An Engliſh Treatiſe of Common Arithmetick*, folio. In this are contained, not only the Vulgar Rules, but alſo the manner of extracting the Square and Cube Roots, with the Rules of Proportion, Allegation, Arithmetical and Geometrical Progreſſion. VI. *A Letter to Mr. Clarke of Graveſend*, dated from Greſham College the 25th of February, 1606; with which he ſends him *the Deſcription of a Ruler*, called *Bedwell's Ruler*, with *Directions how to draw it.* This Mr. Bedwell was a clergyman, who had a living at Tottenham (21), and was one of the divines in that claſs at Weſtminſter who were appointed by King James I. to reviſe the Engliſh Tranſlation of the Bible (22).

[*I*] —— *Some others, publiſhed by other perſons.*] Namely, I. *Tables for the improvement of Navigation. A Table of Declination of every minute of the Ecliptic, in degrees, minutes, and ſeconds. A Table of the Sun's Poſtaphæreſes. A Table of Equations of the Sun's Ephemerides. A Table of the Sun's Declination. Tables to find the height of the Pole, in any latitude, from the height of the Pole-Star.* Theſe Tables are printed in the ſecond edition of Mr. Edward Wright's treatiſe, intitled, *Certain Errors in Navigation detected and corrected:* London, 1610, 4*to* (23). II. *Euclidis Elementorum* VI *libri priores, ſecundum vetera Exemplaria reſtituti, ex Verſione Latina Frederici Commandini, aliquam multis in locis caſtigati: Londini,* 1620, folio. This was printed without his name to it. III. *Mathematica ab antiquis minus cognita.* This is a ſummary of the moſt obſervable inventions of modern mathematicians, communicated by Mr. Briggs to Dr. George Hakewill, and publiſhed by him in ſeveral editions of his *Apologie:* London, *folio.* It is likewiſe printed in Mr. Ward's *Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham College.* Append. No. 9.

[*K*] *His character, and the opinions of writers concerning him.*] Dr. Smith (24) gives him the character of a man of great probity; eaſy and acceſſible to all; free from arrogance, moroſeneſs, envy, ambition, and avarice; a contemner of riches, and contented with his own ſtation; preferring a ſtudious retirement to all the ſplendid circumſtances of life. The learned Mr. Thomas Gataker, who attended his lectures when he was Reader of Mathematics at St. John's College in Cambridge, repreſents him as highly eſteemed by all perſons ſkilled in the mathematics, both at home and abroad; and ſays, that, deſiring him once to give him his judgment concerning *Judicial Aſtrology*, his anſwer was, that he conceived it to be *a mere ſyſtem of groundleſs conceits* (25). And Mr. Oughtred calls him ‘the mirror of the age for excellent ſkill in Geometry (26). But his ſucceſſor at Greſham College, the famous Dr. Iſaac Barrow, in his *Oration* there upon his admiſſion (27), has given his character more fully in the following paſſage, wherein he celebrates his great abilities, ſkill, and induſtry, in perfecting Neper's admirable invention of Logarithms; which, but for his care and pains, might have continued an imperfect and uſeleſs deſign. *Atteſtor tuum, quod noſtris agmen ducit in tabulis, omni laude majus, omnique encomio celebratius nomen, doctrina, acumine, ſolertia, præſtantiſſime Briggi, tu, qui Logarithmorum illud præclariſſimum artificium non tua quidem (quod ad gloriam maxime fecerit) reperiſti fortuna; ſed (quod æque laudem meretur) conſummaſti induſtria, atque omnibus numeris abſolviſti: Quod inutile forſan adhuc et imperfectum jaceret opus, fundamenti ſui ruderibus obvolutum, niſi ſubtiliſſimi tu limam ingenii, et indefeſſæ diligentiam manus adhibuiſſes: Qui denſas iſtas numerorum phalanges dum velut in aciem ordinatim inſtrueres, totque immenſos nobis canonas concinnares, tui temporis diſpendio noſtri otium redemiſti, tuo labore noſtrum ſublevaſti tædium, noſtro ut ſomno parceres ærumnoſis teipſum vigiliis maceraſti; dignus propterea, qui innumerabiles a nobis, neque per tuos etiam Logarithmos computabiles, gratias reportares.* We ſhall ſubjoin an Epigram upon Mr. Briggs, written by Mr. Henry Jacob (28), who was much celebrated at that time for his ſkill in Philology. The point or ſting of it is, that *Death had not put an end to his art, for his ſoul continued to* aſtronomize, *and his body to* geometrize.

(17) See the article GELLIBRAND (HENRY).

(18) Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 550.

(19) Smith, *ubi ſupra*, p. 13.

(20) Lives of the Profeſſors, *&c.* p. 129.

(21) Uſher's Letters, p. 12.

(22) Fuller's Church Hiſt. *&c.* l. x. p. 45.

(23) See the end of Mr. Wright's Preface.

(24) In Vit. Briggii, *ubi ſupra.*

(25) Vindicat. of the Annot. on *Jerem.* x. 2. p. 87.

(26) Apolog. Ep. againſt Rich. de Lamam, p. 30.

(27) See Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors, *&c.* Append. No. 10.

(28) See his Poëmata Græca & Latina.

Βριγγίαδης ζωϛὴρ γαίης, ϗ σύνδρομος ἄϛρων,
  Εὐκλείδην φρονέων, ϗ Πτολεμαῖον ὅλως.
Ἦν ἔτι τεχνόβιος· μάλα γὰρ πέλεν αὐτοφανής τις·
  Πράξιας ἔμμετρος, φροντίδας ȣ̓ράνιος.
Παῦσε δέ μιν τέχνης ȣ̓δ' αὐτὴ μοῖρα. θανόντος
  Ἀϛρονομεῖ ψυχὴ, σῶμα γεομετρέει.
B.

, [William Lilly, the famous Aſtrologer, in his Hiſtory of his Life and Times, gives the following account of Mr. Briggs's viſit to Lord Napier, as he is commonly called. ‘ At firſt, when the Lord Napier, or Marchiſton, made public his Logarithms, Mr. Briggs was ſo ſurpriſed with admiration of them, that he could have no quietneſs in himſelf, till he had ſeen that noble perſon the Lord Marchiſton, whoſe only invention they were. He acquaints John Marr herewith, who went into Scotland before Mr. Briggs, purpoſely to be there when theſe two ſo learned perſons ſhould meet. Mr. Briggs appoints a certain day when to meet at Edinburgh: but failing thereof, Lord Napier was doubtful he would not come. It happened one day, as John Marr and the Lord Napier were ſpeaking of Mr. Briggs, “ Ah, John,” ſaith Marchiſton, “ Mr. Briggs will not come.” At the very inſtant one knocks at the gate: John Marr haſted down, and it proved Mr. Briggs, to his great contentment. He brings Mr. Briggs up into my Lord's chamber, where almoſt one quarter of an hour was ſpent, each beholding other almoſt with admiration, before one word was ſpoke. At laſt Mr. Briggs began: “ My Lord, I have undertaken this long journey purpoſely to ſee your perſon, and to know by what engine of wit or ingenuity you came firſt to think of this moſt excellent help unto aſtronomy, *viz.* the Logarithms; but, my Lord, being by you found out, I wonder no body elſe found it out before, when, now known, it is ſo eaſy.” He was nobly entertained by Lord Napier; and every ſummer after that, during the Lord's being alive, this venerable man, Mr. Briggs, went purpoſely into Scotland to viſit him.—Theſe two perſons were worthy men in their time; and yet the one, *viz.* Lord Marchiſton, was a great lover of aſtrology, but Briggs the moſt ſatirical man againſt it that hath been known. But the reaſon hereof, I conceive, was, that Briggs was a ſevere Preſbyterian, and wholly converſant with perſons of that judgment; whereas the Lord Marchiſton was a general ſcholar, and deeply read in all divine and human hiſtories. It is the ſame Marchiſton who made that moſt ſerious and learned expoſition upon the Revelation of St. John, *which is the beſt that ever yet appeared in the world* (29).' K.]

BRIGGS (WILLIAM), an eminent Engliſh Phyſician in the latter end of the XVIIth century, was born in the city of Norwich, and ſon of Auguſtin Briggs, Eſq; [*A*] four times Member of Parliament for that city, deſcended from an ancient family at Salle (*a*) in Norfolk (*b*). He was admitted into Bennet-college, in the Univerſity of Cambridge, at thirteen years of age; and educated under the care of Dr. Thomas Teniſon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and was choſen Fellow of that Society; in which he continued ſeveral years, and had the tuition of a good number of pupils, diſcharging that truſt with honour to the college. He there took the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, and entered on the Phyſic line; in which faculty he commenced Doctor in 1677. He ſtudied with the utmoſt application, and was a good Linguiſt and Philoſopher, and well verſed in moſt parts of learning. October the 26th, 1670, he was incorporated in the Univerſity of Oxford, being then Maſter of Arts (*c*). After he had improved himſelf by his travels into foreign countries, he ſettled at London, where he practiſed with great ſucceſs, and ſoon became eminent in his profeſſion, being much eſteemed by perſons of the higheſt rank, and moſt learned of his time. He was particularly famous for his exquiſite ſkill in difficult caſes of the eye, in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf to great advantage. He accurately ſurveyed the eye, and was a judicious Anatomiſt, as appears by his *Ophthalmographia*, and *Nova Viſionis Theoria* [*B*]; an account of which treatiſes is inſerted in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*

[*A*] *Auguſtin Briggs, Eſq;*] Was ſon of Auguſtin Briggs, Eſq; and was educated at Norwich, where he lived many years in great credit and eſteem. He was Major of the Trained Bands, or City Militia; being ſtrenuous for his royal maſter King Charles I. In the rebellion, he was one of thoſe gentlemen who, in 1643, joined the Earl of Newcaſtle in the ſiege of Lynn. In 1660, at the Reſtoration, he was very ſerviceable in compoſing the differences between the Dean and Chapter, and city of Norwich, and in procuring a new charter for the city. He died Auguſt 28th, 1684, in the 63d year of his age; having juſtly deſerved the character given him by the late Reverend Mr. Whitefoot, Miniſter of St. Peter's, who compoſed the inſcription on his monument erected in that church; for he was indeed highly loyal to his King, and yet a ſtudious preſerver of the ancient privileges of his country; was always firm and reſolute in upholding the Church of England, and aſſiduous and punctual in all the important truſts that were committed to him, whether in the auguſt aſſembly of Parliament, his honourable commands in the Militia, or his juſticiary affairs upon the Bench; gaining the affections of the people by his hoſpitality, and repeated acts of kindneſs; which he continued beyond his death, leaving the charities mentioned in his will, as a more certain remembrance to poſterity, than the periſhing monument erected by his friends, on which is the following inſcription:

Auguſtinus Briggs Armiger,
Urbis et Agri Icenorum bonus Genius:
Vir Famæ Integræ,
Judicio Sano, Ingenio ſagaci præditus;
Pietatis, Charitatis, Comitatis,
Exemplar probatiſſimum.
Civitatis aliquando Præfectus, diu Senator;
Cohortis Urbanæ Dux militaris:
Regni ad Concilium publicum 4ter Cooptatus
Suffragio Civium Unanimi.
Regi Servus (ſi quis alius) Fidiſſimus,
Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Filius pientiſſimus,
Pauperum Patronus munificentiſſimus.
Filium Cognominem,
Honoris et Amoris publici,
Hæredem reliquit;
Cujus pietate, hoc quicquid eſt, Monumenti
Memoriæ Sacrum,
Invidia carentis
Erectum eſt,
Obiit 28° Auguſt:
Anno { Æræ Xânæ 1684
Ætatis 67.
Cum Uxore Eliza Aldred ut diu jucundè vixit
Hic tandem placidè quieſcit (*).

[*B*] *His* Ophthalmographia, *and* Nova Viſionis Theoria.] They were publiſhed at Cambridge, 1676, in 12*mo*, under this following title: *Ophthalmographia, ſive oculi ejuſque partium deſcriptio Anatomica, cui acceſſit nova viſionis Theoria.* Theſe two treatiſes are highly commended by moſt authors, who have ſince written upon that ſubject. Dr. William Derham, in his *Phyſico-Theology* (1), cites them with great commendation; and Sir Iſaac Newton, then Profeſſor of Mathematics in the Univerſity of Cambridge, in his letter to the author, expreſſes his approbation of thoſe treatiſes in the following terms:

(29) Lilly's Hiſt. of his Life and Times, p. 154—156.

(*a*) See Baronetage, 8*vo*, 1741, Vol. ii. p. 251.

(*b*) See the Pedigree of the Briggs's, in Blomfield's Hiſt. of Norfolk, Vol. ii. p. 640.

(*c*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 182, 2d edit. Lond. 1721.

(*) See Blomfield's Hiſt. of Norfolk, Vol. ii. p. 642.

(1) Book iv, cap. ii.

actions of the Royal Society (d), of which he was Fellow, as well as of the College of Physicians: he likewiſe wrote two other pieces [*C*]. In his letter before Mr. John Brown's *Graphical Deſcription of the Muſcles*, 1697, he informs the Public, that he had thoughts of publiſhing a tract about the uſes and diſtempers of the Eye; and alſo another againſt the Epicurean Sect, about the origin of Man [*D*]; but he did not finiſh them. He

‘Vir clariſſime, hiſce tuis tractatibus duas magni nominis ſcientias uno opere promoves, Anatomicum dico et Opticam. Organi enim (in quo utraque verſatur) artificio ſummo conſtructi diligenter perſcrutaris myſteria. In hujus diſſectione peritiam et dexteritatem tuam non exiguo olim mihi oblectamento fuiſſe recorder. Muſculis motoriis ſecundum ſitum ſuum naturalem eleganter à te expanſis, cæteriſque partibus coram expoſitis, ſic ut ſingulorum uſus et miniſteria non tam intelligere liceret, quam cernere, effecerat dudum, ut ex cultro hic nihil non accuratum ſperarem. Nec ſpem fallebat eximius ille Tractatus Anatomicus, quem poſtmodum edidiſti. Jam praxeos hujus ἀκρίβειαν pergis ingenioſiſſimâ Theoriâ inſtruere et exornare. Et quis Theoriis condendis aptior extiterit, quam qui phænomenis accuratè obſervandis navârit operam?’ &c. —i. e. ‘*By theſe two treatiſes you promote two ſciences of great importance, Anatomy and Optics: for you have accurately penetrated into the myſteries of the Organ, upon which both of them is converſant, and which is formed with the higheſt art imaginable. I remember, that your ſkill and dexterity in the diſſection of that organ formerly gave me great pleaſure. And as you had elegantly opened the motory muſcles according to their natural ſituation, and explained the other parts in ſuch a manner, that we might not only underſtand, but even ſee the ſecret uſes of each of them, I expected every thing to be accurately performed by your diſſection. Nor was I deceived in my hopes by your excellent Anatomical Treatiſe, which you publiſhed ſince. You are now going on to adorn theſe exact diſcoveries with a very ingenious Theory. And indeed who is more qualified to form theories, than he who has taken ſuch pains in obſerving the phænomena of nature with ſo much accuracy?*’ Sir Iſaac concludes with encouraging the Doctor to proceed, as he had begun, in improving thoſe ſciences with his admirable diſcoveries; and to ſhew the world, that the difficulties with regard to natural cauſes may be as eaſily ſurmounted by application and ſagacity, as they are hard to be overcome by the ordinary efforts of the generality of mankind. ‘Pergas itaque, Vir ornatiſſime, ſcientias haſce præclaris inventis, uti facis, excolere, doceaſque difficultates cauſarum naturalium tam facilè ſolertia vinci poſſe, quam ſolent conatibus vulgaribus difficulter cedere. Vale.’ In this work the Doctor conſiders the form, parts, and motions of the eye, in an exact and curious manner; and as he thoroughly underſtood the œconomy of that admirable organ, he gives this character of it: ‘Inter præcipuas corporis animati partes, quæ magni conditoris noſtri ſapientiam oſtenderunt, nulla ſanè reperitur, quæ majori pompâ elucet, quam ipſe oculus, aut quæ elegantiori formâ concinnatur. Dum enim aliæ partes vel minori ſatellitio ſtipantur, vel in tantam venuſtatem haud aſſurgunt, Ocelli peculiarem honorem et decus a ſupremo Numine afflatum referunt, et nunquam non ſtupendæ ſuæ potentiæ characteres repræſentant. Nulla ſanè pars tam divino artificio et ordine,’ &c. (2) —— ‘*Among the principal parts of an animated body, which diſplay the wiſdom of our great Creator, there is none which appears with greater magnificence, or is formed in a more elegant manner, than the eye: for while other parts are either leſs attended and guarded, or do not riſe to ſo great a ſhare of beauty, the eyes have a peculiar grace and honour breathed upon them by the Almighty himſelf, and perpetually diſplay the marks of his amazing power. For no part indeed with ſuch divine ſkill and harmony*,’ &c. The *Theory of Viſion*, and the continuation of that diſcourſe, were at firſt inſerted in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* in Engliſh; but the author, a few years after, tranſlated them into Latin, and annexed them to his *Ophthalmographia*, to which they properly belong, in a ſecond edition printed at London 1685, in 8*vo*. They were publiſhed alſo at Leyden, and are more frequently to be met with in the bookſellers ſhops in Holland, than in England. Dr. William Wotton, in his *Reflections upon ancient and modern Learning* (3), gives an account of the diſcoveries of our author with regard to the eye; and having remarked, that the ancients found out the humours of it, the watery, cryſtalline, and glaſſy, and all its tunicles, and gave a good deſcription of them; but that the optic nerve, the aqueous ducts, which ſupply the watery humour, and the veſſels, which carry tears, were not ſufficiently examined; he tells us, that the firſt was done by Dr. Briggs, who has found, that in the *tunica retiformis*, which is contiguous to the glaſſy humour, the filaments of the optic nerve there expanded lie in a moſt exact and regular order, all parallel one to another; which, when they are united afterwards in the nerve, are not ſhuffled confuſedly together, but ſtill preſerve the ſame order, until they come to the brain. The cryſtalline humour, continues Dr. Wotton, had already been diſcovered to be of a double convex figure, made of two unequal ſegments of ſpheres, and not perfectly ſpherical, as the ancients thought. So that this farther diſcovery made by Dr. Briggs ſhews evidently why all the parts of the image are ſo diſtinctly carried to the brain, ſince every ray ſtrikes upon a ſeveral filament of the optic nerve, and all thoſe ſtrings ſo ſtruck are moved equably at the ſame time. He obſerves afterwards (4), that the lymphæducts, through which the moiſture is conveyed from the two glands in the corners of the eyes, were not fully traced till Steno (5) and Briggs deſcribed them.

[*C*] *Wrote two other pieces.*] The firſt is intitled, *Two remarkable Caſes relating to Viſion*; publiſhed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, No. CLIX. p. 562, May 20, 1684. The other is intitled, Solutio Philoſophica caſus cujuſdem rarioris in Actis Philoſophicis, No. CLIX. nuper edit. de Juvene veſperi cæcutiente; *i. e. A Philoſophical Solution of an uncommon Caſe, lately printed in the* Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. CLIX. *concerning a youth who was blind in the evening.*

[*D*] *About the origin of man.*] The Doctor, after commending Mr. Brown's induſtry, ſays —— ‘The peculiar frame and uſes of the muſcles in man (particularly of the hands) are wonderful, as they are requiſite not only in the fine operations of your art, but alſo in Agriculture, Navigation, Writing, Manufacture, Building, and all ſorts of Mechanic Arts (which the brutes are not capable of), to which the exquiſite fabric of thoſe of the legs in ſome of theſe aſſiſts: but beſides, the formation of the *lumbricales* and *perforantes* in the hand (deſcribed Tab. 22. and 24.) are requiſite in the fine ſtops of the organ, and other muſical inſtruments in the ſervice of the great Creator, as the muſcles of the tongue and larynx are ſubſervient to thoſe hymns and praiſes we duly offer to him; whereas the beaſts (who were not deſigned for that harmony) have only one particular note to call to their kind, or be diſtinguiſhed by. It was the conſideration of this that made Galen ſo ſenſible of the admirable œconomy of the body, in his tract *de Uſu partium*; and Mr. Hobbes confeſſes the ſame (*Lib. de Homine, cap.* 1.), where repreſenting Epicurus's opinion about the *autocthones* or *terrigenæ*, he is aſhamed of it (as I alſo knew by his converſation), and, like a convert of the more learned Harvey on that ſubject, as to the formation of the fœtus, and its nouriſhment afterwards by the breaſts, ends the chapter in theſe words: *Qui machinas omnes, tum generationis tum nutritionis ſatis perſpexerint, nec tamen eas a mente aliqua, conditas ordinataſque ad ſua quaſque officia viderint, ipſi profecto ſine mente eſſe cenſendi ſunt.*

‘The make indeed of the parts of the human body, at firſt view, is very ſurpriſing; and the rude diſſections in the time of Galen, the inſpections of the *viſcera*, and the ſacrifices of the dark ages (which obtained univerſally), gave many glimpſes of the great Author; but the improvement of Anatomy in our times, and the help we have by Microſcopes of viewing more thoroughly the curious

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(d) No. CXXIX and CXLVII.

(2) Ophthalmogr. cap. i. § 1.

(3) Cap. xvii. p. 203, *et ſeq.* 3d edit. Lond. 1705, 8*vo*.

(4) Page 205.

(5) Obſervat. Anatomicæ de Oris Oculorum et Narium Vaſis.

He was Phyſician in Ordinary to King William III., and Phyſician to St. Thomas's Hoſpital in Southwark (*e*). He married Hannah, ſole daughter and heireſs of Edmund Hobart, Gent. of Holt in Norfolk [*E*], a deſcendent of Sir Henry Hobart, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas in the reign of King James I., and related to the honourable family of that name at Blickling in the ſaid county: ſhe was a woman of excellent ſenſe and great virtue, highly valued and loved in every relation of life. Our author died September the 4th, 1704, aged ſixty-two years, at Town-Malling in Kent, where he lies interred. He left three children, Mary, Henry, and Hannah: Mary, married to Thomas Bromfield, M. D. of London; Hannah, to Denny Martin, Gent. of Looſe in Kent; and Henry, late Rector of Holt, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty.

‘ rious formation of the parts, ſets us in a much
‘ better light, and raiſes our admiration higher.
‘ The conſideration hereof may afford excellent and
‘ convincing arguments againſt the growing atheiſm
‘ of our age, and may prevail more than thoſe of a
‘ metaphyſical nature on the Sceptics or half-witted
‘ Philoſophers amongſt us; and I doubt not but, by
‘ a *Mecænas* that may encourage here a ſet of inge-
‘ nious Anatomiſts, the learned Mr. Boyle's noble
‘ deſign in his Lectures might be completed. I con-
‘ feſs, I have ſometimes thought of publiſhing a tract
‘ againſt the Epicurean ſect, that has lain by me for
‘ ſome years, about the *Origin of Man* (before I ſhall
‘ thoſe I have promiſed about the uſes and diſtempers
‘ of the parts of the eye); and I queſtion not but the
‘ argument, with the fore-mentioned aſſiſtance, might
‘ be ſo managed as to make atheiſm as ridiculous as
‘ thoſe excellent Prelates and others of our times have
‘ done ſuperſtition and idolatry. I could wiſh, in
‘ order hereunto, that anatomical ſtudies were en-
‘ couraged and brought to the greateſt perfection,
‘ and the deſcription and uſes of all the parts accu-
‘ rately ſet forth; and as you have taken a great deal
‘ of pains in this treatiſe, ſo I could wiſh (wherein I
‘ hope you will excuſe the liberty of friendſhip) that
‘ there might be a further progreſs in the graphical
‘ deſcription of the muſcles, and that their admirable
‘ *ſeries fibrarum* (as they ſerve to ſo many ſeveral
‘ motions of the body) were delineated in the Mathe-
‘ matical method of the learned Steno, if any *Taille*
‘ *Douce* can reach it.’

[*E*] *Of Holt in Norfolk*]. This Mr. Hobart was an eminent Royaliſt in the late civil wars. He was forced from his paternal ſeat, upon its being diſcovered that he was one of thoſe Norfolk gentlemen that intended an inſurrection in favour of the King: a party of ſoldiers were ſent to Holt to take him, who were very induſtrious ſo to do: he was three days concealed by Anthony Riches, a currier in Holt, in the top of an outhouſe where he laid his firing; and, after that, narrowly eſcaped them as he went to London; but getting thither ſafely, he let himſelf as a ſervant to a ſhoemaker in Turnſtile, Holbourn, who was made privy to his man's circumſtances. He was once near being taken up on ſuſpicion in the way of his buſineſs, as he was fitting a wife of one of Oliver's colonels with a pair of ſhoes: obſerving he had a very white hand, ſhe could not forbear ſaying, ſhe feared he was ſome cavalier rogue in diſguiſe, being ſure thoſe hands never handled ſhoemaker's wax; upon which he confeſſed to her good Ladyſhip, that he was a very idle fellow, and not being able to ſettle to the working part of his trade, his maſter wholly employed him to carry out ſhoes; and ſo he was diſmiſſed without farther examination.——At the Reſtoration he carried his maſter with him to Holt, and maintained him as long as he lived. N.

⁂ [Mr. Maſters's valuable Hiſtory of Corpus Chriſti College, Cambridge, will furniſh us with ſome circumſtances concerning Dr. Briggs, which are not mentioned in the preceding article. He was born, according to Mr. Maſters, about the year 1650, and was admitted at the univerſity on the 12th of April, 1663, at thirteen years of age. If this account be true, Dr. Briggs could only be fifty-four years old when he died, and not ſixty-two, as is aſſerted in his epitaph, which is followed, in this reſpect, both by our predeceſſor and by Mr. Maſters. There is a confuſion and inconſiſtency in the matter, which we do not well know how to reconcile; though we are rather diſpoſed to think that the miſtake lies in making Mr. Briggs only thirteen years of age when he was entered of his college. It is, indeed, ſo aſſerted in his epitaph (6); but as we learn, from Mr. Maſters, that Mr. Briggs ſucceeded Mr. ThomasTeniſon (afterwards Archbiſhop Teniſon) in his fellowſhip, on the 7th of November, 1668, he muſt, in caſe of his having been admitted at the univerſity ſo young as is mentioned, have become a Fellow at eighteen years of age, which is not very probable. It was, alſo, leſs likely that the writer of his epitaph ſhould be ignorant how old he was when he died, than of any other circumſtance.

Mr. Briggs was firſt under the tuition of Mr. William Baldwin, who dying ſoon after, Mr. Teniſon became his tutor. It is ſaid in Dr. Briggs's epitaph, that, while he was Fellow of his college, he had the tuition of a good number of pupils; which account is copied in the article above. But Mr. Maſters declares, that, although he continued Fellow many years, and *that* too without going into orders, he was never much concerned in the inſtruction of pupils. His not going into orders can ſcarcely be reconciled with a previous determination of the viſitors, unleſs he had a royal diſpenſation in his favour. His chief patron, during his foreign travels, was the Right Hon. Ralph Montagu, Eſq; Ambaſſador of France, and afterwards Duke of Montagu. It was through this gentleman's protection that Dr. Briggs went and ſtudied at Montpelier, under that famous anatomiſt Monſieur Vieuſſens, to whom he acknowledged himſelf chiefly indebted for what ſkill he had in that ſcience. The Doctor was a benefactor to the college in which he had been educated. In order to render the kitchen of it more cleanly and wholeſome, he cauſed it to be paved with ſquare ſtones; and gave, beſides, twenty pounds, for the augmentation of the ſtock for commons. He made preſents, likewiſe, of books to the library (7).

Dr. Briggs had a brother, Robert Briggs, who was educated in the ſame college, and ſucceeded him in his fellowſhip. He became ſucceſſively A. B., A. M., and LL. D.; was made a Fellow of the Royal Society; and was choſen, on the 7th of February, 1686, Profeſſor of Law in Greſham College, which office he held to his death, on the 22d of December, 1718 (8). K.]

⁂ [BRINDLEY (JAMES) *, a man of a moſt uncommon genius for mechanical inventions, and who particularly excelled in planning and conducting inland navigations, was born at Tunſted, in the pariſh of Wormhill, and county of Derby, in the year 1716. His parents were poſſeſſed of a little freehold, the ſmall income of which his father diſſipated by a fondneſs for ſhooting and other field-diverſions, and by keeping company with people above his rank. The conſequence of this was, that his ſon was ſo totally neglected, that he did not receive the ordinary rudiments of education. The neceſſities of the family were ſo preſſing, that young Brindley was obliged, as early as poſſible, to contribute towards its ſupport; and, till he was nearly ſeventeen years of age, he was employed in thoſe kinds of light labour which are uſually

aſſigned,

(*e*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*.

(6) The epitaph is inſerted in Mr. Maſters's Hiſt. of Corpus Chriſti College, Appendix, p. 115.

(7) Maſters's Hiſt. of Corpus Chriſti College, p. 249—251, 164.

(8) *Ibid*. p. 151. Ward's Greſham College Profeſſors, p. 258.

* The materials of this article have been obligingly obtained for us from Mr. Henſhall, Mr. Brindley's brother-in-law, by Meſſ. Wedgewood and Bentley. To Mr. Bentley we are farther indebted in ſeveral reſpects; and particularly for the ſhort, but maſterly ſketch of Mr. Brindley's character, at the concluſion.

aſſigned, in country places, to the children of the poor. At this period of his life, he bound himſelf apprentice to one Bennet, a mill-wright, near Macclesfield, in Cheſhire, and ſoon became expert in the buſineſs; beſides which, he quickly diſcovered a ſtrong attachment to the mechanic arts in general, and a genius for extending them much farther than they had hitherto been carried. In the early part of his apprenticeſhip, he was frequently left by himſelf, for whole weeks together, to execute works concerning which his maſter had given him no previous inſtructions. Theſe works, therefore, he finiſhed in his own way; and Mr. Bennet was often aſtoniſhed at the improvements his apprentice, from time to time, introduced into the mill-wright buſineſs, and earneſtly queſtioned him from whence he had gained his knowledge. He had not been long at the trade, before the millers, wherever he had been employed, always choſe him again, in preference to the maſter, or any other workman; and, before the expiration of his ſervitude, at which time Mr. Bennet, who was advanced in years, grew unable to work, Mr. Brindley, by his ingenuity and application, kept up the buſineſs with credit, and ſupported the old man and his family in a comfortable manner.

It may not be amiſs to mention a ſingular inſtance of our young mechanic's active and earneſt attention to the improvement of mill-work. His maſter, having been employed to build an engine paper-mill, which was the firſt of the kind that had been attempted in thoſe parts, went to ſee one of them at work, as a model to copy after. But, notwithſtanding this, when he had begun to build the mill, and prepare the wheels, the people of the neighbourhood were informed by a mill-wright, who happened to travel that road, that Mr. Bennet was throwing his employers money away, and would never be able to complete, to any effectual purpoſe, the work he had undertaken. Mr. Brindley, hearing of the report, and being ſenſible that he could not depend upon his maſter for proper inſtructions, determined to ſee, with his own eyes, the mill intended to be copied. Accordingly, without mentioning his deſign to a ſingle perſon, he ſet out, on a Saturday evening, after he had finiſhed the buſineſs of the day; travelled fifty miles on foot *; took a view of the mill; returned back, in time for his work, on Monday morning; informed Mr. Bennet wherein he had been deficient; and completed the engine, to the entire ſatisfaction of the proprietors. Beſides this, he made a conſiderable improvement in the preſs-paper.

Mr. Brindley afterwards engaged in the mill-wright buſineſs on his own account, and, by many uſeful inventions and contrivances, advanced it to a higher degree of perfection than it had formerly attained; ſo that he rendered himſelf greatly valued in his neighbourhood, as a moſt ingenious mechanic. By degrees, his fame began to ſpread itſelf wider in the country, and his genius was no longer confined to the particular branch in which he had hitherto been employed. In the year 1752, he erected a very extraordinary water-engine at Clifton, in Lancaſhire, for the purpoſe of draining ſome coal-mines, which before were worked at an enormous expence. The water for the uſe of this engine was brought out of the river Irwell, by a ſubterraneous tunnel, nearly ſix hundred yards in length, carried through a rock; and the wheel was fixed thirty feet below the ſurface of the ground. Mr. Brindley's ſuperiority to the mechanics in that part of the kingdom where he reſided, being now well aſcertained, and his reputation having reached the metropolis, he was employed by N. Pattiſon, Eſq; of London, and ſome other gentlemen, in the year 1755, to execute the larger wheels for a new ſilk-mill, at Congleton, in Cheſhire. The execution of the ſmaller wheels, and of the more complex part of the machinery, was committed to another perſon, and that perſon had the ſuperintendency of the whole. He was not, however, equal to the undertaking; for he was obliged, after various efforts, to confeſs his inability to complete it. The proprietors, upon this, being greatly alarmed, thought fit to call in the aſſiſtance of Mr. Brindley; but ſtill left the general management of the conſtruction of the ſilk-mill to the former engineer, who refuſed to let him ſee the whole model, and, by giving him his work to perform in detached pieces, without acquainting him with the reſult which was wanted, affected to treat him as a common mechanic. Mr. Brindley, who, in the conſciouſneſs of genius, felt his own ſuperiority to the man who thus aſſumed an aſcendency over him, would not ſubmit to ſuch unworthy treatment. He told the proprietors, that if they would let him know what was the effect they wiſhed to have produced, and would permit him to perform the buſineſs in his own way, he would finiſh the mill to their ſatisfaction. This aſſurance, joined with the knowledge they had of his ability and integrity, induced them to truſt the completion of the mill ſolely to his care; and he accompliſhed that very curious and complex piece of machinery in a manner far ſuperior to the expectations of his employers. They had not ſolely the pleaſure of ſeeing it eſtabliſhed, with a moſt maſterly ſkill, according to the plan originally propoſed, but of having it conſtructed with the addition of many new and uſeful improvements. There was one contrivance, in particular, for winding the ſilk upon the bobbins equally, and not in wreaths; and another for ſtopping, in an inſtant, not only the whole of this extenſive ſyſtem throughout its various and numerous apartments, but any part of it individually. He invented, likewiſe, machines for making all the tooth and pinion wheels of the different engines.

Theſe

* We ſuppoſe, in the whole.

Theſe wheels had hitherto been cut by hand, with great labour. But, by means of Mr. Brindley's machines, as much work could be performed in one day as had heretofore required fourteen. The potteries of Staffordſhire were alſo, about this time, indebted to him for ſeveral valuable additions in the mills uſed by them for grinding flint ſtones, by which that proceſs was greatly facilitated.

In the year 1756, Mr. Brindley undertook to erect a ſteam engine, near Newcaſtle-under-Line, upon a new plan. The boiler of it was made with brick and ſtone, inſtead of iron plates; and the water was heated by fire-flews of a peculiar conſtruction; by which contrivances the conſumption of fuel, neceſſary for working a ſteam engine, was reduced one half. He introduced, likewiſe, in this engine, cylinders of wood, made in the manner of coopers ware, inſtead of iron ones; the former being not only cheaper, but more eaſily managed in the ſhafts; and he ſubſtituted wood too for iron in the chains which worked at the end of the beam. His inventive genius diſplayed itſelf in various other uſeful contrivances, which would probably have brought the ſteam engine to a great degree of perfection, if a number of obſtacles had not been thrown in his way by ſome intereſted engineers, who ſtrenuouſly oppoſed any improvements which they could not call their own.

The diſappointment of Mr. Brindley's good deſigns in this reſpect muſt have made the leſs impreſſion upon him, as his attention was ſoon after called off to another object, which, in its conſequences, hath proved to be of the higheſt national importance; namely, the projecting and executing of INLAND NAVIGATIONS, from whence the greateſt benefits ariſe to trade and commerce [*A*]. By theſe navigations the expence of

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[*A*] *From whence the greateſt benefits ariſe to trade and commerce.*] To ſet the matter in a proper light, and to give ſome idea of the advantages which other nations, as well as our own, have derived from works of this kind, we ſhall make an extract or two from the Introduction to a curious and valuable pamphlet, publiſhed ſome years ſince, intitled, "The Hiſtory of Inland Navigations, particularly that of the Duke of Bridgwater."—'It was late,' ſays the Compiler, 'before this country found out the benefits of inland navigation, which its ſituation as an iſland, and its many fine navigable rivers, might conduce to retard us from the thoughts of, though our neighbours and natural allies, in Holland, out of a ſmall tract of marſh-land, by this means, particularly, have raiſed a populous and powerful ſtate, reverenced and courted by all the world. They have interſected their country with artificial canals, the ſupport and repair of which they attend to with the utmoſt precaution and diligence: theſe canals convey away or receive thoſe waters which otherwiſe would drown their country. They are the conveyance of travellers and paſſengers from place to place, as well as of goods of every kind. They turn mills, weave tape, ſplit iron, and perform abundance of other profitable labour. An inhabitant of Rotterdam may hereby breakfaſt at Delft or the Hague, and dine at Leyden; he may ſup at Amſterdam, or return home again before night. In froſty weather, travelling on theſe canals, on ſkaits, is ſtill more expeditious, and carts and ſledges are ſubſtituted, for heavy burdens, in the room of boats and barges, which are as much employed on their canals as in their ſtreets. By means of their canals and navigable rivers, they carry on that immenſe inland trade to all parts of France, Flanders, and Germany, which has never been exceeded by any other people. France exhibits alſo inſtances of induſtry and contrivance in canals for inland navigation. The canals of Briere and Orleans ſupply Paris with the productions of divers provinces, and the ſouth of France with the cloths, ſtuffs, and camblets of Abbeville, Amiens, Rheims, Sedan, and Liſle; from whence, by the ſame conveyance, they furniſh the north of France with Provence oils, Muſcadel wines, dried fruits, hard ware, paper, and other merchandiſes of the ſouth. The junction of the Somme with the Oyſe opens to Paris a ready conveyance for the grain of Picardy, and the ſea-coal, wood, butter, copper, and ſpices of the northern provinces of the kingdom. The junction of the Ocean with the Mediterranean, the works for which commenced in 1666, were reſumed in 1667, and have anſwered the great ends propoſed ever ſince 1682, will ever do honour to the memory of Lewis XIV., his able miniſter Colbert, and to Riquet the engineer, who conducted this amazing work (1).' The writer then inſerts an account, from 'Nature diſplayed,' of the famous canal of Languedoc, after which he goes on as follows: 'Peter the Great, Czar of Muſcovy, amongſt his other grand deſigns, had planned a navigation for conveying all the rich goods of Perſia to his new city of Peterſburgh. They were to be firſt tranſported to Aſtracan, through the mouth of the Volga; from thence, by a conjunction of canals, into the river Don; by another conduit into the Occa, and from thence to Moſcow, by the river Moſca; afterwards, by ſeveral other channels of communication, through the Dwina to Archangel, on the White Sea; and, laſtly, through the lake Ladoga, which lies at the foot of the gulph of Finland, to Peterſburgh. But, alas! the death of this great man prevented the perfect accompliſhment of this noble undertaking, which would have made Peterſburgh, perhaps, the moſt populous and beſt place of traffic in the world.—But, not to confine myſelf to Europe, let it be remembered, that the extenſive empire of China, whoſe policy in many particulars is well worth attending to, owes the greater part of its riches and fertility to thoſe numerous canals, ſo uſeful for the tranſportation of the produce and merchandiſe of one province into another. They are bordered with keys of free-ſtone, and in low, marſhy places, they have raiſed very long cauſeways for the conveniency of travellers. Innumerable canals are alſo cut through all their lands, from the many rivers, lakes, rivulets, and torrents, with which that country happily abounds. Theſe canals have bridges over them, of three, five, or ſeven arches, to open a free communication with the country: the middle arch is generally very high, that barks may paſs under it with their maſts ſtanding. The principal canals diſcharge themſelves on the right and left into divers other ſmall canals, which are divided again into a great many rivulets, which are conducted to different large towns, and very conſiderable cities. But the great canal, called the Royal Canal, which is three hundred leagues in length, is without compariſon; which, at infinite expence, and with amazing induſtry, is carried on through many provinces, upon which all the riches of the ſouth and north are conveyed; and by its communication with other canals and rivers, the Chineſe can travel or convey goods, very commodiouſly, from Pekin, the capital, to the fartheſt part of the empire, being about 600 leagues, by water. They commonly have a fathom and an half of water in this canal, to facilitate their navigation: when the water is high, and like to overflow the neighbouring fields, they take care to open the ſluices to convey it away, and to keep it at a certain height in the channel: there are inſpectors appointed to viſit the canal continually, and workmen to repair the damaged places.—But to return from this long, though not unneceſſary, digreſſion: By inland navigation the greateſt benefits ariſe to trade and commerce; as it much leſſens

(1) Hiſtory of Inland Navigations, p. 3, 4. 2d edition.

carriage is leſſened ; a communication is opened from one part of the kingdom to another, and from each of thoſe parts to the ſea ; and hence the products and manufactures of the country are afforded at a moderate price. In this period of our great mechanic's life, we ſhall ſee the powers given him by the God of Nature, diſplayed in the production of events, which, in any age leſs pregnant with admirable works of ingenuity than the preſent, would have conſtituted a national æra. We ſhall ſee him triumphing over all the ſuggeſtions of envy or prejudice, though aided by the weight of eſtabliſhed cuſtoms ; and giving full ſcope to the operations of a ſtrong and comprehenſive mind, which was equal to the moſt arduous undertakings. This he did under the protection of a noble Duke, who had the diſcernment to ſingle him out, and the ſteadineſs and generoſity to ſupport him, againſt the opinions of thoſe who treated Mr. Brindley's plans as chimeras, and laughed at his patron as an idle projector.

His Grace the Duke of Bridgwater hath, at Worſley, about ſeven miles from Mancheſter, a large eſtate, that is rich with mines of coal, which had hitherto lain uſeleſs in the bowels of the earth, becauſe the expence of carriage by land was too great to find a market for conſumption. The Duke, wiſhing to work theſe mines, perceived the neceſſity of a canal from Worſley to Mancheſter ; upon which occaſion, Mr. Brindley, who was now become famous in the country, was conſulted. Having ſurveyed the ground, he declared the ſcheme to be practicable. In conſequence of this, an act was obtained, in the years 1758 and 1759, for enabling his Grace to cut a canal from Worſley to Salford, near Mancheſter, and to carry the ſame to or near Hollin Ferry, in the county of Lancaſter. It being, however, afterwards diſcovered, that the navigation would be more beneficial, both to the Duke of Bridgwater and the Public, if carried over the river Irwell, near Barton Bridge, to Mancheſter, his Grace applied again to Parliament, and procured an act, which enabled him to vary the courſe of his canal agreeably to this new plan, and likewiſe to extend a ſide branch to Longford Bridge in Stretford. Mr. Brindley, in the mean time, had begun theſe great undertakings, being the firſt of the kind ever attempted, in England, with navigable ſubterraneous tunnels and elevated aqueducts. The principle laid down at the commencement of this buſineſs reflects much honour on the noble undertaker, as well as upon his engineer. It was reſolved that the canal ſhould be perfect in its kind, and that, in order to preſerve the level of the water, it ſhould be free from the uſual obſtructions of

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leſſens the price of carriage, opens a ready communication from one part of the kingdom to another, as has before been obſerved, and from every one of thoſe parts to the ſea ; by which the products and manufactures of the kingdom in general will be afforded at a moderate price ; as every manufacturer, who can lay in his raw materials, will have thereby food and fuel cheap, and carry their manufactured goods to a proper market at a ſmaller expence, whereby they may ſell them at a moderate rate, and ever have the preference there, where undue influence or impoſts do not hinder them. Theſe inland navigations highly benefit the manufactures where they are eſtabliſhed ; occaſion the eſtabliſhment of many new ones, in ſituations where the land, before, could be of little value, and bare of inhabitants, cheering and enlivening every diſtrict where they have been eſtabliſhed, and adding riches and fertility in every part through which they are extended. I ſay fertility, becauſe it is well known that every meadow or paſture in the neighbourhood of refreſhing ſtreams, diſplays a verdure which is not to be diſcovered in thoſe dry, withered, and aduſt ſpots which do not lie near the banks of a river or running waters. The cattle and horſes in the paſtures on the banks are fatter, more delicious in taſte, afford, in greater quantities, and of a better quality, that ſalubrious tribute which forms the delicious productions of the dairy ; and the horſes are fitter for labour, or to contribute to the ſport or pleaſure of their poſſeſſors. Sheep, indeed, are excepted, who thrive beſt in a dry ſoil. Inland canals, for the purpoſes of navigation, in great meaſure ſupply the deficiency of rivers or ſtreams which nature has denied to a country, and in a remarkable degree ſerve for a ſecondary, though very important purpoſe : trees and plants receive their nutriment, as is inconteſtable, from their leaves, as well as their roots ; and the dew of the night diffuſes on the leaves an humidity which they imbibe and diſtribute through the whole plant, the weight whereof at ſuch times, as Dr. Hale has obſerved, is conſiderably increaſed. This neceſſary humidity is principally produced by the rivers or canals in the vicinity ; which exhaling from them in miſts, is tranſported by the winds to deſcend in refreſhing dews, not only on ſuch places as are adjacent, but on ſuch likewiſe as are at ſome miles diſtance ; ſo that hereby ariſes one great benefit from inland navigations, that perhaps has not been enlarged upon before.—It is not to be diſputed, that theſe inland navigations greatly benefit alſo the merchants who reſide at the ports where they terminate ; for they are thereby enabled to export greater quantities of goods from thoſe parts which lie at a diſtance from the ſea, and to ſupply a larger tract of country with their exports from abroad.—The navigations of the Are and Calder, in Yorkſhire, will elucidate the great utility of inland navigations, in the increaſe of eſtabliſhed manufactures, and in the ſetting up of new ones. And it is well known, that the navigations to Mancheſter and the ſalt-works in Cheſhire have contributed to the preſent flouriſhing ſtate of the port of Liverpool. That inland navigations benefit greatly the landed gentlemen, cannot be denied, as in many inſtances their lands have been improved to tenfold value. Without this artificial communication, corn, timber, iron, coals, ſtone, *&c.* would be of little uſe to the landowner, which the cheapneſs of carriage, now, will enable him to tranſport to a profitable market. They occaſion the diſcovery of mines and minerals, which would be elſe uſeleſs to the owners ; they aid the cultivation of poor, barren, and waſte lands ; they contribute to the ſtability and permanency of the public roads ; as the navigable canals prevent the burdening them with vaſt quantities of heavy goods, which do them moſt injury ; ſo that, from this relief, they may become the fineſt roads in Europe.—The conſtruction and working upon theſe inland navigations muſt of courſe be the cauſe of employing vaſt numbers of our poor ; beſides that, when they paſs through corn countries, near collieries, *&c.* the poor labourers are more readily furniſhed with food, and fuel is provided for their ſolace, and to carry on the manufactures that ſtand in need thereof ; and ſurely, when we conſider the various diſtreſſes our poor, conſequent to their ſituation, labour under, too much praiſe cannot be beſtowed upon thoſe benevolent beings, who, by means of theſe inland navigations, render their lives more comfortable and happy (2).’

(2) Hiſtory of Inland Navigations, p. 7—11.

locks. But, in accompliſhing this end, many difficulties occurred, which were deemed unſurmountable. It was neceſſary that the canal ſhould be carried over rivers, and many large and deep vallies, where it was evident that ſuch ſtupendous mounds of earth muſt be raiſed, as could ſcarcely, it was thought, be completed by the labour of ages: and, above all, it was not known from what ſource ſo large a ſupply of water could be drawn, as, even upon this improved plan, would be requiſite for the navigation. But Mr. Brindley, with a ſtrength of mind peculiar to himſelf, and being poſſeſſed of the confidence of his great patron, who ſpared no expence to accompliſh his favourite deſign, conquered all the embarraſſments thrown in his way, not only from the nature of the undertaking itſelf, but by the paſſions and prejudices of intereſted individuals: and the admirable machines he contrived, and the methods he took, to facilitate the progreſs of the work, brought on ſuch a rapid execution of it, that the world began to wonder how it could have been eſteemed ſo difficult. Thus ready are men to find out pretences for leſſening the merit of others, and for hiding, if poſſible, from themſelves, the unpleaſant idea of their own inferiority.

When the canal was completed as far as Barton, where the Irwell is navigable for large veſſels, Mr. Brindley propoſed to carry it over that river, by an aqueduct of thirty-nine feet above the ſurface of the water. This, however, being generally conſidered as a wild and extravagant project, he deſired, in order to juſtify his conduct towards his noble employer, that the opinion of another engineer might be taken; believing that he could eaſily convince an intelligent perſon of the practicability of his deſign. A gentleman of eminence was accordingly called in; who, being conducted to the place where it was intended that the aqueduct ſhould be made, ridiculed the attempt; and when the height and dimenſions were communicated to him, he exclaimed, ‘ I have often heard of caſtles in the air, but never before was ſhewn where any of them were to be erected.’ This unfavourable verdict did not deter the Duke of Bridgwater from following the opinion of his own engineer. The aqueduct was immediately begun; and it was carried on with ſuch rapidity and ſucceſs, as aſtoniſhed all thoſe who but a little before condemned it as a chimerical ſcheme. This work commenced in September, 1760, and the firſt boat ſailed over it on the 17th of July, 1761. From that time, it was not uncommon to ſee a boat loaded with forty tons drawn over the aqueduct, with great eaſe, by one or two mules; while below, againſt the ſtream of the Irwell, perſons had the pain of beholding ten or twelve men tugging at an equal draught: A ſtriking inſtance of the ſuperiority of a canal-navigation over that of a river not in the tideway. The works were then extended to Mancheſter, at which place the curious machine for landing coals upon the top of the hill, gives a pleaſing idea of Mr. Brindley's addreſs in diminiſhing labour by mechanical contrivances. It may here be obſerved, that the baſon, in particular, for conveying the ſuperfluous water into the Irwell, below the canal, is an inſtance of what an attentive ſurvey of this ingenious man's works will abundantly evince, that, where occaſion offered, he well knew how to unite elegance with utility [*B*].

[*B*] *He well knew how to unite elegance with utility.*] The admirable talents diſplayed by Mr. Brindley, in the Duke of Bridgwater's canal from Worſley to Mancheſter, began, by degrees, to excite a very general attention and admiration. It was viſited by every curious traveller, and celebrated in the newspapers, and other periodical publications. Four different accounts of it have been collected, and printed, in the Hiſtory of Inland Navigations, one of which we ſhall lay before our Readers. It is contained in a letter to a lady.

‘ MADAM,

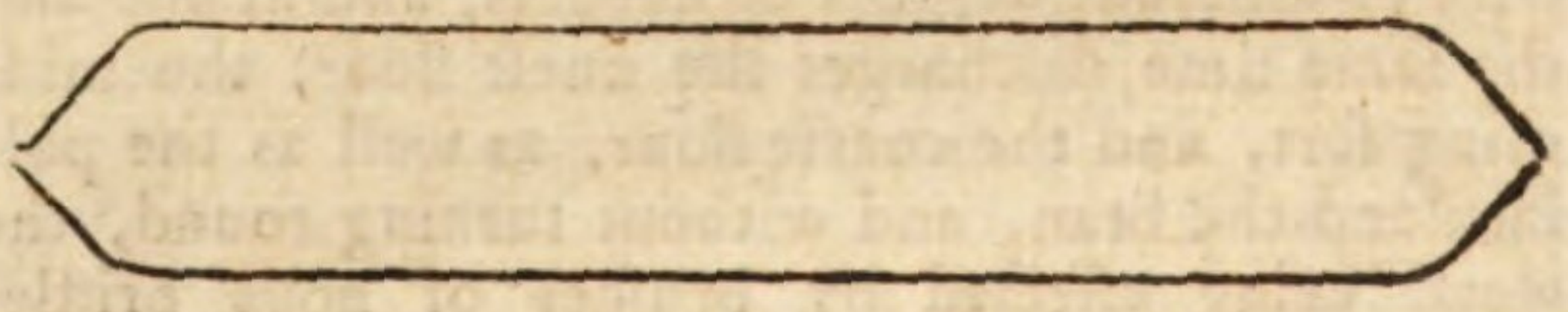
‘ THIS waits on you with an account of the Duke of Bridgwater's magnificent work near Mancheſter, which is, perhaps, the greateſt artificial curioſity in the world: crowds of people from all parts reſort to it, and perſons of high rank expreſs their admiration of it.

‘ This is a new canal, and I know not what to call it beſides, conſtructed, as it ſhould ſeem, to convey coals out of a mine to Mancheſter and other places; but is capable of being applied to more conſiderable purpoſes.

‘ This ſtupendous work was begun at a place called Worſley Mill, about ſeven miles from Mancheſter; where, at the foot of a large mountain, the Duke has cut a baſon capable of holding all his boats, and a great body of water, which ſerves as a reſervoir, or head, to his navigation; and in order to draw the coals out of the mine, which runs through the hill to an amazing extent, his Grace has cut a ſubterraneous paſſage, big enough for long flat-bottomed boats to go up to the work, and has ſo preſerved the level, that a part of the water, which drives a mill near the mouth of the paſſage, runs in, and ſtands to the depth of about five feet. This paſſage alſo ſerves to drain the coal-mines of that water, which would otherwiſe obſtruct the work, and is to be carried on three miles or more under ground.

‘ Having obtained a ticket to ſee this curioſity, which is done by ſending your name to a new houſe which the Duke has lately built for his reſidence, at about half a mile diſtance, you enter with lighted candles the ſubterraneous paſſage in a boat, made for bringing out the coals, of this form and dimenſion:

‘ Fifty feet long, four and an half broad;



‘ Two feet three inches deep.

‘ When you firſt enter the paſſage, and again when you come among the colliers, your heart will be apt to fail you; for it ſeems ſo much like leaving this world for the regions of darkneſs, that I could think of nothing but thoſe deſcriptions of the infernal ſhades which the poets have drawn for Ulyſſes, Æneas, and your old friend Telemachus. There is more civility, however, in this region, than Homer, Virgil, and Fenelon, have diſcovered in theirs; for, ſhould your ſpirits ſink, the company are ever ready to aid you with a glaſs of wine: even Charon himſelf will offer you a cup on the occaſion.

The Duke of Bridgwater, perceiving, more and more, the importance of theſe inland navigations, not only to himſelf in particular, but to the community in general,

‘Through this paſſage you proceed, towing the boat on each hand by a rail, to the extent of a thouſand yards, that is, near three quarters of a mile, before you come to the coal-works: then the paſſage divides, and one branch continues on a ſtraight line among the coal-works three hundred yards farther, while another turns off, and proceeds three hundred yards to the left; and each of them may be extended farther, or other paſſages be conveyed from them to any other part, as the mines may run, and neceſſity require. Hence you will perceive, that thoſe who go up both paſſages travel near three miles under ground before they return. The paſſages in thoſe parts where there were coals, or looſe earth, are arched over with brick; in others the arch is cut out of the rock.

‘At certain diſtances there are, in niches, on the ſide of the arch, funnels or openings through the rock to the top of the hill (which is in ſome places near thirty-ſeven yards perpendicular), in order to preſerve a free circulation of freſh air, as well as to prevent thoſe damps and exhalations that are often ſo deſtructive in works of this kind, and to let down men to work, in caſe any accident ſhould happen to the paſſage. Near the entrance of the paſſage, and again farther on, there are gates to cloſe up the arch, and prevent the admiſſion of too much air in tempeſtuous and windy weather.

‘At the entrance the arch is about ſix feet wide, and about five feet high from the ſurface of the water; but as you come farther in, it is wider, and in ſome places opened, ſo that the boats, that are going to and fro, can paſs each other; and when you come among the pits, the arch is ten feet wide.

‘The coals are brought from the pits to this paſſage, or canal, in little low waggons, that hold near a ton each, and, as the work is on the deſcent, are eaſily puſhed by a man, on a railed way, to a ſtage over the canal, and then ſhot into one of the boats already mentioned, each of which holds about eight tons. They then, by means of the rails, are drawn out by one man to a baſon at the mouth of the paſſage, where four, five, or ſix of them are linked together, and drawn by one horſe or two mules, by the ſide of the canal, to Mancheſter, or other places where the canal is conveyed.

‘There are alſo, on the canal, other broad boats, that hold about fifty tons, which are likewiſe drawn by one horſe. Of the ſmall boats there are about fifty employed in the work, and of the large ones a conſiderable number.

‘Before we quit the coal-mines, to ſpeak of the open canal and its conveyance, we muſt take ſome notice of a mill near the mouth of the paſſage, and which, though an overſhot mill, is ſo well contrived as to work three pair of grinding-ſtones for corn, a dreſſing or boulting mill, and a machine for ſifting ſand and compounding mortar for the buildings. The mortar is made by a large ſtone, which is laid horizontally, and turned by a cog-wheel underneath it; and this ſtone on which the mortar is laid, turns in its courſe two other ſtones that are placed upon it obliquely, and, by their weight and friction, work the mortar underneath, which is tempered and taken off by a man employed for that purpoſe. The boulting-mill is alſo worthy notice. It is made of wire of different degrees of fineneſs, and at one and the ſame time diſcharges the fineſt flour, the middling ſort, and the coarſe flour, as well as the pollard and the bran, and without turning round, the work being effected by bruſhes of hogs briſtles within the wire.

‘From the baſon we have been ſpeaking of, the canal takes its courſe to Mancheſter, which is nine miles by water, though but ſeven by land, the other two miles being loſt in ſeeking a level for the water. The canal is broad enough for the barges to paſs, or go abreaſt, and on one ſide of it there is a good road made for the paſſage of the people concerned in the work, and for the horſes and mules that draw the boats and barges. To perfect this canal without impeding the public roads, or injuring the people in the country, the Duke has in many places built bridges to croſs the water, and (where the earth was raiſed to preſerve a level) arches under it; all of which are built chiefly of ſtone, and are both elegant and durable; but what principally ſtrikes the common obſerver, is the work which is raiſed near Barton Bridge, to convey the canal of water over the Irwell, which makes a part of the old navigation from Mancheſter to Liverpool. This is done by means of three arches built of ſtone, which are ſo ſpacious and lofty as to admit of the veſſels ſailing underneath it; and it is indeed a moſt noble ſight to ſee large veſſels in full ſail under his aqueduct, and the Duke's veſſels ſailing at the ſame time over all, and near fifty feet above the navigable river. At convenient diſtances there are, by the ſides of the canal, receptacles for the ſuperfluous water; and at the bottom of the canal, machines conſtructed on very ſimple principles, and placed at proper diſtances, to ſtop and preſerve the water in caſe any part of the bank ſhould happen to break down. The aqueduct is perfected as far as Mancheſter, where coals are brought from the mine in great plenty, and another large baſon is making for the reception of the veſſels employed in this work.

‘Beſides this, there is another canal, which takes its riſe from that we have deſcribed, near Barton Bridge, and goes to Stretford, and from thence will be probably extended on the Cheſhire ſide of the river Merſey as far as Liverpool; and if ſo, what a moſt noble convenience will this be for travellers!—We ſhould then travel with as much ſafety, certainty, and diſpatch, as in the trachſchoots in Holland and Flanders, and in the ſame manner: for, as here is no current to impede the veſſel, one horſe will draw fifty ton of coals after the rate of four miles an hour, and would trot with a light boat and paſſengers ſix or ſeven; and if the boats were covered, we might travel by night or by day, and ſleep, read, write, play at cards, drink tea, and partake of a thouſand diverſions.

‘All who ſee the work wonder how it could be effected; and thoſe who conſider the contrivance of the workman, are ſtill more amazed at the œconomy with which it is carried on. Mr. Brindley, the principal engineer, is one of thoſe great geniuſes which nature ſometimes rears by her own force, and brings to maturity without the neceſſity of cultivation. His whole plan is admirable, and ſo well concerted, that he is never at a loſs; for if any difficulty ariſes, he removes it with a facility that appears ſo much like inſpiration, you would think Minerva at his fingers ends. Beſides the machines already mentioned, which are moſtly new, as well as others I have paſſed over for want of room, he has contrived ſome caiſſoons of admirable conſtruction for raiſing the earth to preſerve the level; and as theſe, as well as a ſmith's forge, and carpenters and maſons workſhops, are floated on the canal, and follow the work from place to place, there is little hindrance from accidents; and as the Duke has all the reſources within himſelf, and timber, ſtone, mortar, and coal, from his own eſtate, and at hand, he has been at little expence, except for labour. It is alſo to be obſerved, that the Duke, like a good chemiſt, has made the refuſe of one work conſtruct the material parts of another: thus the ſtone which was dug up to form a baſon for the boats at the foot of the mountain, as well as that taken out of the rock to make the ſubterraneous paſſage, are hewn into different forms and dimenſions, to build bridges over the water, or arches to ſupport the aqueduct; and the clay and other earths taken up to preſerve the level in one place, are carried down the canal to raiſe the land to a level in another.

‘Here grandeur, elegance, and œconomy, are happily united. At firſt view, you would think the work was intended to aſtoniſh; but upon a cloſer inſpection, you find nothing but what is proper and neceſſary, and that the whole has been done at an expence no ways adequate to the undertaking. In ſhort, the work is truly wonderful, and will be a ſtanding monument of the good taſte, public ſpirit, and œconomy of the Duke of Bridgwater, to the end of time.

‘I am, Madam, yours, &c.

‘M. N. (3).’

Some of Mr. Brindley's contrivances, which are omitted in the preceding letter, are deſcribed in the other accounts.

(3) Hiſtory of Inland Navigations, p. 49—55.

extended his ideas to Liverpool; and though he had every difficulty to encounter, that could ariſe from the novelty of his undertakings, or the fears and prejudices of thoſe whoſe intereſts were likely to be affected by them, his Grace happily overcame all oppoſition, and obtained, in 1762, an act of parliament for branching his canal to the tideway in the Merſey. This part of the canal is carried over the rivers Merſey and Bollan, and over many wide and deep vallies. Over the vallies it is conducted without the aſſiſtance of a ſingle lock; the level of the water being preſerved by raiſing a mound of earth, and forming therein a mould, as it may be called, for the water. Acroſs the valley at Stretford, through which the Merſey runs, this kind of work extends nearly a mile. A perſon might naturally have been led to conclude, that the conveyance of ſuch a maſs of earth muſt have employed all the horſes and carriages in the country, and that the completion of it would be the buſineſs of an age. But our excellent mechanic made his canal ſubſervient to this part of his deſign, and brought the ſoil in boats of a peculiar conſtruction, which were conducted into caiſſoons or ciſterns. On opening the bottoms of the boats, the earth was depoſited where it was wanted; and thus, in the eaſieſt and ſimpleſt manner, the valley was elevated to a proper level for continuing the canal. The ground acroſs the Bollan was raiſed by temporary locks, which were formed of the timber uſed in the caiſſoons juſt mentioned. In the execution of every part of the navigation, Mr. Brindley diſplayed ſingular ſkill and ingenuity; and, in order to facilitate his purpoſe, he produced many valuable machines, which ought never to be forgotten in this kingdom. Neither ought the œconomy and forecaſt which are apparent through the whole work to be omitted. His œconomy and forecaſt are peculiarly diſcernible in the ſtops, or floodgates, fixed in the canal, where it is above the level of the land. Theſe ſtops are ſo conſtructed, that, ſhould any of the banks give way, and thereby occaſion a current, the adjoining gates will riſe by that motion only, and prevent any other part of the water from eſcaping than what is near the breach between the two gates.

The ſucceſs with which the Duke of Bridgwater's undertakings were crowned, encouraged a number of gentlemen and manufacturers, in Staffordſhire, to revive the idea of a canal navigation [*C*] through that county, for the advancement of the landed intereſt and the benefit of trade, in conveying to market, at a cheaper rate, the products and manufactures of the interior parts of the kingdom. This plan was patronized, and generouſly ſupported, by Lord Gower and Mr. Anſon; and it met with the concurrence of many perſons of rank, fortune, and influence in the neighbouring counties. Mr. Brindley was, therefore, engaged to make a ſurvey from the Trent to the Merſey; and, upon his reporting that it was practicable to conſtruct a canal, from one of theſe rivers to the other, and thereby to unite the ports of Liverpool and Hull, a ſubſcription for carrying it into execution was ſet on foot in 1765, and an act of Parliament was obtained in the ſame year. In 1766, this canal, called, by the proprietors, 'The Canal from the Trent to the Merſey,' but more emphatically, by the engineer, THE GRAND TRUNK NAVIGATION, on account of the numerous branches which, he juſtly ſuppoſed, would be extended every way from it, was begun; and, under his direction, it was conducted, with great ſpirit and ſucceſs, as long as he lived. Mr. Brindley's life not being continued to the completion of this important and arduous undertaking, he left it to be finiſhed by his brother-in-law, Mr. Henſhall; who put the laſt hand to it, in May 1777, being ſomewhat leſs than eleven years after its commencement. We need not ſay, that the final execution of the GRAND TRUNK NAVIGATION gave the higheſt ſatisfaction to the proprietors, and excited a general joy in a populous country, the inhabitants of which already receive every advantage they could wiſh from ſo truly noble an enterprize [*D*]. This canal is ninety-three miles in length; and, be-

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[*C*] *To revive the idea of a canal navigation.*] This canal was firſt proved to be practicable by the ſurvey of Meſſ. Taylors of Mancheſter, and Mr. Eyes of Liverpool, made in the year 1755, at the expence of the Liverpool corporation; and chiefly promoted by the late Mr. Hardman, an active and able friend to the commercial intereſts of this nation, and one of the repreſentatives of that borough. The Public was indebted, likewiſe, to the Earl Gower, and the late Lord Anſon, for another ſurvey of the intended courſe of this canal, made by Mr. Brindley in 1758, and afterwards reviewed by Mr. Smeaton and Mr. Brindley jointly. Both theſe ſurveyors concurred in opinion, that no tract of land in the kingdom was naturally better adapted for the purpoſe of an inland navigation, that none ſtood more in need of it, or was ſo convenient for an union of the eaſt and weſt ſeas (4). About the ſame time, a ſubſcription was ſet on foot, by the Potters of Staffordſhire, to have a complete ſurvey, by Mr. Brindley, of the whole country through which the canal is now carried into execution.

[*D*] *Every advantage they could wiſh from ſo truly noble an enterprize.*] When this excellent deſign was in agitation, it met, as is uſual in all ſuch caſes, with much oppoſition. Some country gentlemen, and many of the people in general, entertained prejudices againſt it, which could not eaſily be ſurmounted. To remove theſe difficulties, a pamphlet was drawn up by Mr. Bentley, with the aſſiſtance of Mr. Wedgwood and another friend, and publiſhed in 1765, under the title of 'A View of the Advantages of Inland 'Navigations, &c.' In this pamphlet, which had a very great effect in quieting the minds of the diſſatiſfied, ſo clear, particular, and ſtriking an account is given of the benefits that were likely to accrue from the propoſed canal, that we cannot forbear inſerting it. If any ſhould object to the length of the inſertion, we anſwer, that even the moſt valuable tracts, if ſmall, become, in a courſe of time, extremely ſcarce; and that, in the article before us, we are not writing for the information of the preſent age only, but of poſterity. Not having been able to procure Mr. Bentley's publication itſelf, the following extract is taken from the Hiſtory of Inland Navigations: 'The ad- 'vantages ariſing from cheapneſs of carriage and eaſy

(4) Hiſtory of Inland Navigations, p. 55, 56.

ſides a large number of bridges over it, has ſeventy-ſix locks; and five tunnels. The moſt remarkable of the tunnels is the ſubterraneous paſſage of Harecaſtle, being two thouſand

' communication between the diſtant parts of a country, and the manufacturing towns and ſea-ports reciprocally, are ſo very extenſive and complicated, that it is impoſſible to reduce them to any very exact eſtimation. If we would attempt to eſtimate them at all, it will be neceſſary to diſcover, as nearly as we can, how much the price of carriage is likely to be diminiſhed; and what quantities, and kinds of goods, will probably be conveyed by this navigation.—The price of land-carriage, in the neighbourhood of the canal, is, upon an average, about 9 s. a ton, for ten miles. It is ſuppoſed the tonnage upon the canal, for the ſame diſtance, will be about 2 s. and the freight not above 6 d. more, making together 2 s. 6 d. per ton: ſo that near three-fourths of the preſent price of carriage will be ſaved to the public. And the difference between land and water carriage, in other places, confirms the juſtneſs of this concluſion. Land-carriage, for inſtance, between Mancheſter and Liverpool, which are about thirty-eight miles diſtant from each other, coſts 40 s. per ton; water-carriage only 6 s. and 8 d. one way, and 10 s. the other: ſuppoſe 9 s. upon an average; and the ſaving, by this navigation, is above three-fourths of the expence of land-carriage.—If we ſuppoſe the ſaving to be only 6 s. in 9, which is a very moderate computation, this circumſtance alone will not only enable land-owners, manufacturers, and merchants, to convey many articles to markets where they never could have borne the expence of land-carriage; but will alſo bring into uſe many natural productions; ſuch as coals, ſtone of various kinds, timber, iron ore, alabaſter, &c. which, from their unfavourable ſituations, never could have been employed. To give ſome idea of theſe advantages, we muſt endeavour to enumerate the chief ſources of employment for the intended navigation: And theſe may be conſidered under the three following heads: 1. Natural productions of the countries that lie near the canal. 2. Cultivated commodities and manufactures. 3. Imported raw-materials, and general commerce.—From Northwich to Lawton there lies a vaſt bed of rock-ſalt *, about forty yards thick, which, beſides being purified and cryſtallized for home conſumption and exportation, as will be mentioned in its proper place, might be made great uſe of in agriculture, and probably in metallurgy, and ſeveral of the mechanic arts, if any method could be diſcovered of granting the liberty of uſing it with ſafety to the revenue.—There is a mountain called Mole Cop, near Lawton, that contains four different and uſeful kinds of ſtone. 1. Millſtones of an excellent quality, which are now carried by land upwards of an hundred miles, and to all parts of the intended navigation. 2. A good limeſtone. 3. A fine freeſtone. 4. Grinding ſtones of different ſorts.—Between this place and Newcaſtle lies Burſlem, the chief manufactory for white flint ware, which is as ſtrong and ſweet as India porcelain. The exportation of it is annually to about the amount of 100,000 l. The chief potters have lately erected two turnpike roads, to make their wares more conveniently carried off. But this navigation will afford them opportunities, not only of ſhipping their wares for the ſeveral markets in Europe, but likewiſe their coals, which are equally good with thoſe which the metropolis is generally ſupplied with, and lie under almoſt every field within two miles of the town of Burſlem. Theſe coals will then be a national uſe, and there is hardly any circumſtance that contributes more to the flouriſhing ſtate of a manufacturing country, than plenty and cheapneſs of fuel.—Near Wolſeley-bridge, and alſo a mile below Burton, a free-ſtone is found on the banks of the river Trent, excellent for its firmneſs and colour, ſome parts of which ſeem not inferior to that of Portland or Roche-Abbey.—A mile from Rudgley, a blazing kind of coal, called canel, and other coals, are found, belonging to the Earl of Uxbridge. The lower ſtratum of theſe mines is ſaid to be a valuable one; and it is apprehended a navigable ſough might be carried from the new canal into the heart of them, in the manner of the Duke of Bridgwater's colliery in Lancaſhire; and that this would lay them dry; the want of which is the preſent obſtacle to their being worked; and at the ſame time convey the coals into the new canal, to the great advantage of the noble proprietor, and the neighbouring country.—Near that part of the Trent where the canal is to terminate, ariſes a vaſt mountain of lime-ſtone, on which the village of Breden, in Leiceſterſhire, is ſituated: at Tickenhall, in Derbyſhire, not far from the laſt mentioned place, there are alſo quarries of lime-ſtone; and at Barrow, in Leiceſterſhire, they burn an excellent kind of lime for building, which is conveyed to places at a great diſtance by land, every way; and lime is much wanted through the whole courſe of the canal, both for the purpoſes of architecture and cultivation.—A few miles lower, at Clay-Hill, a firm and elegant alabaſter is found, proper either for ſtucco or ſculpture.—Not many miles from the Trent, near the river Soar, in Leiceſterſhire, which it is hoped the gentlemen in that neighbourhood, and the inhabitants of Leiceſter, will now be able to make navigable, without oppoſition, are the noted quarries of Swithland ſlate; a beautiful and durable covering for houſes; and prodigious rocks of that kind of grey porphyry, which is brought from Scotland, to pave the ſtreets of London and Weſtminſter.—A great quantity of marle will be thrown out in making the canal; and may beſides, in many places, be found ſo near the banks, as to be delivered from the ſpade into the boats; which will greatly contribute to the improvement of ſuch land as ſtands in need of this kind of manure. Other manures will alſo be procured from large towns, on reaſonable terms, for back-carriage; and as it is intended to exempt manure from the charge of tonnage, theſe advantages, together with the lime, mentioned before, will double the produce and value of many farms bordering upon the canal.—Several parts of the country, in the neighbourhood of the canal, yield great quantities of that ſort of iron-ore, commonly called iron-ſtone, proper for making cold-ſhort iron; and which, when mixed with the red ore from Cumberland, makes the beſt kind of tough, or merchant-iron. The iron-ſtone of this country is likewiſe ſo neceſſary for working the ore in the north, that even the great expence of land-carriage hath not prevented large quantities of it from being conveyed that way to the river Weaver, to be ſhipped for Cumberland; and the ore from the north has been brought into this country under the like inconveniencies. It ſeems, therefore, highly probable, that the intended canal will occaſion the ſending much greater quantities of iron-ſtone into the north; and the receiving more red mine back in return; and thereby greatly increaſe the intercourſe between theſe two parts of the kingdom, to their mutual advantage.—Not only theſe natural productions, that are to be found on the banks of the intended canal, but many of thoſe from the more diſtant parts of the counties it is to paſs through, will have their value and conſumption greatly increaſed, by this eaſy and cheap conveyance. Of this number are lead, copper, calamine, marble, rottenſtone, raddle, white clay, ochres, &c. And many other articles will probably become uſeful to ſociety, which at preſent lie unmoleſted in their native beds.—From natural productions we may proceed to the conſideration of thoſe that are cultivated and manufactured; and that which deſerves our firſt attention, under this head, is corn; as the growth and exportation of this important article will be greatly increaſed by a new navigation; and the benefit to the public, from the exportation of corn, does not ariſe, as in other merchandiſe, only from the employment of our hands at home, the improvement of our eſtates, and the return of wealth, for which it is exchanged abroad; but likewiſe from its being an infallible ſecurity againſt thoſe dreadful famines formerly experienced in this nation, in years of uncommon ſcarcity.—In the year 1751, an account of the exportation of grain

* Theſe ſalt-mines were firſt diſcovered in the year 1670, by boring for coals, in the liberties of William Marbory, Eſq; of Marbory, and lie about thirty-four yards from the ſurface.

thouſand eight hundred and eighty yards in length; and more than ſeventy yards below the ſurface of the earth. The ſcheme of this inland navigation had employed the thoughts

‘ was laid before the Houſe of Commons; and it appeared that above five millions of quarters of grain were exported from Great Britain in the years 1746, to 1750, both incluſive; and near ſeven millions and a half of money gained by the nation in exchange. And ſince grain has been made an object of foreign commerce, its price has not only in general been lowered at home, but its cultivation has increaſed to ſuch a degree, that a good harveſt is ſuppoſed to be a proviſion for four † or five years. —The kingdom of England alone, according to Dr. Halley's computation, contains about forty millions of ſquare acres; and of theſe, in the year 1689, when a bounty was firſt given on the exportation of corn, one third part was ſuppoſed to lie in uncultivated commons. No year has elapſed, ſince that time, in which the legiſlature have not paſſed many acts for the incloſure of waſte grounds; whereby the country, in various places, is converted from barren heaths into fruitful fields; yielding riches and ſupport to the induſtrious farmer, and his uſeful dependants.—Agriculture is an inexhauſtible ſource of plenty and riches, which can never be ſo much enlarged, or its ſtreams ſo widely diffuſed, as by the means of inland navigations: And as the inhabitants, in ſome places near the intended canal, conſume much more corn and grain of all kinds than they can raiſe, and thoſe in others raiſe more than they can conſume, this circumſtance will find great employment for the navigation, to the general advantage of the adjacent counties.—The farmers, in the neighbourhood of the new canal, may indeed object, that the price of grain will never riſe ſo high as it has done in times of ſcarcity, when there is the opportunity of an eaſy importation. In anſwer to which, it may be obſerved, that, from the eaſe of exportation, it will never ſink ſo low in plentiful ſeaſons; ſo that the profits of the farmers, upon the whole, will not be leſs, but more equal: And we cannot help obſerving, in this place, that inequality of gain is, of all others, the moſt frequent cauſe of their ruin; as in ſcarce times, when their profits are great, they become more expenſive and luxurious, and do not ſo well know how to contract their manner of life, when cheaper ſeaſons lower the value of their commodities.—In times of plenty, the land-owners and farmers near the canal, will receive great benefit from the exportation of their grain, of all kinds: in times of ſcarcity, the whole country will be relieved, by means of a ſeaſonable importation; and thus the bleſſings of providence be more equally and uniformly diſtributed, and an artificial dearth rendered almoſt impoſſible. How ineffectual would be the attempt of the moſt powerful monopolizer, in ſuch a country as China, where plenty can be thrown into any market, from all parts, by means of navigable canals?—Another cultivated article, of great importance, is that of timber of all kinds, and eſpecially oak; of which there are many large woods near the courſe of the intended canal, that, for want of a proper conveyance to ſea-port towns, where timber is much wanted for ſhip-building, are ſold in the neighbourhood at a low price. Any method of conveying ſo bulky an article as this to the places of conſumption, at an eaſy expence, will greatly encourage the growth of it, and help to repair that decreaſe ‡ of ſhip-timber in this nation, which is a very alarming circumſtance, to a people whoſe riches and power depend ſo greatly upon navigation.—Cordwood, to make charcoal for the iron works, oak-bark for the tanners, and woad, madder, and other articles which may become the objects of cultivation, will be carried at a cheap rate upon the canal, to the mutual advantage of the proprietors and conſumers. Wool, hides, tallow, and proviſions of various kinds, will become more beneficial to their owners, by the advantage of an eaſy conveyance, to places where they may be conſumed or manufactured.—As this canal will go through the middle of Cheſhire, ſo famous for the great quantities of good cheeſe it produces, the advantages ariſing from it to the dairies will be very conſiderable; as many hundred tons of this article are annually carried by land, above forty miles, to Willington in Derbyſhire, to be ſhipped for London, and other diſtant markets, which will, for the future, be ſent by water, all the way to Hull and Liverpool, at a very moderate expence.—From the Wiches, in Cheſhire, manufactured ſalt is carried, on horſeback, to almoſt all parts of Staffordſhire, Derbyſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Nottinghamſhire, Yorkſhire, and Lincolnſhire; to which places it will gain a much cheaper acceſs, by means of the intended navigation: And ſo great is the home conſumption of this article, that from the ſalt-works of Northwich only, a duty of 67,000 l. was laſt year paid into the Exchequer. At Northwich and Winsford are annually made about 24,000 tons.—The various kinds of ſtone and earthen wares, which are manufactured at the town of Burſlem, and the villages of Stoke, Hanley-Green, Lane Delf, and Lane End, are now carried by land, upwards of thirty miles, in order to be ſent to Hull for exportation; and thoſe which go to Liverpool are conveyed twenty miles by land to Winsford. The burthen of ſo expenſive a land-carriage to Winsford and Willington, and the uncertainty of the navigations from thoſe places to Frodſham in Cheſhire, and Wilden in Derbyſhire, occaſioned by the floods in winter, and the numerous ſhallows in ſummer, are more than theſe low-priced manufactures can bear; and without ſome ſuch relief as this under conſideration, muſt concur, with their new eſtabliſhed competitors in France, and our American colonies, to bring theſe potteries to a ſpeedy decay and ruin.—All the branches of the metallic trades, which are almoſt innumerable, and carried to an aſtoniſhing extent at Birmingham, Walſal, Wolverhampton, and other places in the neighbourhood of the intended navigation, muſt receive advantages from it, that cannot at preſent be eſtimated or conceived.—We have already mentioned the important circumſtance of bringing ores out of the north, to mix with thoſe in Staffordſhire; by which the iron of that country muſt be rendered better and cheaper; and to this we may add, the great advantages of having charcoal, lime, and other fluxes brought to the furnaces at a ſmall expence: And likewiſe the great ſaving there may be in conveying this heavy article from the forge to the manufacturer by water; all which circumſtances muſt contribute to increaſe the conſumption of Engliſh iron, and enable the iron maſters, in that neighbourhood, to come upon a competition with foreigners, ſo far as to reduce the price of foreign iron, and upon the whole greatly to benefit both themſelves and the manufacturers: and certainly the firſt object, in the encouragement of any manufactory, is to furniſh it with its raw materials at the loweſt price; to which nothing, in general, contributes ſo much as inland navigations.—By the means of this canal, then, the iron maſters will be enabled to ſerve the manufacturers better with their materials; and by the ſame means, the manufacturers will be enabled to ſend their finiſhed goods away much cheaper, and to more markets; by which the conſumption, and exportation of them, cannot fail to be greatly increaſed.—The circumſtance of a water-conveyance, all the way from Birmingham to the ports of Hull and Liverpool, will be a very great reciprocal advantage to all the three places. The reduction of the price of carriage, which will take place between Birmingham and the laſt-mentioned port, is ſo great a proportion of the value of guns, nails, and other heavy manufactures of iron, that the exportation of them from thence muſt be increaſed to a degree beyond eſtimation.—The fine ale, made at Burton upon Trent, which is now exported to Germany, and ſeveral parts of the Baltic, may, by means of the intended canal, be exported from Liverpool to all parts of America, where it is likely to become a very conſiderable article of commerce.—The valuable manufactures of Nottingham, Leiceſter, and Derby, will find a cheap conveyance to Liverpool, by this navigation; and the demand for them, at

‘ that

† Sir John Nichols ſays five years; the cornfactors in London ſay, not much above two; but probably they do not make a ſufficient allowance for exportation, and the diſtillery.

For a very intereſting view of the proportionate decreaſe of oak timber, ſee Mr. Fiſher's Heart of Oak, p. 72.

thoughts of the ingenious part of the kingdom for upwards of twenty years before; and ſome ſurveys, as we have ſeen, had been made. But Harecaſtle Hill, through which the

that port, will conſequently be increaſed.—In the neighbourhood of Burſlem, and the potteries, bricks and tyles are made of a blue colour, which are ſo far vitrified, as to be harder, and more durable than any kind of ſtone uſed in building; and theſe articles are likely to find a demand through the whole courſe of the canal.—Having mentioned the principal natural productions, cultivated commodities, and manufactures in the neighbourhood of the intended navigation, we come to the articles of importation, and of general commerce.—Great quantities of flint ſtones, uſed at the potteries in Staffordſhire, are brought by ſea, from different parts of the coaſt, to Liverpool and Hull. And the clay, uſed in the white and coloured ware, is brought from Devonſhire, chiefly to Liverpool; and from thence ſent up the river Weaver to Winsford in Cheſhire: The flints from Hull are ſent up the Trent to Willington in Derbyſhire; and from Winsford and Willington they are both brought to the works, at a very great expence, by land-carriage; the one being twenty, and the other not leſs than thirty-eight miles diſtant from the potteries: and they are likewiſe ſubject to the ſame expences and delays, from floods and ſhallows, as the manufactured goods, mentioned before, to the very great diſadvantage of the manufacturers. Inconveniencies, which nothing but a navigable canal can remove.—The iron-ore from Cumberland, as it will be a conſiderable article of importation, muſt be mentioned in this place, though, in another view, it has been taken notice of before.—Hemp, flax, and linen-yarn, will be conveyed by this canal, to various manufacturers, who make uſe of thoſe materials; and probably occaſion the eſtabliſhment of ſeveral new manufactories.—Deals for building, and mahogany for cabinet-work, which are much wanted, and are now very dear, in many parts of thoſe counties through which the canal is to paſs, owing to the heavy charge of land-carriage upon ſuch bulky commodities, will be conveyed, through the whole extent of this navigation, at a moderate expence, and become very conſiderable articles of commerce.—American iron will alſo, by this means, be brought cheaper to the manufacturing towns, from the ports of Liverpool and Hull; and contribute, with the advantages already mentioned, ariſing to the iron-maſters, to leſſen the conſumption of foreign European iron, to the great profit of this nation, in general, and our own iron works in particular; and have a tendency to keep that money at home, which, for want of a better ſyſtem of commercial policy, is now ſent to foreigners, who take very few of our manufactures; and alſo to prevent the deſtruction of a trade, on which many thouſands of induſtrious workmen depend for ſubſiſtence.—The numerous manufacturers in Birmingham, and its neighbourhood, will, in general, receive their raw materials, of all kinds, much cheaper, by means of the intended canal; ſuch as copper, calamine, lead, zinc, ivory, and many others.—The merchants of Liverpool and Hull will ſupply the towns and villages, bordering upon the canal, with rum, wine, tobacco, ſugar, and all kinds of groceries and dying-ſtuffs, at lower prices than they have been accuſtomed to receive theſe commodities, and with much more ſafety and expedition. And, as theſe are articles of general conſumption, the amount of them muſt be very conſiderable; and the benefit to the public proportionably great.—The ſalt-trade will receive a very important advantage from the canal, when the navigation in the Weaver may, at any time, be interrupted; as that article may occaſionally be forwarded to Liverpool, by this new conveyance, for the diſpatch of thoſe veſſels which would otherwiſe be detained there, at a great expence. And any injury the proprietors of the Weaver navigation have to apprehend from it, ſuppoſing the canal ſhould not terminate in that river, muſt weigh light in the balance of public utility; as their freight depends chiefly upon ſalt, and ſalt-rock, from Winsford and Northwich; which, at preſent, amount to about 50,000 tons a year; and will no doubt be ſtill increaſed: and none of this likely to come upon the new canal, but when floods, or the repairing of the locks, obſtruct the Weaver; becauſe the canal will be ſome miles diſtant from Winsford; and though it ſhould come near the works at Northwich, the diſadvantage of unloading, and loading again, as the canal-veſſels cannot live in the tide-way, will prevent the ſalt from being ſent by them, except upon ſuch occaſions as thoſe that are mentioned above.—The diminution of the price of carriage, which will take place, by means of the canal, muſt alſo appear to be a very great and neceſſary advantage to our manufactures and commerce; when our preſent price of land-carriage is placed in a comparative view with that of our chief competitors: the price of land-carriage between Birmingham and London being about 8 s. per ton, for ten miles; and in the neighbourhood of the intended canal, and in many other places, no leſs than 9 s. per ton; whilſt merchandiſe may be conveyed, by land, between Lions and Marſeilles, in France, at the rate of 5 s. per ton, for the ſame diſtance. A circumſtance that muſt give the manufacturers of that nation, a very great ſuperiority over ours, at all markets, where they would otherwiſe meet upon equal terms.—Having conſidered the principal advantages which the public may reaſonably expect from the execution of this deſign, we ought not to forget the pleaſures that may ariſe from it to individuals; eſpecially as taſte is ſo univerſally cultivated, that our farms are gradually improving into gardens. And here it muſt be a lowed, that to have a lawn terminated by water, with moving objects, paſſing and repaſſing upon it, is a finiſhing, of all others, the moſt deſirable. And if we add the amuſements of a gondola, that may convey us to many flouriſhing towns, through the moſt delightful vallies in the kingdom; and the convenience of having variety of fiſh, brought alive in well-boats, for our tables; we have articles of luxury, which the inhabitants, in other ſituations, wiſh for in vain.—So many, and important, are the advantages that will undoubtedly ariſe to the public from the intended canal, that we preſume, an attentive conſideration of them, muſt convince every one, that they infinitely outweigh all the inconveniencies that can be ſuppoſed to attend it: And it is to be hoped, every friend to his country will be cautious of giving weight to trivial inconveniencies, in oppoſition to a work of this immenſe importance.—Some of the objections, that may be urged againſt this navigation, have already been obviated; and thoſe that remain, do not ſeem to be well founded, or of great importance. It may be ſaid, that many eſtates will be divided by the canal: but, as in ſeveral parts it will be carried through uncultivated commons, and lands that want draining; as a full compenſation will be paid for the ground that is cut through; and as the farms will be again connected, by bridges and fords, at ſuitable diſtances; it is preſumed no inconveniencies will proceed from this circumſtance, which are not amply counterbalanced by the many advantages, that have been before pointed out, and muſt evidently ariſe to every farm through which it may paſs.—Nor muſt we here omit the trite objection of the diſhoneſty of watermen, that they will pilfer fruit and poultry in their paſſage. But, certainly, this claſs of travellers may be ranked, in point of honeſty, with the common carriers; and as one man and a boy will be ſufficient to attend the conveyance of twenty tons of goods along the canal, which by land would require the attendance of ten perſons, the number of theſe dangerous viſitors will be greatly decreaſed.—The only remaining objection, that has occurred to us, is, that by an inland navigation, between the ports of Liverpool and Hull, the coaſting trade, that great nurſery for ſeamen, will be diminiſhed. To which may be anſwered, that, in the firſt place, there is little or none of that trade between thoſe two ports. Secondly, that as this inland na-‘ vigation the tunnel is conſtructed, could neither be avoided nor overcome by any expedient the ableſt engineers could deviſe. It was Mr. Brindley alone who ſurmounted this and ſuch other difficulties, ariſing from the variety of meaſures, ſtrata, and quickſands, as no one but himſelf would have attempted to conquer [*E*].

Soon

vigation will give an opportunity for a more eaſy conveyance of the products of the interior parts of the country to the neighbouring ports, which may from thence be conveyed, by ſea, to diſtant parts of the kingdom, from whence other products and commodities may be returned; the coaſting trade muſt hereby be greatly promoted. And laſtly, as this navigation will contribute to increaſe the produce of our farms, will benefit our preſent manufactures, and occaſion the eſtabliſhment of new ones, it muſt, of courſe, enlarge the amount of our exports; and, inſtead of leſſening, have a direct tendency to augment the quantity of our ſhipping, and the number of our ſeamen.—It muſt alſo be obſerved, that when the other parts of this great deſign are executed, and the principal ports and manufacturing towns of the kingdom come to have a reciprocal inland communication by water, then, though the coaſting trade may be diminiſhed, the export trade will not only be inconceivably enlarged, but the internal national commerce be carried on with more eaſe and diſpatch; leſs expoſed to expenſive and hazardous delays; and perfectly ſecure, in time of war, from the depredations of an enemy.—How far theſe favourable circumſtances muſt contribute to enhance the value of our lands; to promote the wealth, ſtrength, and ſplendour of this nation; and to confirm, and perpetuate, the peculiar bleſſings and privileges of its inhabitants; is referred to the imagination of every intelligent reader.——The proſpect is delightful!——Patriot minds will dwell upon it with pleaſure, and be employed in projecting ſchemes to realize it, in its whole extent.——But our preſent attention muſt be confined to one part of the general deſign: and, no doubt, many advantages to be expected from the navigable canal, now under conſideration, will occur to the reader, that have eſcaped our notice: thoſe that have been pointed out are, however, very numerous and extenſive.—To have the means of conveyance ſo greatly facilitated; the price of carriage ſo much diminiſhed; old manufactures encouraged; new ones eſtabliſhed; eſtates greatly improved; plenty widely diffuſed; and the country, in general, rendered ſtill more affluent, populous, and ſecure; are conſiderations of ſuch weight, as cannot fail to intereſt all benevolent and public-ſpirited perſons, in the ſucceſs of this important undertaking (5).' The ſubſequent paper is a moſt ſtriking proof of the great utility of inland navigations, and a full confirmation of the advantages foretold in the preceding extract: the price of carriage being not only theoretically but actually reduced about three-fourths.

NAVIGATION from the TRENT to the MERSEY.

MESSRS. HUGH HENSHALL and Co. take this opportunity of informing the Public, That the whole of this Navigation, being in length 99 miles, is now completed; and the Company, in order to give the greateſt expedition to the conveyance of goods upon it, have formed ſeveral regulations; and for the greater ſecurity of goods they have taken ample ſecurities from the maſters of their boats, and have added a ſupercargo to each upon the Trent, in order to prevent the pilferage which has been too frequently practiſed upon that river.

They have fixed regular Stage-boats to paſs between the ſeveral places under mentioned, at the following prices:

Between	Price per Ton. l. s. d.	Land car. per Ton. l. s. d.
Gainſborough and Birmingham,	1 10 0	
Mancheſter and Etruria, the centre of the Pottery - -	0 15 0	2 15 0
—— —— Bromley-Common, three miles from Litchfield -	1 0 0	4 0 0
(The land-carriage from thence to Litchfield 2s. 6d. per ton.)		
Mancheſter and Shardlow, 6 miles from Derby - -	1 10 0	3 0 0
(Land-carriage to Derby, 5 s. per ton.)		
—— —— Shardlow, 20 miles from Leiceſter - -	1 10 0	6 0 0
(Land-carriage 16 s. 8 d. per ton.)		
—— —— Nottingham -	2 0 0	4 0 0
—— —— Newark -	2 0 0	5 6 8
—— —— Wolverhampton	1 5 0	4 13 4
—— —— Birmingham -	1 10 0	4 0 0
—— —— Stourport -	1 10 0	4 13 4
Packs of wool and pockets of hops being very bulky articles, -	2 0 0	
Liverpool and Etruria -	0 13 4	2 10 0
—— —— Bromley-Common	1 0 0	
—— —— Shardlow -	1 10 0	
—— —— Nottingham and Newark - -	2 0 0	
—— —— Wolverhampton	1 5 0	5 0 0
—— —— Birmingham -	1 10 0	5 0 0
—— —— Stourport -	1 10 0	5 0 0
Cheſter and Wolverhampton -	1 15 0	3 10 0
—— —— Birmingham -	2 0 0	3 10 0
—— —— Stourport -	2 0 0	3 10 0

The freight between Gainſborough and Shardlow (the junction of the canal with the river Trent), and between Briſtol and Stourport (the junction of the canal with the river Severn), will be about 10 s. per ton.

N. B. The above prices are only for periſhable goods, thoſe not periſhable will be carried at a lower price.

Navigation-Office, Stone,
July 1ſt, 1777.

[*E*] *As no one but himſelf would have attempted to conquer.*] Whilſt Mr. Brindley was engaged in conducting the Grand Trunk Navigation, a Letter appeared, from Burſlem, dated Sept. 8, 1767, of which the following is an extract. 'Gentlemen come to view our eighth wonder of the world, the ſubterraneous navigation, which is cutting by the great Mr. Brindley, who handles rocks as eaſily as you would plum-pies, and makes the four elements ſubſervient to his will. He is as plain a looking man as one of the boors of the Peake, or one of his own carters; but when he ſpeaks, all ears liſten, and every mind is filled with wonder, at the things he pronounces to be practicable. He has cut a mile through bogs, which he binds up, embanking them with ſtones which he gets out of other parts of the navigation, beſides about a quarter of a mile into the hill Yelden; on the ſide of which he has a pump, which is worked by water, and a ſtove, the fire of which ſucks through a pipe the damps that would annoy the men, who are cutting towards the centre of the hill. The clay he cuts out ſerves for brick, to arch the ſubterraneous part, which we heartily wiſh to ſee finiſhed to Wilden Ferry, when we ſhall be able to ſend coals and pots to London, and to different parts of the globe (6).' We ſhall here add the obſervations with which the compiler of the Hiſtory of Inland Navigations concludes the firſt part of that publication. 'I cannot leave this ſubject without mentioning Mr. Brindley once more, who, great in himſelf, harbours no contracted notions, no jealouſy of rivals: he conceals not his methods of proceeding, nor aſks patents to ſecure the ſole uſe of the machines which he invents and expoſes to public view. Senſible that he muſt one day ceaſe to be, he ſelects men of genius, teaches them the power of mechanics, and employs them in carrying on the various undertakings in which he is engaged.—It is not to the Duke of Bridgwater only that his ſervices are confined. He is of public utility, and employs his talents in rectifying the miſtakes of

'deſpairing

(5) Hiſt. of Inland Navigations, p. 59—75.

(6) Hiſt. of Inland Navigations, p. 88, 89.

Soon after the navigation from the Trent to the Merſey was undertaken, application was made to Parliament, by the gentlemen of Staffordſhire and Worceſterſhire, for leave to conſtruct a canal from the Grand Trunk, near Haywood in Staffordſhire, to the river Severn, near Bewdley. The act being obtained, the deſign was executed by our great engineer, and hereby the port of Briſtol was added to the two before united ports of Liverpool and Hull. This canal, which is about forty-ſix miles in length, was completed in 1772. Mr. Brindley's next undertaking was the ſurvey and execution of a canal from Birmingham, to unite with the Staffordſhire and Worceſterſhire canal near Wolverhampton. This navigation, which was finiſhed in about three years, is twenty-ſix miles in length. As, by the means of it, vaſt quantities of coals are conveyed to the river Severn, as well as to Birmingham, where there muſt be a peculiar demand for them, extraordinary advantages have hence accrued to manufactures and commerce. Our engineer adviſed the proprietors of the laſt mentioned navigation, in order to avoid the inconvenience of locks, and to ſupply the canal more effectually with water, to have a tunnel at Smethwick. This would have rendered it a complete work. But his advice was rejected, and, to ſupply the deficiency, the managers have lately erected two of Meſſrs. Watts and Boulton's ſteam engines. The canal from Droitwich to the river Severn, for the conveyance of ſalt and coals, was, likewiſe, executed by Mr. Brindley. By him, alſo, the Coventry navigation was planned, and it was a ſhort time under his direction. But a diſpute ariſing concerning the mode of execution, he reſigned his office; which, it is imagined, the proprietors of that undertaking have ſince had cauſe to lament. Some little time before his death, Mr. Brindley began the Oxfordſhire canal. This unites with the Coventry canal, and, if the latter were completed, would be a continuation of the Grand Trunk Navigation to Oxford, and ſo far towards London. Though the proprietors were too ſoon deprived of their engineer, for whom they entertained the higheſt reſpect, they, nevertheleſs, continue the work with great ſpirit, and give reaſon to hope that it will be attended with the deſired ſucceſs. The canal from Cheſterfield to the river Trent at Stockwith, was the laſt public undertaking in which Mr. Brindley engaged. He ſurveyed and planned the whole, and executed ſome miles of the navigation, which was ſucceſsfully finiſhed by Mr. Henſhall, in 1777. There were few works of this nature projected, in any part of the kingdom, in which our engineer was not conſulted. He was employed, in particular, by the City of London, to ſurvey a courſe for a canal from Sunning, near Reading in Berkſhire, to Monkey Iſland, near Richmond. But when application was made to Parliament, for leave to effect the deſign, the bill met with ſuch a violent oppoſition from the land-owners, that it was defeated. Theſe gentlemen would not ſuffer their fine villas to be diſturbed by noiſy boatmen, or their extenſive lawns to be cut through for the accommodation of trade and commerce; though it was from trade and commerce that moſt of their fine villas and extenſive lawns had derived their origin.

Mr. Brindley had, for ſome time, the direction of the Calder navigation; but he declined a farther inſpection of it, on account of a difference in opinion among the Commiſſioners. In the year 1766, he laid out a canal from the river Calder, at Cooper's Bridge, to Huddersfield in Yorkſhire, which hath ſince been carried into execution. In 1768, he reviſed the plan for the inland navigation from Leeds to Liverpool. He was, likewiſe, at the firſt general meeting of the proprietors, after the act of Parliament had been obtained, appointed the engineer for conducting the work: but the multiplicity of his other engagements obliged him to decline this employment. In the ſame year, he planned a canal from Stockton, by Darlington, to Winſton in the Biſhopric of Durham. Three plans, of the like kind, were formed by him in 1769; one from Leeds to Selby; another from the Briſtol Channel, near Uphill in Somerſetſhire, to Glaſtonbury, Taunton, Wellington, Tiverton, and Exeter; and a third from Langport, in the county of Somerſet, by way of Ilminſter, Chard, and Axminſter, to the South Channel, at Axmouth, in the county of Devon. In 1770, he ſurveyed the country, for a canal from Andover, by way of Stockbridge and Rumſey, to Redbridge near Southampton; and, in 1771, from Saliſbury, by Fordingbridge and Ringwood to Chriſtchurch. He performed the like office, in 1772, for a navigation of the ſame kind, propoſed to be carried on from Preſton to Lancaſter, and from thence to Kendal, in Weſtmoreland. He ſurveyed, likewiſe, and planned out a canal, to join that of the Duke of Bridgwater's at Runcorn, from Liverpool. If this ſcheme had been executed, it was Mr. Brindley's intention to have conſtructed the work, by an aqueduct, over the river Merſey, at a place where the tide flows fourteen feet in height. He alſo ſurveyed the county of Cheſter, for a canal from the Grand Trunk to the city of Cheſter. The plan for joining the Forth and the Clyde was reviſed by him; and he pro-

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‘ deſpairing workmen, and in ſetting on foot large ‘ and uſeful machines, in the ſilk throwing, mill ‘ working, mine draining, and various other ways, ‘ by which he opens new veins of treaſure to Great ‘ Britain. His powers ſhine the moſt in the midſt of ‘ difficulties. When rivers and mountains ſeem to ‘ thwart his deſigns, then appears his vaſt capacity, ‘ by which he makes them ſubſervient to his will. ‘ But I will not further attempt to deſcribe his ta‘ lents, which deſerve the pen of a Plutarch, and ‘ the ſkill even of a Brindley (7).’

(7) Hiſt. of Inland Navigations, p. 96.

poſed ſome conſiderable alterations, particularly with regard to the deepening of the Clyde, which have been attended to by the managers. He was conſulted upon ſeveral improvements with reſpect to the draining of the low lands, in different parts of Lincolnſhire and the Iſle of Ely. A canal was, likewiſe, laid out by him, for uniting *that* of Cheſterfield, by the way of Derby, with the Grand Trunk at Swarkſtone. To the corporation of Liverpool, he gave a plan for cleanſing their docks of mud. This hath been put into execution with the deſired effect: and he pointed out, alſo, the method, which has been attended with equal ſucceſs, of building walls againſt the ſea *without mortar*. The laſt of our great mechanic's ingenious and uncommon contrivances, that we ſhall mention, is his improvement of the machine for drawing water out of mines, by a loſing and a gaining bucket. This he afterwards employed, to advantage, in raiſing up coals from the mines.

When any extraordinary difficulty occurred to Mr. Brindley, in the execution of his works, having little or no aſſiſtance from books, or the labours of other men, his reſources lay within himſelf. In order, therefore, to be quiet and uninterrupted, whilſt he was in ſearch of the neceſſary expedients, he generally retired to his bed; and he has been known to lie there one, two, or three days, till he had attained the object in view. He then would get up, and execute his deſign without any drawing or model. Indeed, it never was his cuſtom to make either, unleſs he was obliged to do it to ſatisfy his employers. His memory was ſo remarkable, that he has often declared that he could remember, and execute, all the parts of the moſt complex machine, provided he had time, in his ſurvey of it, to ſettle, in his mind, the ſeveral departments, and their relations to each other. His method of calculating the powers of any machine invented by him, was peculiar to himſelf. He worked the queſtion for ſome time in his head, and then put down the reſults in figures. After this, taking it up again in that ſtage, he worked it farther in his mind, for a certain time, and ſet down the reſults as before. In the ſame way he ſtill proceeded, making uſe of figures only at ſtated periods of the queſtion. Yet the ultimate reſult was generally true, though the road he travelled in ſearch of it was unknown to all but himſelf; and, perhaps, it would not have been in his power to have ſhewn it to another.

The attention which was paid by Mr. Brindley to objects of peculiar magnitude did not permit him to indulge himſelf in the common diverſions of life. Indeed, he had not the leaſt reliſh for the amuſements to which mankind, in general, are ſo much devoted. He never ſeemed in his element, if he was not either planning or executing ſome great work, or converſing with his friends upon ſubjects of importance. He was once prevailed upon, when in London, to ſee a play. Having never been at an entertainment of this kind before, it had a powerful effect upon him, and he complained, for ſeveral days afterward, that it had diſturbed his ideas, and rendered him unfit for buſineſs. He declared, therefore, that he would not go to another play upon any account. It might, however, have contributed to the longer duration of Mr. Brindley's life, and conſequently to the farther benefit of the public, if he could have occaſionally relaxed the tone of his mind. His not being able to do ſo, might not ſolely ariſe from the vigour of his genius, always bent upon capital deſigns; but be, in part, the reſult of that total want of education, which, while it might add ſtrength to his powers in the particular way in which they were exerted, precluded him, at the ſame time, from thoſe agreeable reliefs that are adminiſtered by miſcellaneous reading, and a taſte in the polite and elegant arts. The only fault he was obſerved to fall into, was his ſuffering himſelf to be prevailed upon to engage in more concerns than could be completely attended to by any ſingle man, how eminent ſoever might be his abilities and diligence. It is apprehended that, by this means, Mr. Brindley ſhortened his days, and, in a certain degree, abridged his uſefulneſs. There is, at leaſt, the utmoſt reaſon to believe, that his intenſe application, in general, to the important undertakings he had in hand, brought on a hectic fever, which continued upon him, with little or no intermiſſion, for ſome years, and, at length, terminated his life. He died, at Turnhurſt, in Staffordſhire, on the 27th of September, 1772, in the 56th year of his age, and was buried at New Chapel in the ſame county. The vaſt works Mr. Brindley was engaged in at the time of his death, he left to be carried on and completed by his brother-in-law, Mr. Henſhall, for whom he had a peculiar regard, and of whoſe integrity and abilities, in conducting theſe works, he had the higheſt opinion.

Thus was the world deprived, at a comparatively early period, of this great genius

'Of mother wit, and wiſe without the ſchools,'

who very ſoon gave indications of uncommon talents, and extenſive views, in the application of mechanical principles; and who, by a happy concurrence of circumſtances, the chief of which was the patronage of his Grace the Duke of Bridgwater, was favoured with an opportunity of unfolding and diſplaying his wonderful powers, in the execution of works new to this country, and ſuch as will extend his fame, and endear his memory, to future times. The public could only recognize the merit of this extraordinary man in the ſtupendous undertakings which he carried to perfection, and exhibited to general view. But thoſe who had the advantage of converſing with him familiarly, and of knowing him well in his private character, reſpected him ſtill more for the uniform and unſhaken integrity of his conduct; for his ſteady attachment to the intereſt of the community; for the vaſt compaſs of his underſtanding, which ſeemed to have a natural affinity with all grand objects; and, likewiſe, for many noble and beneficent deſigns, conſtantly generating in his mind, and which the multiplicity of his engagements, and the ſhortneſs of his life, prevented him from bringing to maturity.

A few particulars, of more doubtful authority, will be inſerted in the note [*F*]. We cannot conclude the preſent article better, than by tranſcribing, from one of our firſt female poets, ſome lines, beautifully deſcriptive of the new objects which are preſented, in a rural landſcape, by navigable canals.

‘ Here ſmooth canals, acroſs th’ extended plain,
‘ Stretch their long arms, to join the diſtant main:
‘ The ſons of toil with many a weary ſtroke
‘ Scoop the hard boſom of the ſolid rock;
‘ Reſiſtleſs thro’ the ſtiff oppoſing clay,
‘ With ſteady patience work their gradual way;
‘ Compel the genius of th’ unwilling flood
‘ Thro’ the brown horrors of the aged wood;
‘ ’Croſs the lone waſte the ſilver urn they pour,
‘ And cheer the barren heath or ſullen moor.
‘ The traveller with pleaſing wonder ſees
‘ The white ſail gleaming thro’ the duſky trees;
‘ And views the alter’d landſcape with ſurpriſe,
‘ And doubts the magic ſcenes which round him riſe.
‘ Now, like a flock of ſwans, above his head
‘ Their woven wings the flying veſſels ſpread;
‘ Now meeting ſtreams in artful mazes glide,
‘ While each unmingled pours a ſeparate tide;
‘ Now through the hidden veins of earth they flow,
‘ And viſit ſulphurous mines and caves below;
‘ The ductile ſtreams obey the guiding hand,
‘ And ſocial plenty circles round the land (*a*).’]

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(*a*) Miſs Aikin's (now Mrs. Barbauld's) Poems, p. 16—18, third edition.

[*F*] *Will be inſerted in the note.*] In the Morning Poſt, in Auguſt 1776, two or three ſhort papers were publiſhed, entitled ‘ Anecdotes of Mr. Brindley the ‘ Engineer.’ It is plain that the writer of them was not very accurately acquainted with the hiſtory of our great mechanic. He has related, however, two or three particulars concerning him, which may ſerve to amuſe our Readers; and which we ſhall inſert, without anſwering for their authenticity. If they be true, they will contribute ſtill farther to diſplay Mr Brindley's turn of mind. ‘ He was the greateſt enthuſiaſt ‘ in favour of artificial navigations that ever exiſted. ‘ Having ſpoken upon various circumſtances of rivers ‘ before a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, in ‘ which he ſeemed to treat all ſorts of rivers with ‘ great contempt, a Member aſked him, for what ‘ purpoſe he apprehended rivers were created? Brindley, conſidering with himſelf a little before he gave ‘ an anſwer, replied, at laſt, “ *To feed navigable* “ *Canals.*”

‘ Employment in ſo many conſiderable works, had ‘ made him think there was nothing impoſſible to ‘ him. He had always a favourite ſcheme of joining ‘ the two iſlands from Port Patrick to Donnaghdee, ‘ by a floating road and canal, which he was confi‘dent he could execute in ſuch a manner as to ſtand ‘ the moſt violent attacks of the waves.’

‘ He had been ſo lowly educated that he had ‘ learned neither to read nor write; and afterwards ‘ went no farther than ſigning his name. Yet he ‘ would caſt up pretty intricate accounts in his head ‘ without difficulty or error.’

‘ The late King of France, upon hearing of what ‘ he had performed, had an inclination to ſee him, ‘ and to have him view the canal of Languedoc. But ‘ he ſaid he would have no journies to other countries, unleſs it were to be employed in ſurpaſſing ‘ what was already done in them.’

‘ Clear as his head muſt have been, he had, in delivering his opinion, ſo unmeaning and poor a way ‘ of expreſſing himſelf, that he was taken by many ‘ for an idiot *.’

* We have ſince learned that this account is, in part, erroneous. Mr. Brindley could both read and write. Though he was but a poor ſcribe, he often wrote letters. He was ſo far from looking like an idiot, that he had an animated and ſenſible countenance.

⁂ [BROUGHTON (Hugh), a Divine of great eminence for his extenſive knowledge in Hebrew and Rabbinical learning, was deſcended from an ancient family [*A*], and born in the year 1549, at Oldbury [*B*], in the county of Salop (*a*). Dr. Lightfoot ſays, that it is uncertain in what ſchool he was inſtructed in grammar-learning; but, according to the writers of the life of Bernard Gilpin, he was brought up in the ſchool founded by that excellent man at Houghton, and by him ſent to Cam-

(*a*) Lightfoot's Preface to Broughton's Works, p. 1. 10.

[*A*] *Deſcended from an ancient family.*] Dr. Lightfoot ſays, ‘ The family of which he deſcended was ‘ ancient, and of very great rank, worth, and eſtate, ‘ and at the ſame time bred this great ſcholar, and a ‘ brother of his, a Judge. It gave, for its coat of ‘ arms, the *Owls*: which is mentioned the rather, ‘ becauſe this our author would ſometimes ſay merrily, that it was a good prognoſtic that he ſhould ‘ be a Grecian, becauſe his coat bore the bird of ‘ Athens. And by this may be unriddled, that, ‘ for which, it may be, every one is not, or hath not ‘ an Oedipus ready, which is this: In ſome editions ‘ of the *Genealogies* ſet before our Bibles, you ſhall ‘ find two owls pictured, holding either of them a ‘ burning torch: which meaneth this, that it was ‘ Mr. Broughton that gave the light in that ‘ work (1).’

[*B*] *At Oldbury.*] Dr. Lightfoot ſays, ‘ The native ſoil of this great ſcholar and divine was the ‘ county of Salop: the place of his birth Oldbury, ‘ an ancient ſeat, upon the very edge of Wales, towards Montgomery. Hence he ſticks not to call ‘ himſelf both a Cambrian and a Salopian, in theſe ‘ verſes borrowed from Virgil, and changed to his ‘ own purpoſe:

‘ *Non obtuſa adèo geſtamus pectora* Cambri,
‘ *Nec tam averſus equos* Salope *ſol jungit ab urbe* (2).’

(1) Preface, written by Dr. John Lightfoot, prefixed to the edition of Mr. Broughton's Works, printed in 1662, in folio.

(2) Preface, *ſupra.*

bridge (*b*) [*C*]. It is certain, that he was educated at that univerſity, and that he became one of the fellows of Chriſt's college (*c*). Here he laid the firſt foundation of his Hebrew ſtudies, under a Frenchman, who read upon that tongue in the univerſity [*D*]. His parts and learning ſoon rendered him very conſpicuous at Cambridge, and alſo attracted the notice of the Earl of Huntingdon, who became a liberal patron to him, and greatly encouraged him in his ſtudies [*E*]. From the univerſity he repaired to London, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a preacher [*F*], and increaſed the number of his friends, ſome

(*b*) Carleton's Life of Bernard Gilpin, p. 186, 187. 4th edit. Gilpin's Life of Bernard Gilpin, p. 214. 2d edit.

(*c*) Lightfoot, *ubi ſupra*, p. 2.

[*C*] *Brought up in the ſchool —— at Houghton,* &c.] Biſhop Carleton ſays, in his Life of Bernard Gilpin, that he 'was accuſtomed ſometimes to ride to Oxford, eſpecially in his younger time when he was able to endure travel. Now it happened upon a time, as he was upon his way towards Oxford, that he eſpied by the way-ſide a youth, one while walking, and another while running. Mr. Gilpin demanded of him who he was, whence he came, and whither he was going. He made anſwer, that he came out of Wales, and that he was bound for Oxford, with intent to be a ſcholar. Mr. Gilpin examineth the youth, and findeth him a prompt ſcholar in the Latin, and that he had a little ſmattering of the Greek. And wilt thou (ſaith Mr. Gilpin) be contented to go with me? I will provide for thee. The youth was contented: whereupon Maſter Gilpin took him along with him, firſt to Oxford, afterwards to Houghton, where he profited exceedingly both in Greek and Hebrew: whom Mr. Gilpin at the laſt ſent to Cambridge. And this was that famous Hugh Broughton, ſo exceeding apt in learning the Greek and Hebrew, but a man of a moſt inconſtant nature. For when Mr. Gilpin grew old, whether it was in expectation of Mr. Gilpin's parſonage, or for ſome other cauſe, it is reported, that he procured Mr. Gilpin to be troubled and moleſted by the Biſhop of Durham (3).' The ſame ſtory was afterwards publiſhed by Dr. T. Fuller, and which ſeems copied from Biſhop Carleton, as it is related nearly in the ſame words. He concludes the ſtory with ſaying, 'this was that famous Hugh Broughton, who afterwards requited evil for good, by ſtirring up the Biſhop of Durham againſt Maſter Gilpin (4).'

(3) Life of Bernard Gilpin, 4th edit. p. 185, 186, 187.

(4) Abel Redivivus, p. 358.

But Broughton is charged with ingratitude to Bernard Gilpin in much ſtronger terms, and with greater ſeverity, by Mr. William Gilpin. This ingenious writer ſays, 'Broughton acted the baſeſt and moſt ungrateful part. Mr. Gilpin had educated and maintained him both at ſchool and the univerſity, and had always ſhewn him every civility in his power. Yet this man was afterwards vile enough to endeavour to ſupplant the very patron who raiſed him. He had craftily inſinuated himſelf into the Biſhop of Durham's favour, and thought he ſtood fair for the firſt vacant preferment; and as Houghton was then the beſt thing in the Biſhop's gift, he had fixed his eye upon it. Mr. Gilpin was old and infirm, and in all probability could enjoy it but a very few years; yet Broughton had not patience to let him ſpend the remainder of his age in peace. He knew the Biſhop was eaſily impoſed upon, and found means to prejudice him againſt Mr. Gilpin. To this was owing, as appeared afterwards, the affair of the ſuſpenſion already mentioned (*), and ſome other inſtances of the Biſhop's diſpleaſure. But in the end poor Broughton had the mortification to ſee his indirect meaſures unravelled. The Biſhop ſaw his error, was reconciled to Mr. Gilpin, and continued ever afterwards his ſteady friend: and Broughton finding himſelf neglected, left Durham to ſeek his fortune elſewhere (5).'

(*) In Mr. Gilpin's Life of B. Gilpin.

(5) Life of Bernard Gilpin, 8*vo*, 1753, p. 214, 215.

If Hugh Broughton really acted in the manner that Mr. Gilpin has repreſented, it is ſcarcely poſſible to cenſure him with too much ſeverity: but we think there is very far from being ſufficient evidence of the facts; at leaſt Mr. Gilpin hath not produced it: and it ſeems hardly juſt, to admit ſo black a charge againſt a man without proper proof. Biſhop Carleton, the firſt writer whom we have met with, by whom any accuſation of this kind is brought againſt Broughton, ſpeaks, in the quotation already given, of his exciting the Biſhop of Durham againſt Bernard Gilpin only as a *report*; and, if it were true, ſeems very doubtful whether he was excited to it by any view to Mr. Gilpin's living.

It appears that Mr. Gilpin ſometimes lent Broughton books, and probably in the latter part of his life; for in his will is the following paſſage: 'I give to the Queen's College in Oxford, —— all the books that Mr. Hugh Broughton hath of mine, *viz.* Euſebius, Greek, in two volumes; and Joſephus, Greek, in one volume, and certain other books; I truſt he will withhold none of them (6).

(6) Life of Bernard Gilpin, p. 230.

[*D*] *Here he laid the firſt foundation of his Hebrew ſtudies,* &c.] In his prefatory ſpeech to his lectures, which he read in St. Paul's, is the following paſſage: 'I being requeſted to read, thought no place more fit than this, becauſe I heard, that a learned man of France, about twenty-three years ago, did read here in the Hebrew tongue. At my firſt coming to Cambridge, I laid under him my firſt foundations of ſtudy; and after him, it hath pleaſed God, that I ſhould come hither to revive his ſtudy. He was a very learned man, and in Cambridge was not counted the ſecond in the realm. A rare man he was in that ſtudy, and in Hebrew he would draw ſuch a ſtudy, that they might learn more of him in one month, than others could teach in ten years. He, being requeſted of his countrymen to come, and teach the goſpel among them, and having gotten leave of her majeſty, went: but being, when he came there, perſecuted by moſt wicked men, was driven into the hills and woods, and there got an ague, whereof he died (7).'

(7) Lightfoot's Preface, p. 2. Clarke's Lives, p. 2.

[*E*] *The Earl of Huntingdon, who became a liberal patron to him.*] In the dedication of one of his pieces to that nobleman are the following paſſages: 'Of your Lordſhip, I may ſay out of Homer, that you have been unto me as a father to the ſon: and I will never forget that tendering. I found many honourable patrons, but your lordſhip's charges were the greateſt. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury's grace was the means, ſoon after my coming to Cambridge in my young years, to procure me a continual profeſſion of Homer's tongue: whereupon with all ſpeed the reſt of my ſucceſs proceeded, until Sir Walter Mildmay's lecture in Greek, with the gift of ſix ſcholarſhips as I would, and his father-like favour, better encouraged my pains. And I ſhould injure all the governors of Cambridge, if I ſhould not acknowledge continual ſingular cheriſhing: and one point in offering, whether lecture I would of Japheth and Sem's chief tongues. But there to me your lordſhip's charges was five and twenty times more than the private Greek profeſſion, and above ten times the value of a fellowſhip by year. The greateſt allowance that any nobleman granted any ſcholar (8).' In the ſame dedication he alſo ſays, 'I think myſelf more beholding to your lordſhip, for your bountifulneſs in the due time of my ſtudy, for the benefit of the church, than I could be to any for an earldom, when years to ſet forth religion cannot ſerve. And not I only, but all divines muſt honour you, for this your opinion known to many: That you thought a learned Divine equal to an Earl (9).'

(8) Works, p. 360. edit. 1662.

(9) *Ibid.* p. 361.

[*F*] *He diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a preacher.*] Dr. Lightfoot ſays, 'The way of his preaching was this: He would take a text in the Old Teſtament, and another parallel in the New, and diſcourſe largely upon them together, and knit up all in a ſhort application. And thus he went over very many, if not all, the ſections in Moſes, and conferred them, and the Prophets, with the New Teſtament. And one paſſage in one of theſe ſermons, which he had in his application, may not be omitted. It was in *Eighty-eight*, when the Spaniſh navy was upon the ſea. All the time of the danger, when men's hearts were full of fear and doubts, he encouraged the people exceedingly, and once particularly thus: *Now*, ſaith he, *the Papiſts knees knock one againſt another, as the knees of Belſhazzar, and the news* ſome of whom were of high rank (*d*). He ſtill, however, continued to proſecute his ſtudies with the moſt unremitting aſſiduity; ſo that he is ſaid frequently to have ſpent ſixteen hours out of the four and twenty at his books (*e*).

In 1588, he publiſhed a piece, intitled, 'The Conſent of Scriptures [*G*].' This was a work in which he was employed ſeveral years; and which, therefore, he uſed to call

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'will come, that the Lord hath ſcattered that invincible Navy. Fear ye not, nor be diſmayed at theſe ſmoking fire-brands (10).'

[G] *A piece, intitled, The Conſent of Scriptures.*] This work is a kind of ſyſtem of Scripture chronology, and Scripture genealogies, and appears to have been compiled with great labour. It was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, to whom it was preſented by himſelf on the 17th of November, 1589 (11). In the dedication he ſays, 'The whole Book of God (moſt gracious Sovereign) hath ſo great an harmony, that every part of it may be known to breathe from one ſpirit. All ſoundeth the ſame point, that by Chriſt the Son eternal we are made heirs of life: whom they that know not abide always in wrath. Prophecies in every age [the firſt ages larger, the later narrower], all briefly told, all for event fully recorded: theſe ſhew the conſtancy of this truth. The like revolutions are of Abraham, Jacob, and his children, together, of Shem's houſe: and again to Japhet's ſons, and all families: wherein the former be ſtamps of the later: ſo that in one ſpeech, another thing alſo is ſpoken. Theſe ſhew the eye of Jehovah, and his ſpirit. The kindreds, places, and times [the lights of narrations] are regiſtered ſo profitably, that it ſhould be a blaſphemy to affirm any one to be idle. Our Lord his fathers are recorded from Adam, by David and Nathan, to his grandfather Ely: likewiſe they, after whom he is heir to the kingdom of David: Solomon's line ſo long as it continued, and afterwards they who from Nathan were heirs to Solomon's houſe. So other families, who came all of one, as from them all come: they by Moſes and the prophets be plentifully expreſſed. In like ſort the places of their dwellings are clearly taught. The courſe of time is moſt certainly to be obſerved; even to the fulneſs, the year of ſalvation, wherein our Lord died. Of which time the very hour was foretold by an Angel not ſeven years before, but ſeventy times ſeven years, Dan. ix. 24. To this all other Hebrews, and profane Greeks, bear witneſs ſtrongly againſt themſelves. Theſe helps be ſtars in the ſtory. The frame of all this, with coupling of joints and proportion of body, will much allure to ſtudy, when it is ſeen how about one work (Religion and God's way of ſalvation), all families, countries, and ages, build or pull down: and find the kindneſs or ſeverity of God (12).'

He took much pains to ſhew, that the Heathen Chronology was little to be depended on. In one place he ſays, 'Phlegon maketh the beginning of the Olympiads to be in the 300dth year after the fall of Troy, but Diodorus in the 405th. And yet both aver that Cyrus flouriſhed, Olymp. 55. Thus ſweetly they agree, making an hundred years difference, according to Africanus and Scaliger. Circe did not ſo bewitch the followers of Ulyſſes and others, as the Olympiads have very learned men (13).'

He was a zealous advocate for the incorruptneſs of the ſacred text both of the Old and New Teſtament. 'In the prophet Daniel's time,' ſays he, 'and afterwards, the ſacred tongues were changed: it will not therefore be amiſs to ſpeak ſomething of God's counſel in this matter. Adam and Eve's tongue continued, commonly ſpoken by the Jews, until the captivity of Babylon, and the underſtanding thereof, when Haggai and Zachary propheſied, in the next age. In this tongue every book of the Old Teſtament is written, in a ſtyle unimitable. The characters and points are the ſame with thoſe written by God in the two tables. The Maſorites, of whom Ezra was chief, with an Argus-eyed diligence ſo keep the letters and words, that none of them can periſh. The ſenſe of the tongue is preſerved for us by the 70, the N. T. And the Talmudic phraſe by them, who in their ſchools ſtill kept the tongue. And by the help of the LXX, and N. T. we may excel all the rabbins. For their ſtudy is more eaſy to us, than to them, in regard that they imitate the Greeks in their fables and expreſſions, and we have above them God, an heavenly interpreter for us in all the N. T. which is both for the infinite elegancy and variety of its words moſt divinely eloquent. In it be the choice words of all kind of all Greek writers, nor can they all, without ſome fragments of the ancients, and the LXX, ſhew all the words in it. It hath alſo ſome new framed words, as all chief authors have, and all brave expreſſions, ſo that if any one would ſtudy in another tongue to expreſs the like elegancy, he may as well fly with Dædalus waxwing, and miſcarry in the attempt. In the N. T. is a fourfold Greek, 1. the common; 2. the LXX Greek; 3. the Apoſtolick; 4. the Talmudick.'—'The uncorruptneſs of the N. T. text is undoubted to all that well know the Hebrew tongue, hiſtory, and the exact Athenian eloquence. And ſuch as pretend to correct it, do debaſe the majeſty of both Teſtaments, by unſkilful altering, what God ſpake moſt divinely (14).'

In another part of his Works, he has the following paſſage: 'A certain Jew in a book whoſe title is *the Glory of Iſrael*, doth truly ſay and affirm, that the characters of the Hebrew letters, the points and accents, had the ſame form and faſhion from the beginning which now they have. They will ſhew themſelves to be unlettered and unlearned, which deny this: let them try who liſt.

'The double accents in the Decalogue, or Ten Commandments, are for the faſter, or ſlower reading of them: the former kind of theſe accents is ordinary: the other ſhews more haſte to be made: when the whole *Peraſba* was to be read within the appointed and fit time. God would not that this ſhould be without his authority: Maymoni and Hizkuni. There is a double reading in 848 places (as Elias Levita reckons them), and both of them are of God, and of equal authority. And Arius Montanus is exceedingly deceived, who affirms, that the text was corrupted in Babylon, and that the margin doth ſhew and manifeſtly argue that. His whole work concerning this matter is faulty: and learned profeſſors do unfold unto us the reaſons of both readings. The Jeſuits are not of ſuch excellency in learning, which ſuffer this work to paſs for current (15).'

In another place he ſays, 'The ſpeech of the New Teſtament in every part doth ſhew clearly that God is the author of it, inſomuch that the Jews might know by the ſtyle, that it came from Heaven. In it we ſhall find the phraſe, 1. Of the common Greek writers. 2. Of the LXXII interpreters. 3. Of the Talmudichs. And 4thly, words made by the Apoſtles. The eloquence of the common Greek is never wanting, where matters pertaining to manners and things familiarly known at Athens are handled. The reading therefore of the Apoſtles in theſe matters will call together Homer, Heſiod, Æſchylus, Pindarus, and others of the coaſts of Illyricum: as alſo Sophocles, Euripides, Ariſtophanes, Aratus, Menander, Callimachus, and Epimenides; as alſo Plato, Ariſtotle, and all the orators and hiſtorians of Grecia writing in the time in which this tongue flouriſhed (16).'

He maintained, that the Goſpel of St. Matthew was originally written in Greek. 'The New Teſtament,' ſays he, 'was all original in Greek. St. Matthew's Goſpel was written at the firſt in that heavenly oratorious Greek, which now we have: and if the Holy Ghoſt had written it in the Jews Jeruſalem Hebrew, the holy learned of old time would have kept it with more care than jewellers all precious ſtones. We accuſe antiquity of great ungodlineſs, when we ſay St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, but antiquity loſt that Goſpel. So St. Paul wrote in Greek to the Hebrews, in thoſe ſyllables

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(*d*) Lightfoot, *ubi ſupra*, p. 2.

(*e*) *Id. ibid.*

(10) Preface, *ubi ſupra*, p. 2.

(11) Works, p. (161).

(12) Works, p. 1.

(13) *Ibid.* p. 51.

(14) *Ibid.* p. 52.

(15) *Ibid.* p. 703.

(16) *Ibid.* p. 707.

call ‘ his little book of great pains (*f*).’ It excited much attention at its firſt publication; but was ſtrongly oppoſed by Dr. Reynolds at Oxford. This gave great offence to Mr. Broughton; who had a very earneſt and abſurd deſire, to have the diſpute between him and Dr. Reynolds, concerning the Scripture Chronology, ſettled by public authority [*H*]. He addreſſed on this ſubject Queen Elizabeth, Dr. Whitgift, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Dr. Aylmer, Biſhop of London (*g*). His work was oppoſed not only at Oxford, but at Cambridge, where Mr. Lively, a profeſſor, read publicly againſt it (*h*). He was, therefore, induced to read lectures in defence of his performance [*I*]. He continued ſeveral years in London [*K*], where he procured many

(*f*) Lightfoot, *ubi ſupra*, p. 3. Clarke's Lives, p. 3.

(*g*) Works, p. (153), (155).

(*h*) Dr. Lightfoot's Pref. *ubi ſupra*, p. 3.

lables which we have to this day: and the ſtyle hath alluſions, which the Jews tongue hath not: which ſheweth the original to be in Greek (17).’

(17) Works, p. 652.

In another place he ſays, ‘ Now for the New Teſtament this muſt firſt be known: that every whit of it was written by God in Greek only. For it God advanced the Greek tongue firſt (when Babel rooted out Solomon's houſe), by Piſiſtratus cauſing Homer to be in honour. Whereupon poets of all ſorts, hiſtoriques, phyſicians, philoſophers, orators for two hundred years, bred Greek for the LXX, and gave the Macedonians, with their ſoldiers from the weſt, rule over north, eaſt, and ſouth, to ſettle Greek there. That the beſt Greek ſcholar lived out of Grecia: and Greek courts and armies made Greek there the principal language. And the like is done to draw the law over the world, partly by the LXXII, who tranſlated all the law, Moſes, and the Prophets, and were famous over the world: but moſt of all by the victories of Seleucidæ and Lagidæ, while they ſtrove for Judea. And as the Seleucidæ prevailed, they filled north and eaſt with Jews. When Lagidæ got the upper hand, Alexandria, and Cyrene, and Æthiopia had them. Yea, the late Arabic, moſt learned geographer, recordeth Jews ſynagogues to be in the extremity of the ſouth. So the Greek tongue for all arts and Jews learning, teaching all in ſynagogue ſaving the incarnation and reſurrection, were ſcattered over the world. And the Apoſtles wrote the New Teſtament in Greek, with ſuch ſkill, that they go through all kind of Greek writers. And theſe have words in their little book good Greek, which yet Greeks have not but in fragments, reſerved by God's providence to honour the New Teſtament: and from every brave Greek author, they have ſome brave term. And though all the New Teſtament be in Greek terms, for letters, yet they be not in Greek uſe all. But as all faculties draw common terms to their trade peculiarly, ſo do the Apoſtles, beſides the common uſe of Greeks (18).’

(18) *Ibid.* p. 700.

We learn from Dr. Lightfoot, that the *Conſent of Scripture* was printed under the care of Mr. Speed. He ſays, ‘ Mr. John Speed, a man well known, was overſeer of the preſs for its printing: a taylor by trade; but, by acquaintance with Mr. Broughton, grown very ſtudious in the Scriptures, and by his directions grown very ſkilful in them. In the time while the *Conſent* was printing, he, by Mr. Broughton's direction, gathered all the *Genealogies* of the Bible into one view; and at the laſt they were publiſhed under his name, in the form we have them before our Bibles. But it was Mr. Broughton that directed and digeſted them, and there are yet fair manuſcripts of them to be ſhewed, ſome whereof have the names in Hebrew and Greek, and ſome in the Latin letter, and in ſome of them Mr. Broughton's own hand. And one that attended him, Dorman, or Dalman, or of ſuch a name, had made ſuch a collection by the direction of his maſter, before Mr. Speed had collected his *one View*. And yet, when the *Genealogy* came to be publiſhed, becauſe the Biſhops would not endure to have Mr. Broughton's name prefixed, Mr. Speed went away with all the credit and profit: ſo that he would confeſs, and it was no more than he had good reaſon to do, that Mr. Broughton was a means, under God, of great bleſſings to him and his children, for worldly comforts: and therefore that act of his may be wondered at, which himſelf confeſſed to ſome friends of Mr. Broughton's, *viz.* that he had as many manuſcripts of Mr. Broughton's as he could hold in his arms, and he held his arms encompaſſed: *but*, ſaith he, *I have burnt them all.* What reaſon moved him ſo to do, he beſt knew: but certainly ſtanders-by will hardly be ſatisfied, that it was done like a friend (19).’

(19) Pref. to Broughton's Works, p. 2, 3.

The *Conſent of Scripture* is publiſhed in the Collection of Mr. Broughton's Works, both in Engliſh and in Latin. It was tranſlated into Latin by Mr. Iſaac Genius, who had been one of his pupils (20).

(20) *Ibid.* p. 8. Clarke's Lives, p. 6.

[*H*] *Had a very earneſt and abſurd deſire, to have the diſpute between him and Dr. Reynolds,* &c. *ſettled by public authority.*] ‘ In one of his addreſſes to Queen Elizabeth on this ſubject, he ſays, ‘ Your Majeſty's ſignification of your princely determination would more break young braving ſtudents, whom reaſon in ſuch unexpected ſoils cannot bend (21).’ Speaking of Dr. Reynolds and himſelf, he alſo ſays, ‘ His fame of learning, and my more confident reſiſtance, maketh many think that the Scripture is hard, where our long labours differ. The fault is intolerable in the one of us two, either in him, or in me: and the faulty ſhould be forced to yield, that none think amiſs of God's word (22).’

(21) Works, p. (153).

(22) *Ibid.* p. (154).

In another addreſs to her Majeſty, he ſays, ‘ While divines jar in their narrations, faith is weakened, and all ſtudy of Scripture; and old confirmed errors have diſgraced all the holy ſtory, that *without the enforcement of authority, ſtudents will hardly yield to the truth* (23):’ and he ſolicited the Queen to command the Archbiſhops, and both univerſities, to determine the points in conteſt between him and Dr. Reynolds (24).

(23) *Ibid.* p. (161).

(24) *Ibid.* p. (162).

[*I*] *Read lectures in defence of his performance.*] Dr. Lightfoot ſays, that ‘ he had auditors to the number of eighty, ninety, or an hundred, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs, and they met weekly. He firſt read in Paul's, in the eaſt end of the church, where now is the auditory of the Lord Mayor. This he did with the allowance of the Queen, and her Council, and ſome of the beſt learned of the Biſhops were his friends. *The Council had the names of the men he taught, of what calling they were, how qualified, and where they dwelt.* But this others of the Biſhops would not endure, calling them *dangerous Conventicles*, and complained, which cauſed ſome trouble: ſo that, at laſt, he muſt read in Paul's no longer.

‘ Then he read in a large chamber in Cheapſide: but tarried not there long, but removed into Mark-lane, and ſome other places. And this was his courſe of teaching in private. His auditors had every one of them the *Conſent* before him, and he went on ſtill in expoſition of it along with the Bible, and bad his auditors diligently read the Scriptures, and keep them to the Chronology of it: and ſhewed *what*, and *how much* they ſhould read againſt their next meeting, to be prepared for his diſcourſe then. And withal handled the *Genealogies*, as the matter of thoſe Scriptures called for explication for that time of the Chronology; that they ſhould underſtand what Scriptures were contained within ſuch a ſpace of time. And ſtill he ſhewed the doctrine of faith and love in Chriſt Jeſus in every age, how believed and practiſed by the faithful, and who deſpiſed. And, in application, he would ſum up all in a quarter of an hour, or more, as the matter required. Of theſe his *Lectures* there are yet extant the *notes* of four and thirty, and the *notes* of nine of his Sermons, in which he collated the ſections of Moſes, and the Prophets, with the New Teſtament: all taken from his mouth, when he delivered them (25).’

(25) Preface, *ubi ſupra*, p. 3, 4.

[*K*] *He continued ſeveral years in London.*] Mr. Gilpin ſays of Broughton, that ‘ London was the ſcene where he firſt expoſed himſelf. Here for ſome time he paid a *ſervile* court to the vulgar in the capacity of a popular preacher (26).’ But of this we can meet with no evidence: and, indeed, ſervility

(26) Life of Bernard Gilpin, p. 122.

many friends. One of theſe was Mr. William Cotton, whoſe ſon Rowland, who was afterwards knighted, he inſtructed in the Hebrew tongue [*L*]. In the year 1589, Mr. Broughton went over into Germany, accompanied by Mr. Alexander Top, a young gentleman who had put himſelf under his care, and travelled with him, that he might continually receive the benefit of his inſtructions (*i*). He was ſome time at Frankfort, where he had a long diſpute in the Jewiſh ſynagogue, with Rabbi Elias, on the truth of the Chriſtian Religion [*M*]. He appears to have been very ſolicitous for the converſion of the Jews, and his taſte for Rabbinical and Hebrew ſtudies naturally led him to take pleaſure in the converſation of thoſe learned Jews whom he occaſionally met with. In the courſe of his travels, he had alſo diſputes with the Papiſts; but in his conteſts both with them, and with the Jews, he was not very attentive to the rules either of prudence or politeneſs [*N*]. It appears, that in the year 1590, he was at Worms (*k*); but in what other places is not mentioned. In 1591, he returned again to England, and met at London with his antagoniſt Dr. Reynolds; and they referred the deciſion of the controverſy between them, occaſioned by his *Conſent of Scripture*, to Dr. Whitgift, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Dr. Aylmer, Biſhop of London [*O*]. Another piece

ſervility to people of any claſs does not appear to have been a part of Broughton's character.

[*L*] *Mr. William Cotton, whoſe ſon Rowland,* &c. *he inſtructed in the Hebrew tongue.*] Dr. Lightfoot ſays, that Mr. Broughton taught this young gentleman Hebrew with ſuch good ſucceſs, that 'there were few places in the Bible which he was not able readily to read, and to render into Engliſh, when he was but ſeven, or eight years old, and could very well and readily ſpeak the language. The way that he uſed to bring him on ſo forwardly, was this: firſt, he ſpake Hebrew to him himſelf continually, and taught him by heart the paſſages and ſpeeches, which were moſt uſual in his ordinary converſe; as to call for his *meat*, *clothes*, and other *neceſſaries*; phraſes of *ſalutations*, and *entertainments*; expreſſions of his duty and affections to his relations; nay, the very paſſages that were moſt uſual with children at their *play*. Theſe he taught him to utter readily in that tongue; a young man, ſkilled in the language, being ever with him to interpret for him. The noble Knight would oft relate, that his mother would ſometimes be ready to weep, when he came to do his duty to her, or to aſk any thing from her, and muſt not ſpeak to her in Engliſh, ſo that ſhe might have conferred with him, and talked to him again. To this his maſter added, that he drew up for him a *Vocabulary* in Hebrew and Engliſh, out of which he was continually learning words. He framed it not in an alphabetical way, as dictionaries and lexicons commonly are: but he firſt pitched upon a place, or thing more *general*, and then named all the *particulars* in it, or belonging to it: as *Heaven*, *Angels*, *ſun*, *moon*, *ſtars*, *clouds*, &c. So an *houſe*, a *door*, a *window*, a *parlour*, a *cellar*, &c. a *field*, *graſs*, a *flower*, a *tree*, *hedge*, *furrow*, &c. (27)' Mr. Broughton's mode of teaching his young pupil was certainly ſomewhat too rigorous: if ſpeaking Hebrew were a neceſſary accompliſhment, his pupil might have acquired it, though he had been permitted to ſpeak Engliſh to his mother; and it was ſurely abſurd, that he ſhould be directed either to be ſilent in her company, or to ſpeak to her in a language which ſhe did not underſtand.

Beſides Mr. Willam Cotton, and his ſon Sir Rowland, there were ſeveral others of the ſame family who had a great regard for Mr. Broughton. Dr. Lightfoot ſays, 'he abode in London divers years from his firſt coming thither, and obtained many friends in the city, making his reſidence a long time more eſpecially among the family of the Cottons, who tendered and reſpected him very much whilſt he was in England, and forgat him not when he was beyond the ſeas; but ſent him frequent and large takens of their love, ſometimes 100 *l.* at a time. They were four brethren, John, Roger, William, and Allen. This Allen was afterwards Lord-mayor (28).' Lightfoot alſo ſays, that one of theſe brothers, 'Mr. Roger Cotton, a draper in Cannon-ſtreet, was a true ſcholar of ſuch a maſter, and ſo conſtantly plied the Scriptures, according to the admonitions he had received from him, that he read over the Bible twelve times in one year; and what proficiency he made therein, he gave a ſpecimen of in that little book he publiſhed, called *Directions to the Waters of Life* (29).' But in the houſe of Mr. William Cotton, who was alſo a draper, was Mr. Broughton's conſtant reſidence, lodging, and library, when he was in London (30).

[*M*] *At Frankfort, he had a long diſpute in the Jewiſh ſynagogue with Rabbi Elias.*] Speaking of this diſpute, in his piece, intitled, *A Require of Agreement to the Grounds of Divinity Study*, &c. he ſays, 'Our conference was reported by Jews to Conſtantinople, and by farther inſtigation thence R. Abraham Ruben ſent his epiſtle to England: which, when I had printed in Baſil, Rabbi Elias came thither.' It appears, from what Broughton ſays afterwards, that, in this conference, his arguments in favour of Chriſtianity made a great impreſſion upon Rabbi Elias. He alſo ſays, 'after my return from Zurich, two Italian Jews came thither, and ſeeing what I had printed, eſpecially upon Daniel, believed and were baptized, and came to Baſil to ſee me. Another is in England now, as I hear: who by my occaſion took the Goſpel (31).'

[*N*] *He had alſo diſputes with the Papiſts*, &c.] Lightfoot ſays, that Mr. Top, who travelled with Broughton, would often ſpeak of his 'wondrous boldneſs, and freeneſs of inveighing againſt Popery and Jeſuitiſm, among the Papiſts and Jeſuits, and againſt Judaiſm amongſt the Jews. As once more, eſpecially at the Biſhop of Mentz's table, where divers Jeſuits were alſo preſent, he diſcourſed ſo freely and ſharply againſt the Papacy as Anti-Chriſtian, and againſt the blindneſs and wickedneſs of the Romaniſts, that the Proteſtants, that were with him, were afraid he would have endangered both himſelf and them. Another time, being in one of the ſynagogues of the Jews, at the time of their ſervice, where their public miniſter read, and prayed in a ſtrange and *feat* tone, he was aſked by one of the Jews, as they came out, *Did not our miniſter ſing like an Angel?* *No*, ſaith he, *he barks like a dog*; and ſo called for a diſpute with him, where they had long and much tugging (32).'

[*O*] *Referred the deciſion of the controverſy between them to Dr. Whitgift, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Dr. Aylmer, Biſhop of London.*] In an epiſtle to theſe Prelates on that occaſion, Mr. Broughton expreſſes himſelf in the following terms: 'It is known to all the realm, with what vehemency and care Dr. Reynolds laboured to prove, that a conſent of Scripture for certainty of chronicle could not be made. By reaſon of his former credit, he hath drawn many to deny that which they always held; and to be againſt themſelves, to countenance him, and to diſgrace me. Content could I have been, to have tried by diſputation, or by printing: not minding to leave off, until my book to her Majeſty (which he laboureth wholly to diſgrace) ſtandeth by open judgment, or falleth to my continual diſgrace, and loſt pains in ſtudy. When he had long read to prove that Mardochai was not of Jechonias's captivity, and had made many commend his cauſe; and they being called to read the text, loathed their own inconſtancy. Yet then this was told me, that ſome Oxford men required anſwer of me. Thereupon I wrote to Dr. Robinſon, provoſt of the Q. College, certain theſes, which might end the

(*i*) Dr. Lightfoot's Pref. *ubi ſupra*, p. 5, 6.

(*k*) *Id. ibid.*

(27) Preface, *ubi ſupra*, p. 4, 5.

(28) *Id. ibid.*

(29) *Id. ibid.*

(30) *Id. ibid.*

(31) Works, p. 617.

(32) Pref *ubi ſupra*, p. 6.

piece which he publiſhed, intitled, ‘ An Explication of the article of Chriſt's Deſcent to Hell,’ was a ſource of much controverſy, and was vehemently oppoſed; though his opinion on this ſubject is now generally and juſtly received [*P*]. Two of his opponents in this controverſy were Archbiſhop Whitgift, and Biſhop Bilſon. He addreſſed on this ſubject ‘ An Oration to the Geneveans,’ which was firſt publiſhed in Greek [*Q*]. In this piece he treats the celebrated Beza with much ſeverity. In 1592, he was in Germany again, and publiſhed a piece called, ‘ The Sinai Sight,’ which he dedicated to the Earl of Eſſex (*l*). About the year 1596, Rabbi Abraham Reuben wrote an epiſtle from Conſtantinople to Mr. Broughton [*R*], which was directed to him in Lon-

(*l*) Lightfoot ſays, that Broughton cauſed this piece ‘ wholly to be engraven in braſs, which coſt him near upon, if not fully, an hundred marks.’

‘ cauſe; requeſting his allowance, or rejection: with this addition, that I thought it injurious, that Oxford men ſhould require me to defend that which they ever held; unleſs they would proteſt, that either their minds were altered, or that they were unable: and of Dr. Reynolds I wrote, that he was extremely culpable, in blaming me for differing from him; where none ever was, nor will be of his judgment; and by his own words he is utterly condemned. Upon this Dr. Reynolds cometh to London to me, ſhewing that he was willing to take any judge; and both we agreed upon your Grace, and you, my Lord Biſhop of London, that we might have the cauſe fully ended, without partiality to the credit of either, clearly to the glory of God, and brightneſs of his truth; that whetherſoever hereafter ſhall make any ſtir in the cauſe, he ſhould be openly culpable by all cenſures. My matter is opened in my book of Scripture Conſent, in Gabriel's Oration, Dan. 9. in the preface, and at the year of the world 3470. My accuſation is, that Dr. Reynolds unjuſtly blamed that, as all particulars depending thereupon: which tend through the Old Teſtament, yea from Moſes to our Lord his aſcenſion. To all which courſes I blame him as injurious, I moved him to ſend to your Grace and Lordſhip the book of his lectures. I trow reaſon will move him to do ſo much, if he mean to defend himſelf. I have ſent here withal a brief in theſes and ſhort declarations, to give an inſight to the matter: a copy whereof I could wiſh Dr. Reynolds, if he would; as I would gladly give him any thing for a book of his whole lectures againſt me. If theſe be not ſufficient, I am ready by lecture, diſputation, or printing, to open any point hid in my cauſe (33).’

[*P*] *His opinion on this ſubject*, &c.] He maintained that the word *Hades* no where, either among the Greeks, or in the Scriptures, did properly denote *Hell*, or a place of torment, but only *the place of ſouls*, the ſtate of the dead, or the inviſible world; and in the latter ſenſe he therefore underſtood this word in the creed. It has been already obſerved in Bilſon's article, that Broughton was the firſt of our countrymen by whom this matter was rationally explained.

In his *explication of the article of Chriſt's Deſcent to Hell*, Broughton has introduced the following obſervations concerning the Book of Job. ‘ There was never any book written, ſince the pen became the tongue of a writer, of a more curious ſtyle than Job; in verſe of many ſorts, and uſe of words more nice than any Greek or Latin writeth, and for grammar, hath more tricks and difficulty than all the Bible beſide, Arabizing much; but fuller of Hebrew depth in language. God ſaw it needful to honour with a ſtyle of all ornaments the particular caſe of Job, leſt it ſhould be deſpiſed or thought a feigned matter, and therefore gave that book a more curious ſtyle than any other part of the Bible hath; and ſuch depth of ſkill in the tongue, as no Rabbin could be thought ever to have ſuch in the holy tongue (34).’

[*Q*] *An oration to the Geneveans.*] It was printed at Mentz, in 8*vo*, by Albinus (35), under the following title: Λόγος πρὸς τοὺς Γενεβαίους περὶ τῆς καταβάσεως εἰς ἄδου, τί θέλει τὸ ῥητόν. It was reprinted in Greek, in Lightfoot's edition of our author's works, to which was annexed an Engliſh tranſlation. In this piece he ſupported his opinion, concerning the meaning of the word *Hades*, in the moſt ſatisfactory and concluſive manner, by many quotations from Homer, Plato, Pindar, Diogenes, Laertius, and other Greek writers.

Mr. Bayle ſays, that Broughton ‘ was prodigiouſly attached to the diſcipline of the church of England, and he cenſured, in very bitter language, that of the Preſbyterians. The oration which he addreſſed to the Geneveans, is a very ſtrong proof of this aſſertion.’ But we apprehend, that this oration of Broughton does not, by any means, prove all that Mr. Bayle ſuppoſes. Allowance being made for Broughton's rough method of expreſſing himſelf, we think it does not appear from his oration to the Geneveans, that he had any great averſion to them, or their diſcipline. Excepting a few ſarcaſtic ſentences, we can diſcern little animoſity againſt them, but with reſpect to the particular ſubject of which he treated, the interpretation of the word *Hades*, and in which the church of Geneva differed from him, and from what he juſtly ſuppoſed to be the truth. As to Beza, indeed, he appears to have been exceedingly offended with him. Bayle has inſerted in Broughton's article, in his Dictionary, note [*D*], an epiſtle of Broughton to Beza, the original of which was written in Greek.

Broughton intimated to the Geneveans, in his Oration, that they ſpoke unguardedly and improperly on the ſubject of Predeſtination; and that ‘ their deſire to overthrow Pelagius made them deal their words with more heat than diſcretion (36).’

He treats Biſhop Bilſon in this piece very contemptuouſly; and in one place ſays of him, ‘ Verily I was amazed, when I read his words, to ſee what a very infant, in his mother's lap, he is in the Greek tongue (37).’ Of Beza he ſays, that ‘ following his own dangerous conceits, he hath perſuaded ſuch as are credulous, that the text is corrupted in many places, and that there is no perfect copy to be found: and ſuch paſſages as, moſt of all, declare the wiſdom and providence of God, thoſe Beza hath corrupted, whereby many men have been infected paſt recovery (38).’ And in another place, he obſerves, that ‘ many thouſand words and phraſes, which are extant in the writings of Jews ſkilful in the law, do adorn and enlighten the Teſtament, whom, if Beza had read and underſtood, he would not have condemned (39).’

[*R*] *Rabbi Abraham Reuben wrote an epiſtle from Conſtantinople to Mr. Broughton.*] Lightfoot ſays, that this epiſtle ‘ was written in ſo harſh, and ſtrange a Hebrew character, that though it went through the hands of divers ſcholars in London, yet none could ſo much as read the endorſement. At laſt it came to Mr. Top, as he would confeſs, could not know one letter of it for a while; but, at laſt, with very much pains, found out the character, and made a ſhift to read it, and ſo ſent it over to him in Germany (40).’ Broughton himſelf, ſpeaking of this epiſtle, ſays, that ‘ to paſs over it in ſilence, any indifferent perſon will judge it great profaneneſs. He ſpeaketh glorious things of God's goodneſs upon us: unto which, if we give no acclamation, we may juſtly be counted godleſs. The Queen alſo is highly extolled by him, for extraordinary breeding of rare knowledge. Where, as it is profitable for the realm, that ſhe ſhould be counted in truth, no leſs than in title, Defender of the Faith (which defence ſtandeth chiefly in breeding rare ſkill for the truth and clearneſs of the Holy Scripture), ſo it is needful to confirm the Jews praiſing, in that her divines ſhew in work all which his words tell.—Moreover, the Jew made a petition honourable for the Queen to perform, and ſuch as ſhe may not deny without open contempt of Chriſtianity; That one might be ſent to Conſtantina, able to direct the Jews willing to learn Chriſtianity. It is reported in Germany, that this doc-

(33) Works, p. 155.

(34) *Ibid.* p. 734.

(35) Bayle, art. *Broughton*, note [*B*].

(36) Works, p. 811.

(37) *Ibid.* p. 812.

(38) *Ibid.* p. 838.

(39) *Ibid.* p. 806.

(40) Pref. p. 8.

don; but he was then in Germany. He appears to have continued abroad till the death of Queen Elizabeth [*S*]; and during his reſidence in foreign countries, cultivated an acquaintance with Scaliger, Raphelengius, Junius, Piſtorius, Serrarius, and other eminent and learned men (*m*). He was treated with particular favour by the Archbiſhop of Mentz, to whom he dedicated his tranſlation of the Prophets into Greek (*n*). He was alſo offered a Cardinal's hat, if he would have embraced the Romiſh religion (*o*). But that offer he refuſed to accept, and returned again to England, ſoon after the acceſſion of King James I. In 1603, he preached before Prince Henry, at Oatlands, upon the Lord's Prayer (*p*). In 1607, the new tranſlation of the Bible was begun; and Mr. Broughton's friends expreſſed much ſurprize, that he was not employed in that work [*T*]. It might probably be diſguſt on this account, which again occaſioned him to go abroad; and during his ſtay there, he was for ſome time preacher to the Engliſh at Middleburgh [*U*]. But finding his health decline, having a conſumptive diſorder, which he found to increaſe, he returned again to England, being deſirous to die in his own country (*q*). In November, 1611, he arrived at Graveſend, which being ſoon made known to his friends in London, ſeveral of them went down to him thither, to accompany him up to town [*W*]. He lodged in London, during the winter, at a friend's houſe in Cannon-ſtreet; but in the ſpring he was removed, for the benefit of the air, to the houſe of another friend, at Tottenham High-Croſs, where he died of a pulmonary conſumption, on the 4th of Auguſt, 1612, in the ſixty-third year of his age (*r*). During his illneſs, he made ſuch occaſional diſcourſes and exhortations to his friends, as his ſtrength would enable him [*X*]. He appears to have had many friends and admirers even to the laſt [*Y*]; and his corpſe was brought to London, attended by great numbers of people, many of whom had put themſelves in mourning for him (*s*). He was

(*m*) Lightfoot, *ubi ſupra*, p. 7.

(*n*) *Id. ibid.*

(*o*) *Id. ibid.* This circumſtance alſo particularly appears, in a letter written by him to Cardinal Baronius, and publiſhed in his works, p. 724.

(*p*) Lightfoot, *ubi ſupra*, p. 9.

(*q*) *Id. ibid.*

(*r*) *Id.* p. 10.

(*s*) *Id. ibid.*

‘ tor hath turned full many to our faith, who, if they be not well directed, will turn to many bye-ways. And the nation that ſettleth them ſhould find eternal bleſſing of God, and honour among men. Another petition alſo he hath, as profitable for our nation, as needful for Jews, and pleaſant for a man of learning to undertake. He requeſteth a full treatiſe for the Scripture, and againſt the law of traditions or Talmud. Here great matter of infinite uſe might be handled, for both Teſtaments, their tongues and copies (how they ſhew God's wiſdom, and quick eye), and their ſtory pithily compaſt, with Chriſtianity breathing through all. So for Jews traditions, the Jeruſalem Talmud might be printed, with approbation for their examining of much texts, but in ſuch points as Rabbins wreſt (41).’ The Rabbin's epiſtle is printed in Hebrew in our author's works, with a letter written by Broughton to him in Hebrew, Latin, Greek, and Engliſh.

[*S*] *Continued abroad till the death of Queen Elizabeth.*] Lightfoot ſays, ‘ He had ſome potent adverſary at the court, which was a means to hinder him from the preferment the Queen intended for him, and to obſtruct her favour towards him, and that bred danger, and unquietneſs to him in England; which cauſed him to ſpend ſo much of his time in a ſtrange country (42).’ The *potent adverſary* here meant was Archbiſhop Whitgift. In an addreſs to Queen Elizabeth, in which Broughton complains of her Majeſty's being prejudiced againſt him by that Prelate, he ſpeaks of Whitgift's *bare Latin ſtudies*, of his *unlearnedneſs*, and *his bare Commentary Latin* (43).

[*T*] *That he was not employed in that work.*] Lightfoot ſays, ‘ From which work (the tranſlation of the Bible) why he was ſecluded, whoſe abilities that way were known ſo well, may rather be wondered at, than reſolved. He hath ſpoken much concerning that tranſlation, for which he heareth ill of ſome, as if he ſhewed indignation, becauſe he was excluded: whereas charity and candour would conſtrue, that what he hath written was in zeal and vindication of the truth. And, doubtleſs, if his advertiſements concerning ſome particular texts had been taken, they had not been uſeleſs (44).’ Broughton was ſo great a linguiſt, that his aſſiſtance in a new tranſlation of the Bible muſt have been deſirable: at the ſame time it may be admitted, that his high opinion of himſelf, and his tenaciouſneſs of his own opinions, would probably have rendered him a troubleſome coadjutor; and thoſe who were actually employed appear to have much excelled him in point of taſte and judgment.

[*U*] *Preacher to the Engliſh at Middleburgh.*] Lightfoot ſays, that ‘ thither two of his followers in London, Mr. Ayre and Mr. Parry (if my memory fail not), went purpoſely to give him a viſit, whom at firſt meeting he chid a little, for taking ſo long, dangerous, chargeable, and needleſs a journey. *What! ſay they pleaſantly, is this the entertainment you give us for our pains, and viſit?* Then did he as pleaſantly and lovingly embrace them, and entertained them moſt affectionately, all the time of their abode with him (45).’

[*W*] *Several of them went down to him thither*, &c.] ‘ He told them, that he was come to die in his own native country; and his deſire was alſo, if the Lord had permitted, to die in his own native country. And ſo had he oft told Sir Rowland Cotton before this, that he intended to end his days with him, if the Lord would permit; and ſo he told him now at their meeting in London, that if his ſtrength would but ſerve, he would come down to him into Shropſhire. And the noble knight did accordingly accommodate lodgings againſt his coming, ſuitable to his ſickly condition; but it pleaſed the Lord to prevent his journey (46).

[*X*] *Occaſional diſcourſes and exhortations to his friends*, &c.] We are told, that ‘ he went over all the Books of the Old Teſtament in a brief diſcourſe of the ſum of every one, when he was ſo weak upon his death-bed, that his ſtrength ſerved him not to do the like by the New (47).’ He alſo addreſſed many ſhort ſentences to them, and particularly the following: ‘ Study the Bible. Labour to ſave one another. Be peaceable. Some great judgment will come upon this kingdom. Never fear Popery; it ſhall never overflow again, but the courſe the Biſhops take will fill the land with Atheiſm (48).’

[*Y*] *He appears to have had many friends and admirers, even to the laſt.*] Mr. W. Gilpin ſays, that Broughton had ‘ lived out all his credit, and become the jeſt even of the ſtage (49).’ It is certain, that he was ſatirized on the ſtage: but a man's being ridiculed in a dramatic exhibition, is no proof of his having out-lived either his credit, or his friends; nor does this appear to have been the caſe with Broughton. It was Ben. Johnſon by whom he was attacked on the ſtage, who hath ridiculed him both in *the Fox* and the *Alchymiſt*. In the latter, Act ii. Sc. 3. Face is introduced, ſaying,

‘ Y' are very right, Sir, ſhe is a moſt rare ſcholar,
‘ And is gone mad with ſtudying Broughton's Works.
‘ If you but name a word touching the Hebrew,
‘ She falls into her fit, and will diſcourſe
‘ So learnedly of *Genealogies*,
‘ As you would run mad too, to hear her, Sir.’

In Act iv. Sc. 5. our author's writings are alſo ridiculed with much humour. He is likewiſe ſatirically introduced in *the Fox*, Act ii. Sc. 2.

buried

(41) Works, p. 673, 674.

(42) Pref. p. 7.

(43) Works, p 728, 729, 730.

(44) Pref. *ubi ſupra*, p. 8.

(45) *Id. ibid.*

(46) *Id. ibid.*

(47) *Ibid.* p. 10.

(48) *Id. ibid.*

(49) Life of Bernard Gilpin, p. 123.

buried in St. Antholin's church, where his funeral ſermon was preached by the Reverend James Speght, B. D. afterwards D. D. Miniſter of the church in Milk-ſtreet, London (*t*). Lightfoot mentions it as a report, that the Biſhops would not ſuffer this ſermon to be publiſhed; but it was afterwards printed at the end of his works.

His perſon was comely and graceful, and his countenance expreſſive of ſtudiouſneſs and gravity. His indefatigable attention to his ſtudies, gave him an air of auſterity; and, at times, there appears to have been no inconſiderable degree of moroſeneſs in his deportment: notwithſtanding which, he is repreſented, as behaving in a very kind and affable manner to his friends, and as being very pleaſant in converſation with them, eſpecially at his meals (*u*). He would alſo be free and communicative to any perſons who deſired to learn of him, but would be very angry with ſcholars, if they did not readily comprehend his meaning [*Z*]. Open impiety and profaneneſs were always oppoſed by him with great zeal and courage (*w*) [*AA*]. He was much diſſatiſfied, as appears from ſeveral paſſages in his works, that his great learning had not procured him more encouragement, and he evidently thought that he had a juſt claim to ſome conſiderable preferment (*x*). He was unqueſtionably a man of very uncommon erudition, but extremely deficient in taſte and judgment. He was alſo of a teſty and choleric temper, had a high opinion of his own learning and abilities, was extremely dogmatical, and treated thoſe who differed from him in opinion with much rudeneſs and ſcurrility [*BB*]; though ſome allowance muſt be made for the age in which he lived, in which that mode of writing was much more common among divines and ſcholars than it is at preſent. From the general tenor of his life and of his works, and the opinion formed of him by thoſe who were the beſt acquainted with him, it ſeems equitable to conclude, that, with all his failings, he meant well; nor do we apprehend, that there is any ſufficient ground for the extreme ſeverity with which his moral character has been lately treated [*CC*]. He tranſlated the Prophetical Writings into Greek, and the Apocalypſe into Hebrew (*y*). He was deſirous of tranſlating the whole New Teſtament into Hebrew, which he thought would have contributed much to the converſion of the Jews, if he had met with proper encouragement. And he relates, that a learned Jew with whom he converſed, once ſaid to him, ‘ O that you would ſet over all your New ‘ Teſtament into ſuch Hebrew as you ſpeak to me, you ſhould turn all our nation (*z*).’

Moſt of his works were collected together, and printed at London, in 1662, under the following title: ‘ The Works of the great Albionean Divine, renowned in many ‘ Nations for rare Skill in Salems and Athens Tongues, and familiar Acquaintance with ‘ all Rabbinical Learning, Mr. Hugh Broughton.’ This edition of his works, though bound in one large volume, folio, is divided into four tomes [*DD*]. Dr. Lightfoot, who

(*t*) Lightfoot, *ubi ſupra*, p. 10.

(*u*) *Id. ibid.*

(*w*) *Id. ibid.* Clarke's Lives, p. 7.

(*x*) In an epiſtle addreſſed by him to Queen Elizabeth, he mentions a ſcheme that was in agitation of nominating him to the Biſhopric of London. Works, p. 728.

(*y*) *Vid.* what is ſaid relative to theſe tranſlations in Lightfoot's edit. of his works, p. 411.

(*z*) Works, p. 721.

[*Z*] *If they did not readily comprehend his meaning.*] Mr. Morton, afterwards Biſhop of Durham, uſed to relate, that ‘ he was with Mr. Broughton in Germany, and was continually propoſing ſomething ‘ or other to him to be reſolved in: and when he underſtood not ſomething, that he uttered in his diſcourſe for his reſolution, Mr. Broughton would be ‘ moved, and call him *dull* and *unlearned*, and the ‘ like terms: whereupon he took up this cuſtom, ‘ that, when he came to aſk about any thing of him, ‘ he would pleaſantly ſay to him, *I pray you, whatſoever* Dolts *and* Dullards *I am to be called, call me* ‘ *ſo before we begin, that your diſcourſe, and mine attention, be not interrupted:* which Mr. Broughton took ‘ as pleaſantly from him (50).’

[*AA*] *Impiety and profaneneſs were always oppoſed by him with great zeal.*] ‘ He was once travelling ‘ in England, and being in his inn, a Royſter, in ‘ the next room to him, was ſwearing moſt horridly, ‘ and at no meaſure; in goeth he boldly to him, ‘ and, *Who art thou,* ſaith he, *thou wretch, that* ‘ *dareſt thus to profane the name of the great God?* and ‘ ſome other like words, which he ſet on with ſo ‘ great an awe and boldneſs, that the roarer became ‘ calm, and took his caſtigation, eſpecially when he ‘ underſtood who he was, in very good part (51).’

[*BB*] *Treated thoſe who differed from him in opinion with much rudeneſs and ſcurrility.*] Dr. Lightfoot ſays, ‘ His ſtyle of writing was curt, and ſomething ‘ harſh and obſcure: for he deſired to ſpeak much in ‘ little; and beſides his natural genius inclining to ‘ ſuch a ſtyle, it is likely, that his much converſing ‘ with Judaick learning did ſomething mould, and ‘ habituate him the more that way. His rehearſing ‘ the ſame things often over was occaſioned by his ‘ writing of his *Treatiſes* in ſeveral places, and having his diſcourſes with ſeveral perſons, where the ‘ ſame things did always moſt inevitably fall in. It ‘ were to be wiſhed, he had been more ſparing of his ‘ own praiſes, and of bitterneſs and invectives againſt ‘ others. But if it be impartially conſidered, how ‘ he was trampled under foot by the Biſhops, and ‘ vilified by others upon their example, how he was ‘ by them kept from preferment, toſſed up and down, ‘ troubled, diſgraced, and endangered, you may ‘ very well allow ſome grains of tranſportment, and ‘ liberty, for ſo great a ſcholar as he, ſo abuſed, to ‘ ſpeak out. Thoſe that read his writings with deſire to profit, will paſs by ſuch things without offence, and be ſatisfied with his own acknowledgment, that they were his infirmities, as he acknowledged even upon his death-bed; and withal ‘ proteſted then, and had done ſo oft before, that ‘ they were rather ſtrained from him by provocation, ‘ than flowing from his own diſpoſition (52).’

[*CC*] *The extreme ſeverity with which his moral character has lately been treated.*] In the Life of Bernard Gilpin, written by William Gilpin, M. A. we have already taken notice of part of what this ingenious writer has advanced concerning Broughton; but he alſo ſays of him, that he ‘ was indeed famous ‘ in his time, and as a man of letters eſteemed by ‘ many, but in every other light deſpicable (53).’ This is very ſtrong and very harſh language, and but little agrees with the repreſentation given of Broughton by Dr. Lightfoot. And though that learned writer, from the ſimilarity of his taſte and ſtudies to thoſe of Broughton, may be ſuppoſed to have been ſomewhat partial to him, yet it can hardly be imagined, that he would have ſpoken of him in the very honourable manner that he has done, if he had ſuppoſed his character in any conſiderable degree to reſemble that given by Mr. W. Gilpin. He lived much nearer the time of Broughton than that gentleman; he had his information concerning him from thoſe who were perſonally known to him (54); and muſt, therefore, be preſumed to have had better opportunities of being acquainted with his real character.

[*DD*] *This edition of his works,* ——— *is divided into four Tomes.*] The *firſt* Tome contains the Conſent

(50) Life of Bernard Gilpin, p. 8.

(51) *Id. ibid.*

(52) *Id.* p. 11.

(53) Life of B. Gilpin, p. 121.

(54) *Vid.* Lightfoot's Preface, p. 7.

who was himſelf a great maſter of Hebrew and Rabbinical learning, ſays, that in the writings of Broughton, ‘ the ſerious and impartial ſtudent of them will find theſe two things. Firſt, as much light given in Scripture, eſpecially in the difficulteſt things thereof, as is to be found in any one author whatſoever; nay, it may be, in all authors together. And, ſecondly, a winning and enticing enforcement to read the Scriptures with a ſeriouſneſs and ſearching more than ordinary. Amongſt thoſe that have ſtudied his books, multitudes might be named, that have thereby grown proficients ſo far, as that they have attained to a moſt ſingular, and almoſt incredible ſkill and readineſs, in his way, in the underſtanding of the Bible, though otherwiſe unlearned men. Nay ſome ſuch, that, by the mere excitation of his books, have ſet to the ſtudy of the Hebrew tongue, and come to a very great meaſure of knowledge in it; nay, a woman might be named that hath done it. This author's writings do carry with them, I know not what, a kind of holy and happy faſcination, that the ſerious reader of them is won upon, by a ſweet violence, to look in the Scripture with all poſſible ſcrutinouſneſs, and cannot chooſe. Let any one but ſet to read him in good earneſt, and, if he find not, that he ſees much more in Scripture, than ever he could ſee before, and that he is ſtirred up to ſearch much more narrowly into the Scripture, than ever he was before, he miſſeth of that, which was never miſſed of before by any, that took that courſe, if multitude of experiences may have any credit (*a*).’ It will juſtly be thought in the preſent age, that Dr. Lightfoot formed too high an opinion of the value of Broughton's writings; but in whatever eſtimation they may now be held, the celebrity of Broughton in his own time, and his extraordinary learning, gave him a reaſonable claim to ſome memorial in a work of this kind. An elegy, written upon Mr. Broughton's death, will be found in the notes [*EE*]].

T.

ſent of Scripture, in Engliſh and in Latin, and ſeveral epiſtles relative to that work. A tranſlation of Daniel, with annotations, and teſtimonies of Greek authors; in Engliſh and Latin.

The *ſecond* Tome contains, A collection of Miſcellanies. A treatiſe of Melchiſedech, with a diſcourſe touching the Greek tranſlation. A tranſlation of the Book of Job. A comment upon Eccleſiaſtes. The Lamentations of Jeremiah tranſlated and explained. The Genealogies of Jeſus Chriſt, with a vindication of the Goſpel, in three tracts. An Expoſition upon the Lord's Prayer. In a ſhort epiſtle addreſſed to King James I., and prefixed to the laſt, he ſays, ‘ For a Rabbin who wrote from Conſtantinople, ſeven years ago, to be taught from England, I would print it in Hebrew, if your Majeſty will give me leave to go to Germany, where my library yet is, and ſome works which our printers cannot ſet forth, for want of ſkill (55) and letters. And I moſt humbly crave leave to go thither, and to print for truth of religion, all that my occaſions ſuffer, for Engliſh, Hebrew, and Greek (56).’ This Tome alſo contains, a diſcourſe concerning the Epiſtle of Jude, and a Commentary on the Revelations. In the laſt he has introduced the following obſervations on the meaning of the term *Biſhop*: ‘ Much ſtrife is for the Biſhop of Rome, and for others. The manifold ſenſe of the term muſt be opened, to end the ſtrife. In Job, EL, the Almighty God, is tranſlated *Epiſcopus*. A looker to man's dealing. In the law *Pakid*, a man of charge, as Eleazar, or the Biſhop of the army, is tranſlated *Epiſcopus*. Judas hath *Epiſcopen*, as I mentioned before: therefore, the Apoſtles were *Epiſcopi*. In St. Paul, 1 Tim. the term *Epiſcopus* is tranſlated in Arabic *Zeken*, a ſenior, and that is the right meaning. Polycarpus, the meſſenger of the congregation of Smyrna, is in Greek *Epiſcopus*. And ſo the great teachers, ſo Calvin was, and Beza in Geneva was Biſhop, or yet Archbiſhop, though they took other names, as High Paſtor, is uſually the civil governor, and for Moſes that is uſed; he was *Meparnes* to Iſrael 40 years, that is Feeder. So Biſhop is a term, for lawful calling, and commendable, if learning and tender care of people be to it: Otherwiſe, Ananias ſhall be excommunicated of St. Paul as a painted wall (57).’

The *third* Tome contains, an Epiſtle to the learned Nobility of England, concerning tranſlating the Bible from the original. An advertiſement of corruption in our handling Religion. A Require of Conſent to the grounds of Divinity. A Collection of ſundry Fragments and Miſcellanies; in one of which Ainſworth is very roughly attacked. An Explication of the article of Chriſt's deſcent to Hell. An Oration to the Geneveans on this ſubject, in Greek and Engliſh, with ſome Epiſtles, &c.

The *fourth* Tome conſiſts of Epiſtles to ſundry perſons, in ſeveral languages, chiefly concerning the converſion of Jews to Chriſtianity. Towards the cloſe of this Tome is Mr. Broughton's funeral Sermon, in which the preacher, Mr. Speght, ſays, ‘ Touching the fruit of his ſowing, *viz.* his private reading in the time, and with the approbation of that Reverend and learned Biſhop, Biſhop Aylmer; and of his public preaching in Chriſt's-church, in St. Peter's, and in my church; how many are there (yea ſome alive) that may thank God daily, that ever they knew and heard him? For mine own particular I confeſs, and profeſs ſo much, and ſhall ever do ſo whilſt I breathe.’

[*EE*] *An elegy, written upon Mr. Broughton's death.*] Mr. W. Gilpin has inſerted this elegy in his life of Bernard Gilpin, and ſeems, by his mode of expreſſion, to have ſuppoſed that it was never printed before, or that it was not now to be met with. He ſays, ‘ The following elegy upon Mr. Broughton's death, written in the year 1612, I met with *accidentally*. The reader will not be diſpleaſed with it, as it is a very beautiful compoſition, and ſerves likewiſe to illuſtrate Mr. Broughton's character; for though meant as an encomium, it is rather a ſatire upon him for employing himſelf in matters of mere curioſity, in the moſt trifling ſtudies which belonged to his profeſſion (58).’ We ſhall make no remark on what is here ſaid relative to Broughton's ſtudies, but ſhall only obſerve, that the elegy is printed at the end of the edition of his Works publiſhed in 1662, and to which we have frequently referred. The elegy is as follows:

‘ A comely dame in ſorrow's garments dreſt,
‘ Where chryſtal-ſliding Thames doth gently creep,
‘ With her ſoft palm did beat her ivory breaſt,
‘ And rent her yellow locks: her roſy cheek
‘ She in a flood of briny tears did ſteep:
‘ Rachel ſhe ſeemed, old Iſrael's beauteous wife,
‘ Mourning her ſons, whoſe ſilver cord of life
‘ Was cut by murd'rous Herod's fell and bloody
‘ knife.

‘ Between her lilly hands the virgin held
‘ Two teſtaments; the one defaced with ruſt,
‘ Vanquiſht with time, and overgrown with eld,
‘ All ſtained with careleſs ſpots, all ſoiled with
‘ duſt;
‘ It ſeemed the ſame the which Jehovah erſt
‘ With his celeſtial finger did engrave,
‘ And on the top of ſmoaking Sinai gave
‘ To him, whom Pharaoh's daughter found in watry
‘ cave.

‘ The other ſeemed freſh, and fairly clad
‘ In velvet cover, filleted with gold;
‘ White bullions and crimſon ties it had:
‘ Its pumic'd leaves were ſeemly to behold:

(*a*) Preface to Broughton's Works, p. 11.

(55) In another place, he expreſſes great anger at the incorrectneſs with which his works were printed in England, and even addreſſed the Archbiſhop of Canterbury upon that ſubject. Works, p. (254).

(56) Works, p. 391.

(57) *Ibid.* p. 444, 445.

(58) Life of Gilpin, p. 123.

‘ That ſpotleſs lamb, which traitrous Judas ſold,
‘ With ſacred ſtain, freſh iſſuing from his ſide,
‘ Them gilt, when in Jeruſalem he dyed,
‘ For to redeem his deareſt love, his beauteous bride.

‘ Theology, for ſo men called the maid,
‘ Upon theſe volumes caſt her melting eyes:
“ And who ſhall now, quoth ſhe, ſince Broughton's dead,
“ Find out the treaſure, which within you lies,
“ Shadowed in high and heavenly myſteries?
“ Ah! who ſhall now, quoth ſhe, to others tell
“ How earth's great anceſtor, old Adam fell,
“ Baniſhed from flowery Eden, where he once did dwell?

“ What meant that monſtrous man, whom Babel's King
“ Did in a troubled ſlumber once behold,
“ Like huge Goliah, ſlain by David's ſling,
“ Whoſe dreadful head, and curled locks were gold,
“ With breaſts and mighty arms of ſilver mould;
“ Whoſe ſwelling belly and large ſides were braſs,
“ Whoſe legs were iron, feet of mingled maſs,
“ Of which one part was clay, the other iron was?

“ What meant the lion, plumed in eagle's wings:
“ What meant the bear, that in his horrid jaw
“ Three ribs of ſome devoured carcaſe brings:
“ What meant the leopard, which Belſhazzar ſaw,
“ With dreadful mouth and with a murdering paw;
“ And what that all-devouring horned beaſt
“ With iron teeth, and with his horrid creſt:
“ All this, and much beſides, by Broughton was expreſt.

“ 'Twas he that branched Meſſiah's ſacred ſtem
“ In curious knots, and traced his earthly race
“ From princely Adam to the noble Sem,
“ So down to him that held Coniah's place,
“ And from his ſon to Mary full of grace,
“ A heavenly maid, a bleſſed virgin-wife,
“ Who highly favoured, gave the precious life,
“ The ranſom of a world from ſin and Satan's ſtrife.

“ 'Twas he that graved the names of Jacob's ſons
“ In that myſterious plate on Aaron's breaſt:
“ Reuben in ſardius, which as water runs;
“ In topaz Simeon, baſer than the reſt;
“ In emerald Levi, for his doctrine beſt;
“ Judah in carbuncle, like heaven's bright eye;
“ And Iſſachar in ſaphire's azure die;
“ In ruby Zabulon, which near the ſea doth lie:

“ Dan in the flowery hyacinth is cut;
“ In agat Napthali; and warlike Gad
“ In bloody amethyſt: Aſhur is put
“ In cryſolite: the beryl Joſeph had;
“ Young Benjamin, old Jacob's ſweeteſt lad,
“ The onyx: each within his ſeveral ſtone
“ Our great Bezaleol carved, who now is gone
“ To praiſe the lamb, and him who ſits upon the throne.

“ Ye ſacred Muſes, that on Siloah ſing,
“ And in celeſtial dew do dip your quill,
“ The which your Phæbus, mighty Elohim,
“ In ſilver-ſtreaming channels doth diſtill
“ From top of Hermon, and of Sion hill,
“ As you your great creator's praiſe rehearſe,
“ Ah! lend one broken ſigh, one broken verſe,
“ One doleful-tuned hymn to deck his ſable hearſe.

“ And you, poor Jews, the iſſue of old Sem,
“ Who did in honey-flowing Canaan dwell,
“ And ſwayed the ſceptre of Jeruſalem,
“ Until ſome ſnaky fury, ſent from hell,
“ Did you enrage with ſpite and malice fell
“ To put your lord to death—ah! now repent
“ For murdering that lord—ah! now lament
“ His death, who would have brought you into Japhet's tent.

“ Ye learned clerks, that covet Adam's tongue,
“ Long time preſerv'd in Heber's holy line,
“ After th' emprize of that heav'n-ſcaling throng,
“ Which ſought above the dew-ſteep'd clouds to climb
“ (Such hateful pride was found in earthly ſlime)
“ Do you lament this wondrous learned man,
“ Who, tuneful as the ſilver-pinion'd ſwan,
“ Canaan's rich language in perfection ſang.

“ He knew the Greek, plenteous in words and ſenſe,
“ The Caldee wiſe, the Arabic profound,
“ The Latin pleaſing with its eloquence,
“ The braving Spaniſh with its lofty ſound,
“ The Tuſcan grave with many a laurel crown'd,
“ The liſping French that fits a lady vain,
“ The German, like the people, rough and plain,
“ The Engliſh full and rich, his native country's ſtrain.

“ Ah! Scottiſh Iſhmaels, do not offer wrong
“ Unto his quiet urn; do not defame
“ The ſilver ſound of that harmonious tongue:
“ Peace, dirty mouths, be quieted by ſhame,
“ Nor vent your gall upon a dead man's name.
“ O wake, ye weſt-winds; come, ye ſouth, and blow;
“ With your myrrh-breathing mouths ſweet odours throw
“ Into the ſcented air round Broughton's tomb below.'

‘ This ſaid, the virgin vaniſhed away.
‘ Meanwhile heaven put its darkeſt mantle on;
‘ The moon obſcured withheld her ſilver ray;
‘ No twinkling ſtar with chearful luſtre ſhone,
‘ But ſable night lowered from her ebon throne.
‘ —Yet ſorrow ceaſe; tho' he's no longer ours,
‘ Still, ſtill he lives in yon celeſtial bowers,
‘ And reigns triumphant with a choir of heavenly powers.'

This elegy was certainly written in honour of Broughton (59), and may be conſidered as a kind of preſumptive evidence, that he had not, as Mr. Gilpin aſſerts, ‘ lived out all his credit.']

BROUNCKER, or BROUNKER (Sir WILLIAM), Lord Viſcount of Caſtle-Lyons, in Ireland, and the firſt Preſident of the Royal Society, was the ſon of Sir William Brounker, Knt. [*A*], and born about the year 1620 (*a*). What place he was educated at, we cannot learn; but he applied himſelf with ſo much diligence and ſucceſs to the ſtudy of the Mathematics, that he arrived to great perfection in that branch of uſeful knowledge. On the 23d of June, 1646, he was created Doctor of Phyſic at Oxford (*b*). In April 1660, he ſubſcribed, among many others of the nobility and gentry, a Declaration, wherein General Monk was acknowledged the reſtorer of the laws and privileges of theſe nations (*c*). Before the forming of the Royal Society, he

[*A*] *Was the ſon of Sir William Brounker, Knt.*] This Sir William (who was ſon of Sir Henry Brounker, Preſident of Munſter in Ireland, by Anne his wife, ſiſter of (*) Henry Lord Morley) was Commiſſary-General of the Muſters in the expedition againſt the Scots in 1639, and afterwards one of the Privy-chamber to King Charles I., and Vice-Chamberlain to Prince Charles. On the 1ſt of November, 1642, he was created Doctor of the Civil Law at Oxford; and the 12th of September, 1645, made Viſcount of Caſtle-Lyons in Ireland. He died in Wadham-college about the middle of November following, and was buried, the 20th of the ſame month, in the cathedral of Chriſt-Church in Oxford. Winefride, his widow, daughter of William Leigh, of Newenham in Warwickſhire, died the 20th of July, 1649, and was buried by her huſband. Many years after, a large marble ſtone was laid over their graves, and in the wall near it was erected a ſplendid monument of alabaſter, with their ſtatues ſitting, both leaning on a table that ſtands between them (1).

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(59) It appears to have been written by *W. Primroes*. *Vid* Broughton's Works, p. 732.

(*a*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. ii. edit. 1721, col. 25. 56. That he was born in 1620, I gather from hence: becauſe, Mr. Wood tells us, he was 25 years old at the time of his father's deceaſe, in 1645, col. 25.

(*b*) *Ibid.* col. 56.

(*c*) Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728. fol. p. 120, 121.

(*) There is no ſuch perſon mentioned by Sir W. Dugdale in his Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 307.

(1) Wood's Faſti, Vol. ii. edit. 1721, col. 25.

was one of thoſe ingenious perſons, of which the aſſemblies that gave riſe to it conſiſted *(d)*; and when it was incorporated by charter, in the fourteenth of King Charles II. *(e)*, he was nominated the firſt Preſident of that illuſtrious Society *(f)*. In this ſtation he continued about fifteen years [*B*]; and was of great ſervice, as well as a conſiderable ornament, to the Society, by his learning and experience. He enjoyed at the ſame time the following places of honour and profit; namely, the office of Chancellor to Queen Catharine, and the keeping of her Great Seal: he was alſo one of the Commiſſioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, and Maſter of St. Catharine's Hoſpital near the Tower of London. This laſt he obtained in 1681, after a long ſuit at law, between him and Sir Robert Atkins, one of the Juſtices of the Common-Pleas, concerning the right of the ſame *(g)*. Though he was a learned and ingenious perſon, there are but theſe few things extant under his name, *viz.* 'Experi'ments of the recoiling of Guns (*h*);' 'An Algebraical Paper upon the Squaring of 'the Hyberbola (*i*);' 'Several Letters to Dr. James Uſher, Archbiſhop of Armagh,' printed at the end of that Primate's life, by Dr. R. Parr. He died at his houſe in St. James's-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, April 5, 1684, aged ſixty-four years; and was buried the fourteenth of the ſame month, in a little vault which he had cauſed to be made in the middle of the choir, belonging to the hoſpital of St. Catharine above mentioned (*k*). He was ſucceeded in his honour by his younger brother Henry [*C*].

[*B*] *In this ſtation he continued about fifteen years.*] And, as Biſhop Spratt obſerves (2), 'this office was 'annually renewed to him by election, out of the 'true judgment which the Society made of his great 'abilities in all Natural, and eſpecially Mathema'tical Knowledge.'

[*C*] *By his younger brother Henry.*] Who was created Doctor of Phyſic June 23, 1646; and dying about the 4th of January, 1687, was buried at Richmond in Surry, where there is a monument over his grave (3). M.

⁂ [Beſides the pieces mentioned above, as written by Lord Brouncker, he tranſlated into Engliſh the famous Deſcartes's treatiſe, intitled, 'Muſicæ 'Compendium.' This tranſlation was publiſhed, in 1653, not with his Lordſhip's name, but as done 'by a Perſon of Honour.' Lord Brouncker added animadverſions upon Deſcartes's work, which ſhew that he was deeply ſkilled in the theory of the ſcience of Muſic. Although he agrees with his author almoſt throughout the book, he aſſerts, that the geometrical is to be preferred to the arithmetical diviſion; and with a view, as it is preſumed, to the farther improvement of the *Syſtema Participato*, he propoſes a diviſion of the diapaſon by ſixteen mean proportionals into ſeventeen equal ſemitones; the method of which diviſion is exhibited by him in an algebraic proceſs, and alſo in logarithms. The *Syſtema Participato*, which is mentioned by Bontempi, conſiſted in the diviſion of the diapaſon, or octave, into twelve equal ſemitones by eleven mean proportionals. Deſcartes, we are informed, rejected this diviſion for reaſons which are far from being ſatisfactory (4).

In the years 1657 and 1658, Lord Brouncker was engaged in a correſpondence of letters on mathematical ſubjects with Dr. John Wallis, who publiſhed them in his *Commercium Epiſtolicum*, printed at Oxford, in 1658, in quarto (5).

When it is ſaid that Lord Brouncker was the firſt Preſident of the Royal Society, the aſſertion is to be underſtood with ſome limitation. He was, indeed, the firſt Preſident, if we conſider the Society as commencing at the time of its being incorporated; his Lordſhip having been appointed to that dignity by the royal charter, dated July 15, 1662, and by the ſecond charter, which was granted on the 15th of April following: and he continued in this office, by annual election, till the 30th of November, 1677 (6). But the Society, as is well known, ſubſiſted previouſly to its incorporation. The members, of whom it was originally compoſed, held their firſt meeting, for the purpoſe of forming themſelves into a regular philoſophical ſociety, on the 28th of November, 1660. In the next week (Dec. 5.), Sir Robert Moray brought word from the court, that the King had been acquainted with the deſign of the meeting; that he well approved of it; and that he would be ready to give it encouragement. On the 6th of March, 1660-61, Sir Robert was choſen Preſident of the Society, for a month only, as it appears; for, on the 10th of April, 1661, he was again elected for another month (7). In this office he, likewiſe, continued by ſubſequent elections, though the time of making them is not particularly mentioned. In a Latin letter, addreſſed to Monſ. de Montmor, Preſident of the Academy at Paris, and dated 22 Julii, 1661, Sir Robert Moray ſtyled himſelf 'Societatis ad Tempus Præſes (8).' From all the circumſtances we have been able to collect, Sir Robert ſeems to have been the ſole Preſident of the Society, till it was incorporated, excepting for one month, from May 14th, 1662, to June the 11th, during which time Dr. Wilkins poſſeſſed that honour (9). It is certain that Sir Robert Moray was again appointed to the office, when Dr. Wilkins's month was out, and that he continued in it till the charter took place (10). The above account will reconcile the apparent contradiction of our hiſtorians, who, when they ſpeak of the Royal Society, ſometimes repreſent Sir Robert Moray, and ſometimes Lord Brouncker, as having been the firſt Preſident.

Sir Robert Moray was deſcended of an ancient and noble family in the Highlands of Scotland, and had his education partly in the Univerſity of St. Andrews, and partly in France. In this laſt country he entered upon the military line, in the ſervice of Lewis the Thirteenth, and became ſuch a favourite with Cardinal Richlieu, that few foreigners were held in equal eſteem by that great ſtateſman (11). According to Anthony Wood, Sir Robert Moray was General of the Ordnance in Scotland, againſt King Charles the Firſt, when the Preſbyterians of that kingdom firſt ſet up and maintained their covenant (12). But if this be true, which we apprehend to be very doubtful, he certainly returned to France, and was raiſed to the rank of Colonel, from which country he came over to England for recruits, at the time that King Charles was with the Scotch army at Newcaſtle (13). Here he grew into much favour with his Majeſty, and, about December, 1646, formed a deſign for his eſcape, which was to have been executed in the following manner: Mr. William Moray, afterwards Earl of Dyſert, had provided a veſſel near Tinmouth, and Sir Robert Moray was to have conducted the King thither in a diſguiſe. The matter proceeded ſo far, that his Majeſty put himſelf in the diſguiſe, and went down the back-ſtairs with Sir Robert. But apprehending that it was ſcarcely poſſible to paſs all the guards without being diſcovered, and judging it highly indecent to be taken in ſuch a condition, he changed his reſolution, and returned back (14). Upon the reſtoration of King Charles the Second, Sir Robert Moray was appointed a Privy-Counſellor for Scotland. Mr. Wood ſays, that, though Sir Robert was preſbyterianly affected, he had the King's ear as much as any other perſon (15). He was, undoubtedly, in no ſmall degree of eſteem with his Majeſty; but this was probably more upon a philoſophical than a political account; for he was employed by Charles the Second in his chymical proceſſes, and was, indeed, the conducter of his laboratory (16). When the deſign was formed, in 1661, of reſtoring Epiſcopacy in Scotland, Sir Robert was one, among others, who was for delaying the making of any ſuch change, till the King ſhould be better ſatisfied concerning the inclinations of the nation (17). In the next year, Sir Robert Moray was included in

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(d) Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. Lond 1728, fol. p. 868.

(e) Anno 1662. See Biſhop Spratt's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, 2d edit. p. 134.

(f) *Ibid.* p. 134, &c.

(g) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 56, 57.

(h) Publiſhed in Dr. T. Spratt's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, Lond. 1702, 2d edit. p. 233, &c.

(i) Publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. XXXIV. p. 645; and in Lowthorp's Abridgment, Vol. i. p. 10, &c.

(k) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 57.

(2) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, p. 433.

(3) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 57.

(4) Sir John Hawkins's Hiſt. of Muſic, Vol. iv. p. 181.

(5) Birch's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, Vol. iv. p. 388.

(6) Birch's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, Vol. i. p. 88. 221. *Ibid.* Vol iii. p. 352, 353.

(7) Birch, *ubi ſupra*, Vol. i. p. 17. 21.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 35.

(9) *Ibid.* p. 83, 84.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 85, 86, 87.

(11) Athenæ Oxonienſes, Vol. ii. col. 370. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. i. p. 80, 81. 8vo edition.

(12) Athen. Oxon. *ubi ſupra*.

(13) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*.

(14) Birch, *ubi ſupra*, Vol. iii. p. 113.

(15) Athen. Oxon. *ubi ſupra*.

(16) Burnet, *ubi ſup a*, p. 400.

(17) *Ibid.* p. 182, 183.

an act, paſſed in Scotland, which incapacitated certain perſons from holding any place of truſt under the government. This act, which was carried by the management of a faction, and to which the Lord Commiſſioner (the Earl of Middleton) gave the royal aſſent, without acquainting his Majeſty with the whole purport of it, was very diſpleaſing to the King, who, when it was delivered to him, declared, that it ſhould never be opened by him (18). In the year 1667, Sir Robert Moray was conſiderably entruſted in the management of public affairs in Scotland, and they were then conducted with much greater moderation than they had been for ſome time before (19). It is a circumſtance highly to his honour, that though the Earl of Lauderdale, at the inſtigation of Lady Dyſert, had uſed him very unworthily, yet that nobleman had ſuch an opinion of his virtue and candour, that, whilſt he was in Scotland, in 1669, as his Majeſty's High Commiſſioner, he truſted all his concerns in the Engliſh court to Sir Robert's care (20). Sir Robert Moray had been formerly the chief friend and main ſupport of the Earl of Lauderdale, and had always been his faithful adviſer and reprover (21). Anthony Wood ſays, that Sir Robert was a ſingle man, and an abhorrer of women; but this is a great miſtake; for he had married a ſiſter of Lord Belcarras (22). He died ſuddenly, in his pavilion, in the garden of Whitehall, on the 4th of July, 1673, and was interred, at the King's expence, in Weſtminſter-Abbey, near the monument of Sir William Davenant (23).

The merit of Sir Robert Moray, with regard to the Royal Society, was very eminent. Biſhop Burnet aſſerts, that he was the firſt former of the Society, and that, while he lived, he was the life and ſoul of that body (24). He was undoubtedly *one* of the firſt framers of it; and he was uncommonly aſſiduous in promoting its valuable purpoſes. In this view, we meet with his name in almoſt every page of Dr. Birch's circumſtantial Hiſtory of the Society; in which, likewiſe, are inſerted ſome of Sir Robert's papers (25). Another of his papers, concerning the mineral of Liege, is printed in the early part of the Philoſophical Tranſactions (26). Beſides Sir Robert Moray's aids and communications, relative to the ſcientific views and experiments of the Royal Society, he was ſingularly uſeful to it in other reſpects. He had a very conſiderable ſhare in obtaining its charters; was deeply concerned in framing its ſtatutes and regulations; and was indefatigably zealous in whatever regarded its intereſts (27). In proof of the whole of what we have aſſerted concerning him, we might produce a variety of particulars, did we not apprehend that the recital of them would juſtly be deemed too minute and tedious. In both the charters of the Royal Society, he is firſt mentioned in the liſt of the Council: he was always afterward choſen of the Council; and his name ſometimes occurs as Vice-Preſident (28).

Sir Robert Moray's general character was excellent in the higheſt degree. He was beloved and eſteemed by men of every party and ſtation. His piety was ſuch, that, in the midſt of armies and courts, he ſpent many hours of the day in the exerciſe of devotion. The equality of his temper could not be diſturbed by any event: he was in practice a Stoic, with a ſtrong tincture of one of the principles of that ſect, the perſuaſion of abſolute decrees. He had a moſt diffuſive love for mankind; and whilſt he delighted in every occaſion of doing good, his benevolence was conducted with a diſcretion equal to his zeal. In reproving the faults of young people, he had the plaineſt, and yet the ſofteſt method of doing it that can be imagined. His comprehenſion was ſuperior to that of moſt men; and in genius he reſembled the illuſtrious Peireſkius, as deſcribed by Gaſſendus. Once, when a falſe and malicious accuſation was brought againſt Sir Robert Moray, which was aimed at his life, he practiſed, upon the occaſion, in a very eminent manner, his true Chriſtian philoſophy, without ſhewing ſo much as a cloud in his whole behaviour (29).] K.

(18) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 205. p. 209—212.

(19) *Ibid.* p. 338—345.

(20) *Ibid.* p. 397.

(21) *Ibid.* p. 345.

(22) Athen. Oxon. *ubi ſupra.* Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 80.

(23) Athen. Oxon. Birch, *ut ſupra*, Vol. iii. p. 113.

(24) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 81.

(25) Birch's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, Vol. i. p. 137. 169. 177. 399.

(26) *Ibid.* p. 256. Vol. ii. p. 67.

(27) *Ibid.* Vol. i. p. 50. 116. 241. 377. 391. 403. 431. Vol. ii. p. 131. 349. 371.

(28) *Ibid.* Vol. i. p. 88. 221. Vol. iii. p. 41. 51. 62.

(29) *Ibid.* Vol. iii. p. 113, 114. Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 81, 82.

BROWN (Robert), an Engliſh Divine of the XVIth, and beginning of the XVIIth century, from whom the ſect of the *Browniſts* derived its name. He was deſcended of an ancient and worſhipful family, ſays Fuller (*a*) (one whereof founded a fair hoſpital in Stamford) (*b*), and was nearly allied to the Lord-Treaſurer Cecil. He was the ſon of Anthony Brown, of Tolthorp in Rutlandſhire, Eſq; (*), (though born at Northampton, according to (†) Mr. Collier), and grandſon of Francis Brown, whom King Henry VIII., in the eighteenth year of his reign, privileged by charter to wear his cap in the preſence of himſelf, his heirs, or any of his nobles, and not to uncover but at his own pleaſure; which charter was confirmed by act of parliament. Robert Brown ſtudied divinity at Cambridge, Fuller thinks in Corpus Chriſti College, but Mr. Collier (*c*) ſays he was of Bennet, and was afterwards a ſchoolmaſter in Southwark (‖). He was ſoon diſcovered by Dr. Still, Maſter of Trinity College, to have ſomewhat extraordinary in him that would prove a great diſturbance to the Church: Brown ſoon verified what the Doctor foretold; for he fell into Cartwright's opinions; in which, however, having diſcovered ſome defects, he reſolved to refine upon his ſcheme, and to produce ſomething more perfect of his own. Accordingly, about the year 1580, he began to inveigh openly againſt the diſcipline and ceremonies of the Church of England, and ſoon ſhewed that he intended to go much farther than Cartwright had ever done (*). In his diſcourſes the Church Government was Antichriſtian, her Sacraments clogged with ſuperſtition; the Liturgy had a mixture of Popery and Paganiſm in it; and the Miſſion of the Clergy was no better than that of Baal's Prieſts in the Old Teſtament. He firſt preached at Norwich, in 1581, where the Dutch having a numerous congregation, many of them inclined to Anabaptiſm; and, therefore, they being the more diſpoſed to entertain any new reſembling opinion, he made his firſt eſſay upon them; and having made ſome progreſs amongſt them, and raiſed himſelf a character for zeal and ſanctity, he then began to infect his own countrymen; for which purpoſe he called in the aſſiſtance of one Richard Harriſon, a country ſchoolmaſter (*d*), and they formed Churches out of both nations, but moſtly of the Engliſh. He inſtructed his audience, that the Church of England was no true Church; that there was little of Chriſt's inſtitution in the public miniſtrations, and that all good Chriſtians were obliged to ſeparate from thoſe impure aſſemblies; that their only way was to join him and his diſciples, among whom all was pure and unexceptionable, evidently inſpired by the Spirit of God, and refined from all alloy and prophanation (*e*). Theſe diſcourſes prevailed on the audience; and his diſciples, now called *Browniſts*, formed a ſociety, and made a total defection from the Church, refuſing to join any congregation in any public office of worſhip. Brown being convened before Dr. Freake,

(*a*) Fuller's Church Hiſt. B. ix. p. 166.

(*b*) Camd. Britan. in Lincolnſhire.

(*) Ant. Wood ſays, he was the ſon of a Knight. Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. p. 341.

(†) Collier's Great Hiſtorical Dict. Vol. i. article *Browniſts*. Fuller, *ut ſupra*.

(*c*) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. ii. p. 581.

(‖) Collier's Dict. *ut ſupra*. Eccleſiæ Primitivæ Notitiæ, in the Index Hæreticus, p. 16.

(*) See the article CARTWRIGHT (Thomas).

(*d*) Fuller and Collier, *ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) Heylyn's Hiſt. of Preſbyt. l. vii.

Biſhop of Norwich, and other Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, he not only maintained his ſchiſm, to juſtify which he had alſo written a book, but he miſbehaved himſelf to the Court; upon which he was committed to the cuſtody of the Sheriff of Norwich: but his relation, the Lord-Treaſurer Burghley, imputing his error and obſtinacy to zeal, rather than malice, interceded to have him charitably perſuaded out of his opinions, and releaſed. To this end, he wrote the following letter to the Biſhop of Norwich, which procured his enlargement [*A*]. After this, his Lordſhip ordered Brown up to London, and recommended him to Archbiſhop Whitgift for his inſtruction and counſel, in order to his amendment: but Brown left the kingdom, and ſettled at Middleburgh in Zealand, where he and his followers obtained leave of the States to worſhip God in their own way, and form a Church according to their own model, which was drawn in a book publiſhed by Brown at Middleburgh in 1582, and called *A Treatiſe of Reformation, without ſtaying for any Man*, and of which we ſhall give an account hereafter. What ſtay Brown made at Middleburgh, is not preciſely known; but that he was in England in 1585, is very certain: for in that year he was cited to appear before Archbiſhop Whitgift, to anſwer to certain matters contained in a book by him publiſhed; but what this was, we are not informed. The Archbiſhop, however, by force of reaſoning, brought Brown at laſt to a tolerable compliance with the Church of England; and having diſmiſſed him, the Lord-Treaſurer Burghley ſent him to his father in the country, with a letter to recommend him to his favour and countenance. It is from this letter, which ſee in note [*B*], that we have gathered this circumſtance of his life. And from another letter of the Lord Treaſurer's, in note [*C*], we alſo learn, that Brown's errors had ſunk ſo deep in him, as not to be ſo eaſily rooted out as was imagined; and that he ſoon relapſed into his former opinions and heterodoxies, and ſhewed himſelf ſo incorrigible, that his good old father reſolved to own him for his ſon no longer than his ſon owned the Church of England for his mother; and Brown chuſing rather to part with his aged ſire than his new ſchiſm, he was diſcharged the family. When gentleneſs was found ineffectual, ſeverity was next practiſed; and Brown, after

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(*) Extant in Fuller's Church Hiſt. *ut ſupra.*

[*A*] *Wrote the following letter* (*) *to the Biſhop of Norwich, which procured his enlargement,*] viz.

‘AFTER my very hearty recommendations to your Lordſhip: Whereas I underſtand that one Brown, a preacher, is by your Lordſhip, and others of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, committed to the cuſtody of the Sheriff of Norfolk, where he remains a priſoner, for ſome matter of offence uttered by him by way of preaching, wherein I perceive, by ſight of ſome letters written by certain godly preachers in your Lordſhip's dioceſe, he hath been dealt with, and by them diſſuaded from that courſe he hath taken: Foraſmuch as he is my kinſman, if he be ſon to him whom I take him to be, and that his error ſeemeth to proceed of zeal rather than of malice, I do therefore wiſh he were charitably conferred with, and reformed; which courſe I pray your Lordſhip may be taken with him, either by your Lordſhip, or ſuch as your Lordſhip ſhall aſſign for that purpoſe. And in caſe there ſhall not follow thereof ſuch ſucceſs as may be to your liking, that then you would be content to permit him to repair hither to London, to be further dealt with as I ſhall take order for upon his coming; for which purpoſe I have written a letter to the Sheriff, if your Lordſhip ſhall like thereof. And ſo I bid your Lordſhip heartily farewel. From the court at Weſtminſter, this 21ſt of April, 1581.

‘Your Lordſhip's ever loving friend,

‘W. B.’

[*B*] *It is from this letter, which ſee in note* [*B*].]

‘AFTER my very hearty recommendations: Underſtanding that your ſon Robert Brown had been ſent for up by my Lord Biſhop of Canterbury, to anſwer to ſuch matters as he was to be charged withal, contained in a book made by him, and publiſhed in print (as it was thought) by his means, I thought good, conſidering he was your ſon, and of my blood, to ſend unto my Lord of Canterbury in his behalf, that he might find what reaſonable favour he could ſhew him; before whom I perceive he hath anſwered in ſome good ſort; and although I think he will not deny the making of the book, yet by no means will he confeſs to be acquainted with the printing of it. He hath beſides yielded unto his Lordſhip ſuch further contentment, as he is contented (the rather at my motion) to diſcharge him; and therefore for that he purpoſeth to repair to you, I have thought good to accompany him with theſe my letters, and to pray you for this cauſe, or any his former dealings, not to withdraw from him your fatherly love and affection, not doubting but with time he will be fully recovered, and withdraw from the reliques of ſome fond opinions of his, which will be the better done, if he be dealt withal in ſome kind and temperate manner. And ſo I bid you heartily farewel. From my houſe near the Savoy, this eighth of October, 1585.

‘Your loving friend and couſin,

‘WILLIAM BURGHLEY.’

Mr Collier places this circumſtance of the Lord Treaſurer's ſending Brown home to his father, with his letter of recommendation, immediately after his being releaſed from his confinement at Norwich, in the year 1581; and both he and Fuller ſeem to be miſtaken in another circumſtance alſo; for they ſay, that Brown went firſt to Zealand before he began preaching at Norwich: if this be true, he muſt have been twice abroad; for it is certain he was there in 1582, when he publiſhed the book above mentioned at Middleburgh. It ſeems, however, more probable that he did not go there at all till 1581, after he had been releaſed from his confinement at Norwich.

[*C*] *Another letter of the Lord Treaſurer's.*]

‘AFTER my very hearty commendations; I perceive by your letters, that you have little or no hopes of your ſon's conformity, as you had when you received him into your houſe; and therefore you ſeem deſirous that you might have liberty to remove him further off from you, as either to Stamford, or ſome other place, which I know no cauſe but you may very well and lawfully do, where I wiſh he might better be perſuaded to conform himſelf for his own good, and your's and his friends comfort. And ſo I very heartily bid you farewel. From the Court, this 17th of February, 1585.

‘Your very loving friend and couſin,

‘WILLIAM BURGHLEY.’

wandering

wandering up and down, and enduring great hardſhips, at length went to live at Northampton, where, induſtriouſly labouring to promote his ſect, Lindſell, Biſhop of Peterborough, ſent him a citation to come before him, which Brown refuſed to obey; for which contempt he was excommunicated (f). This it was which proved the means of his reformation; for he was ſo deeply affected with the ſolemnity of this cenſure, that he made his ſubmiſſion, moved for abſolution, and received it; and from that time continued in the communion of the Church, though it was not in his power to cloſe the chaſm, or heal the wound he had made in it [*D*]. It was towards the year 1590 that Brown renounced his principles of ſeparation, and was ſoon after preferred to the Rectory of a church in Northamptonſhire (g). Fuller does not believe that Brown ever formally recanted his opinions, either by word or writing, as to the main points of his doctrine; but that his promiſe of a general compliance with the Church of England, improved by the countenance of his patron and kinſman, the Earl of Exeter, prevailed upon the Archbiſhop, and procured this extraordinary favour for him. He adds, that Brown allowed a ſalary for one to diſcharge his cure; and though he oppoſed his pariſhioners in judgment, yet agreed in taking their tythes (h). Brown was a man of good parts and ſome learning, but was of a nature imperious and uncontroulable; and ſo far from the Sabbatarian ſtrictneſs afterwards eſpouſed by ſome of his followers, that he rather ſeemed a libertine therein. In a word, ſays our author (i), he had a wife with whom he never lived, and a church in which he never preached, though he received the profits thereof: and as all the other ſcenes of his life were ſtormy and turbulent, ſo was his end: for the conſtable of his pariſh requiring, ſomewhat roughly, the payment of certain rates, his paſſion moved him to blows, of which the conſtable complaining to Juſtice St. John, he rather inclined to pity than puniſh him; but Brown, at fair words alſo diſguſted, behaved with ſo much inſolence, that he was ſent to Northampton gaol on a feather-bed in a cart, being very infirm, and aged above eighty years, where he ſoon after ſickened and died, *anno* 1630 (k), after boaſting, *that he had been committed to thirty-two priſons, in ſome of which he could not ſee his hand at noon-day.* This was the life and tragical end of the famous ſchiſmatic Robert Brown, whoſe writings, and thoſe of other authors, both for and againſt Browniſm, come next under our conſideration [*E*]; as alſo the particular tenets of the Browniſts, their progreſs and end, which we ſhall take a view of in note [*F*].

(f) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. ii. p. 582.

(g) Collier, *ut ſuprà.*

(h) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. ix. p. 168.

(i) Fuller, *ubi ſuprà.*

(k) Heylyn's Hiſt. Preſbyt. Biblioth. Scriptor. Eccleſ. Anglic. Præfat. Fuller and Collier, *ut ſuprà.*

[*D*] *It was not in his power to heal the wound he had made in the Church.*] The revolt of Brown was far from being followed with the diſſolution of the ſect. On the contrary, it daily increaſed; inſomuch, that, in 1592, Sir Walter Ralegh, in a ſpeech which he delivered in the Houſe of Commons, computes no leſs than twenty thouſand followers of it. This ſpeech was made upon occaſion of a ſcheme which was then on foot, for tranſporting all the Browniſts; and which actually produced a bill in parliament for explaining a branch in *an act to retain the Queen's ſubjects in due obedience.* But before the bill was committed, many ſpeeches paſſed in the houſe, through the many imperfections in the preamble and body of the ſaid bill; for it pretended a puniſhment only of the Browniſts and other ſectaries; but, alleging nothing againſt them in particular, contained ſome enſnaring clauſes that might comprehend more innocent perſons (1). As the ſpeeches before Sir Walter Ralegh's, on this occaſion, are not rehearſed, we can only gueſs at them by what is preſerved of his; who ſaid, 'In 'my conceit, the Browniſts are worthy to be rooted 'out of a commonwealth; but what danger may 'grow to ourſelves if this law paſs, were fit to be 'conſidered: For it is to be feared, that men not 'guilty will be included in it; and that law is hard 'that taketh life, and ſendeth into baniſhment, where 'men's intentions ſhall be judged by a jury, and 'they ſhall be judges what another means. But that 'law which is againſt a fact, is but juſt, and puniſh 'the fact as ſeverely as you will. If two or three 'thouſand Browniſts meet at ſea, at whoſe charge 'ſhall they be tranſported, or whither will you ſend 'them? I am ſorry for it, but I am afraid there are 'near twenty thouſand of them in England; and 'when they are gone, who ſhall maintain their wives 'and children (2)?' A committee was therefore appointed to reviſe and correct this bill; among whom Sir Walter Ralegh was the foremoſt named; who, after many alterations and debates, moved it might be read to the houſe for their approbation; and, after many arguments and conferences, being read the third time, as were alſo the additions and amendments, it paſſed, upon the queſtion. Accordingly the laws were executed with great ſeverity on the Browniſts; their books were prohibited by the Queen's orders, and their perſons impriſoned, and many of them hanged (3). The eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, and the Star-Chamber, in fine, diſtreſſed them to ſuch a degree, that they reſolved to quit their country. Accordingly many families retired to Holland, and ſettled at Amſterdam, where they formed a Church (*).

(1) Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, by Mr. Oldys, p. 68.

(2) Townſhend's Hiſtor. Collect. p. 76. Dewes's Journal, fol. 517. Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, by Mr. Oldys, p. 69. Happy Future State of England, fol. 280.

(3) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. ix. p. 167. Stow's Chronic. p. 697.

(*) See note [F].

[*E*] *Whoſe writings, and thoſe of other authors, both for and againſt Browniſm, come next under our conſideration.*] The writings and controverſies which the ſeparation of the *Browniſts* occaſioned, are many. The chief of Brown's own works is a ſmall thin quarto, which contains the model and ſeeds of *Browniſm*, in three pieces, printed at Middleburgh in 1582. The title of the firſt is, *A Treatiſe of Reformation without tarrying for any, and of the wickedneſs of thoſe preachers which will not reform themſelves and their charge, becauſe they will tarry till the Magiſtrate command and compel them. By me,* Robert Brown. The drift of this piece is to ſpirit up the people to ſeparate themſelves from the Church, and follow him; and alſo to exclude the Civil Magiſtrate from having any authority over eccleſiaſtical perſons or affairs.—The ſecond piece is, *A Treatiſe upon the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew, both for an order of ſtudying and handling the Scriptures, and alſo for avoiding the Popiſh diſorders, and ungodly communion of all falſe Chriſtians, and eſpecially of wicked preachers and hirelings.* In this piece he exclaims againſt the abuſe of Tongues in preaching, that is, againſt the uſe of Hebrew, Greek, or Latin, in ſermons; alſo againſt the uſe of Logic and Rhetoric, Tropes, Figures, &c.; againſt diſorderly preaching at Paul's Croſs in London, or before the Queen, the Biſhops, or Noblemen; and againſt Pariſh Preachers and hired Lecturers.—The title of the third piece is, *A Book which ſheweth the life and manners of all true Chriſtians, and how unlike they are unto Turks and Papiſts, and Heathen folk. Alſo the points and parts of all Divinity, that is, of the revealed will and word of God, are declared by their ſeveral definitions and diviſions following.* Every page is divided into columns, thus:

The State of Chriſtians.	*The State of Heathens.*	*Definitions.*	*Diviſions.*
1. Wherefore are we called the People of God, and Chriſtians? Becauſe that, by a willing Covenant made with our God, we are under the government of God and Chriſt, and thereby lead a godly and Chriſtian life.	1. Wherefore are the Heathen forſaken of God, and be the curſed People of the world? Becauſe they forſake or refuſe the Lord's Covenant and government; and therefore they lead an ungodly and worldly life.	1. Chriſtians are a company or number of believers, which, by a willing Covenant made with their God, are under the Government of God and Chriſt, and keep his Laws in one Holy Communion: Becauſe they are redeemed by Chriſt unto holineſs and happineſs for ever, for which they were fallen by the ſin of Adam.	Chriſtians which ſhould lead a godly life, by knowing God, and the duties of Godlineſs.
2. How ſhould we lead a godly and Chriſtian life? By knowing God, and the duties of Godlineſs; and by keeping thoſe duties.	2. How do the Heathen lead an ungodly and worldly life? By ignorance of God, and deceiving themſelves; and by ſinning and faulting to their own deſtruction.	2. The knowledge of God and Godlineſs is a right and ſtedfaſt judgment in his Godhead and moſt bleſſed ſtate; and of his whole will in his word, &c.	By keeping thoſe duties.

This is a very curious and well-written piece: the firſt column, containing the State of Chriſtians, is orthodox, and a pretty ſyſtem of Divinity, ſhewing the ſeveral points of the Chriſtian faith, and the ſeveral duties and offices of Religion. The Definitions in the third column are very clear and expreſſive: but the ſecond column, containing the Heathen State, and alſo the Antichriſtian State, as it is afterwards called, is entirely levelled againſt the Church, as to its diſcipline and form of government, which it reviles in bitter terms, and, at the ſame time, defends the ſeparation of the Browniſts. Some part of it is alſo called the Jewiſh State; and the whole contains 185 queries, and anſwers.

In the year 1596 was publiſhed another piece in defence of the Browniſts, under the title of *A true Confeſſion of the Faith, and humble acknowledgment of the allegiance which we, her Majeſty's ſubjects, falſely called Browniſts, do hold towards God, and yield to her Majeſty, and all other that are over us in the Lord. Set down in articles or poſitions, for the better and more eaſy underſtanding of thoſe that ſhall read it; and publiſhed for the clearing ourſelves from thoſe unchriſtian ſlanders of Hereſy, Schiſm, Pride, Obſtinacy, Diſloyalty, Sedition,* &c. *which by our adverſaries are in all places given out againſt us.* The preface to this piece is full of complaints of the ſevere uſage to the Browniſts; and the Confeſſion of Faith itſelf is no other than that of every Proteſtant: but what regards the Church, agrees only with the principles of their ſeparation, laid down from numberleſs texts of Scripture. In the laſt page of this work, which is a thin octavo pamphlet, we have an account of their opinion concerning the Lord's Prayer, in theſe words: 'Finally, 'whereas we are much ſlandered, as if we denied or 'miſliked that form of prayer commonly called the 'Lord's Prayer, we thought it needful here alſo con'cerning it to make known, that we believe and 'acknowledge it to be a moſt abſolute and moſt ex'cellent form of prayer, ſuch as no men or angels 'can ſet down the like; and that it was taught and 'appointed by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, not that we 'ſhould be tied to the uſe of thoſe very words, but 'that we ſhould, according to that rule, make all 'our requeſts and thankſgivings unto God; foraſ'much as it is a perfect form and pattern, contain'ing in it plain and ſufficient directions for prayer 'upon all occaſions and neceſſities that have been, 'are, or ſhall be, to the Church of God, or any 'member thereof, to the end of the world.' This opinion they ground upon the following paſſages of the New Teſtament, among many others: Matth. vi. 9. *After this manner therefore pray ye: Our Father which,* &c. Luke xi. 1, 2. *One of his diſciples ſaid unto him, Lord, teach us to pray, as John alſo taught his diſciples. And he ſaid unto them, when ye pray, ſay, Our Father,* &c. (5). There was alſo a Confeſſion of the Faith of the Browniſts publiſhed in the year 1602, by the learned Mr. Ainſworth and Mr. Johnſon. There was likewiſe an Apology for the Browniſts publiſhed by Mr. Robinſon, one of their Miniſters.

In the year 1612 appeared a very ſevere piece againſt the Browniſts, called, *The profane Schiſm of the Browniſts, or Separatiſts; with the impiety, diſſenſions, lewd and abominable vices, of that impure ſect*; diſcovered by four of their members, lately returned from the company of Mr. Johnſon into the boſom of the Church of England. If this be a true picture of the Browniſts, they muſt have been a very profligate ſet of people. There were ſome very learned men, who took great pains to confute the Browniſts. Dr. Hall, Biſhop of Exeter, wrote with great ſtrength of reaſon againſt them, in a piece called, *A common Apology for the Church of England, againſt the unjuſt challenges of the over-juſt ſect, commonly called Browniſts, wherein the grounds and differences of the ſeparation are largely diſcuſſed.* The famous and learned Dr. John Rainolds wrote *A Defence of the Engliſh Liturgy againſt Robert Brown's ſchiſmatical book,* &c. Dr. Fulke alſo wrote very learnedly againſt the Browniſts; as did Mr. Dayrel; Bredwell, in his *Detection of Glover the Browniſt*; Giffard's *Treatiſe of Engliſh Donatiſts,* and his *Reply to Barrow and Greenwood,* &c.

[F] *The particular tenets of the Browniſts, their progreſs and end, we ſhall take a view of in the note.*] In the year 1599, there was a long controverſy carried on, in print, between Francis Johnſon, a Browniſt, and H. Jacob, about ſome of the tenets of the Browniſts. The whole of this was publiſhed together at Middleburgh, the ſame year, in a ſmall quarto pamphlet, conſiſting of 91 pages, under the title of *A Defence of the Churches and Miniſtery of England, againſt the reaſons and objections of Maiſter Francis Johnſon, and others of the ſeparation commonly called Browniſts. In two treatiſes. Publiſhed eſpecially for the benefit of thoſe in theſe parts of the Low Countries.* In one of theſe treatiſes is a recapitulation of all the chief objections raiſed by the Browniſts againſt the Church of England; from which we may gather a much more complete account of the tenets and doctrines of this famous ſect, than from any thing elſe ever publiſhed concerning it; and it is truly authentic. becauſe written by a Browniſt, then one of the leaders of that ſect. We ſhall, therefore, give it a place here, not for the ſame reaſon for which the author publiſhed it, which was to ſhew the black conſtitution of the Church, as he terms it, and the antichriſtian enormities ſtill remaining and practiſed therein; but to give the reader, at one view, the whole ſyſtem of Browniſm, many particulars of which, but for this recapitulation, might have remained unknown, and ſeem indeed to have been ſo to all thoſe who have hitherto written concerning this ſect. It will, therefore, be the more acceptable to the reader; ſince it is no-where extant, that we know of, but in the piece in which it was originally publiſhed, and which perhaps few, if any, of our readers, may at this time meet with. It is called

'Antichriſtian Abominations yet reteyned in England.'

1. *The confuſion of all ſorts of people in the body of their (the Engliſh) Church; even the moſt polluted, and their ſeed, being members thereof.* It then enumerates

(5) True Confeſſion of the Faith of the Browniſts, article 45.

merates all the Officers and Miniſters of the Church, from the Archbiſhop down even to the Sexton and Organ-blower, all of them of the antichriſtian and *viperous generation.* 2. *Their miniſtration of the Word, Sacraments, and Government of the Church, by virtue of the officers aforeſaid.* The Browniſts held that the evil life of the Miniſter took away the efficacy of the Sacraments. *The titles of Primate, Metropolitan, Lords, Grace, Lordſhip,* &c. *aſcribed to the Prelates.* 3. *The inferior Prelates ſwearing obedience to the Metropolitical Sees of Canterbury and York.* 4. *The inferior Miniſters, when they enter into the miniſtery, promiſing obedience to the Prelates, and their ordinances; and when they are inducted to benefices, confirming it with their oath.* 5. *The Deacon's and Prieſt's preſentation to a Lord Biſhop, by an Archdeacon.* 6. *Their receiving of orders of the Prelates, or their ſuffragans.* 7. *Their Pontifical, or book of conſecrating Biſhops, and of ordering Prieſts and Deacons, taken out of the Pope's Pontifical, where their abuſe of Scripture to that end, their Collects, Epiſtles,* &c. *may be ſeen.* 8. *Their making, and being made, Prieſts, with blaſphemy; the Prelates ſaying to whom they make Prieſts,* Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt, whoſe ſins ye forgive, they are forgiven, *&c.* 9. *Their confounding of Civil and Eccleſiaſtical offices and authorities in eccleſiaſtical perſons.* 10. *Their retaining and uſing in their public worſhip the apocryphal books, which have in them divers errors, untruths, blaſphemies, and contradiction to the Canonical Scriptures.* 11. *Their ſtinted Prayers and Liturgy, taken out of the Pope's Maſs-book, with the ſame order of Pſalms, Leſſons, Collects, Pater-Noſters, Epiſtles, Goſpels, Verſicles, Reſponds,* &c. The Browniſts, in general, rejected all ſet forms of prayer, and held that the Lord's Prayer ought not to be uſed as a prayer, in its preſent form of words, being only intended as a model whereon our extempore prayers are to be formed (6). 12. *The Croſs in Baptiſm.* 13. *The Hallowed Font, queſtions to the Infants at Baptiſm.* 14. *The Godfathers and Godmothers promiſing that the child doth believe, forſake the Devil and all his works,* &c. 15. *Women's baptiſing of children; which maintaineth that hereſy, that the children are damned which die unbaptized.* They would not allow any children to be baptized whoſe parents were not members of the Church, or of ſuch as did not take ſufficient care of the education of thoſe formerly baptized. 16. *Their howſeling of the Sick, and miniſtring the Communion to one alone.* 17. *The miniſtring it, not with the words of Chriſt's inſtitution, but with others taken out of the Pope's Portuis.* 18. *They ſell that Sacrament for twopence to all comers.* 19. *The receiving of it kneeling, which maketh it an idol, and nouriſheth that hereſy of receiving their Maker, of worſhipping it,* &c. The reaſon of our kneeling at the Sacrament is explained in the Rubric at the end of the Communion Service, for which purpoſe it was inſerted there in the reign of Edward VI. 20. *Their Ring in Marriage, making it a ſacramental ſign, and Marriage an eccleſiaſtical action; thereby nouriſhing the Popiſh hereſy, that Matrimony is a Sacrament.* They looked upon matrimony as a political contract; and therefore ſaid, that the confirmation of it ought to come from the Civil Magiſtrate; and hence they condemned the ſolemn celebration of marriages in the Church. 21. *Their praying over the dead, making it alſo a part of the Miniſter's duty, and nouriſhing the hereſy of prayer for the dead.* 22. *Their churching or purifying of women, then alſo abuſing that Scripture,* The Sun ſhall not burn them by day, nor the Moon by night. 23. *Their Gang-week* (*), *and praying then over the corn and graſs.* At the time of the Reformation, when proceſſions, which made a part of the ſolemnities at this ſeaſon, were aboliſhed, by reaſon of the abuſe of them, yet, for retaining the *perambulation of the circuits of pariſhes*, it was enjoined (7), 'that the people ſhould once a year, at 'the accuſtomed time, with the Miniſter and ſub'ſtantial men of the pariſh, walk round the pariſh 'as uſual, and at their return to church make the 'common prayers; provided that the Miniſter, at 'certain convenient places, ſhall admoniſh the people 'to give thanks to God for the increaſe and abun'dance of the fruits of the earth, repeating the 103d 'Pſalm; at which time alſo the Miniſter ſhall incul'cate this and ſuch like ſentences, *Curſed be he that 'removeth his neighbour's land-mark.*' No ſuch prayers, indeed, have been ſince appointed: but there is an Homily, divided into four parts; the three firſt to be uſed on the Monday, Tueſday, and Wedneſday; and the fourth upon the day when the pariſh make their proceſſion. 24. *Their forbidding of Marriage in* Gang-week, *in* Advent, *in* Lent, *and on all the* Ember-days; *which the Apoſtle calleth* a Doctrine of Devils, 1 *Tim.* iv. 1, 2, 3. 25. *Their Saints, Angels, and Apoſtles days, with their preſcript ſervice.* 26. *Their Faſts, and abſtaining from fleſh, on their Eves, on Fridays, Saturdays, Ember-days, and all Lent through.* 27. *Their diſpenſations from the Prelates Courts of Faculties to eat fleſh at theſe times; which diſpenſations alſo have this wholeſome clauſe in them,* ſanâ conſcientiâ, *that is, with a* ſafe conſcience; *plainly ſhewing that they make it a matter of conſcience. This is another Doctrine of Devils, noted in the Scripture before alleged,* 1 Tim. iv. 28. *Their diſpenſations in like manner to marry in the times among the forbidden, which are noted before.* 29. *Licences from the ſame authority to marry in places exempt.* 30. *Diſpenſations alſo from thence for boys and ignorant fools to have benefices.* 31. *Diſpenſations alſo for non-reſidents.* 32. *For having two, three, four, or more benefices, even* tot, quot, *that is to ſay, as many as a man will have and can get.* 33. *Tolerations.* 34. *Patronages of, and preſentations to, benefices, with buying and ſelling of advowſons.* 35. *Their inſtitutions into benefices by the Prelates, their inductions, proxies,* &c. 36. *Their Suſpenſations, Abſolutions, Degradations, Deprivations,* &c. 37. *The Prelate's, Chancellor's, and Commiſſarie's Courts, having power to excommunicate alone, and to abſolve.* 38. *Their Penance in a white ſheet.* 39. *Their Commutation of Penance, and abſolving one man for another.* 40. *The Prelate's Confirmation, or Biſhopping of Children, to aſſure them of God's favour, by a ſign of man's deviſing.* 41. *The ſtanding at the Goſpel.* 42. *The putting off the cap, and making a leg when the word Jeſus is read.* 43. *The ring of peals at burials.* They objected againſt bells, becauſe they pretended they were conſecrated to the ſervice of idolatry (8). 44. *Bead-men at burials, and hired mourners in mourning apparel.* 45. *The hanging and mourning of churches and hearſes with black, at burials.* 46. *Their abſolving the dead, dying excommunicate, before they can have, as they ſay, Chriſtian burial.* 47. *The idol temples.* 48. *The Popiſh veſtments, as Rochet, horned Cap, Tippet, the Surplice in Pariſh Churches, and Cope in Cathedral Churches.* 49. *The Viſitations of the Lord Biſhops, and Archdeacons.* 50. *The Prelates lordly dominion, revenues, and retinue.* 51. *The Prieſts maintenance by tythes, Chriſtmas offerings,* &c. 52. *The oathes* ex officio *in their Eccleſiaſtical Courts, making men ſwear to accuſe themſelves.* 53. *The Churchwarden's oath to preſent to the Prelates all the offences, faults, and defaults, committed in their pariſhes againſt their articles and injunctions.* 54. *The Prelates ruling of the Church by the Pope's curſed Canon Law.* 55. *Finally, their impriſoning, and baniſhing, ſuch as renounce and refuſe to witneſs theſe abominations aforeſaid, and the reſt yet retained among them.*—They might well find fault with the Church for this laſt article, ſince they had ſmarted ſo ſeverely under it.

From the ſame curious piece, we alſo learn the texts of Scripture upon which they grounded their reaſons of ſeparation. They are theſe:

Gen. vi. 2. Then the ſons of God ſaw the daughters of men. *Levit.* xx. 22, 26. Ye ſhall therefore keep all my ſtatutes, and all my judgments, and do them; that the land whither *I bring you to dwell therein*, ſpue you not out.——And ye ſhall be holy unto me, for I the Lord am holy, and have *ſevered* you from other people, that ye ſhould be mine. *Ezra* vi. 21. And the children of Iſrael which were come again out of captivity, and all ſuch as had *ſeparated* themſelves unto them from the *filthineſs* of the *Heathen* of the land, to ſeek the Lord God of Iſrael, did eat.—*Iſa.* lii. 11. *Depart ye, depart ye, go ye out* from thence, *touch no* unclean thing, *go ye out* of the midſt of her; *be ye clean* that *bear* the veſſels of the Lord.—*Jer.* l. 8. *Remove* out of the midſt of Babylon, and *go forth* out of the land of the Chaldeans, and be as clean as the he-goats before the flocks.—*Jer.* li. 6, 45. *Flee* out of the midſt of Babylon, and deliver every man his ſoul; be *ye* not cut off in *her* iniquity; for this is the time of the Lord's vengeance; he will render unto her a recompence.——My people, *go ye* out of the midſt of her, and deliver ye every man his ſoul from the fierce anger of the Lord.—*Hoſea* iv. 15. Though *thou* Iſrael play the harlot, yet let not *Judah offend,*

(6) Stoup, or Stubbs's Religion of the Hollanders. Alexander Roſs's View of all Religions.

(*) Gang-Week is what we call Rogation-Week. The word Gang is Saxon, and ſignifies a *walking* or *going about*; and was particularly applied to this week, from the cuſtom obſerved at that time, of walking the bounds of a pariſh, ſtill in uſe amongſt us, under the name of Proceſſioning. Hence alſo the Gang flower, or Rogation-flower, i. e. *Flos Ambulatorius*, ſo called, becauſe it flowers about this time.

(7) Injunct. Q. Eliz. 18, 19.

(8) Religion of the Hollanders, by Stubbs.

offend, &c.—*Amos* iv. 4, 5. *Come* to Bethel and tranſgreſs, at Gilgal multiply tranſgreſſion; and bring your ſacrifices every morning, and your tithes after three years. And offer a ſacrifice of thankſgiving with a leaven, and proclaim and publiſh the free-offerings; for this liketh you, O ye children of Iſrael, ſaith the Lord God.—*Acts* ii. 40. And with many other words did he teſtify and exhort, ſaying, *ſave yourſelves from this untoward generation.*—*Acts* xix. 9. But when *diverſe* were *hardned*, and believed not, but ſpake evil of that before the multitude, he *departed from* them, and *ſeparated* the diſciples, *&c.*—2 *Cor.* vi. 17. Wherefore *come ye out* from among them, and be ye *ſeparate*, ſaith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will *receive* you.—*Rev.* xviii. 4. And I heard another voice from heaven, ſaying, *Come out of her*, my people, that *ye* be not *partakers* of *her* ſins, and that ye receive not of *her* plagues.

Thus the occaſion of the ſeparation of the Browniſts, was not for any fault they found with the faith, but only with the diſcipline or form of government of the other Churches in England. They equally condemned Epiſcopacy and Preſbytery, as to the juriſdiction of Conſiſtories, Claſſes, and Synods; and therefore they would not join with any other reformed Churches, becauſe they were not ſufficiently aſſured of the ſanctity and probity of the members who compoſed it; and on account of the toleration of ſinners, with whom they maintained it an impiety to communicate. The form of Church Government they eſtabliſhed, was democratical. When a church was to be gathered, ſuch as deſired to be members, made a confeſſion of it, and ſigned a covenant, by which they obliged themſelves to walk together in the order of the Goſpel. The whole power of admitting and excluding members, with the deciſion of all controverſies, was lodged in the brotherhood. Their Church-officers were choſen from among themſelves, for preaching the word, and taking care of the poor, and ſeparated to their ſeveral offices by faſting, prayer, and impoſition of hands of ſome of the brethren. But they did not allow the prieſthood to be any diſtinct order, or to give any indelible character. As the vote of the brotherhood made a man a miniſter, and gave authority to preach the word and adminiſter the Sacraments amongſt them; ſo the ſame power could diſcharge him from his office, and reduce him to a mere Layman again. As they maintained the bounds of a church to be no greater than what would contain as many as could meet together in one place, and join in one Communion, ſo the power of theſe officers was preſcribed within the ſame limits. The Miniſter or Paſtor of a church could not adminiſter the Sacrament to another, nor baptize the children of any but thoſe of his own ſociety. Any lay-brother was allowed the liberty of giving a word of exhortation to the people; and it was uſual for ſome of them, after ſermon, to aſk queſtions, and reaſon upon the doctrines that had been preached. In a word, every church, on the Browniſts model, is a body corporate, having full power to do every thing which the good of the community requires, without being accountable to any Claſſis, Synod, Convocation, or other juriſdiction whatever.

But the model of the Browniſts was far from being a new one: for if we compare their principles with thoſe of the ancient Donatiſts, we ſhall find them to be the ſame, as the learned Dr. Fulke has proved. The Donatiſts were the Puritans of their age; they held that the Roman Catholic Church was proſtituted, and was no where to be found but among them who were perfect, wherefore they re-baptized all thoſe that came over to them; for no other baptiſm was valid: They held the validity of the Sacraments to depend upon the dignity of the Miniſter; they diſowned the power of the Magiſtrate to puniſh Heretics, *&c.* (9) But Brown was not the firſt that brought Donatiſm into England, the principles of which, as well as of Browniſm, had been adopted here long before, by others, under the different appellations of Puritans and Separatiſts. Theſe latter, Hornius tells us (10), were thoſe who, under Edward VI. Elizabeth, and James I. refuſed to conform to the Church of England, and were firſt called Puritans, then Separatiſts, and laſtly Nonconformiſts. The firſt leader of the Separatiſts, was Bolton; who, upon quitting the party he had formed, and abjuring his errors, was ſucceeded by Robert Brown, from whom the Separatiſts were called Browniſts. When Brown, in imitation of Bolton, deſerted the ſect, he was ſucceeded by Barrow, who unfortunately made his exit at Tyburn, at the inſtigation of the Biſhops. Their fourth chief was Johnſon (author of the piece from whence we have, above, extracted the tenets of Browniſm), who, together with Mr. Ainſworth, author of the learned *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, ſet up a Church at Amſterdam (11); but they differing about ſome points of diſcipline, ſeparated, and even went ſo far as to excommunicate each other (*). Soon afterwards, one Smith ſet up a Church at Leyden; but he dying, his ſect could not long ſurvive him, and Separatiſm was brought very low when Robinſon appeared, and raiſed its head. He ſoftened the dogmas of Brown, and ſet on foot a good underſtanding among them; but was not able to unite the whole ſect. Part of it ſtill adhered to the rigid opinions of their old maſter, Brown, and part of them followed Robinſon, and pretended to ſteer a middle courſe between the Browniſts and the Church of England, calling themſelves Semi-Separatiſts; but at laſt, in reality, they went farther even than the Browniſts themſelves. The Browniſts, however, notwithſtanding the frequent change of their maſters, did, in general, ſtill retain the name they derived from their *firſt* leader Brown, and this even after his death ſeveral years: for in the civil wars in the year 1640, *&c.* we read of a mob of 2000 Browniſts entering St. Paul's church, London (where the High-Commiſſion-Court was ſitting), and making a great tumult, tearing down the benches, and crying out, *No Biſhops, no High-Commiſſion*, &c. (12) And in 1642, King Charles, in a ſpeech which he made at the head of his forces, then marching towards Shrewſbury, makes particular mention of the Browniſts, and that not at all to their honour. ‘You ſhall meet, ſays his Majeſty, with no enemies but traitors, moſt of them Browniſts, Anabaptiſts, and Atheiſts; ſuch who deſire to deſtroy both Church and State, and who have already condemned you to ruin for being loyal to us (13).’ And the next year, the King made it an article in his propoſitions to the Parliament, ‘that a good bill might be framed for the better preſerving the book of Common-Prayer from the ſcorn and violence of Browniſts, Anabaptiſts, and other ſectaries (14).’ At length, however, the Browniſts degenerated into Independents, a party which adopted moſt of their principles, and were at firſt called Congregationaliſts, and then Independents, from their holding the independency of churches. But it will be neceſſary to give ſome farther account of this ſect, as it is the produce of that whoſe author makes the ſubject of this article. The Independents owed their riſe chiefly to Goodwin, Rye, Bridge, Sympſon, and Burroughs, five Divines in the reign of King Charles I. who had tranſported themſelves into Holland, for liberty of conſcience (15). Theſe had proſelyted ſeveral wealthy merchants and others, who went along with them. The States of Holland gave them a friendly reception, aſſigned them churches to meet in, and allowed their Miniſters a competent maintenance. Some of theſe Engliſh refugees ſettled at Rotterdam, and ſome at Arnheim in Guelderland. Being thus encouraged by the Dutch government, they ſet about forming their Church-diſcipline. And here, to ſpeak in their own language, ‘they conſulted the Scriptures without any prejudice: they conſidered the word of God as impartially as men of fleſh and blood are like to do, in any juncture of time; the place they went to, the condition they were in, and the company they went with, affording no temptation to any bias (16).’ They aſſerted, that every church, or congregation, has ſufficient power to act and do every thing, relating to religious government, within itſelf, and is no ways ſubject or accountable to other churches, or their Deputies. The principles upon which they founded their Church-government, were, to confine themſelves to what the Scriptures preſcribed, without paying any regard to the opinions or practice of men; nor to tie themſelves down ſo ſtrictly to their preſent reſolutions, as to leave no room for alterations, upon farther views and enquiry. They ſteered a middle courſe between Preſbytery and Browniſm: the firſt they accounted too arbitrary and deciſive; the other too looſe and indeterminate (17). They diſallowed parochial and provincial ſubordination, and formed all their congregations upon a ſcheme of co-ordinancy; allowing, however, ſome ſort of ceremonious preference to the elder church,

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(9) Index Hæreticus, before Eccleſiæ Primitivæ Notitia, p. 15. Optatus de Schiſ. Donatiſtarum.

(10) Hornius, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Cent. XVI.

(11) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. ii. p. 47.

(*) See the article AINSWORTH (HENRY).

(12) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 483.

(13) Hiſt. of the Troubles of Great Britain, by Monteth, p. 115.

(14) Hiſt. of the Troubles of Great Britain, p. 124.

(15) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. ii. B. ix. p. 829.

(16) Apologetical Narrative, p. 3.

(17) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. *ut ſupra*.

church, but without any addition of authority. As to their Service, they prayed publicly for Kings, and all in authority; they read and expounded the Scriptures, and adminiſtered the Sacraments of Baptiſm, and the Lord's Supper. They rejected all learning, in order to preach the Goſpel; all ſet forms of Prayer; abhorred tithes as ſuperſtitious and judaical (18). Their public officers were Paſtors, Teachers, Ruling-Elders, and Deacons. Their Church-Cenſures lay all within the compaſs of admonition and excommunication (19).

Theſe Congregationaliſts, or Independents, took the opportunity occaſioned by the Civil War, and the ruin of Epiſcopacy, to quit Holland, and come over into England, where they began to put in practice their ſcheme, and gather churches. The Preſbyterians complained of this as an encroachment, and inſiſted that the Independents ſhould come under the Scotch regulation. This the latter refuſed to comply with, and continued a diſtinct ſect, or faction (20); and, during the Civil Wars, became the moſt powerful party; and getting to the head of affairs, moſt of the other ſects, which were averſe to the Church of England, particularly the Browniſts, joined with them, and all of them yielded to loſe their former names, in the general one of Independents. B—m.

*** [As a proof that Robert Brown's family was of honourable deſcent, it may be mentioned, that his grandfather, Francis, had a charter from Henry the Eighth, confirmed by an act of parliament, permitting him to put on his cap in the preſence of the King or his heirs, or any Lord ſpiritual or temporal in the land, and not to put it off but for his own eaſe and pleaſure (21).

Though our famous Separatiſt, when he ſet out on his ſcheme of Reformation, was, as Mr. Neal allows, a fiery, hot-headed young man (22), it doth not follow that his father's conduct towards him can be juſtified. It is ſaid in the text, that he 'ſhewed 'himſelf ſo incorrigible, that his good old father reſolved to own him for a ſon no longer than his ſon 'owned the Church of England for his mother; and 'Brown chooſing rather to part with his aged ſire 'than his new ſchiſm, he was diſcharged the family.' Such a mode of expreſſion implies a very wrong apprehenſion of things. It doth not redound to the credit of the old gentleman, that he ſhould reſolve to diſown his ſon, and expel him from his houſe, on account of ſome difference in their religious opinions; and, whether Robert Brown's ſentiments were true or falſe, he certainly was not bound, by any principles of reaſon or morality, to think exactly as his father did. It is eaſy to diſcern the abſurd conſequences which reſult from the ſuppoſition, that children are obliged to adopt all the notions of their parents. There is a lenity in Lord Treaſurer Burghley's conduct towards his relation, which reflects honour on that excellent Stateſman.

The act, mentioned in the note [*D*], which was paſſed in 1592-3, was remarkably ſevere and unjuſt. Sir Peter, afterwards Lord Chancellor King, obſerved of this act, at the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, that the caſe of the Nonconformiſts was rendered worſe by it than that of felons at common law; for theſe were allowed the benefit of clergy, but the others were not (23). Though the execution of this law brought infinite miſchiefs to the kingdom; though it forced many families into baniſhment; though it threw numbers of perſons into priſon, and put others to death, nevertheleſs the authors of the Parliamentary Hiſtory are pleaſed to ſay, that there was great reaſon for paſſing the ſtatute, and are very angry with Rapin's tranſlator, for ſpeaking of it in terms of condemnation. Nay, though Mr. Tindal's reflections upon it are highly ſenſible and juſt, they have, with almoſt unexampled folly, inſerted them without an anſwer, as ſufficient to confute themſelves (24).

Let it be obſerved, by the way, that though the Parliamentary Hiſtory is a moſt valuable work, as containing a vaſt deal of important information, which could not elſewhere eaſily be met with, it is, at the ſame time, but little indebted to the liberality, judgment, and taſte of the compilers. They are uniformly hoſtile to religious and civil liberty, and had no idea of elegant or accurate compoſition. It is much to be lamented that ſuch excellent materials did not fall into abler and more judicious hands.

While we condemn the ſeverity with which Robert Brown and his followers were treated, we do not mean to palliate their errors. Their rigid and narrow ſentiments in point of diſcipline; their denying the Church of England to be a true Church; their maintaining that her government was ſo wholly Popiſh and antichriſtian as to render all her ordinances and ſacraments invalid; and their not only renouncing communion with her, but with all other reformed Churches, excepting ſuch as ſhould be of their own model (25), are ſufficient proofs that they did not come behind their perſecutors in bigotry. Nor is it unlikely but that, if they had riſen to power, they would have exerciſed it in a very unjuſtifiable manner.

It is obſerved, in note [*E*], that the Browniſts Confeſſion of Faith was no other than that of every Proteſtant. But this can only ſignify that it was agreeable to the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, and to the ſyſtems then commonly received. There are certainly many ſincere Proteſtants, who, in points of faith, differ widely from the Browniſts, and from the eſtabliſhed opinions both of this and other countries.

In the ſame note, a publication is mentioned, which charged the Browniſts with lewd and abominable vices. Accuſations of this kind have been brought, in every age, againſt new ſects, and, for the moſt part, without reaſon. Thoſe, of the like nature, which were produced, ſome years ago, againſt the Hernhuters, or Moravian brethren, ſeemed the beſt founded of any we have met with: and yet we cannot help hoping that there was no ſmall degree of miſtake or exaggeration in the matter.

It is ſaid, in note [*F*], that Barrow, who ſucceeded Robert Brown, *unfortunately* made his exit at Tyburn, at the inſtigation of the Biſhops. The death of this man, and other ſimilar events, are a diſgrace to the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Barrow, it ſeems, was a perſon of ingenuity and learning; but, like many of the reſt of his ſect, of a warm ſpirit. It is plain, from the account of his trial in Neal, that his condemnation and execution were acts of flagrant injuſtice and cruelty (26).

One cannot help ſmiling at King Charles the Firſt's ſpeech to his forces, when he was marching towards Shrewſbury. 'You ſhall meet, ſays his Majeſty, 'with no enemies but traitors, moſt of them Browniſts, Anabaptiſts, and *Atheiſts*.' Such a junction of reproachful terms, though it hath been common in every age, is only the language of ignorance and prejudice. However criminal theſe Browniſts or Anabaptiſts might be, we dare ſay that there were no Atheiſts among them. Sectaries are generally more apt to believe too much than too little; and it is owing to the ſincerity of their faith, be it what it may, that they ſeparate from eſtabliſhed communions. It is, indeed, ſuppoſed that there were ſome diſbelievers of Revelation among the Republicans of the laſt century; but this was not till the time of the Commonwealth.

It is an unjuſt repreſentation of the Independents, that they rejected all learning in order to preach the Goſpel. It is true that they admitted of gifted brethren, and thought that ſome perſons might be allowed to preach, who had gained a competent knowledge of the Scriptures, though they had not gone through a courſe of regular education. But they were far from being inſenſible of the value of literature. Goodwin, Rye, Bridge, Sympſon, and Burroughs, to whom the Independents are ſaid above to have owed their riſe, were all men of acknowledged learning; and Dr. Owen, who was long the head of that party, was one of the firſt ſcholars of his time.

We apprehend that ſome of the principles of the Independents are now maintained by the Engliſh Diſſenters in general. The Preſbyterians of this age aſſert, that every church and congregation has ſufficient power to act and do every thing relating to religious government within itſelf, and that it is no ways ſubject or accountable to other churches, or their deputies. They are, likewiſe, perſuaded, that they ought to follow alone what the Scriptures preſcribe, without paying any regard to the opinions or practices of men; and that they ſhould not tie themſelves down ſo ſtrictly to their preſent reſolutions, as to leave no room for alterations, upon farther views and enquiry. In holding theſe ſentiments, the Preſbyterians in England, while they retain the name of Preſbyterianiſm, have loſt the thing.] K.

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(18) Index Hæreticus, p. 37.

(19) Apologetical Narrative, p. 8, 9. Actus Regiminis a Synodis debent porrigi, non peragi. Reſponſio Jo. Norton, p. 114.

(20) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. ii. p. 830.

(21) Maſters's Hiſt. of Corpus Chriſti College, p. 251, 252. note.

(22) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. i. p. 375.

(23) *Ibid.* p. 542, 543.

(24) Parliamentary Hiſt. Vol. iv. p. 350—354.

(25) Neal, *ubi ſupra*, p. 376, 377.

(26) *Ibid.* p. 553—559. For an account of Barrow, ſee Maſters, *ubi ſupra*, p. 227, 229.

BROWNE (GEORGE), the firſt Biſhop that embraced and promoted the Reformation in Ireland, was originally an Auſtin Frier of London (*a*). He received his academical education in the houſe of his order, near Halywell in Oxford (*b*); and becoming eminent for his learning and other good qualities, was made Provincial of the Auſtin Monks in England. About this time he ſupplicated the Univerſity for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, namely in 1523; but it doth not appear that he was then admitted. He took afterwards the degree of Doctor in Divinity, in ſome univerſity beyond ſea, and was incorporated in the ſame degree at Oxford, in 1534, and ſoon after at Cambridge (*c*). Before that time having read ſome of Luther's writings, he took a liking to his doctrine; and, among other things, was wont to inculcate into the people, ‘ That they ſhould make their applications ſolely to Chriſt, and not to the Virgin Mary, or the Saints.’ King Henry VIII. being informed of this, took him into his favour, and promoted him to the Archbiſhopric of Dublin (*d*). He had the Royal aſſent, March the twelfth, 1534-5 (*e*); was conſecrated the nineteenth of the ſame month, by Thomas Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of Rocheſter and Saliſbury (*f*); and had reſtitution of the temporalities the twenty-third following (*g*). A few months after his arrival in Ireland, the Lord Privy-ſeal, Cromwell, ſignified to him, that his Majeſty having renounced the Papal Supremacy in England, it was his Highneſs's pleaſure, that his ſubjects of Ireland ſhould obey his commands in that reſpect as in England; and nominated him one of the Commiſſioners for the execution thereof. The twenty-eighth of November, 1535, he acquainted the Lord Cromwell with his ſucceſs; telling him [*A*], that he had ‘ endeavoured, almoſt to the danger and hazard of his life, to procure the nobility and gentry of the Iriſh nation to due obedience, in owning the King their ſupreme Head, as well ſpiritual as temporal (*h*).’ In the Parliament which met at Dublin, May 1, 1536, he was very inſtrumental in having the Act, for the King's Supremacy over the Church of Ireland, paſſed [*B*]; but he met with great and many obſtacles in the execution of it [*C*]: And the

(*a*) The ſite of their convent is ſtill known by the name of Auſtin Friers, in Throckmorton-ſtreet.

(*b*) Where Wadham-college now ſtands. See Wood's Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 116, &c.

(*c*) Wood's Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. i. col. 678. & Faſti, Vol. i. col. 56.

(*d*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. i. edit. 1739, fol. by Walter Harris, Eſq; p. 348, &c.

(*e*) Rymer, Vol. xiv. p. 560.

(*f*) Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, by J. Strype, Lond. 1694, fol. p. 37.

(*g*) Rymer, *ubi ſupra*, p. 561.

(*h*) Life and Death of George Browne, &c. edit. Lond. 1681, 4to, p. 1, 2.

[*A*] *He acquainted the Lord Cromwell with his ſucceſs*, &c.] In the following letter:

‘ My moſt honoured Lord,

‘ YOUR humble ſervant receiving your mandate, as one of his Highneſs's Commiſſioners, hath endeavoured, almoſt to the danger and hazard of this temporal life, to procure the Nobility and Gentry of this nation to due obedience, in owning of his Highneſs their ſupreme Head as well Spiritual as Temporal, and do find much oppugning therein, eſpecially by my brother of Armagh (1), who hath been the main oppugner, and ſo hath withdrawn moſt of his Suffragans and Clergy within his See and juriſdiction. He made a ſpeech to them, laying a curſe on the people whoſoever ſhould own his Highneſs's Supremacy; ſaying, that iſle, as it is in their Iriſh Chronicles, *Inſula ſacra*, belongs to none but to the Biſhop of Rome, and that it was the Biſhop of Rome's predeceſſors gave it to the King's anceſtors. There be two meſſengers by the Prieſts of Armagh, and by that Archbiſhop, now lately ſent to the Biſhop of Rome. Your Lordſhip may inform his Highneſs, that it is convenient to call a Parliament in this nation, to paſs the Supremacy by act; for they do not much matter his Highneſs's Commiſſion which your Lordſhip ſent us over. This iſland hath been for a long time held in ignorance by the Romiſh Orders; and as for their Secular Orders, they be in a manner as ignorant as the people, being not able to ſay Maſs, or pronounce the words, they not knowing what they themſelves ſay in the Roman tongue: The common people of this iſle are more zealous in their blindneſs, than the Saints and Martyrs were in the truth at the beginning of the Goſpel. I ſend to you, my very good Lord, theſe things, that your Lordſhip and his Highneſs may conſult what is to be done. It is feared O-Neal will be ordered by the Biſhop of Rome to oppoſe your Lordſhip's order from the King's Highneſs; for the natives are much in numbers within his power. I do pray the Lord Chriſt to defend you from your enemies.

‘ Dublin, 4 Kalend. Decembris 1535.’

[*B*] *He was very inſtrumental in having the Act, for the King's Supremacy over the Church of Ireland, paſſed.*] Upon that occaſion he made this ſpeech: ‘ My Lords and Gentry of this his Majeſties realm of Ireland, behold your obedience to your King is the obſerving of your God and Saviour Chriſt; for he, that High-Prieſt of our ſouls, paid tribute to Cæſar (though no Chriſtian). Greater honour then ſurely is due to your Prince, his Highneſs the King, and a Chriſtian one. Rome, and her Biſhops, in the Fathers days, acknowledged Emperors, Kings, and Princes, to be ſupreme over their dominions, nay, Chriſt's own Vicars. And it is as much to the Biſhop of Rome's ſhame, to deny what their precedent Biſhops owned. Therefore his Highneſs claims but what he can juſtify the Biſhop Elutherius gave to St. Lucius, the firſt Chriſtian King of the Britons; ſo that I ſhall, without ſcruple, vote his Highneſs King Henry my Supreme over Eccleſiaſtic matters as well as Temporal, and Head thereof, even of both iſles England and Ireland, and that without guilt of conſcience or ſin to God; and he who will not paſs this Act as I do, is no true ſubject to his Highneſs.’ The other Biſhops, and other Lords, were ſo ſtartled at this ſpeech, that the Act paſſed, though with great difficulty (2).

[*C*] *But he met with great and many obſtacles in the execution of it.*] Of which he gave the Lord Cromwell an account in the following letter:

‘ Right honourable and my ſingular good Lord,

‘ I Acknowledge my bounden duty to your Lordſhip's good-will to me, next to my Saviour Chriſt's, for the place I now poſſeſs; I pray God give me his grace to execute the ſame to his glory, and his Highneſs's honour, with your Lordſhip's inſtructions. The people of this nation be zealous, yet blind and unknowing; moſt of the Clergy, as your Lordſhip hath had from me before, being ignorant, and not able to ſpeak right words in the Maſs or Liturgy, as being not ſkilled in the Latin Grammar; ſo that a bird may be taught to ſpeak with as much ſenſe as ſeveral of them do in this country. Theſe ſorts, though not ſcholars, yet are crafty to cozen the poor common people, and to diſſuade them from following his Highneſs's orders: George (3), my brother of Armagh, doth underhand occaſion quarrels, and is not active to execute his Highneſs's orders in his dioceſe. I have obſerved your Lordſhip's Letter of Commiſſion, and do find ſeveral of my pupils leave me for ſo doing. I will not put others in their Livings till I know your Lordſhip's pleaſure; for it is meet I acquaint you firſt, the Romiſh relics and images of both my Cathedrals in Dublin, of the Holy Trinity and of St. Patrick's, took off the common people from the true worſhip; but the Prior and the Dean find them ſo ſweet for their gain, that they heed not my words: Therefore ſend in your Lordſhip's next to me an order more full, and a chide to them and their

(1) George Cromer, then Archbiſhop of Armagh.

(2) Life of G. Browne, &c. p. 3.

(3) Cromer.

the Court of Rome left no ſtone unturned, to prevent any alterations in Ireland with regard to religious matters; for the Pope ſent over a bull of excommunication againſt all ſuch as had owned, or ſhould own, the King's Supremacy within that kingdom: as alſo the form of an oath of obedience [*D*], to be taken to his Holineſs, at confeſſions. Nay endeavours were uſed to raiſe a rebellion there: for one Thady ó Birne, a Franciſcan Frier, being ſeized by Archbiſhop Browne's order, letters were found about him, from the Pope and Cardinals (*i*) to O'Neal; wherein, after commending his own, and his father's faithfulneſs to the Church of Rome, he was exhorted ‘for the glory of the Mother Church, the honour of St Peter, and his own ſecurity, to ſuppreſs Hereſie, and his Holineſs's enemies.’ And the Council of Cardinals thought fit to encourage his country, as a ſacred iſland, being certain, while Mother Church had a ſon of worth as himſelf, and thoſe that ſhould ſuccour him, and join therein, ſhe would never fall, but have more or leſs a holding in Britain in ſpite of fate (*k*). In purſuance of this letter, O'Neal began to declare himſelf the champion of Popery; and having entered into a confederacy with others, they jointly invaded the Pale, and committed ſeveral ravages, but were ſoon after quelled (*l*). About the time that King Henry VIII. began to ſuppreſs the monaſteries in England and Ireland, Archbiſhop Browne completed his deſign of removing all ſuperſtitious reliques and images out of the two cathedrals of St. Patrick's and the Holy Trinity, in Dublin, and out of the reſt of the churches within his dioceſe; and, in their room, placed the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in gold letters. And, ſoon after, namely in 1541, the King having converted the priory of the Holy Trinity into a cathedral church, conſiſting of a Dean and Chapter [*E*], our Archbiſhop founded three prebends in the ſame, in 1544, namely, St. Michael's, St. John's, and St. Michan's; from which time it hath generally been known by the name of Chriſt-Church (*m*). King Edward VI. having cauſed the Liturgy to be compiled, and publiſhed in Engliſh, ſent an order to Sir Anthony St. Leger, Governor of Ireland, dated February 6, 1550-1, to notify to all the clergy of that

‘their Canons, that they might be removed. Let the order be, that the chief governors may aſſiſt me in it. The Prior and Dean have written to Rome, to be encouraged, and if it be not hindred before they have a mandate from the Biſhop of Rome, the people will be bold, and then tugg long before his Highneſs can ſubmit them to his Grace's orders. The country folk here much hate your Lordſhip, and deſpitefully call you in their Iriſh tongue, *the Blackſmith's ſon*. The Duke of Norfolk is by Armagh, and that Clergy, deſired to aſſiſt them, not to ſuffer his Highneſs to alter church-rules here in Ireland: As a friend, I deſire your Lordſhip to look to your noble perſon; for Rome hath a great kindneſs for that Duke (for it is ſo talked here), and will reward him and his children. Rome hath great favours for this nation, purpoſely to oppoſe his Highneſs; and ſo having got, ſince the Act paſſed, great indulgences for Rebellion, therefore my hope is loſt, yet my zeal is to do according to your Lordſhip's orders. God keep your Lordſhip from your enemies here and in England. Dublin the 3d Kalends April 1538.’

[*D*] *As alſo the form of an oath of obedience.*] This the Archbiſhop ſent in a letter to the Lord Cromwell, which was as follows:

‘Right Honourable,

MY duty premiſed, it may pleaſe your Lordſhip to be advertiſed, ſithence my laſt there has come to Armagh and his Clergy, a private commiſſion from the Biſhop of Rome, prohibiting his gracious Highneſs's people here in this nation to own his Royal Supremacy, and joining a curſe to all them and theirs who ſhall not, within forty days, confeſs to their Confeſſors (after the publiſhing of it to them) that they have done amiſs in ſo doing: the ſubſtance, as our Secretary hath tranſlated the ſame into Engliſh, is thus:’

I A. B. from this preſent hour forward, in the preſence of the holy Trinity, of the bleſſed Virgin Mother of God, of St. Peter, of the holy Apoſtles, Archangels, Angels, Saints, and of all the holy Hoſt of Heaven, ſhall and will be always obedient to the holy See of St. Peter of Rome, and to my holy Lord the Pope of Rome and his ſucceſſors, in all things as well ſpiritual as temporal, not conſenting in the leaſt that his Holineſs ſhall loſe the leaſt title or dignity belonging to the Papacy of our Mother Church of Rome, or to the regality of St. Peter. I do vow and ſwear to maintain, help, and aſſiſt the juſt laws, liberties, and rights of the Mother Church of Rome. I do likewiſe promiſe to confer, to defend, and promote, if not perſonally, yet willingly as far as able, either by advice, ſkill, eſtate, money, or otherwiſe, the Church of Rome and her laws, againſt all whatſoever reſiſting the ſame. I further vow to oppugn all Heretics, either in making or ſetting forth Edicts or Commands contrary to the Mother Church of Rome; and in caſe any ſuch be moved or compoſed, to reſiſt it to the uttermoſt of my power, with the firſt convenience and opportunity I can poſſibly. I count and value all acts made, or to be made by heretical powers, of no force or worth, or be practiſed or obeyed by myſelf, or by any other ſon of the Mother Church of Rome. I do further declare him or her, father or mother, brother or ſiſter, ſon or daughter, huſband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, kinſman or kinſwoman, maſter or miſtreſs, and all others, neareſt or deareſt relations, friends or acquaintance whatſoever, accurſed, that either do or ſhall hold, for the time to come, any Eccleſiaſtical or Civil Power above the authority of the Mother Church, or that do or ſhall obey, for the time to come, any of her, the mother of Churches, oppoſers or enemies, or contrary to the ſame, which I have here ſworn unto: So God, the bleſſed Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the holy Evangeliſts help me.

‘His Highneſs's Viceroy of this nation (4), is of little or no power with the old natives, therefore your Lordſhip will expect of me no more than I am able: This nation is poor in wealth, and not ſufficient now at preſent to oppoſe them. It is obſerved, that ever ſince his Highneſs's anceſtors had this nation in poſſeſſion, the old natives have been craving foreign Powers to aſſiſt and rule them; and now both Engliſh race and Iriſh begin to oppoſe your Lordſhip's orders, and do lay aſide their national old quarrels, which I fear will, if any thing will, cauſe a foreigner to invade this nation. I pray God I may be a falſe Prophet, yet your Lordſhip muſt pardon my opinion, for I write it to your Lordſhip as a warning. Dublin, May 1538 (5).’

[*E*] *Conſiſting of a Dean and Chapter.*] It conſiſted, upon this alteration, of a Dean and Chapter, a Chanter, a Treaſurer, ſix Vicars choral, and two Singing-boys, who were allowed 45*l.* 6*s.* Engliſh money: This ſum Queen Mary confirmed for ever. But King James I. altered what King Henry and his daughter had done; and upon this ſecond alteration he conſtituted a Dean, a Chanter, a Chancellor, a Treaſurer, three Prebends, ſix Vicars choral, and four Singing-boys; ordering likewiſe, that the Archdeacon of Dublin ſhould have a place in the choir, and a vote in the Chapter (6).

kingdom,

(*i*) Theſe Letters were dated at Rome, April 28, 1538, and ſigned by the Biſhop of Meath.

(*k*) Life of G. Browne, &c. p. 3, 4, 5, 6.

(*l*) Hiſt. of Ireland, &c. by R. Cox, P. i, p. 259.

(*m*) Sir Ja. Ware's Works, edit. 1739, as above.

(4) Sir Anthony St. Leger. The Archbiſhop ſent complaints againſt him to England; whereupon he was recalled. R. Cox, *ubi ſupra*, p. 290.

(5) Life of G. Browne, as above.

(6) *Ibid.*

kingdom, that they ſhould uſe this book in all their churches, and the Bible in the vulgar tongue. When Sir Anthony imparted this order to the Clergy (which was on the firſt of March), it was vehemently oppoſed by the Popiſh party, eſpecially by George Dowdall, Primate of Armagh; but Archbiſhop Browne received it with the utmoſt ſatisfaction and pleaſure (*n*) [*F*], and, upon Eaſter-day following, the Liturgy was accordingly read, for the firſt time within Ireland, in Chriſt-Church, Dublin, in preſence of the Mayor and Bailiffs of that city, the Lord Deputy St. Leger, Archbiſhop Browne, *&c.* (*o*) On this occaſion, the Archbiſhop preached a ſermon againſt keeping the Scriptures in the Latin tongue, and the worſhip of images [*G*]. But Dowdall, by reaſon of his violent and unſeaſonable oppoſition to the King's order, was deprived of the title of Primate of all Ireland; which, by letters patent bearing date the twentieth of October, 1551 (*p*), was conferred on Archbiſhop Browne, and his ſucceſſors in the See of Dublin for ever (*q*). However, he did not long enjoy this dignity; for he was deprived both of it and his Archbiſhopric in 1554, the firſt of Queen Mary I. under pretence that he was married, but in truth becauſe he had zealouſly promoted the Reformation; and then Archbiſhop Dowdall, who had lived in exile during part of the reign of King Edward VI. recovered the title of Primate, and alſo the Archbiſhopric of Armagh, which had been given to Hugh Goodacre. While Archbiſhop Browne enjoyed the See of Dublin, the cathedral of St. Patrick's was ſuppreſſed, for about the ſpace of eight years; but Queen Mary reſtored it to its ancient dignity, towards the end of the year 1554. The exact time of Archbiſhop Browne's death is not recorded; only we are told, that he died about the year 1556 (*r*). He was a man of a cheerful countenance; meek and peaceable; in his acts and deeds plain and downright; of good parts, and very ſtirring in what he judged to be for the intereſt of religion, or the ſervice of his King; merciful and compaſſionate to the poor and miſerable; and adorned with every good and valuable qualification (*s*).

⁂ [In one of Mr. Oldys's MSS. it is obſerved, that a certain prieſt, in a manuſcript diſperſed by him, alleged that Archbiſhop Browne's death was occaſioned by his 'joy, at a bull from the Pope to be reſtored to his See of Dublin; but beſides the abſurdity thereof, from the principles of the man, it is plain from what before appears, 'that he (the Pope) muſt have granted a diſpenſation for the marriage too, that ſtate 'being criminal in the Romiſh clergy.'] T.

(*n*) *Ibid.* and Life of G. Browne, as above, p. 8, 9, 10.

(*o*) Ware's Works, as above. R. Cox, as above, p. 290.

(*p*) Rot. Canc. de ann. 5 Edw. VI.

(*q*) Sir Ja. Ware's Works, as above.

(*r*) Life of G. Browne, as above, p. 11, 12.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 1.

[*F*] *Archbiſhop Browne received it with the utmoſt ſatisfaction and pleaſure.*] At which time he ſpoke to this effect: 'This order, good brethren, is from our 'gracious King, and from the reſt of our Brethren 'the Fathers and Clergy of England, who have con'ſulted herein, and compared the Holy Scriptures 'with what they have done; unto whom I ſubmit, 'as Jeſus did to Cæſar, in all things juſt and lawful, 'making no queſtion why, or wherefore, as we own 'him our true and lawful King.' Edward Staples, Biſhop of Meath, and Thomas Lancaſter, Biſhop of Kildare, both concurred with the Archbiſhop, and were, for ſo doing, deprived of their Biſhoprics in Queen Mary's reign (7).

[*G*] *On this occaſion the Archbiſhop preached a ſermon,* &c.] This ſermon is printed at the end of the Archbiſhop's Life, and is the only piece of his extant; beſides his Letters ſet down above. M.

(7) Life of G. Browne, as above. p. 9, 10.

⁂ [BROWNE (William), an ingenious poet, and author of ſome Paſtorals of great merit, was ſon of Thomas Browne, Gent. of Taviſtock in Devonſhire (*a*), where he was born in the year 1590 (*b*). When he had paſſed through the grammar-ſchool, he was ſent to Exeter-college, Oxford, about the beginning of the reign of King James I. Here he made a great progreſs in claſſical learning, and polite literature: but, before he had taken any degree, he removed to the Inner Temple, London (*c*); though there he ſeems chiefly to have devoted himſelf to the Muſes, and probably paid little attention to the ſtudy of the law. In 1613, he publiſhed, in folio, the firſt part of his *Britannia's Paſtorals*, which was uſhered into the world with ſeveral copies of verſes made by ſome of his ingenious and learned friends, among whom were Michael Drayton and John Selden. He was now about twenty-three years of age; and he appears to have written a conſiderable part of theſe paſtorals before he had attained his twentieth year [*A*]. In 1614, he publiſhed, at London, in 8vo, *The Shepherd's Pipe, in ſeven Eclogues.* In the fourth eclogue he lamented the death of his friend Mr. Thomas Manwood [*B*], ſon to Sir Peter Manwood, Knight. In 1616, he publiſhed the ſecond part of his Bri-

(*a*) Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſes, Vol. i. col. 492, ſecond edit.

(*b*) General Dictionary, Vol. iii. p. 608.

(*c*) Life of William Browne, prefixed to the edition of his Works, publiſhed by T. Davies, in 1772, p. viii.

[*A*] *He appears to have written a conſiderable part of theſe paſtorals before he had attained his twentieth year.*] This we infer from the following lines in Book I. Song V.

'Here could I ſpend that ſpring of poeſie,
'Which not twice ten ſunnes have beſtow'd on me;
'And tell the world, the muſe's love appeares
'In nonag'd youth, as in the length of yeeres.
'But ere my muſe erected have the frame,
'Wherein t'enſhrine an unknowne ſhepheard's name,
'She many a grove, and other woods muſt treade,
'More hils, more dales, more founts muſt be diſplaid,
'More meadowes, rockes, and from them all elect
'Matter befitting ſuch an architect (1).'

[*B*] *He lamented the death of his friend Mr. Thomas Manwood.*] He appears to have had a great regard for that gentleman, whom he celebrated in that eclogue, under the name of *Philarete.* The writer of the advertiſement prefixed to the laſt edition of our author's works, mentioning this poem, makes the following obſervation: 'I dare not ſay, that 'it is equal to the celebrated Lycidas of Milton, 'but ſurely it is not much inferior. That great genius has not diſdained to imitate William Browne; 'and Lycidas owes its origin to Philarete.'

(1) W. Browne's Works, Vol. i. p. 142, edit. 1772.

tannia's

tannia's Paſtorals [*C*], which was recommended by various copies of verſes, written by John

[*C*] *His Britannia's Paſtorals.*] The two parts were reprinted in two volumes, 8vo, in 1625 (2). The author of the 'Memoirs of the Life of Mr. William 'Pattiſon of Sidney College, Cambridge,' prefixed to his poems printed at London in 1728, 8vo, tells us, that from ſome inſtances, which he produces, 'it 'will appear even to our moſt infallible critics, that 'though Mr. Browne wrote an hundred and eleven 'years ago, his language is as nervous, his numbers 'as harmonious, his deſcriptions as natural, his panegyric as ſoft, and his ſatire as pointed, as any 'that are to be found in the whip-ſyllibub poetaſters 'of the preſent century;

(2) General Dictionary, Vol. iii. p. 608.

'Who verſes write, as ſoft, as ſmooth as cream,
'The poem ended, no one knows the theme (3).'

(3) *Id. ibid.*

It is ſaid to be a fact, that Pattiſon, at his death, was poſſeſſed of no book except Browne's Britannia's Paſtorals (4).

It is obſerved by a writer in the Monthly Review (5), ſpeaking of our author's works, that 'there is 'an amiable ſimplicity in moſt of his pieces, and he 'knew how to move the heart by ſtrokes of genuine 'nature and paſſion. It muſt be acknowledged, at 'the ſame time, that his writings abound with point 'and conceit; and thoſe frivolous and diſguſting ornaments which are the ſure indications of a vitiated 'taſte. His imagination was fertile, and his mind 'vigorous; but his judgment was corrupted by thoſe 'Italian models, which the faſhion of his day taught 'him to imitate. His deſcriptions, though picturesque, have an air of extravagance; his conceptions, though ſtrong, have marks of deformity; 'and his language never flows in a ſtrain of continued 'purity. He could not plan with preciſion and delicacy, and was unable to join correctneſs with 'ſpirit.'

(4) Life, prefixed to the laſt edition of Browne's Works, p. 10.
(5) Vol. xlvi. p. 526.

In the fourth ſong of the ſecond book of Britannia's Paſtorals, our poet ſpeaks thus of himſelf:

'My free-borne muſe will not, like Danae, be
'Wonne with baſe droſſe to clip with ſlavery;
'Nor lend her choiſer balme to worthleſſe men,
'Whoſe names would die but for ſome hired pen;
'No: if I praiſe, vertue ſhall draw me to it,
'And not a baſe procurement make me doe it.
'What now I ſing is but to paſſe away
'A tedious houre, as ſome muſitians play;
'Or make another my owne griefes bemone;
'Or to be leaſt alone when moſt alone.
'In this can I, as oft as I will chuſe,
'Hug ſweet content by my retyred muſe,
'And in a ſtudy find as much to pleaſe
'As others in the greateſt pallaces.
'Each man that lives (according to his powre)
'On what he loves beſtowes an idle howre;
'Inſtead of hounds that make the wooded hils
'Talke in a hundred voyces to the rils,
'I like the pleaſing cadence of a line
'Strucke by the concert of the ſacred Nine.
'In lieu of hawkes, the raptures of my ſoule
'Tranſcend their pitch and baſer earths controule.
'For running horſes, contemplation flyes
'With quickeſt ſpeed to winne the greateſt prize.
'For courtly dancing I can take more pleaſure
'To heare a verſe keepe time and equall meaſure.
'For winning riches, ſeeke the beſt directions
'How I may well ſubdue mine owne affections.
'For rayſing ſtately pyles for heyres to come,
'Here in this poem I erect my toombe.
'And time may be ſo kinde, in theſe weake lines
'To keepe my name enroll'd, paſt his, that ſhines
'In gilded marble, or in brazen leaves:
'Since verſe preſerves when ſtone and braſſe de-
'ceives.
'Or if (as worthleſſe) Time not lets it live
'To thoſe full days which others muſes give,
'Yet I am ſure I ſhall be heard and ſung
'Of moſt ſevereſt eld, and kinder young
'Beyond my dayes, and maugre Envye's ſtrife
'Adde to my name ſome houres beyond my life.
'Such of the Muſes are the able powres,
'And, ſince with them I ſpent my vacant houres,
'I find nor hawke, nor hound, nor other thing,
'Turnyes nor revels, pleaſures for a king,
'Yeeld more delight; for I have oft poſſeſt
'As much in this as all in all the reſt,
'And that without expence, when others oft
'With their undoings have their pleaſures bought
'(6).'

(6) Works, Vol. ii. p. 144, 145, 146, edit. 1772.

In the fourth ſong, or paſtoral, of his firſt book, he celebrates the famous Earl of Eſſex, of whom he ſays,

'He was a ſwain whom all the graces kiſt,
'A brave, heroic, worthy Martialiſt;
'Yet on the downs he oftentimes was ſeen,
'To draw the merry maidens of the green
'With his ſweet voice (7).'

(7) *Ibid.* Vol. i. p. 131.

He alſo celebrated Drayton, Samuel Daniel, Ben Jonſon, and others, in the ſecond ſong of his ſecond book; and in the firſt ſong, of the ſame book, are the following lines in honour of Spenſer:

'—————At Thames faire port
'The nympes and ſhepheards of the iſle reſort;
'And thence did put to ſea with mirthfull rounds,
'Whereat the billowes dance above their bounds,
'And bearded goates, that on the clouded head
'Of any ſea-ſurvaying mountaine fed,
'Leaving to crop the ivy, liſt'ning ſtood
'At thoſe ſweet ayres which did intrance the flood.
'In jocund ſort the goddeſſe thus they met.
'And after rev'rence done, all being ſet
'Upon their fenny courſers, round her throne,
'And ſhe prepar'd to cut the watry zone
'Ingirting Albion; all their pipes were ſtill,
'And * Colin Clout began to tune his quill,
'With ſuch deepe art that every one was given
'To thinke Apollo (newly ſlid from heav'n)
'Had tane a humane ſhape to win his love,
'Or with the weſterne ſwaines for glory ſtrove.
'He ſung th'heroicke knights of Faiery land
'In lines ſo elegant, of ſuch command,
'That had the † Thracian plaid but halfe ſo well
'He had not left Eurydice in hell.
'But ere he ended his melodious ſong
'An hoſt of angels flew the clouds among,
'And rapt this ſwan from his attentive mates,
'To make him one of their aſſociates
'In heaven's faire quire: where now he ſings the
'praiſe
'Of Him that is the FIRST and LAST of DAYES.
'Divineſt Spenſer heav'n-bred, happy muſe!
'Would any power into my braine infuſe
'Thy worth, or all that poets had before,
'I could not praiſe till thou deſerv'ſt no more.
'A dampe of wonder and amazement ſtrooke
'Thetis attendants, many a heavy looke
'Follow'd ſweet Spenſer, till the thick'ning ayre
'Sight's further paſſage ſtop'd. A paſſionate teare
'Fell from each nymph, no ſhepheard's cheeke
'was dry,
'A dolefull dirge, and mournefull elegie
'Flew to the ſhore. When mighty Nereus Queene
'(In memory of what was heard and ſeene)
'Imploy'd a factor (fitted well with ſtore
'Of richeſt jemmes, refined Indian ore)
'To raiſe, in honour of his worthy name,
'A Piramis, whoſe head (like winged Fame)
'Should pierce the clouds, yea ſeeme the ſtars to
'kiſſe,
'And Mauſolus' great toome might ſhrowd in his.
'Her will had beene performance, had not Fate
'(That never knew how to commiſerate)
'Suborn'd curs'd Avarice to lye in waite
'For that rich prey (gold is a taking baite):
'Who cloſely lurking like a ſubtile ſnake
'Under the covert of a thorny brake,
'Seiz'd on the factor by fayre Thetis ſent,
'And rob'd our Colin of his monument (8).'

* Spenſer.
† Orpheus.

(8) Works, Vol. ii. p. 41, 42, 43.

In the third paſtoral, of the ſame book, he thus celebrates his native county, Devonſhire:

'Haile thou my native ſoile! thou bleſſed plot
'Whoſe equall all the world affordeth not!
'Shew me who can? ſo many chriſtall rils
'Such ſweet-cloath'd vallies, or aſpiring hils,
'Such wood-ground, paſtures, quarries, wealthy
'mynes,
'Such rockes in whom the diamond fairely ſhines:

John Glanville, who afterwards became eminent in the profeſſion of the law, John Davies of Hereford, George Withers of Lincoln's Inn, Ben Jonſon, and others (d). This work was extremely well received, and procured him a great reputation [D]. At the beginning of the year 1624, he returned to Exeter-college, and became tutor to Robert Dormer, Earl of Caernarvon [E]. On the 16th of November, in the ſame year, he was created Maſter of Arts; and was ſtyled in the public regiſter of the univerſity, a man well ſkilled in all kinds of polite literature, and uſeful arts, *Vir omni humanâ literaturâ et bonarum artium cognitione inſtructus* (e). After he had quitted the Univerſity with his pupil, he was patronized by William Earl of Pembroke [F], who had a great reſpect for him, and took him into his family *(f)*; and Wood ſays, that ' he got wealth, and

' And if the earth can ſhew the like agen;
' Yet will ſhe faile in her ſea-ruling men.
' Time never can produce men to ore-take
' The fames of Greenvil, Davies, Gilbert, Drake,
' Or worthy Hawkins or of thouſands more
' That by their powre made the Devonian ſhore
' Mocke the proud Tagus; for whoſe richeſt ſpoyle
' The boaſting Spaniard left the Indian ſoyle
' Banckrupt of ſtore, knowing it would quit coſt
' By winning this though all the reſt were loſt (9).'

In the fourth paſtoral, of the ſame book, are the following lines:

' Now Thetis ſtayes to heare the ſhepheards tell
' Where Arthur met his death, and Mordred fell.
' Of holy Urſula (that fam'd her age)
' With other virgins in her pilgrimage.
' And as ſhe forwards ſteeres is ſhowne the rocke
' Maine-Amber, to be ſhooke with weakeſt ſhocke,
' So equall is it poyz'd; but to remove
' All ſtrength would faile, and but an infant's
' prove.
' Thus while to pleaſe her ſome new ſongs deviſe,
' And others diamonds (ſhaped angle-wiſe,
' And ſmooth'd by Nature, as ſhe did impart
' Some willing time to trim herſelfe by Art)
' Sought to preſent her and her happy crew:
' She of the Gulfe and Syllies tooke a view;
' And doubling then the point, made on away
' Tow'rds goodly Severne and the Iriſh Sea,
' There meets a ſhepheard that began ſing o're
' The lay which aged * Robert ſung of yore,
' In praiſe of England, and the deeds of ſwaines
' That whilome fed and rul'd upon our plaines.
' The Britiſh Bards were not then long time mute,
' But to their ſweet harps ſung their famous Brute:
' Striving in ſpight of all the miſts of eld
' To have his ſtory more autenticque held (10).'

In the ſecond paſtoral, of the ſecond book, is the following ſonnet on the grief of Venus on account of the death of Adonis:

' Venus by Adonis' ſide
' Crying kiſt, and kiſſing cryde,
' Wrung her hands and tore her hayre
' For Adonis dying there.
' Stay (quoth ſhe), O ſtay and live!
' Nature ſurely doth not give
' To the earth her ſweeteſt flowres
' To be ſeene but ſome few houres.
' On his face, ſtill as he bled
' For each drop a teare ſhe ſhed,
' Which ſhe kiſt or wipt away,
' Elſe had drown'd him where he lay.
' Faire Proſerpina (quoth ſhe)
' Shall not have thee yet from me;
' Nor thy ſoule to flye begin
' While my lips can keepe it in.
' Here ſhe clos'd again. And ſome
' Say, Apollo would have come
' To have cur'd his wounded lym,
' But that ſhe had ſmother'd him (11).'

In the firſt book of his Britannia's Paſtorals our author has introduced an elegy upon the death of Henry, Prince of Wales.

[D] *Procured him a great reputation.*] In the advertiſement prefixed to the laſt edition of his Works, it was ſaid, ' The author whoſe works are now offered to the public, met with a fate uncommon and unmerited by ſo great a genius. He who was admired and beloved by all the beſt writers of his time; who was eſteemed and recommended highly by the critical Jonſon, and the learned Selden, was, in a few years after his death, almoſt forgotten.'

Beſides his *Britannia's Paſtorals*, and his *Shepherd's Pipe*, he alſo wrote the *Inner Temple Maſque*, and ſome other ſmall poems, all which are printed in T. Davies's edition of his works.

[E] *Robert Dormer, Earl of Caernarvon.*] This nobleman was killed in the civil war, at the battle of Newbury, on the 20th of September 1643; and the following character is given of him by Lord Clarendon. ' He was a perſon with whoſe great parts and virtue the world was not enough acquainted. Before the war, though his education was adorned by travel, and an exact obſervation of the manners of more nations, than our common travellers uſed to viſit (for he had, after the view of Spain, France, and moſt parts of Italy, ſpent ſome time in Turkey, and thoſe Eaſtern countries), he ſeemed to be wholly delighted with thoſe looſer exerciſes of pleaſure, hunting, hawking, and the like; in which the nobility of that time too much delighted to excel. After the troubles begun, having the command of the firſt or ſecond regiment of horſe, that was raiſed for the King's ſervice, he wholly gave himſelf up to the office and duty of a ſoldier; no man more diligently obeying, or more dexterouſly commanding: for he was not only of a very keen courage in the expoſing his perſon, but an excellent diſcerner and purſuer of advantage upon his enemy. He had a mind and underſtanding very preſent in the article of danger, which is a rare benefit in that profeſſion. Thoſe infirmities, and that licence, which he had formerly indulged to himſelf, he put off with ſeverity, when others thought them excuſable under the notion of a ſoldier. He was a great lover of juſtice, and practiſed it then moſt deliberately, when he had power to do wrong: and ſo ſtrict in the obſervation of his word and promiſe, as a commander, that he could not be perſuaded to ſtay in the weſt, when he found it not in his power to perform the agreement he had made with Dorcheſter and Weymouth. If he had lived, he would have proved a great ornament to that profeſſion, and an excellent ſoldier, and by his death the king found a ſenſible weakneſs in his army (12).'

[F] *He was patronized by William, Earl of Pembroke.*] The character of this nobleman is drawn at large by Lord Clarendon; and we ſhall ſelect a few paſſages concerning him from that noble writer. He was ' the moſt univerſally beloved and eſteemed of any man of that age; and having a great office in the court, he made the court itſelf better eſteemed, and more reverenced in the country. And as he had a great number of friends of the beſt men, ſo no man had ever the confidence to avow himſelf to be his enemy. He was a man very well bred, and of excellent parts, and a graceful ſpeaker upon any ſubject, having a good proportion of learning, and a ready wit to apply it, and enlarge upon it: of a pleaſant and facetious humour, and a diſpoſition affable, generous, and magnificent. He was maſter of a great fortune from his anceſtors, and had a great addition by his wife, daughter and heir of the Earl of Shrewſbury, which he enjoyed during his life, ſhe outliving him: but all ſerved not his expence, which was only limited by his great mind, and occaſions to uſe it nobly.'—' He was a great lover of his country, and of the religion, and juſtice, which he believed could only ſupport it; and his friendſhips were only with men of thoſe principles. And as his converſation was moſt with men of the moſt pregnant parts and underſtanding, ſo towards any ſuch, who needed ſupport, or encouragement, though unknown, if fairly recommended to him, he was very liberal (13).'

(d) General Dict. *ut ſupra*.

(e) *Ibid.* Wood's *Faſti Oxonienſes*, Vol. i. col. 229.

(f) Life prefixed to the laſt edit. of his Works, p. 8.

(9) Works, Vol. ii. p. 108.

* Robert of Glouceſter.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 146, 147.

(11) *Ibid.* p. 50.

(12) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. ii. Part i. p. 350, edit. 8vo, 1707.

(13) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. i. Part i. p. 56, 57.

‘ purchaſed an eſtate *(g)*.’ There are but very few particulars recorded of this ingenious man, though his works were ſo much celebrated in his own time; and we can add nothing farther concerning him, excepting that the Oxford Hiſtorian ſays, that ‘ as he ‘ had a little body, ſo a great mind *(h)*.’ Even the time of his death is uncertain, though it probably happened in the year 1645 [*G*]. A new edition of his works *(i)*, which were become extremely ſcarce [*H*], was publiſhed by T. Davies, in 1772, in three ſmall volumes. In his Paſtorals, there is much poetical imagery, and ſometimes beautiful deſcription, and his verſification is often very harmonious: but there is too frequent a recurrence of falſe wit, and his ideas and repreſentations are in many places extremely fantaſtical; which may, perhaps, have prevented his writings from being more generally read and admired. Some of the defects of Browne ought, however, to be attributed to the taſte of the age in which he lived; nor can it juſtly be denied, that he poſſeſſed great poetical merit.] T.

(g) Athen. Oxon. *ut ſupra.*

(h) *Id. ibid.*

(i) To this edition were added ſome ſhort notes by the Rev. William Thompſon, late of Queen's College, Oxford.

[*G*] *It probably happened in the year* 1645.] Wood ſays, ‘ In my ſearches I find that one Will. Browne ‘ of Ottery St. Mary in Devon, died in the winter ‘ time 1645, whether the ſame with the poet, I am ‘ hitherto ignorant (14).’ It is very likely to have been the ſame perſon, as he was a native of Devonſhire, and had a ſtrong attachment to that county, and might therefore naturally be led to fix his reſidence there in the latter part of his life.

[*H*] *His works, which were become extremely ſcarce.*] It is ſaid in the advertiſement prefixed to the laſt edition of his Works, that ‘ this admirable collection of ‘ eclogues was become ſo very ſcarce, that if the Rev. ‘ Mr. Tho. Warton had not lent his own copy to be ‘ tranſcribed, the public might have been deprived ‘ of ſo valuable a treaſure.’

Wood ſays, that ‘ as he had honoured his country ‘ with his elegant and ſweet paſtorals, ſo was he expected, and alſo entreated, a little farther to grace ‘ it, by drawing out the line of his poetic anceſtors, ‘ beginning in Joſephus Iſcanius, and ending in himſelf; but whether ever publiſhed, having been all, ‘ or moſtly written, as 'twas ſaid, I know not (15).’ Among Mr. Oldys's MSS. is alſo the following paſſage relative to this intended work of W. Browne: ‘ He was reputed a man not only the beſt verſed in ‘ the works and beauties of the Engliſh poets, but ‘ alſo in the hiſtory of their lives and characters: ‘ wherefore he was pitched and prevailed upon to ‘ draw out the line of his poetic anceſtors, from Joſephus Iſcanius down to himſelf, which muſt have ‘ been a delectable and uſeful labour, from a man not ‘ only of his learning and taſte, but who had the advantage of living ſo much nearer the times when ‘ our moſt renowned cultivators of Engliſh poetry ‘ adorned this iſle.’

(14) Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 493.

(15) Athen. Oxon. *ut ſupra.*

BROWNE (Sir THOMAS), an eminent Engliſh phyſician, and celebrated writer, of the XVIIth century, for whoſe memoirs we have very ample materials, though heretofore they have been but inaccurately written [*A*]. He was the ſon of Mr. Thomas Browne, merchant of London, deſcended from an ancient and genteel family of that name, ſeated at Upton in Cheſhire. He was born October the 19th, 1605, in the pariſh of St. Michael, Cheapſide, in the city of London *(a)*, and had the misfortune to loſe his father in his nonage, who left him however a conſiderable fortune, in which he was injured not a little by one of his guardians *(b)*. He was firſt ſent for education to Wincheſter College, and thence removed to the Univerſity of Oxford, where he was entered a Fellow-Commoner of Broadgate's-Hall, ſoon after ſtyled Pembroke College, in the beginning of the year 1623 *(c)*, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, January the 31ſt, 1626 *(d)*, proceeded in due time to his degree of Maſter of Arts, entered on the phyſic line, and practiſed that faculty *(e)* for ſome time in Oxfordſhire. His mother having married Sir Thomas Dutton, a very worthy gentleman, who enjoyed an honourable poſt in the government of Ireland, Mr. Browne went over with him into that iſland, where he accompanied him in a viſitation of all the fortreſſes of the kingdom, which heightening his natural inclination to travel, he went over to France, made ſome ſtay at Montpellier, and then making the tour of Italy, and reſiding ſome time at Padua, he returned into Holland, and took his degree of Doctor in Phyſic in the Univerſity of Leyden *(f)*. We have no certain account when he came back into England; but it muſt have been earlier than moſt of our writers have placed it. I think it might be about the year 1634 *(g)*; but I can ſay nothing as to the place of his reſidence, unleſs

(a) Life of Sir T. Browne, prefixed to his Antiquities of Norwich.

(b) Memoirs of our author's Life by Mr. John Whitefoot, prefixed to the Antiquities of Norwich.

(c) Life of Sir Thomas Browne, before mentioned, p. 2.

(d) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 233.

(e) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 713.

(f) Life of Sir Thomas Browne, p. 2.

(g) See this fact eſtabliſhed in note [*B*].

[*A*] *Inaccurately written.*] The collections made by the induſtrious Anthony Wood, in reference to the life of Sir Thomas Browne, are remarkably full, and more regular than is common with that author (1). Dr. Teniſon, who publiſhed part of our author's works, contents himſelf with ſaying ſomething briefly as to his character, becauſe it was expected that an intimate friend of Sir Thomas's would publiſh his life at large (2). This intimate friend was, very probably, the Rev. Mr. John Whitefoot, Rector of Heigham in Norfolk, whom I find mentioned as ſuch by Sir Thomas himſelf (3), and who, in all probability, preached his funeral-ſermon. His minutes for that life conſiſting chiefly of the facts made uſe of in his ſermon, are ſtill preſerved, and were publiſhed by the editor of our author's Poſthumous Works (4), who has alſo prefixed a ſhort Life of Sir Thomas to that piece (5). Father Niceron has likewiſe given us, in his manner, a ſketch of this gentleman's life (6), which has been canvaſſed by many other foreigners, as will be ſhewn hereafter. My reaſon for taking notice of theſe facts, is plainly this, that the reader may not be ſurpriſed at the unuſual length of this article. The worth of this gentleman, and the excellency of his writings, might well juſtify the pains that have been taken to ſet his hiſtory in a true light, and to rectify the miſtakes that have been made about them: but the principal motive which led us to this copious account, is, the notice taken by foreigners of our author and his works, which has been ſuch as few Engliſhmen have met with; and it ſeems to be a reflection on his countrymen, that while his fame is ſo great abroad, there ſhould be nothing of this ſort worthy of his memory performed at home. In order to wipe off this reflection, the utmoſt induſtry has been uſed in collecting and digeſting whatever might be neceſſary to ſatisfy the curious and intelligent peruſer; and if this has grown to a greater bulk than is common, it muſt be aſcribed to the author's extenſive reputation, and to the numerous circumſtances worthy of remembrance which occur in the hiſtory of his life and writings.

(1) Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 233. 273. Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 713, 714.

(2) In his Preface to certain Miſcellany Tracts by Sir Thomas Browne.

(3) Antiquities of Norwich, p. 20.

(4) Life of Sir Thomas Browne, prefixed to his Poſthumous Works, p. xxiv.

(5) See the Poſthumous Works of the learned Sir Thomas Browne, M. D. London, 1712, 8*vo.*

(6) Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſt. Tom. xxiii. p. 353.

it was in London [*B*]. In 1635 he wrote his *Religio Medici*, or at leaſt made the firſt ſketch of it, which afterwards being handed about in manuſcript, at laſt ſtole abroad (though very incorrectly) in print (*h*) [*C*]. In 1636 he ſettled himſelf at Norwich, by the perſuaſion of his old tutor, Dr. Thomas Luſhington, who was Rector of Burnham-Weſtgate, not far from thence, and on the invitation of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and other principal perſons of the county; and the year following, was incorporated as Doctor of Phyſic at Oxford (*i*). He had impaired his fortune pretty much while abroad, though he had increaſed his learning and experience; and, therefore, he applied himſelf with the more diligence to his practice, which ſoon became very extenſive, not a little furthered perhaps by his marrying a lady, whoſe maiden name was Mileham, of a very conſiderable family in Norfolk (*k*). This change in his condition happened in 1641, and he enjoyed the ſociety of this lady, equally diſtinguiſhed by the graces of her body and mind, one and forty years. It does not appear that he had any inclination to be known to the world as an author, but was rather forced to it, by the unforeſeen accident of the *Religio Medici*'s being printed ſurreptitiouſly, and being ſo much taken notice of, as to engage the Earl of Dorſet to recommend it to the peruſal of the famous Sir Kenelm Digby, who not only read it over, but alſo wrote notes upon it in the ſpace of a night (*l*) [*D*]. There hardly ever was a book publiſhed in Britain, that made more noiſe than the *Religio Medici*. The novelty of the title, the brilliancy of its ſentiments, and the neat turn of the language, ſtruck the lovers of polite literature with unuſual delight. But as we rarely ſee pieces of this nature received with great applauſe, and yet remain exempt from the attacks of envy, ſo in this caſe anſwers quickly appeared; and we may ſafely affirm, that few things have been more commended on the one hand, or on the other more eagerly cenſured (*m*) [*E*]. The tranſlation of it into Latin, which was

[*B*] *Unleſs it was in London.*] In a letter to Sir Kenelm Digby, dated from Norwich, March 3d, 1642, Sir Thomas himſelf ſays (7), that the *Religio Medici* was written many years before. In his epiſtle to the reader, he limits this to about ſeven years. In the piece itſelf he obſerves, that his life had been hitherto but a reſtleſs pilgrimage, and that he had but very lately leiſure to make reflections; from all which it is evident, that he wrote this treatiſe in 1635; and therefore he muſt have been in England that year, or the year before. Mr. Wood ſeems to think, that he did not ſettle at Norwich till about the time of his being incorporated Doctor of Phyſic at Oxford: but the fact is otherwiſe; as appears by his monumental inſcription, where it is ſaid that he practiſed phyſic there forty-ſix years. Theſe are, it muſt be confeſſed, but trivial circumſtances; and yet there is no reaſon that we ſhould not be right in theſe, as well as in matters of greater moment, and the rather, becauſe hitherto theſe miſtakes have paſt unobſerved.

[*C*] *Though very incorrectly, in print.*] This piece, which was the firſt eſſay of our author's pen, was written for his private exerciſe and ſatisfaction; then being communicated to one, it became, as he tells us, common to many; and was, by tranſcription, ſucceſſively corrupted, until it arrived in a moſt depraved copy at the preſs (8). It contains abundance of curious particulars relating to himſelf. He tells us therein, that his life was a miracle of thirty years, which to relate, were not a hiſtory but a piece of poetry, and would ſound to common ears like a fable (9). He obſerves, that he was at that time unmarried; nay, he ſays plainly, I never yet caſt a true affection on a woman (10). He informs us likewiſe, that he underſtood ſix languages (11); that he had been a great traveller (12); and many other little circumſtances, which abundantly ſhew the truth of his aſſertion, that he never intended it ſhould appear in print. The conſideration, however, of theſe peculiarities affords us ſuch means of entering into his character, and of forming a true idea of the nature and excellency of that little treatiſe, as will enable us to underſtand it better than any commentary could have done.

[*D*] *In the ſpace of a night.*] Whoever has read and conſidered the obſervations of this learned Knight, would be inclined to doubt the truth of the fact, if we had not Sir Kenelm's authority for it, in his anſwer to that letter from Sir Thomas Browne before cited, wherein he gives the following diſtinct and particular account of the matter (13). 'I verily believe there is ſome miſtake in the information given you, and that what is printing muſt be from ſome other pen than mine: for ſuch reflections as I made upon your learned and ingenious diſcourſe, are ſo far from meriting the preſs, as they can tempt nobody to a ſerious reading of them: they were notes haſtily ſet down, as I ſuddenly ran over your excellent piece, which is of ſo weighty a ſubject, and ſo ſtrongly penned, as requireth much time, and ſharp attention but to comprehend it: whereas what I wrote, was the employment but of one ſitting; and there was not twenty-four hours between my receiving my Lord of Dorſet's letter, that occaſioned what I ſaid, and the finiſhing my anſwer to him: and yet part of that time was taken up in procuring your book, which he deſired me to read, and give him an account of; for, till then, I was ſo unhappy as never to have heard of that diſcourſe. If that letter ever comes to your view, you will ſee the high value I ſet upon your great parts; and if it ſhould be thought I have been ſomething too bold in differing from your ſenſe, I hope I ſhall eaſily obtain pardon, when it ſhall be conſidered, that his Lordſhip aſſigned it me, as an exercitation to oppoſe in it for entertainment, ſuch paſſages as I might judge capable thereof; wherein what liberty I took, is to be attributed to the ſecurity of a private letter, and to my not knowing (nor my Lord's) the perſon whom it concerned.' This letter is dated from Wincheſter-Houſe, where the author was priſoner, March 20, 1642.

[*E*] *More eagerly cenſured.*] It may not be amiſs to begin with a ſuccinct and impartial character of this book, which ſo much alarmed the public at its firſt appearance, and which the learned have never ceaſed to talk of ſince (14). 'The *Religio Medici* may paſs for a treatiſe, on which it is extremely hard to paſs any judgment. It is to weak heads, perhaps, a dangerous, to proper judges a moſt ſalutary counſellor. It is the picture of the author's mind painted by himſelf; and who would not rejoice to ſee ſo fair a piece drawn by ſo fine a pencil? It is a noble repreſentation of human nature as it is, and who can be untouched at the ſight of what ſo nearly concerns him? It is a brave attempt to bring down thoſe ſubjects, which have been ſuppoſed to be ſuperior to man's intellects, within the view of his reaſon; and though not near enough to acquaint him with their nature, yet within ſuch a ſpace as to delight him with their proſpect. Who then that conſiders this, but muſt own an obligation to the author? If ſingularities, prejudices, extravagancies, wild excurſions, and ſometimes gloomy reflections, ſtrike us, let us ſtrictly examine whether the fault lies in us or in him; we ought not too readily to exalt our own, at the expence of his judgment. If we meet with ſtrange thoughts, free remarks, diſagreeable diſcoveries, let us bring them to the touchſtone of truth, and remember, that though

(*h*) See Sir Thomas's complaint of this, in his Preface to that piece.

(*i*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 273.

(*k*) See Mr. Whitefoot's Memoirs of our author, before cited.

(*l*) See this explained in the note [*D*].

(*m*) Remarks upon modern Authors, by J. D. p. 195.

(7) This letter is prefixed to the *Religio Medici*, in our author's Works.

(8) See the Epiſtle to the reader prefixed to the *Religio Medici*.

(9) Religio Medici, P. ii. § 11.

(10) *Ibid.* § 5.

(11) *Ibid.* § 8.

(12) *Ibid.* § 1.

(13) This letter ſtands before the *Religio Medici*, in the laſt edition of our author's Works, fol. 1686.

(14) A Century of ſhort Characters of Books and Authors, MS.

was the pure effect of a gentleman's value for the piece, though he had no knowledge of the author, ſpread the book throughout all Europe, firſt among the learned, who differed widely in their opinions, ſome applauding, others condemning it, and then through the general maſs of readers, by various tranſlations into moſt of the languages of Europe (*n*) [*F*]. As this contributed to raiſe the author's reputation, for wit, learning, and a ſingular ſolidity of judgment, it ſubjected him, at the ſame time, to the imputation of Atheiſm, eſpecially amongſt foreigners; ſome having charged it upon him as a crime, the proofs of which were to be found in this book (*o*); and others vindicating him from that aſperſion; yet with ſuch tenderneſs for themſelves, that they are content to leave ſome ſtain upon him as to hereſy, though, perhaps, never any man, of his abilities and learning, gave ſtronger proofs of ſincere belief. Of theſe cenſurers we ſhall in the notes give ſome account [*G*]. It is ſufficient to obſerve here, that the very dif-

pute

(*n*) See the Preface to the laſt edition.

(*o*) Reimmanni Hiſtor. Atheiſmi, p. 446.

‘ though anatomies of human bodies are frequent, ‘ yet we are rarely called to the diſſection of a human ‘ ſoul. If his ſentiments ſeem too fine ſpun, his ‘ conjectures briſk, his diſquiſitions daring, his de‘ ſcriptions aſtoniſhing, and his flights prodigious, ‘ let us conſider that Columbus told ſtrange tales ‘ when he returned firſt from his new world. In ‘ ſhort, he has undertaken a hard taſk, viz. to make ‘ us, in ſome meaſure, acquainted with the eſſence ‘ as well as attributes of God, the nature of angels, ‘ the myſteries of Providence, the divinity of the ‘ Scriptures, and which is, perhaps, moſt difficult of ‘ all, with ourſelves. How eaſily he might miſtake, ‘ how often he muſt ſeem obſcure, how frequently ‘ digreſs from vulgar tracks, every candid critic will ‘ conceive, and therefore more eaſily excuſe. To ‘ conclude, our author ſhares the fortune of ſuch as ‘ are diſtinguiſhed by exalted merit: ſuch as taſte his ‘ excellencies, magnify him beyond meaſure, while ‘ thoſe who want the power of digeſting his ſtrong ‘ ſentences, revenge themſelves on his character, and ‘ intimate ſuch ſuſpicions as are bred only in igno‘ rant heads, and are publiſhed merely from malevo‘ lence of heart. With the pious and the wiſe, *Re‘ ligio Medici* will always be eſteemed the Goſpel of ‘ Reaſon (15).’ The ſurreptitious edition of this book, which made the true one neceſſary, was printed in the winter of 1642, and the genuine edition did not come out till the ſpring following (16). By the year 1685, it had run through eight editions, and there have come out ſeveral ſince (17). The firſt annotations that were written upon it, fell from the pen of Sir Kenelm Digby, in the night of the 22d of December 1642. They are addreſſed to the Earl of Dorſet, though to ſay the truth, it is rather a refutation, in many reſpects, than an explanation; and yet, upon the whole, he confeſſes the *Religio Medici* to be a very learned and excellent piece, and ſpeaks every where with much veneration of its author's great abilities. The later editions of the book are uſually accompanied with a very complete body of notes, originally written in 1644, though frequently retouched for ten years after. Who the author was of theſe annotations remains ſtill a ſecret; but that they were not written under the direction of the author, as one might be eaſily tempted to think they were, from their being bound up in his works, appears from hence, that now and then he miſtakes the ſenſe of his author. Soon after it was publiſhed, it was attacked by Alexander Roſs, who wrote an expreſs treatiſe againſt it, under the title of *Medicus medicatus, or the Phyſician cured* (18); but it was far from meeting with ſucceſs. There never were, indeed, men more unequally matched, than Dr. Browne and Mr. Roſs; the former having all the advantages of ſtrong parts and lively wit, the latter ſcarcely any other qualification than a confuſed erudition grounded on a laborious courſe of reading without taſte, penetration, or judgment, at leaſt in any degree of compariſon with the author he cenſures.

[*F*] *Moſt of the languages of Europe.*] As to the firſt verſion of it into Latin, it was made in 1644, and publiſhed in Holland, but with ſome difficulty, as appears from the following letter, written to Dr. Browne by the author of that tranſlation, dated from Magdalen-College in Cambridge, October 1, 1649. ‘ It met with ſome demur in the firſt impreſſion at ‘ Leyden, and upon this occaſion, one Haye, a ‘ book-merchant there to whom I firſt offered it, car‘ ried it to Salmaſius for his approbation, who, in ‘ ſtate, firſt laid it by for very near a quarter of a ‘ year, and then at laſt told him, that there were in‘ deed in it many things well ſaid, but that it con‘ tained alſo many exorbitant conceptions in religion, ‘ and would probably find but frowning entertain‘ ment, eſpecially amongſt the Miniſters; which de‘ terred him from undertaking the printing. After ‘ I ſhewed it two more, De Vogel and Chriſtian, ‘ both printers; but they, upon advice, returned it ‘ alſo; from theſe I went to Hackius, who, upon ‘ two days deliberation, undertook it (19).’ It came quickly to a ſecond edition, and in 1652 it was printed at Straſbourg, with a large body of notes written by a learned German, whoſe name was Levinus Nicolaus Moltkenius. In his preface this writer obſerves, that he was firſt led to the peruſal of this book by the reception it met with from the beſt judges; that England, France, Italy, Holland, and Germany rung with its applauſe; and much more to the ſame purpoſe. About 1668 it was printed in French, having been before tranſlated into Italian, High-Dutch, and Low, and is ſtill read with the higheſt ſatisfaction by perſons of true genius, though the ſenſe and ſpirit of the author have been not a little injured by tranſlations from tranſlations; none but the Latin being made from the original, and that too having conſiderable deficiencies.

[*G*] *In the notes give ſome account.*] The firſt writer of note that we find detracting from our author's merit, is the famous Guy Patin, who, in a letter of his, dated from Paris, April 7th, 1645, gives his judgment on the *Religio Medici* in the following words: ‘ The book intitled *Religio Medici* is in high credit ‘ here. The author has wit; there are abundance ‘ of fine things in that book; he is a humouriſt whoſe ‘ thoughts are very agreeable, but who, in my opi‘ nion, is to ſeek for a maſter in religion as many ‘ others are, and in the end, perhaps, may find ‘ none. One may ſay of him, as Philip de Comines ‘ did of the founder of the Minimes, a hermit of Ca‘ labria, Francis de Paula, *he is ſtill alive, and may ‘ grow worſe as well as better* (20).’ I ſhould not have cited this paſſage, but that I find it has made ſome impreſſion on the French critics, and even upon (21) Mr. Bayle, which is the more wonderful, ſince he could not but know that Patin ſcarcely ſpoke well of any body, and was a ſmatterer himſelf; one who dipped into books, and then decided upon them, which eaſily accounts for his notions of the *Religio Medici* and its author. Yet this ſtroke of French cenſure is but gentle, in compariſon of the correction given our author, and his writings, by German pens (22). One Tobias Wagner is pleaſed to ſay, that the ſeeds of Atheiſtical impiety are ſo ſcattered through this book, that it can hardly be read without danger of infection. Two other learned men of the ſame nation (23), Muller and (24) Reiſer, agree with him in paſſing ſentence on our author as an Atheiſt. The very learned John Francis Buddeus is a little more moderate: for though he puts Sir Thomas Browne's name into the liſt of Engliſh Atheiſts, in conjunction with Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Thomas Hobbes, and John Toland, yet he is pleaſed to add, that as for Thomas Browne, though he is not free from the ſuſpicion of abſolute indifference in religion, yet from the charge of Atheiſm he ought certainly to be acquitted (25). But the no leſs learned James Frederick Reimmannus, who alſo wrote very largely on Atheiſm, and of ſuch as have been juſtly or unjuſtly ſuſpected thereof, has taken great pains to

wipe

(15) This appears from Dr. Browne's Letter to Sir Kenelm Digby, dated March 3, 1642.

(16) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 713.

(17) Theſe Obſervations corrected and enlarged, are to be found in the folio edition of Sir Thomas Browne's Works.

(18) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 713.

(19) See the Letter at large in the Life of Sir Thomas Browne, prefixed to his Antiquities of Norwich, p. vi.

(20) Lettres Choiſes de feu M. Guy Patin, &c. Franckfort, 1683, 12*mo.* p. 12.

(21) Oeuvres de M. P. Bayle, Tom. i. p. 25, a.

(22) In examine elenchtico atheiſmi ſpeculativi, cap. v. p. 11.

(23) Exam. Atheiſmi, c. vi, § 34.

(24) In Diſſertat. de Atheiſmo, p. 35.

(25) Theſes Theologicæ de Atheiſmo & Superſtitione, p. 136.

pute was favourable to his character as an author, and made his ſubſequent writings appear with the greater luſtre. He publiſhed in 1646, *his Treatiſe on Vulgar Errors*, intitled by himſelf *Pſeudodoxia Epidemica*; *or*, *Enquiries into very many received Tenets, and commonly preſumed Truths (p)*. This was a book as ſingular in its way as the former, and was read with equal avidity, by ſuch as were capable of underſtanding the diverſity of ſubjects which are therein treated [*H*]. This too met with anſwers, written with more heat than learning, and with much ſtronger marks of paſſion than concern for truth [*I*]. We need not wonder, therefore, that ſuch oppoſition contributed rather to the fame of this performance, than any way affected its credit; eſpecially ſince foreigners have unanimouſly declared in its favour, and beſtowed the higheſt praiſes on the author's wiſdom,

wipe off not only the former, but the latter aſperſion from our author, and has very fairly ſhewn the true ſtate of the caſe; that the *Religio Medici* has been condemned by ſome without reading it carefully, and by others for want of underſtanding what they did read (26). In a ſubſequent note, I ſhall have occaſion to mention a ſtill larger defence of our author, written by an illuſtrious foreigner. Here, perhaps, it may not be amiſs to add, that the *Religio Medici*, as ſoon as it was publiſhed in Latin, had a place given it in the *Index Expurgatorius* (27), though the French tranſlator wrote a long preface, to prove that the author was very favourably inclined to the Church of Rome.

[*H*] *Which are therein treated.*] This noble monument of our author's learning conſiſts of ſeven books. In the firſt he conſiders the general cauſes of vulgar errors, wherein with equal penetration he diſcovers, and patience purſues, theſe ſources of error, till he has fully deſcribed the courſe of the ſtreams to which they ſwell. In the remaining books he treats of particular errors: in the ſecond of ſuch as relate to mineral and vegetable bodies, in the third as to animals, with reſpect to man in the fourth, in the fifth of things queſtionable in pictures, of geographical and philoſophical errors in the ſixth, and of ſuch as are hiſtorical in the ſeventh. As to the author's intention in this treatiſe, and how much farther he has proſecuted his ſubject than other writers handling it before him, together with the obligation he thought himſelf under of defending what he wrote, information may be beſt received from his own pen. ‘We hope (ſays he in his epiſtle to the reader prefixed to the ſixth edition, printed in 1673) it will not be unconſidered, that we find no open track or conſtant manuduction in this labyrinth; but are oft-times fain to wander in the America and untravelled paths of truth. For though not many years paſt, Dr. Primroſe hath made a learned diſcourſe of vulgar errors in phyſic, yet have we diſcuſſed but two or three thereof. *Scipio Mercurii* hath alſo left an excellent tract in Italian concerning popular errors, but confining himſelf only to thoſe in phyſic, he hath little conduced unto the generality of our doctrine *Laurentius Joubertus* by the ſame title led our expectations into thoughts of great relief; whereby, notwithſtanding, we reaped no advantage, it anſwering ſcarce at all the promiſe of the inſcription. Nor perhaps, if it were yet extant, ſhould we find any further aſſiſtance from that ancient piece of *Andreas*, pretending the ſame title. And therefore, we are often conſtrained to ſtand alone againſt the ſtrength of opinion, and to meet Goliah and giant of authority, with contemptible pibbles, and feeble arguments drawn from the ſcrip and ſlender ſtock of ourſelves. Nor have we indeed ſcarce named any author whoſe name we do not honour; and if detraction could invite us, diſcretion ſurely would contain us from any derogatory intention, where higheſt pens and friendleſs eloquence muſt fail in commendation. And therefore, alſo, we cannot but hope the equitable conſiderations and candour of reaſonable minds. We cannot expect the frown of theology herein; nor can they which behold the preſent ſtate of things, and controverſy of points ſo long received in divinity, condemn our ſober enquiries in the doubtful appurtenances of arts and receptaries of philoſophy. Surely philologers and critical diſcourſers, who look beyond the ſhell and obvious exteriors of things, will not be angry with our narrower explorations. And we cannot doubt our brothers in phyſic, whoſe knowledge in naturals will lead them into a nearer apprehenſion of many things delivered, will friendly accept; if not countenance our endeavours. Nor can we conceive it may be unwelcome unto thoſe honoured worthies who endeavour the advancement of learning, as being likely to find a clearer progreſſion, when ſo many rubs are levelled, and many untruths taken off, which paſſing as principles with common beliefs, diſturb the tranquillity of axioms, which otherwiſe might be raiſed. And wiſe men cannot but know, that arts and learning want this expurgation; and if the courſe of truth be permitted unto itſelf, like that of time and uncorrected computations, it cannot eſcape many errors, which duration ſtill enlargeth. Laſtly, we are not magiſterial in opinions, nor have we, dictator like, obtruded our conceptions; but in the humility of enquiries or diſquiſitions, have only propoſed them unto more ocular diſcerners; and therefore opinions are free, and open it is for any to think or declare the contrary: and we ſhall ſo far encourage contradiction, as to promiſe no diſturbance, or reoppoſe any pen that ſhall fallaciouſly or captiouſly refute us; that ſhall only lay hold of our lapſes, ſingle our digreſſions, corollaries, or ornamental conceptions, to evidence his own in as indifferent truths, and ſhall only take notice of ſuch, whoſe experimental and judicious knowledge ſhall ſolemnly look upon it, not only to deſtroy of ours, but to eſtabliſh of his own; not to traduce or extenuate, but to explain and dilucidate, to add and ampliate, according to the laudable cuſtom of the ancients in their ſober promotions of learning; unto whom, notwithſtanding, we ſhall not contentiouſly rejoyn, or only to juſtify our own, but to applaud or confirm his maturer aſſertions; and ſhall confer what is in us unto his name and honour; ready to be ſwallowed in any worthy enlarger, as having acquired our end, if any way, or under any name, we may obtain a work ſo much deſired, and yet deſiderated of truth.’

[*I*] *Than concern for truth.*] The firſt of theſe appeared under this title, *Arcana Microcoſmi, or the hid Secrets of Man's Body diſcovered in an anatomical Duel between Ariſtotle and Galen, concerning the Parts thereof; as alſo by a Diſcovery of the ſtrange and marvelous Diſeaſes, Symptoms, and Accidents of Man's Body. With a Refutation of Dr. Browne's Vulgar Errors, the Lord Bacon's Natural Hiſtory, and Dr. Harvey's Book De Generatione, Comenius, and others; whereunto is annexed, a Letter from Dr. Primroſe to the Author, and his Anſwer thereto, touching Dr. Harvey's Book De Generatione. By A. R.* i. e. Alexander Roſs. London, 1652. By tranſcribing this whole title, it appears that the author had a great inclination to diſtinguiſh himſelf by combating the opinions of famous men. He was a ſort of knight-errant in the learned world, whoſe Dulcinea was Antiquity. Much of this humour appears in the manner of printing his book, the running title of which, to page 92, is, *The hid Secrets of Man's Body diſcovered*; from 92 to 207, Dr. Browne's *Vulgar Errors refuted and anſwered*; from 224 to 243, *a Refutation of Dr. Harvey and Fernelius*; from 244 to 265, *a Refutation of the Lord Bacon's Natural Hiſtory*; and thence to the end of the book, *a Refutation of Comenius*. Yet on the whole it muſt be allowed, that this is far from being ſo mean a piece as many have repreſented it. There is in it a great deal of vanity, and more ſpleen; but withal there wants not truth, learning, and ſome ſenſe. There was another Anſwer publiſhed, under the following title (28): *Eudoxa, ſeu Quæſtionum quarundam Miſcellanearum Examen probabile*, &c. London, 1656, 8vo, written by John Robinſon, M. D. But this did its author no great honour, and had not merit enough to make it much known in the world.

learning,

(p) It was printed originally in a ſmall folio.

(26) Hiſtoria Univerſalis Atheiſmi & Authorum falſo & merito ſuſpectorum, p. 448.

(27) Index Libror. Prohibit. p. 242.

(28) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 713.

learning, and penetration, of which abundant teſtimonies may be produced [*K*]. The profound learning diſcovered in this laſt book, induced ſome mercenary ſcribbler, of which that age, as well as this, wanted not one in every corner, to make free with our author's name, by prefixing it to a book, which he not only never wrote, but without all doubt would never have read, conſidering its bombaſt and fooliſh title [*L*]; and yet our author contented himſelf with hinting this deceit to the public in the ſofteſt and modeſteſt terms, and without expreſſing the leaſt reſentment againſt ſo impudent an impoſtor (*q*). In 1658, he publiſhed *Hydriotaphia, Urne Burial; or, a Diſcourſe of the Sepulchral Urnes, lately found in Norfolk. Together with the Garden of Cyrus, or the quincuncial Lozenge, or Net-Work Plantations of the Ancients, artificially, naturally, myſtically conſidered. With ſundry Obſervations.* The firſt of theſe treatiſes he dedicated to Thomas Le Gros, Eſq; afterwards Sir Thomas Le Gros, of Croſtwick; and the latter to Nicholas Bacon, of Gillingham, Eſq. Both are dated from Norwich, May 1, 1658, and ſhew that he lived in the ſtricteſt intimacy and warmeſt friendſhip with the worthieſt of his neighbours. Theſe treatiſes are in themſelves extremely curious, and abound with noble, uncommon, and uſeful obſervations (*r*) [*M*]; ſo that we need not wonder they have been ſo often cited, and ſo much admired. His readineſs to afford any aſſiſtance in his power, to ſuch of the learned as were engaged in great and laborious undertakings, procured him the correſpondence of abundance of great men, both at home and abroad. Sir William Dugdale applied to him for his aſſiſtance, when he was compoſing that work of his which has been thought to do him moſt honour, and many of the letters that paſſed between them have been made public (*s*) [*N*]. His foreign correſpondencies extended as far as Iceland, where dwelt his good friend and intimate acquaint-

[*K*] *Abundant teſtimonies may be produced.*] It is ſomewhat ſurpriſing, that ſo very learned a treatiſe as this, and which its author once thought to have publiſhed in Latin, ſhould never have been tranſlated into that language; which however has not hindered it from being very well known abroad. It was firſt tranſlated into Low-Dutch by John Grundal, and printed at Amſterdam, in 1668, 8vo. It was afterwards publiſhed in High-Dutch by a noble author: for though in the title-page of the book, printed at Nuremberg, in 1680, 4to, the tranſlator calls himſelf Chriſtopher Peganius, yet this was only according to the mode of Germany, the true author being Chriſtian Knorr, Baron of Roſenroth. The judicious Morhof (29) ſpeaks of this work of our author's twice, with all poſſible marks of approbation and eſteem. 'No modern author, ſays he, has treated 'this ſubject more accurately or copiouſly. In his 'firſt book he learnedly enquires into the general 'cauſes of error, and in his ſucceeding books he not 'only diſcourſes of the miſtakes which are crept into 'natural philoſophy, but ſuch alſo as have corrupted 'hiſtory, theology, mechanic arts, and phyſic.' The famous Reimmannus (30) delivers himſelf in theſe terms. 'As he excelled in theoretical and prac'tical Divinity, ſo he ſhone no leſs in philoſophy, 'wherein he emulated Hercules, and undertaking 'by his *Pſeudodoxia Epidemica* to clear the ſciences 'from errors, he fell nothing ſhort of the other's la'bour in cleanſing the *Augean Stable*.' Father Niceron (31) ſpeaking of this book ſays, 'That it is 'an excellent work, and contains abundance of cu'rious things.'

[*L*] *Conſidering its bombaſt and fooliſh title.*] This book called itſelf *Nature's Cabinet unlock'd; wherein is diſcovered the natural Cauſes of Metals, Stones, precious Earth*, &c. London, 1657, 12mo. Mr. Wood's character of this book is, 'That it is a dull worth'leſs thing, ſtole for the moſt part out of the Phyſics 'of Magirus, by a very ignorant perſon, a Plagiary 'ſo illiterate and unſkilful in his author, that not 'diſtinguiſhing between *lævis* and *levis*, in the ſaid 'Magirus, hath told us of the liver; that one part 'of it is gibbous, and the other light; and yet he 'had the confidence to call this ſcribble *Nature's Ca'binet unlock'd*, an arrogant and fanciful title, of which 'our author's true humility would no more have ſuf'fered him to have been the father, than his great 'learning could have permitted him to have been 'the author of the ſaid book (32).' Dr. Browne in an advertiſement, as from the Stationer, diſclaims it thus: 'I cannot omit to advertiſe, that a book was 'publiſhed not long ſince, intitled, *Nature's Cabinet 'unlock'd*, bearing the name of this author: if any 'man have been benefited thereby, this author is not 'ſo ambitious as to challenge the honour thereof, as 'having no hand in that work (33).'

[*M*] *Uncommon and uſeful obſervations.*] The firſt treatiſe concerning Urn Burial was occaſioned by the digging up between 40 and 50 of theſe monuments of antiquity in a field of Old Walſingham, in the latter end of the year 1657, or the beginning of 1658. Theſe urns were depoſited in a dry and ſandy ſoil not a yard deep, and at no great diſtance from each other. They were not exactly ſimilar, nor much unlike. Some contained two pounds of bones, diſtinguiſhable in ſculls, ribs, jaws, thigh-bones, and teeth, with freſh impreſſions of combuſtion, beſides extraneous ſubſtance, like pieces of ſmall boxes or combs handſomely wrought, handles of ſmall braſs inſtruments, braſen nippers, and in one ſome kind of opal. Near the ſame plot of ground, for about ſix yards compaſs, were digged up coals and incinerated ſubſtances, which begat conjecture that this was the Uſtina, or place of burning their bodies, or ſome ſacrificing place unto the manes, which was properly below the ſurface of the ground, as the aræ and altars unto the gods and heroes were above it. That theſe were the urns of Romans, from the common cuſtom and place where they were found, is no obſcure conjecture; being not far from a Roman garriſon, and but five miles from Brancaſter, ſet down by ancient record under the name of Brannodunum; and where the adjoining town, containing ſeven pariſhes, in no very different ſound, but Saxon termination, ſtill retains the name of Burnham; which being an early ſtation, it is not improbable the neighbour parts were filled with habitations, either of Romans themſelves, or Britons romaniſed, who obſerved the Roman cuſtoms.

[*N*] *Have been made public.*] Theſe letters were written partly in the autumn of the year 1658, and partly in the ſpring of 1659, and contain abundance of curious particulars in relation to our antiquities. They were publiſhed among the poſthumous works of Mr. Browne; and I mention them here only to take notice, that one of the pieces before publiſhed by Dr. Teniſon, under the title of *Miſcellanies*, belongs properly to this collection. The title of it is, *Of artificial Hills, Mounts, or Burrows, in many Parts of England*, what they are, to what end raiſed, and by what nations. Before it there is a quere in anſwer to which it is written, ſaid to have come from his honoured friend Mr. E. D. This E. ſhould certainly be a W. for without queſtion the letters were intended for William Dugdale, as may be eaſily diſcerned by comparing the contents of this with thoſe of the epiſtles before mentioned; and I take it to be the only letter amongſt thoſe *Miſcellanies* of which any certain account can be given. It is manifeſt from hence, that he was regarded as an oracle in theſe matters, even by ſuch a man as Sir William Dugdale, whoſe knowledge in Britiſh antiquities is unanimouſly confeſſed; and the anſwers given him by Sir Thomas Browne, are ſuch as ſufficiently demonſtrate his having enquired narrowly even into the abſtruſeſt ſubjects.

(*q*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 713.

(*r*) See the Life of Sir Thomas Browne, prefixed to his Antiquities of Norwich.

(*s*) Theſe are printed with his Antiquities of Norwich, in 8*vo*, 1712, under the title of The Poſthumous Works of Sir Thomas Browne.

(29) Polyhiſtor. II. 2, 1, 9. III. 5, 1, 10.

(30) Hiſtoria Univerſalis Atheiſmi, p. 448.

(31) Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſt. Tom. xxiii. p. 357.

(32) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 713.

(33) Printed at the end of his treatiſe, intitled, The Garden of Cyrus, &c.

ance, Theodore Jonas, from whoſe information, probably, he wrote that ſhort account of this northern iſle, which one may venture to pronounce the cleareſt and moſt authentic that is any where extant (*t*) [*O*]. His reputation in his profeſſion, was equal to his fame for learning in all other reſpects; and, therefore, the Royal College of Phyſicians in London were pleaſed to take him into their number, as an Honorary Fellow, as appears by a very honourable diploma under the college ſeal, dated the twenty-ſixth of June 1665 (*u*). In the month of September 1671, King Charles II. coming to Norwich, in his progreſs, was pleaſed to knight Dr. Browne, with very ſingular marks of favour and reſpect (*w*). This circumſtance is mentioned by our author, in one of his pieces, with his uſual modeſty, and upon ſuch an occaſion, as did not only invite, but compel him to it; and yet his gratitude to the King is manifeſted therein, rather than any ſatisfaction in this addition of honour [*P*]. He ſpent the remainder of his days in the quiet practice of his profeſſion, and the improvement of his mind, by a cloſe and diligent purſuit of his ſtudies, which he never intermitted, till, having attained the age of ſeventy-ſeven, for he died on his birth-day, he, in 1682, left this life for a better (*x*). In his perſon he was of a moderate ſtature, of a brown complexion, and his hair of the ſame colour. His picture in the College of Phyſicians, ſhews him to have been remarkably handſome, and to have poſſeſſed in a ſingular degree, the bleſſing of a grave and yet cheerful and inviting countenance. As to his temper, it was perfectly even and free from paſſions: he had no ambition beyond that of being wiſe and good, and no farther concern for money than as it was neceſſary; for otherwiſe he might certainly have raiſed a very large fortune in the way of his profeſſion: but his charity, generoſity, and tender affection for his children, to the expence of whoſe education he would ſet no bounds, contracted the wealth he left into a very moderate compaſs. His virtues were many, and remarkably conſpicuous; his probity ſuch as gained him univerſal reſpect, as his beneficence rendered him generally beloved: in reſpect to knowledge, he was extremely communicative in his converſation, and notwithſtanding his rare abilities and eſtabliſhed reputation, wonderfully modeſt. His religion was that of the Church of England, in which he ſhewed himſelf unaffectedly humble and ſincere. As to ſects in learning, he followed none, but thought and wrote with the utmoſt freedom, illuſtrating every ſubject he touched by ſuch new and nervous remarks, as charmed every attentive reader, and has occaſioned more care to be taken of the papers he left behind him, than has uſually happened to the remains of learned men, a circumſtance ſingular in itſelf, and which reflects on his memory the higheſt honour (*y*) [*Q*]. There

(*t*) Printed alſo in his Poſthumous Works.

(*u*) See this annexed to the Memoirs of our author by Mr. Whitefoot.

(*w*) Antiquities of Norwich, p. 85.

(*x*) See his Monumental Inſcription.

(*y*) Taken from a Letter written to Lady Browne, when he propoſed to write Sir Thomas's Life, by Mr. Whitefoot.

[*O*] *That is any where extant.*] This letter is dated Norwich, January 15th, 1663. Some particulars ſeem worthy of being tranſcribed, inaſmuch as we ſcarcely find any thing in relation to this iſland elſewhere, which is not ſtrongly mixed with fable. ‘Great ſtore of drift, or float-wood, ſays he, is every year caſt upon their ſhores, brought down by the northern winds, which ſerveth them for fuel, and other uſes, the greateſt part whereof is fir. Of bears there are none in the country, but ſometimes they are brought down from the north upon ice, while they follow ſeals, and are carried away. Two in this manner came over and landed in the north of Iceland this laſt year, 1662. No conies or hares, but of foxes great plenty, whoſe white ſkins are much deſired, and brought over into this country. The laſt winter, 1662, ſo cold and laſting with us in England, was the mildeſt they have had for many years in Iceland. Two new eruptions with ſlime and ſmoke, were obſerved the laſt year in ſome mountains about Mount Hecla. Some hot mineral ſprings they have, and very effectual, but they make but rude uſe thereof. The rivers are large, ſwift, and rapid, but have many falls, which render them leſs commodious; they chiefly abound with ſalmons. They ſow no corn, but receive it from abroad. They have a kind of large lichen, which dried becometh hard and ſticky, growing very plentifully in many places, whereof they make uſe for food, either in decoction or powder, ſome whereof I have by me, different from any with us. In one part of the country, and not near the ſea, there is a large black rock, which poliſhed, reſembleth touchſtone, as I have ſeen in pieces thereof of various figures.—An exceeding fine ruſſet down is ſometimes brought unto us, which their great number of fowls afford, and ſometimes ſtore of feathers, conſiſting of the feathers of ſmall birds. Beſides ſhocks, and little hairy dogs, they bring another ſort over, headed like a fox, which they ſay are bred betwixt dogs and foxes; theſe are deſired by the ſhepherds of this country. Green plovers, which are plentiful here in the winter, are found to breed there in the beginning of ſummer. Some ſheep have been brought over, but of coarſe wool, and ſome horſes of mean ſtature, but ſtrong and hardy; one whereof kept in the paſtures by Yarmouth, in the ſummer, would often take the ſea, ſwimming a great way, a mile or two, and return the ſame. When its proviſion failed in the ſhip wherein it was brought, for many days it fed upon hoops and caſks; nor at the land would for many months be brought to feed upon oats. Theſe accounts I received from a native of Iceland, who comes yearly into England; and by reaſon of my long acquaintance, and directions I ſend unto ſome of his friends againſt the elephantiaſis or leproſy, conſtantly viſits me before his return, and is ready to perform for me what I ſhall deſire in his country: wherein, as in any other ways, I ſhall be very ambitious to ſerve the noble Society, whoſe moſt honouring ſervant I am, T. B.'——This laſt paragraph ſhews, that this letter was written at the inſtance of the Royal Society, and is a proof how much he was conſidered by that learned body of men, who, at their firſt inſtitution, were the glory of this iſland, and the wonder of Europe.

[*P*] *In this addition of honour.*] This paſſage occurs in his Antiquities of Norwich, where, ſpeaking of the cathedral and city, he ſays, ‘Though this church, for its ſpire, may compare, in a manner, with any in England, yet in its tombs and monuments it is exceeded by many. No Kings have honoured the ſame with their aſhes, and but few with their preſence. And it is not without ſome wonder, that Norwich having been for a long time ſo conſiderable a place, ſo few Kings have viſited it: of which number among ſo many Monarchs ſince the Conqueſt, we find but four, *viz.* King Henry III., Edward I., Queen Elizabeth, and our gracious ſovereign now reigning, King Charles II., *of which I had a particular reaſon to take notice* (34).'

(34) Antiquities of Norwich, p. 35.

[*Q*] *The higheſt honour.*] The firſt who took the pains to digeſt and fit for the preſs the pieces our author left behind him in ſuch a degree of perfection as ſeem to intimate his deſign of printing them, was Dr.

There may be, notwithſtanding this, and indeed there is reaſon to believe, there are ſeveral little pieces of his which have not yet ſeen the light, which is the more to be regretted, becauſe certainly never any thing fell from his pen which did not deſerve it. His very letters were diſſertations, and full of ſingular learning, though written upon the moſt common ſubjects. Of this we have a ſhining proof, in a letter of his to a young ſtudent, as to the method of reading phyſical authors [*R*]. His knowledge and charity made him dear to his contemporaries, as his excellent works have tranſmitted the fruits of his learning, and thereby ſecured him a high reputation with poſterity: and as this has not been built on the ſlight foundation of lively thoughts, delivered in a graceful manner of expreſſion, but on the more ſolid baſis of communicating uſeful truths, and ſuggeſting the propereſt means for avoiding deſpondency as well as error;

Dr. Thomas Teniſon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who publiſhed, from his manuſcripts, at London 1684, 8*vo*, A collection of *Miſcellaneous Tracts*, containing, 1. *Obſervations upon ſeveral plants mentioned in Scripture*. 2. *Of Garlands, and Coronary or Garland Plants*. 3. *Of the Fiſhes catched by our Saviour with his Diſciples after the Reſurrection*. 4. *An Anſwer to certain Queries relating to Fiſhes, Birds, and Inſects*. 5. *Of Hawks and Falconry, ancient and modern*. 6. *Of Cymbals and other muſical Inſtruments*. 7. *Of Ropalic or gradual Verſes*. 8. *Of Languages, particularly the Saxon*. 9. *Of artificial Hills, Mounts, and Burrows, in many places of England*. 10. *Of Troas, what place is meant by that name. Alſo the Situation of Sodom, Gomorrah, and Zeboim*. 11. *Of the Anſwers of the Oracle of Apollo at Delphos to Crœſus*. 12. *A Prophecy concerning the future State of ſeveral Nations*. 13. *Muſæum Clauſum, containing ſome Books, Antiquities, Pictures, and Rarities of ſeveral kinds ſcarce or never ſeen by any man now living*. Theſe, with the other Treatiſes publiſhed in his lifetime, were printed in one folio Volume at London 1686. His ſon Dr. Edward Browne publiſhed in 1690, a ſingle tract of his father's, intitled, *A Letter to a Friend, upon Occaſion of the Death of his intimate Friend*. It contains about twenty-four pages in 8*vo*. and we meet therein with many curious things, and a concluſion ſo pious, that whoever reads it will diſcern with indignation the falſehood of ſuch calumnies as have been ſpread in relation to his indifference in Religion. The third guardian of our author's fame was his grandſon by marriage, Owen Brigſtock, Eſq; who communicated his remains to thoſe who afterwards publiſhed them, under the title of, *Poſthumous Works of the Learned Sir Thomas Browne, Knt. M. D. late of Norwich*, printed from his original manuſcripts, *viz.* I. *Repertorium, or the Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Norwich*. II. *An Account of ſome Urns*, &c. *found at Brampton in Norfolk*, anno 1667. III. *Letters between Sir William Dugdale and Sir Thomas Browne*. IV. *Miſcellanies*. Laſt of all, in 1716, there was publiſhed a book of his in 12*mo*, intitled, *Chriſtian Morals, by Sir Thomas Browne of Norwich, M. D. and Author of Religio Medici*, publiſhed from the original and correct manuſcript of the author, by John Jeffery, D. D. Archdeacon of Norwich. It was dedicated by our author's daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Littleton, to David, Earl of Buchan. And Dr. Jeffery in his preface obſerves, that if any one, after he has read *Religio Medici*, and this diſcourſe, can doubt whether the ſame perſon was the author of them both, he may be aſſured by the teſtimony of Mrs. Littleton above mentioned, who lived with her father, when it was compoſed by him, and who at the time read it written by his own hand, and alſo by the teſtimony of others, of whom the Doctor is one, who read the manuſcript of the author immediately after his death, and who have ſince read the ſame; from which it was faithfully and exactly tranſcribed for the preſs. The reaſon why it was not printed before was, becauſe it was unhappily loſt by being miſlaid among other manuſcripts, for which ſearch was lately made in the preſence of Archbiſhop Teniſon, of which his Grace by letter informed Mrs. Littleton, when he ſent the manuſcript to her. Dr. Jeffery likewiſe tells us, that there is nothing printed in the diſcourſe, or in the ſhort notes, but what is found in the original manuſcript, except only where an overſight had made the addition or tranſpoſition of ſome words neceſſary.

[*R*] *As to the method of reading phyſical authors.*] This letter was communicated to the world by a very learned and ingenious gentleman (35); but to whom it was directed is not known. ‘ 'Εκ Βιϐλίȣ κυϐερνῆτα [*i. e.* Stateſman from the book] is grown into a proverb; and no leſs ridiculous are they who think out of books to become Phyſicians. I ſhall therefore mention ſuch as tend leſs to oſtentation than uſe, for the directing a novice to obſervation and experience, without which you cannot expect to be other than ἐκ βιϐλίȣ κυϐερνήτης. Galen and Hippocrates muſt be had as fathers and fountains of the faculty. And indeed Hippocrates's *Aphoriſms* ſhould be conned for the frequent uſe which may be made of them. Lay your foundation in Anatomy, wherein αὐτοψία muſt be your *fidus Achates*. The help that books can afford, you may expect, beſides what is delivered *ſparſim* from Galen and Hippocrates, Veſalius, Spigelius, and Bartholinus. And be ſure you make yourſelf maſter of Dr. Harvey's piece *De Circul. Sang.* which diſcovery I prefer to that of Columbus. The knowledge of Plants, Animals, and Minerals (whence are fetched the *Materia Medicamentorum*) may be your πάρεργον; and ſo far as concerns Phyſic, is attainable in gardens, fields, Apothecaries and Druggiſts ſhops. Read Theophraſtus, Dioſcorides, Matthiolus, Dodonæus, and our Engliſh Herbaliſts: Spigelius's *Iſagoge in rem herbariam* will be of uſe. Wecker's *Antedotarium ſpeciale*, Renodæus for compoſition and preparation of medicaments. See what Apothecaries do. Read *Morelli formulas medicas, Bauderoni Pharmacopœa, Pharmacopœa Auguſtana*. See chymical operations in hoſpitals, private houſes. Read Fallopius, Aquapendente, Paræus, Vigo, *&c.* Be not a ſtranger to the uſeful part of Chymiſtry. See what Chymiſlators do in their officines. Begin with *Tyrocinium Chymicum, Crollius, Hartmannus*, and ſo by degrees march on. *Materia Medicamentorum*, Surgery, and Chemiſtry, may be your diverſions and recreations; Phyſic is your buſineſs. Having therefore gained perfection in Anatomy, betake yourſelf to Sennertus's *Inſtitutions*, which read with care and diligence two or three times over, and aſſure yourſelf, that when you are a perfect maſter of theſe Inſtitutes, you will ſeldom meet with any point in Phyſic to which you will not be able to ſpeak like a man. This done, ſee how Inſtitutes are applicable to practice, by reading upon diſeaſes in Sennertus, Fernelius, Mercatus, Hollerius, Riverius, in particular treatiſes, in counſels and conſultations, all which are of ſingular benefit. But in reading upon diſeaſes, ſatisfy yourſelf not ſo much with the remedies ſet down (although I would not have theſe altogether neglected) as with the true underſtanding the nature of the diſeaſe, its cauſes, and proper indications for cure. For by this knowledge, and that of the inſtruments you are to work by, the *Materia Medicamentorum*, you will often conquer with eaſe thoſe difficulties, through which books will not be able to bring you; *ſecretum Medicorum eſt judicium*. Thus have I briefly pointed out the way, which, cloſely purſued, will lead to the higheſt pitch of the art you aim at. Although I mention but a few books (which, well digeſted, will be *inſtar omnium*) yet it is not my intent to confine you. If at one view you would ſee who hath written, and upon what diſeaſes, by way of counſel and obſervation, look upon Moronus's *Directorium Medico-practicum*. You may look upon all, but dwell upon few. I need not tell you the great uſe of the Greek tongue in Phyſic; without it nothing can be done to perfection. The words of art you may learn from Gorræus's *Definitiones Medicæ*. This, and many good wiſhes, from your loving friend. T. B.’

(35) **By the learned and ingenious Richard Middleton Maſſey, M. D. F. R. S.**

ſo by degrees his writings have triumphed over all thoſe prejudices, which naturally riſe in weak minds at the appearance of a genius of the firſt rank; as appears by that eagerneſs, which even learned foreigners have expreſſed in his defence, and that applauſe which has been beſtowed on his works, by ſuch as were equal as well as candid judges [*S*]. His body was interred in the church of St. Peter's Mancroft, in Norwich, where,

[*S*] *Equal as well as candid judges.*] The celebrated Hermannus Conringius, the glory of the German nation, profeſſed himſelf always a great admirer of our author, and was wont to ſay, he always read his *Religio Medici* with freſh delight; and in reſpect to that imputation of Atheiſm, or indifferency in point of Religion, which had been circulated with ſuch induſtry by certain ſupercilious Critics, he delivered his ſentiments of it in theſe words: Utinam nemo Medicorum, imo Theologorum, illo homine ſit minus religioſus, *i. e. I wiſh no Phyſician, I will go farther and ſay, none of our Divines, were leſs religious than this man* (36). If we conſider the great character, and ſtill greater merit, of Conringius, we cannot but allow his teſtimony to weigh down the prejudices of a multitude of minor Critics, who have no way of raiſing a reputation to themſelves, but by attacking ſuch of the learned as are in poſſeſſion of it. The learned and judicious Frederic Heiſter (37), ſon of the celebrated Lawrence Heiſter, whoſe ſyſtem of Surgery has made him known to all the learned world, thought himſelf obliged, on Buddæus's publiſhing a large work againſt Atheiſm and Superſtition, to vindicate the Phyſicians in general, and our author in particular, from the injurious aſperſions caſt upon him in that book. His defence of Dr. Browne takes up the whole xixth ſection, in which, from a great variety of paſſages in our author's works, he demonſtrates the cruelty of this calumny, as well as its notorious falſehood. It is true that Michael Lilienthal (38), in his diſſertation on Literary Machiaveliſm, has a ſtroke at Sir Thomas Browne, as if he had been an enemy to antiquity; and the famous Peter Bayle (39) ſpeaks but ſlightly of him in ſome part of his works; yet when the cenſures and characters of theſe Critics are compared and conſidered, they will be found to do as much honour to our author's memory, as the praiſes of other men. On the whole, we may ſafely ſay, that as his pen vindicated uſeful ſcience by vanquiſhing and driving away a multitude of errors which had been long received; ſo his fame has triumphed over envy, and will appear in the eyes of poſterity as clear and bright as the truths which he eſpouſed; and it was with great juſtice this ſentence was inſcribed on his monument, *Scriptis quibus tituli, Religio Medici & Pſeudodoxia epidemica, aliiſque per orbem notiſſimus.*

C.

*** [Concerning what is ſaid of Guy Patin, in the note [*G*], it hath been obſerved to us, by a learned correſpondent, that, though it is true that Patin was a ſmatterer, it is not to be ſuppoſed that he meant to reflect on the *Religio Medici* for the freedom of the notions contained in it; for he was a Free-thinker himſelf, to the beſt of his little judgment. In his account of the Straſburgh edition, he ſpeaks highly of the merit of the original.

It hath, alſo, been remarked, by the ſame correſpondent, that the fact, mentioned in note [*O*], in the Account of Iceland, of Bears coming over ſeas in floats of ice, is curious, and may ſerve to reſolve ſome difficulties in the Hiſtory of the peopling of the Globe.

In the year 1756, was publiſhed a ſecond edition of Sir Thomas Browne's 'Chriſtian Morals,' to which is prefixed a life of the author, by Dr. Samuel Johnſon. This Life, though it contains few new facts, is written (as might be expected from Dr. Johnſon) in ſo maſterly a manner, and with ſuch ingenuity and ſagacity of obſervation, that, in making conſiderable extracts from it, we ſhall receive the thanks of our readers.

Upon occaſion of the '*Religio Medici*'s' being printed, in 1642, without the conſent of the author, his Biographer remarks as follows: 'This has, perhaps, ſometimes befallen others; and this, I am willing to believe, did really happen to Dr. Browne: but there is, ſurely, ſome reaſon to doubt the truth of the complaint ſo frequently made of ſurreptitious editions. A ſong, or an epigram, may be eaſily printed without the author's knowledge; becauſe it may be learned when it is repeated, or may be written out with very little trouble: but a long treatiſe, however elegant, is not often copied by mere zeal or curioſity, but may be worn out in paſſing from hand to hand, before it is multiplied by a tranſcript. It is eaſy to convey an imperfect book, by a diſtant hand, to the preſs, and plead the circulation of a falſe copy as an excuſe for publiſhing the true, or to correct what is found faulty or offenſive, and charge the errors on the tranſcriber's depravations.——This is a ſtratagem, by which an author panting for fame, and yet afraid of ſeeming to challenge it, may at once gratify his vanity, and preſerve the appearance of modeſty; may enter the liſts, and ſecure a retreat: and this, candour might ſuffer to paſs undetected as an innocent fraud, but that indeed no fraud is innocent; for the confidence which makes the happineſs of ſociety, is in ſome degree diminiſhed by every man, whoſe practice is at variance with his words (40).'

Dr. Johnſon, ſpeaking of the compliments which Dr. Browne and Sir Kenelm Digby paid to each other, in the letters that paſſed between them previouſly to the publication of Sir Kenelm's Obſervations, takes notice, that the reciprocal civility of authors is one of the moſt riſible ſcenes in the farce of Life. 'Who would not, ſays he, have thought, that theſe two luminaries of their age had ceaſed to endeavour to grow bright by the obſcuration of each other? Yet the animadverſions thus weak, thus precipitate, upon a book thus injured in the tranſcription, quickly paſſed the preſs; and *Religio Medici* was more accurately publiſhed, with an admonition prefixed "to thoſe who have or ſhall "peruſe the obſervations upon a former corrupt co"py;" ' in which there is a ſevere cenſure, not upon Digby, who was to be uſed with ceremony, but upon the Obſervator who had uſurped his name: nor was this invective written by Dr. Browne, who was ſuppoſed to be ſatisfied with his opponent's apology; but by ſome officious friend zealous for his honour, without his conſent (41)."

The aſſertion of Sir Thomas Browne, that his life had been a miracle of thirty years; 'which to relate, were not hiſtory but a piece of poetry, and would ſound like a fable,' hath drawn from Dr. Johnſon the following acute reflections. 'There is, undoubtedly, a ſenſe, in which all life is miraculous; as it is an union of powers of which we can image no connexion, a ſucceſſion of motions of which the firſt cauſe muſt be ſupernatural: but life, thus explained, whatever it may have of miracle, will have nothing of fable; and, therefore, the author undoubtedly had regard to ſomething, by which he imagined himſelf diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of mankind.—Of theſe wonders, however, the view that can be now taken of his life offers no appearance. The courſe of his education was like that of others, ſuch as put him little in the way of extraordinary caſualties. A ſcholaſtic and academical life is very uniform; and has, indeed, more ſafety than pleaſure. A traveller has greater opportunities of adventure; but Browne traverſed no unknown ſeas, or Arabian deſerts: and, ſurely, a man may viſit France and Italy, reſide at Montpellier and Padua, and at laſt take his degree at Leyden, without any thing miraculous. What it was, that would, if it was related, ſound ſo poetical and fabulous, we are left to gueſs; I believe, without hope of gueſſing rightly. The wonders probably were tranſacted in his own mind: ſelf-love, co-operating with an imagination vigorous and fertile as that of Browne, will find or make objects of aſtoniſhment in every man's life: and, perhaps, there is no human being, however hid in the crowd from the obſervation of his fellow-mortals, who, if he has leiſure and diſpoſition to recollect his own thoughts and actions, will not conclude his life in ſome ſort a mi-

(36) Conringiana, p. 10.

(37) Eliæ Frederici Heiſteri Laurentii filii Apologia pro medicis qua eorum depellitur cavillatio, qui Medicinam in Atheiſmum aliosque in Theologia errores abducere perhibent, & qua ſimul præcipui Medici & nominatim Hippocrates, Galenus, Cardanus, Taurellus, Vannius, & *Brownius*, qui Atheiſmi crimine commaculati ſunt, defenduntur. Amſtelædami, 1736, 8*vo*.

(38) §. v. p. 39.

(39) See his *Illuſtration* upon the *Scepticks*, § vi.

(40) Dr. Johnſon's Life of Sir Thomas Browne, prefixed to his 'Chriſtian Morals,' p. vi-viii.

(41) *Ibid.* p. ix, x.

where, upon a mural monument, fixed to the ſouth pillar of the altar, there are two inſcriptions, one in Latin, the other in Engliſh, containing ſeveral particulars relating to

racle, and imagine himſelf diſtinguiſhed from all the reſt of his ſpecies by many diſcriminations of nature or of fortune (42).’

Dr. Johnſon wiſhes that Sir Thomas Browne had longer delayed the publication of his Treatiſe on Vulgar Errors, and added what the remaining part of his life, ſpent in ſtudy and experience, would have afforded. He thinks, too, that it might now be proper to reprint it with notes, partly ſupplemental and partly emendatory; to ſubjoin thoſe diſcoveries which the induſtry of the laſt age has made, and correct thoſe miſtakes which the author has committed, not by idleneſs or negligence, but for want of BOYLE's and NEWTON's Philoſophy. ‘He appears, indeed, continues Dr. Johnſon, to have been willing to pay labour for truth. Having heard a flying rumour of ſympathetic needles, by which, ſuſpended over a circular alphabet, diſtant friends or lovers might correſpond, he procured two ſuch alphabets to be made, touched his needles with the ſame magnet, and placed them upon proper ſpindles: the reſult was, that when he moved one of his needles, the other, inſtead of taking by ſympathy the ſame direction, “ſtood like the pillars of Hercules.” That it continued motionleſs, will be eaſily believed; and moſt men would have been content to believe it, without the labour of ſo hopeleſs an experiment. Browne might himſelf have obtained the ſame conviction by a method leſs operoſe, if he had thruſt his needles through corks, and then ſet them afloat in two baſons of water. – Notwithſtanding his zeal to detect old errors, he ſeems not very eaſy to admit new poſitions; for he never mentions the motion of the earth but with contempt and ridicule, though the opinion, which admits it, was then growing popular, and was, ſurely, plauſible, even before it was confirmed by later obſervations (43).’

Of Sir Thomas Browne's ‘Diſcourſe on Sepulchral Urns,’ Dr. Johnſon obſerves, that there is, perhaps, none of his works which better exemplifies his reading or memory. ‘It is ſcarcely, ſays he, to be imagined, how many particulars he has amaſſed together, in a treatiſe which ſeems to have been occaſionally written; and for which, therefore, no materials could have been previouſly collected. It is, indeed, like other treatiſes of antiquity, rather for curioſity than uſe: for it is of ſmall importance to know which nation buried their dead in the ground, which threw them into the ſea, or which gave them to birds and beaſts; when the practice of cremation began, or when it was diſuſed; whether the bones of different perſons were mingled in the ſame urn; what oblations were thrown into the pyre; or how the aſhes of the body were diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of other ſubſtances. Of the uſeleſneſs of all theſe enquiries, Browne ſeems not to have been ignorant; and, therefore, concludes them with an obſervation which can never be too frequently recollected.’—“All or moſt apprehenſions reſted in opinions of ſome future being, which ignorantly or coldly believed, begat thoſe perverted conceptions, ceremonies, ſayings, which Chriſtians pity or laugh at. Happy are they, which live not in that diſadvantage of time, when men could ſay little for futurity, but from reaſon; whereby the nobleſt mind fell often upon doubtful deaths, and melancholy diſſolutions: with theſe hopes Socrates warmed his doubtful ſpirits, againſt the cold potion; and Cato, before he durſt give the fatal ſtroke, ſpent part of the night in reading the Immortality of Plato, thereby confirming his wavering hand unto the animoſity of that attempt. —It is the heavieſt ſtone that melancholy can throw at man, to tell him he is at the end of his nature; or that there is no further ſtate to come, unto which this ſeems progreſſional, and otherwiſe made in vain: without this accompliſhment, the natural expectation and deſire of ſuch a ſtate, were but a fallacy in nature; unſatisfied conſiderators would quarrel the juſtice of their conſtitution, and reſt content that Adam had fallen lower, whereby, by knowing no other original, and deeper ignorance of themſelves, they might have enjoyed the happineſs of inferior creatures, who in tranquillity poſſeſs their conſtitutions, as having not the apprehenſion to deplore their own natures; and being framed below the circumference of theſe hopes or cognition of better things, the wiſdom of God hath neceſſitated their contentment But the ſuperior ingredient and obſcured part of ourſelves, whereto all preſent felicities afford no reſting contentment, will be able at laſt to tell us we are more than our preſent ſelves; and evacuate ſuch hopes in the fruition of their own accompliſhments (44).”

Dr. Johnſon gives a very pleaſing account of Sir Thomas Browne's ‘Garden of Cyrus, or Quincunxial Lozenge.’ ‘This diſcourſe he begins with the Sacred Garden, in which the firſt man was placed; and deduces the practice of horticulture from the earlieſt accounts of antiquity to the time of the Perſian Cyrus, the firſt man whom we actually know to have planted a Quincunx; which, however, our author is inclined to believe of longer date, and not only diſcovers it in the deſcription of the hanging gardens of Babylon, but ſeems willing to believe, and to perſuade his reader, that it was practiſed by the feeders on vegetables before the flood. —Some of the moſt pleaſing performances have been produced by learning and genius exerciſed upon ſubjects of little importance. It ſeems to have been, in all ages, the pride of wit, to ſhew how it could exalt the low, and amplify the little. To ſpeak not inadequately of things really and naturally great, is a taſk not only difficult but diſagreeable; becauſe the writer is degraded in his own eyes by ſtanding in compariſon with his ſubject, to which he can hope to add nothing from his imagination: but it is a perpetual triumph of fancy to expand a ſcanty theme, to raiſe glittering ideas from obſcure properties, and to produce to the world an object of wonder to which nature had contributed little. To this ambition, perhaps, we owe the Frogs of Homer, the Gnat and the Bees of Virgil, the Butterfly of Spenſer, the Shadow of Wowerus, and the Quincunx of Browne.—In the proſecution of this ſport of fancy, he conſiders every production of art and nature, in which he could find any decuſſation or approaches to the form of a Quincunx; and as a man once reſolved upon ideal diſcoveries, ſeldom ſearches long in vain, he finds his favourite figure in almoſt every thing, whether natural or invented, ancient or modern, rude or artificial, ſacred and civil; ſo that a reader, not watchful againſt the power of his infuſions, would imagine that decuſſation was the great buſineſs of the world, and that nature and art had no other purpoſe than to exemplify and imitate a Quincunx. —To ſhew the excellence of this figure, he enumerates all its properties; and finds in it almoſt every thing of uſe or pleaſure: and to ſhew how readily he ſupplies what he cannot find, one inſtance may be ſufficient; “though therein (ſays he) we meet not with right angles, yet every rhombus containing four angles equal unto two right, it virtually contains two right in every one.”—‘The fanciful ſports of great minds are never without ſome advantage to knowledge. Browne has interſperſed many curious obſervations on the form of plants, and the laws of vegetation; and appears to have been a very accurate obſerver of the modes of germination, and to have watched with great nicety the evolution of the parts of plants from their ſeminal principles.—He is then naturally led to treat of the number five; and finds, that by this number many things are circumſcribed; that there are five kinds of vegetable productions, five ſections of a cone, five orders of architecture, and five acts of a play. And obſerving that five was the ancient conjugal or wedding number, he proceeds to a ſpeculation, which I ſhall give in his own words; “The ancient numeriſts made out the conjugal number by two and three, the firſt parity and imparity, the active and paſſive digits, the material and formal principles in generative ſocieties (45).”

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(42) Dr. Johnſon's Life of Sir Thomas Browne, prefixed to his ‘Chriſtian Morals,’ p. xi—xiii.

(43) *Ibid.* p. xviii—xx.

(44) *Ibid.* p. xxi—xxiii.

(45) *Ibid.* p. xxiii—xxvii.

to his life, which, as they have been mentioned in the courſe of this article, and as thoſe inſcriptions have been publiſhed more than once, render it unneceſſary to tranſcribe them

With regard to the poſthumous pieces publiſhed by Dr. Teniſon, we ſhall only inſert what Dr. Johnſon hath ſaid concerning Sir Thomas Browne's Eſſay "On Languages, and particularly the Saxon Tongue." 'He diſcourſes with great learning, and generally with great juſtneſs, of the derivation and changes of languages; but, like other men of multifarious learning, he receives ſome notions without examination. Thus he obſerves, according to the popular opinion, that the Spaniards have retained ſo much Latin, as to be able to compoſe ſentences that ſhall be at once grammatically Latin and Caſtilian: this will appear very unlikely to a man that conſiders the Spaniſh terminations; and Howel, who was eminently ſkilful in the three provincial languages, declares, that after many eſſays he never could effect it.—The principal deſign of this letter, is to ſhew the affinity between the modern Engliſh and the ancient Saxon; and he obſerves, very rightly, that "though we have borrowed many ſubſtantives, adjectives, and ſome verbs, from the French; yet the great body of numerals, auxiliary verbs, articles, pronouns, adverbs, conjunctions, and prepoſitions, which are the diſtinguiſhing and laſting parts of a language, remain with us from the Saxon."—'To prove this poſition more evidently, he has drawn up a ſhort diſcourſe of ſix paragraphs, in Saxon and Engliſh; of which every word is the ſame in both languages, excepting the terminations and orthography. The words are, indeed, Saxon, but the phraſeology is Engliſh; and, I think, would not have been underſtood by Bede or Ælfric, notwithſtanding the confidence of our author. He has, however, ſufficiently proved his poſition, that the Engliſh reſembles its parental language, more than any modern European dialect (46).'

Sir Thomas Browne's perſonal character having been particularly delineated, by his friend Mr. Whitefoot, we ſhall lay before our readers that part of it which Dr. Johnſon hath thought worthy of being tranſcribed. "For a character of his perſon, his complexion and hair was anſwerable to his name; his ſtature was moderate, and habit of body neither fat nor lean, but ἐυσάρκος.—In his habit of clothing, he had an averſion to all finery, and affected plainneſs, both in the faſhion and ornaments. He ever wore a cloke, or boots, when few others did. He kept himſelf always very warm, and thought it moſt ſafe ſo to do, though he never loaded himſelf with ſuch a multitude of garments, as Suetonius reports of Auguſtus, enough to clothe a good family.—The horizon of his underſtanding was much larger than the hemiſphere of the world: All that was viſible in the heavens he comprehended ſo well, that few that are under them knew ſo much: He could tell the number of the viſible ſtars in his horizon, and call them all by their names that had any; and of the earth he had ſuch a minute and exact geographical knowledge, as if he had been by Divine Providence ordained ſurveyor-general of the whole terreſtrial orb, and its products, minerals, plants, and animals. He was ſo curious a botaniſt, that beſides the ſpecifical diſtinctions, he made nice and elaborate obſervations, equally uſeful as entertaining.—His memory, though not ſo eminent as that of Seneca or Scaliger, was capacious and tenacious, inſomuch as he remembered all that was remarkable in any book that he had read; and not only knew all perſons again that he had ever ſeen at any diſtance of time, but remembered the circumſtances of their bodies, and their particular diſcourſes and ſpeeches.—In the Latin poets he remembered every thing that was acute and pungent; he had read moſt of the hiſtorians, ancient and modern, wherein his obſervations were ſingular, not taken notice of by common readers; he was excellent company when he was at leiſure, and expreſſed more light than heat in the temper of his brain.—He had no deſpotical power over his affections and paſſions (that was a privilege of original perfection, forfeited by the neglect of the uſe of it); but as large a political power over them, as any Stoick, or man of his time, whereof he gave ſo great experiment, that he hath very rarely been known to have been overcome with any of them. The ſtrongeſt that were found in him, both of the iraſcible and concupiſcible, were under the controul of his reaſon. Of admiration, which is one of them, being the only product, either of ignorance, or uncommon knowledge, he had more, and leſs, than other men, upon the ſame account of his knowing more than others; ſo that though he met with many rarities, he admired them not ſo much as others do.—He was never ſeen to be tranſported with mirth, or dejected with ſadneſs; always cheerful, but rarely merry, at any ſenſible rate; ſeldom heard to break a jeſt; and when he did, he would be apt to bluſh at the levity of it: his gravity was natural without affectation.—His modeſty was viſible in a natural habitual bluſh, which was increaſed upon the leaſt occaſion, and oft diſcovered without any obſervable cauſe.—They that knew no more of him than by the briſkneſs of his writings, found themſelves deceived in their expectation, when they came in his company, noting the gravity and ſobriety of his aſpect and converſation; ſo free from loquacity, or much talkativeneſs, that he was ſomething difficult to be engaged in any diſcourſe; though when he was ſo, it was always ſingular, and never trite or vulgar. Parſimonious in nothing but his time, whereof he made as much improvement, with as little loſs as any man in it: when he had any to ſpare from his drudging practice, he was ſcarce patient of any diverſion from his ſtudy; ſo impatient of ſloth and idleneſs, that he would ſay, he could not do nothing.—Sir Thomas underſtood moſt of the European languages; *viz.* all that are in Hutter's Bible, which he made uſe of. The Latin and Greek he underſtood critically; the Oriental languages, which never were vernacular in this part of the world, he thought the uſe of them would not anſwer the time and pains of learning them; yet had ſo great a veneration for the matrix of them, *viz.* the Hebrew, conſecrated to the Oracles of God, that he was not content to be totally ignorant of it; though very little of his ſcience is to be found in any books of that primitive language. And though much is ſaid to be written in the derivative idioms of that tongue, eſpecially the Arabic, yet he was ſatisfied with the tranſlations, wherein he found nothing admirable.—In his religion he continued in the ſame mind which he had declared in his firſt book, written when he was but thirty years old, his *Religio Medici*, wherein he fully aſſented to that of the church of England, preferring it before any in the world, as did the learned Grotius. He attended the public ſervice very conſtantly, when he was not withheld by his practice. Never miſſed the ſacrament in his pariſh, if he were in town. Read the beſt Engliſh ſermons he could hear of, with liberal applauſe; and delighted not in controverſies. In his laſt ſickneſs, wherein he continued about a week's time, enduring great pain of the cholic, beſides a continual fever, with as much patience as hath been ſeen in any man, without any pretence of Stoical apathy, animoſity, or vanity of not being concerned thereat, or ſuffering no impeachment of happineſs. *Nihil agis dolor.*—His patience was founded upon the Chriſtian philoſophy, and a ſound faith of God's Providence, and a meek and humble ſubmiſſion thereunto, which he expreſſed in few words: I viſited him near his end, when he had not ſtrength to hear or ſpeak much; the laſt words which I heard from him, were, beſides ſome expreſſions of dearneſs, that he did freely ſubmit to the will of God, being without fear: He had oft triumphed over the king of terrors in others, and given many repulſes in the defence of patients; but when his own turn came, he ſubmitted with a meek, rational, and religious courage.—He might have made good the old ſaying of *Dat Galenus opes*, had he lived in a place that could have afforded it.

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(46) Dr. Johnſon's Life of Sir Thomas Browne, prefixed to his 'Chriſtian Morals,' p. xxx—xxxii.

them here (z). This monument was erected from the tender affection of Lady Dorothy Browne, his widow, to whoſe memory, on the oppoſite pillar, there is another mural monument, which informs us that ſhe died February 4, 1685, in the ſixty-third year of her age. By this Lady Sir Thomas had ten children, of whom only one ſon (who is taken notice of in the next article) and three daughters ſurvived him; all of them remarkable for inheriting their parents virtues, and enjoying an uncommon ſhare of that ſprightly wit and ſolid ſenſe, ſo conſpicuous in their father's writings; as they have alſo been by expreſſing an affectionate and becoming zeal for preſerving their father's memory, and ſecuring his literary remains from oblivion.

"But his indulgence and liberality to his children, eſpecially in their travels; two of his ſons in divers countries, and two of his daughters in France, ſpent him more than a little. He was liberal in his houſe entertainments, and in his charity; he left a comfortable, but no great eſtate, both to his lady and children, gained by his own induſtry. —Such was his ſagacity and knowledge of all hiſtory, ancient and modern, and his obſervations thereupon ſo ſingular, that it hath been ſaid by them that knew him beſt, that if his profeſſion, and place of abode, would have ſuited his ability, he would have made an extraordinary man for the privy-council, not much inferior to the famous Padre Paulo, the late oracle of the Venetian ſtate. —Though he were no prophet, nor ſon of a prophet, yet in that faculty which comes neareſt it, he excelled, *i. e.* the ſtochaſtic, wherein he was ſeldom miſtaken, as to future events, as well public as private; but not apt to diſcover any preſages or ſuperſtition (47).'

Dr. Johnſon's character of Sir Thomas Browne as a writer in general, and of his ſtyle in particular, is too juſt, as well as too maſterly, to be omitted. 'But it is not on the praiſes of others, but on his own writings, that he is to depend for the eſteem of poſterity; of which he will not eaſily be deprived, while learning ſhall have any reverence among men: for there is no ſcience, in which he does not diſcover ſome ſkill; and ſcarce any kind of knowledge, profane or ſacred, abſtruſe or elegant, which he does not appear to have cultivated with ſucceſs.—His exuberance of knowledge, and plenitude of ideas, ſometimes obſtruct the tendency of his reaſoning, and the clearneſs of his deciſions: on whatever ſubject he employed his mind, there ſtarted up immediately ſo many images before him, that he loſt one by graſping another. His memory ſupplied him with ſo many illuſtrations, parallel or dependent notions, that he was always ſtarting into collateral conſiderations: but the ſpirit and vigour of his purſuit always gives delight; and the reader follows him, without reluctance, through his mazes, in themſelves flowery and pleaſing, and ending at the point originally in view.—To have great excellencies, and great faults, "*magnæ virtutes nec minora vitia*, is the poeſy," ' ſays our author, " of the beſt natures." ' This poeſy may be properly applied to the ſtyle of Browne: It is vigorous, but rugged; it is learned, but pedantic; it is deep, but obſcure; it ſtrikes, but does not pleaſe; it commands, but does not allure: his tropes are harſh, and his combinations uncouth. He fell into an age, in which our language began to loſe the ſtability which it had obtained in the time of Elizabeth; and was conſidered by every writer as a ſubject on which he might try his plaſtic ſkill, by moulding it according to his own fancy. Milton, in conſequence of this encroaching licence, began to introduce the Latin idiom: and Browne, though he gave leſs diſturbance to our ſtructures and phraſeology, yet poured in a multitude of exotic words; many, indeed, uſeful and ſignificant, which, if rejected, muſt be ſupplied by circumlocution, ſuch as commenſality for the ſtate of many living at the ſame table; but many ſuperfluous, as a paralogical for an unreaſonable doubt; and ſome ſo obſcure, that they conceal his meaning rather than explain it, as arthritical analogies for parts that ſerve ſome animals in the place of joints.—His ſtyle is, indeed, a tiſſue of many languages; a mixture of heterogeneous words, brought together from diſtant regions, with terms originally appropriated to one art, and drawn by violence into the ſervice of another. He muſt, however, be confeſſed to have augmented our philoſophical diction; and in defence of his uncommon words and expreſſions, we muſt conſider, that he had uncommon ſentiments, and was not content to expreſs in many words that idea for which any language could ſupply a ſingle term.—But his innovations are ſometimes pleaſing, and his temerities happy: he has many *verba ardentia*, forcible expreſſions, which he would never have found, but by venturing to the utmoſt verge of propriety; and flights which would never have been reached, but by one who had very little fear of the ſhame of falling (48).'

The laſt thing which Dr. Johnſon hath done, in his life of Sir Thomas Browne, is to vindicate him from the charge of infidelity; and having fully ſhewn the falſity of this accuſation, the ingenious Biographer concludes in the following words: 'The opinions of every man muſt be learned from himſelf: concerning his practice, it is ſafeſt to truſt the evidence of others. Where theſe teſtimonies concur, no higher degree of hiſtorical certainty can be obtained; and they apparently concur to prove, that Browne was *a zealous adherent to the faith of* CHRIST, *that he lived in obedience to his laws, and died in confidence of his mercy* (49).'

We are told, in note [Q], that Sir Thomas Browne's 'Chriſtian Morals' was the laſt of his works that was publiſhed (*). But we learn from Dr. Johnſon, that the poſthumous pieces, communicated by Owen Brigſtock, Eſq; did not appear till 1722 (50).

There is a famous paſſage in the *Religio Medici*, in which the Author gives a long detail of his attainments, and yet declares that, among thoſe millions of vices he had inherited from Adam, he had eſcaped the firſt and father-ſin of pride (51). This hath been cenſured by Dr. Watts, not only as a ſtrange and thoughtleſs expreſſion, but as an evidence, that Sir Thomas Browne converſed but little at home; and that he was not acquainted with himſelf; ſince, while he ſtrongly denied that any vanity belonged to him, he could practiſe it in ſo public a manner (52). Dr. Johnſon concurs in the ſame cenſure, and obſerves, that 'a peruſal of the *Religio Medici* will not much contribute to produce a belief of the Author's exemption from this FATHER-SIN. Pride is a vice, which pride itſelf inclines every man to find in others, and to overlook in himſelf (53).' Nevertheleſs, though Sir Thomas Browne's aſſertion may be regarded as an inſtance of his indiſcretion, and as betraying ſome degree of ſelf-deceit, we cannot, on the whole, think that he was proud. He ſpeaks with ſuch apparent integrity of himſelf, and with ſuch a ſenſe of his defects, as well as of his excellencies, that, if pride had made a conſiderable part of his character, he could not ſo confidently have aſſerted his exemption from it.

Upon a re-peruſal of the 'Religio Medici,' we are clearly of opinion, that, as it hath been too much cenſured, it hath, likewiſe, been too much applauded. Every one muſt acknowledge in it the novelty of paradoxes, the dignity of ſentiment, the quick ſucceſſion of images, the multitude of abſtruſe alluſions, the ſubtlety of diſquiſition, and the ſtrength of language (54). But it abounds, at the ſame time, with weak and undigeſted notions and ſuppoſitions. Endued with a vigorous fancy, and poſſeſſed of multifarious reading, the author throws out at random whatever occurs to him, and treats on a variety of topics which he had not maturely conſidered. If he had accompanied what he read, with greater patience of thought and enquiry, he would have fallen into fewer errors, and, by that means, have appeared, as a ſolid and uſeful writer, to greater advantage: but then he might not, perhaps, have been equally entertaining. Upon the whole, his imagination and his learning ſeem, in no ſmall degree, to have exceeded his judgment.] K.

(z) In the Life prefixed to the Antiquities of Norwich, p. xix.

(47) Dr. Johnſon's Life of Sir Thomas Browne, prefixed to his 'Chriſtian Morals,' p. xli—xlviii.

(48) *Ibid.* p. lii—lv.

(49) *Ibid.* p. lxi.

(*) In 1716.

(50) *Ibid.* p. xxxiv.

(51) Religio Medici, p. 152. ſixth edition.

(52) Watts's Miſcellaneous Thoughts, p. 133. fifth edition.

(53) Johnſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. l.

(54) *Ibid.* p. viii.

BROWNE (EDWARD), a very eminent Phyſician, and Preſident of the Royal College at London, as well as Phyſician to his Majeſty King Charles II., was the ſon of Sir Thomas Browne before mentioned, and was born ſome time in the year 1642, notwithſtanding what has been reported by ſome writers, who took it for granted that he was in the ſeventieth year of his age (*a*) when he died. He received the firſt tincture of letters under the care of his father, who obſerving in him a great propenſity to learning, reſolved to ſpare nothing in his education (*b*), that might tend to the improvement of his natural genius, and gratify his ſtrong appetite to knowledge. He ſpent ſome time at Norwich ſchool, which was in thoſe days very famous, and from thence, when he was about fifteen, he removed to the univerſity of Cambridge; but in what college of that univerſity he ſtudied, I have not, at this diſtance of time, been able to diſcover. In all probability, the reaſon of his going thither was, for the ſake of being near the place of his father's reſidence, and that he might have the opportunity of enquiring into, and facilitating his progreſs in learning, which exceeded even the hopes of his indulgent parent; ſince, while a very young man, he became a perfect maſter, not only of the learned languages, and more eſpecially of Greek, but of every kind of academical knowledge: ſo that in 1665, he took there the degree of Bachelor of Phyſic (*c*). He removed afterwards to Oxford, and there, June 19, 1666, he was admitted to the ſame degree (*d*), and ſettling in Merton-college the year following, *viz.* July 7, 1667, he proceeded Doctor in that Faculty (*e*), and then returned to Norwich; ſo that ſuch writers as have aſſerted that he travelled before this time, are utterly miſtaken. But after remaining about a year there, he, with the conſent, and probably with the advice, of his father, reſolved to make a tour through Germany; and accordingly, Auguſt 14, 1668, he embarked at Yarmouth for Holland; and, having paſſed through the United Provinces, the Spaniſh Netherlands, and the Lower Germany as far as Cologne, he went from thence through Bavaria to the imperial city of Vienna, where he remained for ſome time; and then, paſſing through Moravia, and Bohemia, where he made ſome ſtay at Prague, and having examined the ſilver mines at Guttenberg, purſued his journey through Saxony, viſiting the Electoral Reſidence at Dreſden, the mines at Friedberg, the celebrated univerſity of Leipſic, and the famous city of Magdeburg, from whence he travelled to Hamburgh, and after a ſhort ſtay there, embarked on board a veſſel bound for London, and landed in Kent upon Chriſtmas-day that year (*f*). In theſe five months he made ſo many curious obſervations, contracted acquaintance with ſo many perſons conſiderable in the world by their rank or learning, and obtained ſuch a knowledge of the advantages beſtowed by travelling on perſons of his profeſſion, that he reſolved to go abroad again, and to make a more extenſive tour, which he accordingly did in the year following; paſſing through moſt of the dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria, viſiting ſeveral provinces, and taking a conſiderate view of the mines in Hungary. Afterwards he went to Lariſſa in Theſſaly, where the Grand Seignior then reſided, and having travelled through that country and Macedonia, returned again to Vienna; from whence he went to Venice by land through the country of Friuli, which gave him an opportunity of ſeeing and examining the quickſilver mines. He returned from Venice to Vienna, which is three hundred and fifteen miles, alone, and upon one horſe. He had, before this, made either a journey or a voyage to that city, and from thence, in company with Sir William Trumbull, who was afterwards Secretary of State, Mr. Soames, Dr. Palman, Dr. James, and Mr. Daſhwood, to Genoa, from whence he returned home through France, but at what time we cannot exactly diſtinguiſh (*g*). In the courſe of his travels, beſides his great improvements in all kinds of knowledge, more eſpecially Antiquities, Natural Hiſtory, and Phyſic, he had an opportunity of ſeeing the courts and perſons of four of the greateſt Monarchs, *viz.* the Emperor Leopold at Vienna; the Grand Seignior, Mohammed IV. at Lariſſa; Pope Clement IX. at Rome; and Lewis XIV. at Verſailles (*h*). Upon his return to London, he became a Member of the Royal Society, as well as of the College of Phyſicians (*i*); and being equally diſtinguiſhed by his extenſive learning and polite converſation, grew into high favour and eſteem with the famous Earl of Dorſet, and other perſons of great quality and diſtinction (*k*), at whoſe requeſt he publiſhed a relation of ſome part of his travels [*A*]. This book had a great character given it in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, and

(*a*) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 409.

(*b*) Life of Sir Thomas Browne, prefixed to his Poſthumous Works.

(*c*) From the information of the Rev. Mr. B. of St. John's.

(*d*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 166.

(*e*) *Id. ibid.* col. 170.

(*f*) Taken from his Travels, Lond. 1685, folio.

(*g*) This Journey is inſerted at the cloſe of the folio edition.

(*h*) Sir Thomas Browne's Life, by the Rev. Mr. John Whitefoot, p. xxxiii.

(*i*) Theſe titles are given in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. XCIV. p. 6049.

(*k*) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 410.

[*A*] *A relation of ſome part of his travels.*] The title of this work at large runs thus: ' A brief account of ſome travels in Hungaria, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Theſſaly, Auſtria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Friuli, *&c.* By Edward Browne, M. D. of the College of London, Fellow of the Royal Society, and Phyſician in Ordinary to his Majeſty. London in *4to.*' It is to be obſerved, that our author, after his return from Hamburgh, had communicated his deſign of making a tour through theſe countries, to ſome of the Members of the Royal Society; and as it was the cuſtom of that learned body, at this time, to frame inſtructions for the uſe of travellers, that they might receive ſuch lights as might conduce to the improvement of thoſe ſciences which fell more immediately under their inſpection; ſo we are informed, that their Secretary delivered ſuch to our author, which we find printed at large in the Tranſactions under the following title (1): ' Directions and Inquiries, as they were ſome time ſince recommended by the Publiſher, to the care of the ingenious and learned Dr. Edward Browne (ſon to that deſervedly famous Phyſician, Dr. Thomas Browne, and Fellow of the Royal Society) travelling in Germany, Hungary, Turkey, *&c.*' To theſe queries, Dr. Browne gave very copious anſwers, which were alſo printed at large in the Tranſactions; and were ſo full of curious, entertaining,

(1) See the Tranſactions of the Royal Society, No. LVIII. p. 1159.

and was received with univerſal applauſe, which, without doubt, it very well deſerved; as it contained a copious and circumſtantial account of ſeveral countries, with which we were very little acquainted (*l*); and indeed, from that time to this, there has been nothing publiſhed of the ſame kind that comes near it in any degree. Yet the Doctor, conſidering that there was ſome part of Germany, and more eſpecially the baths of Aix-la-Chapelle, the mineral waters at Spa, and other curioſities in that neighbourhood, which he had not ſeen, took the advantage of the Congreſs held at Cologne in 1673 (*m*), and having accompanied thither our Plenipotentiaries, Sir Joſeph Williamſon, and Sir Leoline Jenkins, he went from thence, in the beginning of July, to Aix-la-Chapelle, and having curiouſly examined, not only the baths for which that city is famous, but the mines in its neighbourhood, and particularly that of *lapis calaminaris* in the country of Limburgh, he proceeded to Spa, and enquired narrowly into the nature and virtue of the waters. He went next to Liege, and from thence, by Tongres, Louvain, Bruſſels, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Oſtend, Newport, and Dunkirk, to Graveline, and from thence to Calais, where he embarked for Dover, and arrived the latter end of the ſame year at London. He had promiſed, in the volume of Travels which he publiſhed, that if they were well received, he would preſent the world with another collection of the like nature; and it was very probably with a view of completing this ſecond collection, that he made this laſt tour through Germany and the Low-Countries. Yet he did not publiſh his ſecond volume till ſome years afterwards, when it met with the ſame reception from the learned world as the former volume had done, and with equal juſtice (*n*) [*B*]. About this time he ſettled in London, married, and began to grow into great practice; for his furtherance in which, upon the deceaſe of Sir John Micklethwaite, a very eminent Phyſician, he was, upon the King's recommendation, choſen to ſupply his place in St. Bartholomew's Hoſpital, ſome years before which, the King had made him his own Phyſician. He was elected at the Hoſpital, September 7, 1682 (*o*). The year following he publiſhed the Life of Themiſtocles, in the Engliſh tranſlation of Plutarch undertaken by Mr. Dryden, and therein gave a proof of his perfect acquaintance with the Greek language, and his great ſkill and accuracy in writing his own (*p*). On Michaelmas-day in the ſame year, he was, according to their charter, elected one of the Cenſors of the Royal College of Phyſicians (*q*). In 1684, the Life of Sertorius, as tranſlated by him, was made public (*r*); and in 1685, he augmented, as well as corrected and improved, the Collection of his Travels, which he then publiſhed all together [*C*]. Theſe, as far as I have been able to trace them, are all the works

(*l*) See the note [*A*].

(*m*) Dr. Browne's Travels, p. 180.

(*n*) See the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. CXXX. p. 767.

(*o*) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 410.

(*p*) Plutarch's Lives, Vol. i. p. 354.

(*q*) As appears from the Catalogue of the Members of the College, printed that year.

(*r*) Plutarch's Lives, Vol. iii. p. 598.

taining, and inſtructive circumſtances, that he was preſſed and prevailed upon to digeſt and put into order the whole ſeries of his travels, in order to their being made public. As ſoon as they appeared, they were taken notice of in, and recommended by, the Tranſactions of the Royal Society, in very ſtrong terms; the publiſher introducing his account of them in the following manner (3): ' This learned and inquiſitive traveller gives ſo good an account of the ' voyages he made through thoſe parts named in the ' title, that thereby he excellently inſtructs others ' what great benefit may be made by travelling, if ' performed with curioſity and judgment.' After which follows a kind of extract from his travels, of ſeveral paſſages relating to Phyſical Diſcoveries and Natural Hiſtory.

[*B*] *The ſame reception from the learned world as the former volume had done, and with equal juſtice.*] The title page of this ſecond volume of our author's travels, runs thus, ' An account of ſeveral travels through ' a great part of Germany, in four journeys. 1. From ' Norwich to Cologn. 2. From Cologn to Vienna, ' with a deſcription of that imperial city. 3. From ' Vienna to Hamburgh. 4. From Cologn to London, wherein the mines, baths, *&c.* London 1677, ' *4to* (4).' It is neceſſary to acquaint the reader, that the three firſt parts contain an account of our author's voyages to and from Germany, and his travels through a great part of that country, in 1668; ſo that theſe are prior in point of time to the travels publiſhed in the former volume. As for the fourth part, it relates to his laſt journey to Cologn, when the Congreſs was held there, of which we have given an account in the text. One may eaſily perceive that it was his great ſkill in minerals, and the curious accounts he had given upon his firſt return home, that, on the one hand, induced the Royal Society to lay ſo great a weight upon his communications, and, on the other, prompted him, after two ſuch long and fatiguing journeys, to make a third, that he might have an opportunity of viewing and examining all the remarkable mines in the Lower Germany, as he had before taken a view of thoſe in Bohemia, Saxony, Hungary, and Friuli. It is indiſputable, that the relations he has given us upon theſe ſubjects, are, beyond all compariſon, clearer and more correct than any that are to be met with either in our own or perhaps in any other language. He was a man that not only underſtood theſe matters in the higheſt degree of perfection, but was alſo very far from being credulous, and took little or nothing upon truſt, as appears from the accounts he gives us, in which he mentions a great variety of experiments made by himſelf upon the ſpot, in order to aſcertain the facts which he delivered. It may not be amiſs alſo to obſerve, that he travelled at a time when the knowledge of metals was in particular eſteem, ſo that ſeveral Princes in Germany employed both their heads and their hands in this ſtudy, and therefore his inclination for it was ſufficient to procure him in every place throughout that country a favourable reception, and even particular indulgencies. We have a very ſtrong inſtance of this in the compliment made him by the learned Lambeccius, who was at that time Library-keeper to the Emperor Leopold, of not only carrying to his lodgings any Chymical manuſcripts he deſired, but offering to cauſe them to be tranſcribed for his uſe, or even to allow him to carry them with him into England (5). This ſecond volume was alſo mentioned in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, with the higheſt marks of approbation of the book (6), and reſpect for its author; and this raiſed his reputation to ſuch a height, that he was conſidered even by the moſt knowing men in thoſe times, as a perfect maſter of Chymiſtry in all its branches, as well as of every part of Natural Hiſtory, and of Antiquities, more eſpecially medals, of which in this and in his former volume of travels, he delivers a great deal, and diſcourſes of them with much ſagacity and judgment, as well as on ſeveral points of Roman and Greek Literature relating to them; as he likewiſe does of ancient inſcriptions, in the collecting which he was very diligent, and equally happy in explaining them.

[*C*] *Corrected and improved the collection of his travels, which he then publiſhed all together.*] It is not neceſſary to give the reader the title-page of this book,

(3) See the Tranſactions of the Royal Society, No. XCIV. p. 6049.

(4) In ſeveral Catalogues, this book is ſaid to be printed A. D. 1679; but that is a miſtake.

(5) Dr. Browne's Travels, p. 146.

(6) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. CXXX. p. 707.

works of his that are extant. Yet it is both poſſible and probable, that he might communicate ſeveral things to the Royal Society (s), more eſpecially Chemical experiments, of which he made many; and of one of theſe we find very honourable mention, in the works of that great Philoſopher, and true friend to uſeful knowledge, the famous Mr. Boyle, of which ſome account will be given in the notes [*D*]. He attended his royal maſter, King Charles II., in his laſt illneſs, and to the time of his deceaſe (t). Upon the coming of the Duke of York to the crown, he was left out of the number of his Phyſicians; but his practice ſtill continued as great as ever, or rather increaſed. After the Revolution, he remained, likewiſe, at a diſtance from the Court; but his great ſucceſs in his profeſſion made him known and conſidered both at home and abroad, and that too by men of all parties and perſuaſions, as appears by a letter of his to the celebrated M. le Clerc, in favour of one Mr. Beverland, a man of great learning, and particularly remarkable for writing a moſt excellent Latin ſtyle; in which, however, he had exerciſed his pen on ſubjects that occaſioned his being baniſhed his country; on the repeal of which ſentence, this letter of recommendation was written, at the requeſt of Mr. John Locke and the Earl of Carberry (u). It is, without doubt, as elegant a piece of Latin as can well be ſeen, and may be therefore conſidered as a proof of our author's excellence in that reſpect. In 1701, about the month of May, when King William was preparing for his laſt voyage to Holland, Dr. Browne, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Millington, Sir Richard Blackmore, and Dr. Lawrence, was called to a conſultation on the ſtate of his health; but it does not appear that he attended him in his laſt illneſs (w). In the ſpring of the year 1705, upon the death of Sir Thomas Millington, Dr. Browne, who had riſen gradually through all the honours of the Fa-

book, which comprehends only what is mentioned in thoſe of the other two: but it is very requiſite to obſerve, that it differs from them very much in its contents, the author having enlarged every part of it with freſh obſervations, ſo that it is in ſome meaſure a new work. Beſides this, he has annexed his journey from Venice to Genoa, which is not in either of the two former volumes, and is full of great variety of curious and learned obſervations, in reſpect, more eſpecially, to the Roman antiquities, with which he ſhows himſelf extremely well acquainted. There is one thing, however, that ought not to be paſſed in ſilence, which is his turn for Poetry, of which we will give the reader an inſtance, that would be no diſcredit even to a more modern writer. It is the following tranſlation from Virgil, where Venus is introduced expoſtulating with Jupiter in the behalf of Æneas, which our author produces to prove, that Antenor was the founder of Padua, which by the way he always writes Padoa (7).

——Quem das finem, Rex magne, malorum?
Antenor potuit, mediis elapſus Achivis
Illyricos penetrare ſinus, atque intima tutus
Regna Liburnorum, et fontem ſuperare Timavi;
Unde per ora novem vaſto cum murmure montis
It mare proruptum, et pelago premit arva ſonanti:
Hic tamen ille urbem Patavi ſedeſque locavit
Teucrorum, et genti nomen dedit, armaque fixit.

What time, great King, ſhall terminate our woes?
Safe could Antenor break thro' all his foes,
Pierce to the bottom of the Illyrian bay,
View kingdoms where Liburnian princes ſway;
Paſs the nine mouths of fierce Timavus' waves,
Which roars upon the hills, and o'er the vallies raves,
And there could fix; *and on that foreign ground,*
Great Padoa's towers for after-ages found:
New name the race, and free from all alarms,
Hang up in peace his conſecrated arms.

It may not be amiſs to add here, the character given of our author's performance in the large Introductory Diſcourſe prefixed to the firſt volume of Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*, which was either written by, or at leaſt under the direction of, the famous Mr. Locke (8). 'The author, ſays he, a Doctor of Phyſic, has ſhewed himſelf excellently qualified for a 'traveller by this ingenious piece, in which he has 'omitted nothing worthy the obſervation of ſo curi'ous a perſon, having ſpent much time in the diſco'very of European rarities, and that in thoſe parts 'which are not the common track of travellers, who 'content themſelves with ſeeing France and Italy, 'and the Low-Countries; whereas his relation is of 'Hungary, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Theſſaly, 'Auſtria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Friuli; 'adding to theſe Germany, the Low-Countries, and 'a great part of Italy, of all which he has compoſed 'a work of great uſe and benefit.' To this we may ſubjoin, that theſe travels have been tranſlated into French, and as much eſteemed by the learned (9) in France, as their originals here.

[*D*] *Of which ſome account will be given in the notes.*] This paſſage in relation to Dr. Browne, occurs in Mr. Boyle's *ſecond* Eſſay upon *unſucceeding experiments*, in which he propoſes two things. Firſt. To render people cautious of eſtabliſhing any doctrine of conſequence upon ſingle experiments, or even on ſeveral experiments, all the circumſtances of which they have not particularly obſerved. The other is, that practical writers ſhould not be too haſtily cenſured on the ſcore of experiments by them related, failing upon repetition. After mentioning various inſtances in ſupport of theſe poſitions, he proceeds thus with regard to our author (10). 'And 'ſo having been informed that the learned Dr. 'Browne ſomewhere delivers, that aquafortis will 'quickly coagulate common oil, we poured ſome of 'thoſe liquors together, and let them ſtand for a 'conſiderable ſpace of time in an open veſſel, with'out finding in the oil the change by him promiſed '(though we have, more than once, with another 'liquor, preſently thickened common oil). Where'upon, being unwilling that ſo faithful and candid 'a Naturaliſt ſhould appear fit to be diſtruſted, we 'did again make the trial, with freſh oil and aqua'fortis, in a long-necked phial left open at the top, 'which we kept both in a cool place, and after in a 'digeſting furnace; but after ſome weeks, we found 'no other alteration in the oil, than that it had ac'quired a high and lovely tincture; notwithſtanding 'which, being ſtill concerned for the reputation of a 'perſon that ſo well deſerves a good one, the like 'contingencies we have formerly met with in other 'experiments, made us willing to try whether or no 'the unſucceſsfulneſs we have related, might not 'proceed from ſome peculiar, though latent quality, 'either in the aquafortis, or the oil, by us formerly 'employed. Whereupon, changing thoſe liquors, and 'repeating the experiment, we found, after ſome hours, 'the oil coagulated almoſt into the form of a whitiſh 'butter.' It appears clearly from hence, how great an opinion ſo good a judge, as Mr. Boyle was, had of our author's abilities, and more eſpecially how juſt a ſenſe he had of his integrity in reporting, as well as capacity in making, experiments. But at this diſtance of time, it has not been poſſible for us to recover the original experiment, as made and delivered by Dr. Browne; and, therefore, this, as well as other circumſtances, ſeems to juſtify what we have hinted in the text, that there may be ſeveral communications of our author's preſerved in the archives of the Royal Society, excluſive of thoſe that are to be met with in the printed Tranſactions, which I have very carefully examined, and find no papers bearing his name later than 1673.

(s) Some pieces of his are ſaid to be in the Philoſophical Collections by Dr. Hook, but theſe I have not ſeen.

(t) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 410.

(u) See the General Dictionary, Vol. iii. p. 302.

(w) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 410.

(7) Dr. Browne's Travels, p. 195.

(8) Churchill's Voyages, Vol. i. Introduction, p. xcviii.

(9) Lenglet du Freſnoy, Methodi pour etudier l'Hiſtoire, Tom. iv. p. 328.

(10) Boyle's Works, Vol. i. p. 224.

culty, and was at that time one of the Elects, and Treaſurer, ſucceeded him as Preſident of the Royal College of Phyſicians (*x*), which office he filled with great abilities, and diſcharged it with univerſal approbation to the time of his death, which happened on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt, 1708, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age, after a very ſhort illneſs, at his ſeat at Northfleet near Greenhithe in the county of Kent (*y*). He was extremely regretted by ſuch as were beſt acquainted with his merit, as appears by a very large character of him, which I have been favoured with, and which was drawn up for the uſe of Dr. Harris, in caſe he had lived to publiſh the ſecond part of his Hiſtory of Kent, in which there are ſeveral things that deſerve notice, and therefore it is remitted into the notes [*E*]. At the time of his deceaſe, our author had been for ſeveral years a widower, and though he had many children, yet only two ſurvived him, a ſon and a daughter. Of theſe, the former was Dr. Thomas Browne, who, at the time of his father's death, was Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Royal College of Phyſicians. He was, likewiſe, a gentleman of great parts and knowledge, and made a good figure in his profeſſion, but did not long ſurvive his father, dying in the month of July 1710 (*z*), without iſſue. His ſiſter married Owen Brigſtock, of Lechdenny in the county of Caermarthen, Eſq; to whom the public is indebted for the Poſthumous Works (*a*) of Sir Thomas Browne; and in his family I ſuppoſe the eſtate of Northfleet, which was of the value of about two hundred and forty pounds a year, continues. But in caſe iſſue by his ſon and daughter failed, it was demiſed, by Dr. Edward Browne, to be equally divided between the Royal College of Phyſicians, and St. Bartholomew's Hoſpital (*b*), in regard to his having been for ſome time Preſident of the former, and continuing for many years Phyſician to the latter.

(*x*) Catalogue of the Members of the College for that year.

(*y*) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 411.

(*z*) Le Neve's Monum. Anglic. Vol. iv. p. 164.

(*a*) The Preface to the Poſthumous Works aſſerts this.

(*b*) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 411.

[*E*] *And therefore it is remitted into the notes.*] This, and various other characters of perſons with whom he had been acquainted, was drawn up by an old Clergyman in Kent, out of pure zeal for the honour of that county; after whoſe death, they fell into the hands of the Reverend Mr. Knipe, from whom I had it ſeveral years ago. ‘ Though this gentleman was no native of Kent, yet having ſettled, and lived therein many years, and ſeeming to have fixed his family there, in caſe GOD had been pleaſed to continue it in the male line, he may well deſerve a place amongſt the Kentiſh Worthies. He received from his father an earneſt deſire after uſeful and extenſive ſcience, which was the beſt inheritance he left to his ſon. It is wonderful, that knowing ſo many things as he did, he ſhould know them all ſo thoroughly well. He was acquainted with Hebrew; he was a critic in Greek; and no man of his age wrote better Latin: High-Dutch, Italian, French, &c. he ſpoke and wrote with as much eaſe as his mother-tongue. Phyſic was his buſineſs, and to the promotion thereof, all his other acquiſitions were referred. Botany, Pharmacy, and Chemiſtry, he knew and practiſed. As to the latter, he inherited from his father the MSS. of Dr. A. Dee, among which too were ſome of John's (11); but his own lights went farther, and taught him, as ſome have thought, the whole Arcana of that myſterious ſcience. In the company of the learned, his diſcourſes were ſo academical, that he might be thought to have paſſed his days in a college. Amongſt politer company, his behaviour was ſo eaſy and diſengaged, you would have judged that he lived all his life in a court. With all this fund of knowledge, he was inquiſitive, patient, and modeſt; heard with great attention, and ſpoke with much circumſpection. In Religion, zealous without bigotry; in Politics, inflexible but without aſperity or rudeneſs; in private life, affable, beneficent, and chearful. In a word, he juſtified what King Charles ſaid of him on a particular occaſion, *He was as learned as any of the College, and as well bred as any at Court.* The nobility were fond of his company; his houſe was the reſort of ſtrangers; and, as he acquired the prudence of age without its gray hairs, ſo when they came he kept up all the chearfulneſs of youth.’ C.

⁂ [Too high a character appears to have been given, in this article, of Dr. Edward Browne's Travels. An honourable friend, ſpeaking of the firſt edition, in 4*to*, obſerves, that, ‘ bating what is ſaid of the mines, it ſeems a very ſuperficial, and trifling book. Dr. Browne, like moſt travellers, had his optics ſo framed as to ſee all objects as of equal magnitude.’ Dr. Johnſon's account of the ſame work is not much more favourable. He informs us that he hath heard it commended, by a learned traveller, who has viſited many places after Dr. Browne, as written with ſcrupulous and exact veracity, ſuch as is ſcarcely to be found in any other book of the ſame kind. ‘ But, adds Dr. Johnſon, whatever it may contribute to the inſtruction of a naturaliſt, I cannot recommend it as likely to give much pleaſure to common readers. For whether it be, that the world is very uniform, and therefore he who is reſolved to adhere to truth, will have few novelties to relate; or that Dr. Browne was, by the train of his ſtudies, led to enquire moſt after thoſe things, by which the greateſt part of mankind is little affected; a great part of the book ſeems to contain very unimportant accounts of his paſſage from one place where he ſaw little, to another where he ſaw no more (12).’

It hath been ſuggeſted to us (13), that the followlowing lines in verſe, of Dr. Browne's compoſition, in p. 38 of his travels to Hungary, furniſh a preſumption that he could not be the author of the poetical tranſlation from Virgil, in note [*C*].

‘ Now I believe the Troglodites of old,
‘ Whereof Herodotus and Strabo told;
‘ Since every where, about thoſe parts, in holes
‘ Cunicular men I find, and human moles.’] K.

(11) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 146.

(12) Johnſon's Life of Sir T. Browne, prefixed to the ‘ Chriſtian Morals,’ p. xxxviii, xxxix.

(13) By the valuable correſpondent ſo frequently referred to.

⁂ [BROWNE (SIMON), an able and learned Miniſter and Writer amongſt the Proteſtant Diſſenters, and who was remarkable for being ſeized with a mental diſorder of a moſt extraordinary kind, was born at Shepton-Mallet, in Somerſetſhire, about the year 1680 (*a*). He was inſtructed in grammar-learning by the Rev. Mr. Cumming, who was paſtor of a congregation in that town; from whence he was removed to Bridgewater, for the benefit of academical education, and there finiſhed his ſtudies under the care of the Rev. Mr. Moor (*b*). As he poſſeſſed uncommon parts, which had been improved by the moſt aſſiduous application, he was very early thought qualified for the miniſtry; ſo that he began to preach ſome time before he was

(*a*) *Vid.* Town and Country Mag. for 1770, p. 689, and a Funeral Sermon on the late Reverend Mr. Simon Browne, preached at Shepton Mallet, Dec. 31, 1732, by Anthony Atkey, p. 20. 25.

(*b*) Funeral Sermon, *ut ſupra.*

twenty years of age (c) [A]. His talents ſoon rendered him ſo conſpicuous among the Diſſenters, that he was choſen miniſter of a conſiderable congregation at Portſmouth, and in this ſituation he continued ſome years [B]. In 1706, he publiſhed a ſmall treatiſe, intitled, ‘ A Caveat againſt evil Company [C].’ In 1709, he publiſhed, in one volume, *8vo*, ‘ The true Character of the real Chriſtian [D].’ He diſcharged the duties of the paſtoral office at Portſmouth with ſo much fidelity and diligence, as procured him univerſal eſteem; but, in 1716, he removed from that place [E], to the great regret of his congregation, in conſequence of his being invited to accept of the paſtoral charge of the congregation of Proteſtant Diſſenters in the Old Jewry, London, which was one of the moſt reſpectable and conſiderable in the kingdom (d). In 1720, he publiſhed, in one volume, *12mo*, ‘ Hymns and Spiritual Songs, in three ‘ books [F].’ In 1722, he publiſhed a Volume of Sermons [G]. About the ſame time,

[A] *He began to preach ſome time before he was twenty years of age.*] Mr. Atkey ſays, that ‘ thoſe of the judicious (who were auditors of his earlieſt performances) thought they had no reaſon to cenſure him for beginning too ſoon; and an aſpect grave and manly, as much beyond his years as his underſtanding, removed the uſual prejudices of the vulgar, and made him univerſally acceptable (1).’

[B] *In this ſituation he continued ſome years.*] In the account of his life publiſhed in the Town and Country Magazine, and which we have before referred to, it is ſaid, that ‘ his ſtay at Portſmouth muſt have been extremely ſhort.’ The reaſon aſſigned for this is, that Mr. Browne was ſettled at London about the year 1717. But the ſenſible writer of this account of our author's life ſeems here to have been led into a miſtake, for want of ſufficiently comparing the dates. As Mr. Browne began to preach about the year 1700, he might have been many years at Portſmouth before he came to London. His piece on the ‘ Character of the real Chriſtian’ was printed in 1709; and in the title he is ſtyled ‘ Miniſter of Portſmouth.’ He was removed to the congregation at the Old Jewry, London, in 1716; ſo that he muſt have been ſettled at Portſmouth about ſeven years, and probably more. Of the exact time when he went to Portſmouth, we meet with no account.

[C] *A Caveat againſt evil Company.*] In this piece, which conſiſts of 111 pages in ſmall *8vo*, Mr. Browne has very particularly ſhewn the ill conſequences ariſing from bad company, pointed out the different ſorts of perſons whoſe company ſhould be avoided, and urged the ſtrongeſt arguments and exhortations, eſpecially to the young, to avoid, as much as poſſible, all intercourſe with the licentious and immoral. In a recommendatory preface to his ‘ True Character of the real Chriſtian,’ ſigned by four Diſſenting Miniſters, Daniel (afterwards Dr.) Williams, Joſh. Oldfield, B. Robinſon, and Sam. Roſewell, our author's ‘ Caveat againſt evil Company’ is mentioned, and is ſaid to be the beſt diſcourſe they ever ſaw upon the ſubject.

[D] *The true Character of the real Chriſtian.*] In this performance, which conſiſts of 344 pages, our author endeavours to ſhew, that the real Chriſtian ſhould be characteriſed by purity of thought, as well as rectitude of external conduct. He has introduced many rules for the regulation of the thoughts, explained the nature of the law of God, and what is implied in the love of it, and proved that thoſe who are inattentive to the regulation of their thoughts cannot be truly virtuous. He has alſo made many references to Greek and Roman writers, in order to ſhew, that his ſentiments on this ſubject were conformable to thoſe of ſome of the beſt writers of antiquity.

[E] *He removed from that place.*] Mr. Atkey ſays, ‘ he thought himſelf obliged to remove from Portſmouth, upon the probable proſpect of a more extenſive ſphere of uſefulneſs in the metropolis. With how much regret his former charge parted with him, is well known, and may eaſily be gathered from thoſe pathetic diſcourſes to them upon his removal, which he afterwards publiſhed (2).’ In the volume of ſermons printed by him in 1722, are four ſermons preached to his congregation at Portſmouth, in July 1716, after his removal from them was determined.

[F] *Hymns and Spiritual Songs.*] We ſhall ſelect one of theſe, as a ſpecimen of our author's poetical talents.

‘ HEAVENLY BLISS.

‘ COME now, my ſoul, and ſtretch thine eyes,
‘ Look thro' the veil, look thro' the ſkies,
‘ See what bleſt ſpirits do above,
‘ Where wrapt in ſplendours here unknown,
‘ Proſtrate they worſhip round the throne,
‘ And glow with everlaſting love.

‘ There God his brighteſt form diſplays,
‘ Makes Heav'n with conſtant luſtre blaze,
‘ And ſheds abroad true life and joy:
‘ Whilſt happy ſouls, with high delight,
‘ Their eyes in beatific ſight,
‘ In bliſsful love their hearts employ.

‘ They gaze till their own faces ſhine,
‘ Themſelves are made throughout divine,
‘ And fair reflect their Maker's form:
‘ Till they are quite entranc'd in bliſs,
‘ Wrapt up in boundleſs extaſies,
‘ And with intenſe devotion warm.

‘ Nor will this heav'nly form decay,
‘ Nor will theſe pleaſures fade away,
‘ But ſtill continue at the height:
‘ Their eyes the viſion will improve,
‘ Enjoyment fan the fire of love,
‘ And ne'er abate but raiſe delight.

‘ Immortal life will reign within,
‘ Without immortal bloom be ſeen,
‘ And joys immortal fill the place:
‘ There pleaſure ſhall be ever young,
‘ And rapture dwell on ev'ry tongue,
‘ And triumph ſhine on ev'ry face.

‘ For ever thus to be employ'd,
‘ Enamour'd, extaſy'd, o'erjoy'd,
‘ Is quinteſſence of bliſs indeed:
‘ There let me have my bleſs'd abode,
‘ And with the viſion of my God,
‘ Mine eyes, my joys for ever feed.

‘ I'll quit the treaſures here on earth,
‘ This tranſient pomp and trifling mirth,
‘ And fix my hopes and bliſs on high:
‘ There everlaſting glory grows,
‘ There boundleſs wealth for ever flows,
‘ And pleaſures neither fade nor die (3).’

[G] *A Volume of Sermons.*] They are thirteen in number, and chiefly on practical ſubjects. He prefixed to them an addreſs to his congregation in the Old Jewry, dated March 25, 1722, in which are the following paſſages: ‘ I reckon myſelf bound, by the ſtrong ties both of duty and affection, to promote your ſpiritual intereſts, by all the proper methods I can. You can bear me witneſs, I hope, that this view runs through the whole courſe of my miniſtrations: That I am purſuing, though with very unequal abilities, and, alas! with too little ſucceſs, the ſame deſign with your former excellent paſtor: A deſign to promote pure, peaceable, and practical religion, without rage or bitterneſs againſt any, and to ſpread the ſpirit of Chriſtianity, not that of a party.’ Speaking of the ſermons contained in this volume, he ſays, ‘ You'll find nothing here, but what is fitted to ſerve the purpoſes of edification, and promote ſound and practical religion. The ſubjects treated of concern its very life, and I have laboured to handle them in ſuch a way, as at once to inform the mind, reach the conſcience, and affect the heart. This I would aim at in every ſermon.

(c) Funeral Sermon, *ut ſupra.*

(d) Funeral Sermon, p. 20, 21. Town and Country Magazine, *ut ſupra.*

(1) Funeral Sermon, p. 20.

(2) Funeral Sermon, p. 21.

(3) Hymns and Spiritual Songs, by Simon Browne, p. 272.

time, he alſo publiſhed, in 8*vo*, ‘A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Thomas Reynolds [*H*].’ At the Old Jewry he continued to exerciſe the paſtoral office for about ſeven years with the greateſt reputation, and was much beloved and eſteemed by his congregation: but, in the year 1723, a complicated domeſtic affliction, the loſs of his wife, to whom he was tenderly attached, and an only ſon, ſo deeply affected him, that he was at firſt in a ſtate little different from diſtraction; and the diſorder which his imagination had ſuſtained from the ſhock that he had received, at length ſettled into a melancholy of a very extraordinary nature (*e*). He deſiſted from the duties of his function, and could not be perſuaded to join in any act of worſhip, either public or private (*f*). He imagined, ‘that Almighty God, by a ſingular inſtance of divine power, had, in a gradual manner, annihilated in him the thinking ſubſtance [*I*], and utterly diveſted him of conſciouſneſs: That though he retained the human ſhape, and the faculty of ſpeaking, in a manner that appeared to others rational, he had all the while no more notion of what he ſaid than a parrot. And, very conſiſtently with this, he looked upon himſelf as no longer a moral agent, a ſubject of reward or puniſhment (*g*).’ He continued in this perſuaſion to the end of his life, with very little variation [*K*]. Nothing grieved him more, than that he could not perſuade others to think of him as he thought of himſelf. He ſometimes conſidered this as queſtioning his veracity, which affected him in the moſt ſenſible manner; and he often took pains, by the moſt ſolemn

aſſeverations,

‘mon. Indeed, to raiſe the paſſions without firſt ſetting the judgment right, is to carry the man into all the wilds and wanton freaks of enthuſiaſm. It is like putting ſpurs to the horſe, and giving him the reins, that he may run away with his rider. No wonder, if in ſuch a caſe a man be ſunk in a bog, or daſhed to pieces from a precipice, before he is aware. But, on the other hand, it will ſignify little to the advancement of real religion, to ſet the head right, if we cannot alſo warm and engage the heart. For though the affections ſhould not have the ſupreme direction, they muſt be the immediate ſprings of human action. A man will never be perſuaded to ſeek with any diligence what he does not affect, nor ſhun with any care what he does not abhor. The buſineſs of a preacher, therefore, is firſt to ſet truth in as ſtrong a light as he can, and then, if poſſible, make his audience feel the force of it. This is what I have endeavoured.’

[*H*] *A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Thomas Reynolds*] The ſecond edition of this, which is now before us, was printed in 1723. In this pamphlet our author attacks, with a juſt ſeverity, and with much keenneſs and force of argument, Mr. Reynolds, and others among the Diſſenters, who, in conſequence of their zeal for orthodoxy, were anxious to compel their brethren, inconſiſtently with their principles as Diſſenters, to make very particular and explicit declarations of their belief in the doctrine of the Trinity. Mr. Browne was a zealous oppoſer of all invaſions of the rights of conſcience, whether attempts of that kind proceeded from Churchmen or Diſſenters; and utterly diſapproved of the narrow views of thoſe who were for confining the hopes of ſalvation within the limits of their own party. ‘For my own part,’ ſays he, ‘I am willing to leave as much room for others to hope for ſalvation as poſſibly I can, eſpecially in deep and difficult points of theology, that I may leave ſome for myſelf. For if none muſt go to heaven but thoſe who are *right believers*, and *certainly know* themſelves to be ſo, in ſuch points, I am afraid, the *narrow way* to heaven will be made much narrower than our bleſſed Lord has left it, and *very few*, indeed, *will there be that find it* (4).’ He alſo ſhewed in this piece, that ſome of thoſe who were very clamorous for an exact adherence to the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, were very ſuperficially acquainted with the controverſy, and ſometimes advanced contradictory and inconſiſtent propoſitions. He likewiſe pointed out the unreaſonableneſs and inefficacy of requiring any ſubſcription to human articles of faith. ‘Subſcription,’ ſays he, ‘is often a cover to *ignorance*, nay, and *hereſy*, and it is the common ſanctuary and retreat of lazineſs and implicit faith (5).’ In another place, he ſays, ‘I always took it, that ſubſcriptions of all kinds, whether to liturgies or articles, had been a grievance to our fathers, as well as to us; though rather than be rendered utterly incapable of public uſefulneſs, they and we have ſubmitted to the hardſhip, and ſubſcribed to ſome of the thirty-nine articles.’——‘This I take to have been the caſe of Nonconformiſts in all times. The impoſition they diſliked, and proteſted againſt, even when they could lawfully have complied with the thing enjoined, and have done ſo in ſome inſtances, rather than be wholly uſeleſs (6).’——‘How ſurpriſing is it, that this goodly method of ſubſcribing the doctrines of Chriſtianity in a form of words of men's deviſing, ſhould never come into the mind of God; or if it did, that he ſhould never ſay one word of it, from one end of the Bible to the other! But how happy had it been, indeed, for the church and world, if this *method of ſubſcribing* had never come into the mind of men, more than into the mind of God: if, as that holy man, Mr. Baxter, expreſſes it (7), the *Devil* had never put on his *gown*, ſtept into the infallible chair, and, in a fit of reverend zeal, taken upon him to preſerve and perfect the faith of the church! This was opening Pandora's box. Had not Satan turned orthodox, and tempted Chriſtian miniſters to *make* and *mend*, and *enlarge* creeds, and prevent and cure hereſy *by ſubſcription* to *their own* terms and forms, peace and truth had been much better preſerved than they have been, or ever will be, till this *engine of the devil*, as that wiſe and good man calls it, be overthrown (8).’

[*I*] *Annihilated in him the thinking ſubſtance.*] Lewis Kennedy, gardener to the late Duke of Bedford, put an end to his life, by cutting his throat, in October 1743, in conſequence of the diſtreſs of mind which he laboured under, and which was occaſioned by a kind of lunacy ſimilar to that of Mr. Browne. In a letter written by him, juſt before he killed himſelf, after mentioning his parents, and ſaying that they had beſtowed on him ſome education, he adds, ‘whereby I have carried a fair character, and, I bleſs my God, honeſt to all men; but of ſudden deprived of thought and reaſon, am become odious to myſelf, and of courſe deſpicable to my friends and acquaintance, and as ſuch am unworthy of any longer being upon earth.’——‘Senſible of the firſt loſs of my ſenſes, at Mr. John Gore's, at Buſh-hill, I find myſelf thereby incapable of living in the honourable family, which, to the appearance of the world, I was fixed in; but being deprived of all my reaſon, before I had the honour to be known to his Grace of Bedford, I can expect no other than to be branded for a fool; and as this dreadful reflection has had ſuch influence on me, I am reſolved to go where I am a ſtranger to all; and if it pleaſes God to reſtore my former tranquillity, or to ſuffer my body now to periſh, his bleſſed will be done. Let not the world reflect on my management ſince I have been at Woburn; for the whole time I have been quite void of ſenſe or reaſon, and therefore incapable to act (9).’

[*K*] *He continued in this perſuaſion to the end of life, with very little variation.*] Mr. Atkey obſerves, that he would, however, own, that ‘he had greatly been miſtaken in the meaſure of the conſumption God had been pleaſed to make in him, having imagined it had been completed when it was not. But he was confident, that at length the thinking powers were entirely taken from him (10).’

(*e*) Funeral Sermon, and Town and Country Magazine, *ut ſupra.*

(*f*) Adventurer, No. 88.

(*g*) Funeral Sermon, p. 22.

(4) Letter to the Rev. Mr. Thomas Reynolds, 2d edit. p. 21.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 12.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 32.

(7) Directions about Peace of Conſcience, Direct. 26.

(8) Letter to Reynolds, p. 28.

(9) Gentleman's Mag. Vol. xiii. p. 544.

(10) Funeral Sermon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 22.

aſſeverations, to remove ſuch an imputation (*h*). At other times, and in a more gloomy hour, he would repreſent the incredulity which was manifeſted towards him, as a judicial effect of the ſame divine power that had occaſioned this ſtrange alteration in him, as if God had determined to proceed againſt him in this way, and would have no application made in his behalf. Upon this account, for a long while, he was unwilling that any prayers ſhould be made for him [*L*]; which, he would ſay, could be warranted by nothing but a faith in miracles (*i*). At the beginning of his diſorder, he was ſo unhappy in himſelf, as to have frequent propenſities to deprive himſelf of life [*M*]; but he afterwards grew more ſerene, and appeared to have little or no terror upon his mind. He conſidered himſelf as one who, though he had little to hope, had no more to fear, and was therefore, for the moſt part, calm and compoſed; and when the converſation did not turn upon himſelf, as it was generally rational and very ſerious, ſo was it often cheerful and pleaſant (*k*). But his opinion concerning himſelf occaſionally led him into inconſiſtencies; and when theſe were pointed out to him, he ſometimes appeared much puzzled (*l*).

Whilſt he was under the influence of this ſtrange frenzy, it was extremely remarkable, that his faculties appeared to be in every other reſpect in their full vigour [*N*].

[*L*] *For a long while, he was unwilling that any prayers ſhould be made for him.*] 'Yet,' ſays Mr. Atkey, 'in the latter part of his time, he became deſirous of the prayers of Chriſtians, provided they would ſuppoſe it poſſible for him to be in the right, and repreſent his caſe as it was; otherwiſe, he ſaid, it was not praying for *him* (11).'

As for ſome time he was unwilling that any prayers ſhould be made for him, neither did he put up any for himſelf, and refuſed even to ſay grace at table. Being once importuned to ſay grace at the table of a friend, he excuſed himſelf many times; but the requeſt being ſtill repeated, and the company kept ſtanding, he diſcovered evident tokens of diſtreſs, and, after ſome irreſolute geſtures and heſitation, expreſſed with great fervour this ejaculation: 'Moſt merciful and almighty God, let thy ſpirit, which moved upon the face of the waters when there was no light, deſcend upon me, that from this darkneſs there may riſe up a man to praiſe thee (12).' On another occaſion, being very earneſtly ſolicited to ſay grace, he was at length, with great difficulty, prevailed upon to do it; and he put up the following petition: 'Lord, I am nothing, I aſk nothing, and I want nothing; but bleſs theſe good creatures to thoſe who are about to receive them (13).'

It is probable, that, after his retirement into the country, he was leſs uninclined to join in acts of devotion: for Mr. Atkey ſays, that 'though the nature of his diſtemper was ſuch, that it would hardly allow him to reckon himſelf capable of any acts of piety, yet it was eaſy to obſerve, that he always retained a lively ſenſe of the Divine Being on his mind, and frequently expreſſed it in devout prayer; of which the families in which he lived were often witneſſes (14).'

That towards the cloſe of his life he was deſirous that prayers ſhould be put up for him, is evident from the following paſſage at the cloſe of the preface to his piece againſt Woolſton, which was publiſhed in 1732, the year in which he died. 'I have no more to add by way of preface, but only to requeſt, that if any ſerious Chriſtians, into whoſe hands this may fall, meet with any thing in theſe papers, to their own ſatisfaction, and to the credit of their religion, they would, in their moſt ſerious hours, and moſt ſolemn addreſſes to the throne of grace, be petitioners for me, in my preſent melancholy and unhappy circumſtances, and make their earneſt prayer, in the name of Jeſus, whoſe religion is ſo much the ridicule of Mr. Woolſton, his admirers, and diſciples.'

[*M*] *He was ſo unhappy in himſelf, as to have frequent propenſities to deprive himſelf of life.*] This appears from the following letter, written by him to the Rev. Mr. Read, of Bradford in Wilts, juſt before his retirement into the country.

'REVEREND SIR,

'I Doubt not you have been earneſt with God in my behalf, ſince you left the city, who expreſſed ſo much tender concern for me while you were in it. I wiſh I could write any thing to you that might turn your compaſſion into thankſgiving, and your prayers into praiſes. But, alas! nothing of that kind is to be expected from one who has lived a life of defiance to God, under a Chriſtian profeſſion, and a ſacred character; and is now, through his juſt diſpleaſure, in the moſt forlorn ſtate a man can be in on earth, perfectly empty of all thought, reflection, conſcience, or conſideration; deſtitute, entirely deſtitute, of the knowledge of God and Chriſt, and his own ſoul, and the things both of time and eternity, being unable to look backward or forward, or inward or outward, or upward or downward; having no conviction of ſin or duty, no capacity of reviewing his conduct, or looking forward with expectation of either good or evil; and, in a word, without any principles of religion or even of reaſon, and without the common ſentiments or affections of human nature; inſenſible even to the good things of life, incapable of taſting any preſent enjoyments, or expecting future ones; dead to his children, friends, and country; having no intereſt, either bodily or ſpiritual, temporal or eternal, to value or mind, but converted into a mere beaſt, that can reliſh nothing but preſent bodily enjoyments, without taſting them by anticipation or recollection.

'This is my true condition: thus am I thrown down from my excellency. Becauſe I had not, God has taken away the things that I had. Indeed, I have not thoſe horrors on my mind to which you was a witneſs; I am grown more calm, becauſe more inſenſible, and every day ſince you ſaw me has this inſenſibility been growing upon me; nor can it be removed without a miracle of grace; and for this grace I cannot pray, having loſt all ſight of God, and tenderneſs of ſoul towards him. Such an inſtance of divine diſpleaſure the world hardly ever ſaw, much leſs one recovered by divine grace out of ſuch a condition. I doubt whether you have room to pray; but if you think you have, I doubt not but you will be fervent at the throne of grace in your requeſts. But I am ſo changed, that I muſt firſt be made a *man*, before I can become a *Chriſtian*; having now none of that knowledge or common ſentiments on which a ſaving change muſt be founded. I am utterly incapable of any buſineſs in life, and muſt quit my preſent ſtation, and think, as ſoon as I can, to be retiring into my own country, there to ſpend out the wretched remains of a miſerable life, which yet I am continually prompted to deſtroy. I thought you would be willing to hear from me; and though you cannot be pleaſed with the account, I am obliged to give you a true one, and beg an intereſt in your prayers, which will turn to your own account, if it avails nothing towards the ſalvation of the moſt wretched and wicked ſinner, who would yet, if he was able, be

'Your friend and ſervant,

'SIMON BROWNE (15).'

[*N*] *His faculties appeared to be in every other reſpect in their full vigour.*] It has been obſerved, that at the very time that he himſelf imagined he had no rational ſoul, 'he was ſo acute a diſputant, that his friends ſaid, *he could reaſon as if he were poſſeſſed of* TWO *ſouls* (16).'

(*h*) Funeral Sermon, p. 21.

(*i*) Funeral Sermon, p. 23.

(*k*) *Ibid.*

(*l*) From private information.

(11) Funeral Sermon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 23.

(12) Adventurer, No. 88.

(13) From private information.

(14) Funeral Sermon, p. 29.

(15) Gent. Mag. Vol. xxxii. p. 453.

(16) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. xxxii. p. 453.

He continued to apply himſelf to his ſtudies, and diſcovered the ſame force of underſtanding which had formerly diſtinguiſhed him, both in his converſation and in his writings. However, having quitted the miniſtry [*O*], he retired into the country, to his native town of Shepton-Mallet. Here, for ſome time, he amuſed himſelf with tranſlating ſeveral parts of the ancient Greek and Latin poets into Engliſh verſe. He afterwards compoſed ſeveral little pieces for the uſe of children, an Engliſh grammar and ſpelling-book, an abſtract of the ſcripture-hiſtory, and a collection of fables, the two laſt both in metre. With great labour he alſo amaſſed together, in a ſhort compaſs, all the themes of the Greek and Latin tongues, and compiled likewiſe a Dictionary [*P*] to each of theſe works, in order to render the learning of both thoſe languages more eaſy and compendious (*m*). But neither of theſe pieces, nor ſeveral others which were written by him during his retirement, were ever printed (*n*). During the two laſt years of his life, he employed himſelf in the defence of the truth of Chriſtianity, againſt ſome of the attacks which were then made againſt it; and alſo in recommending mutual candour to Chriſtians of different ſentiments concerning the doctrine of the Trinity. In 1732, he publiſhed, in 8*vo*, ‘A ſober and charitable Diſquiſition concerning the Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity; particularly with regard to Worſhip, and the Doctrine of Satisfaction: endeavouring to ſhew, that thoſe in the different ſchemes ſhould bear with each other in their different ſentiments; nor ſeparate communions, and caſt one another out of Chriſtian-fellowſhip on this account [*Q*].’ The ſame year he publiſhed, ‘A fit Rebuke to a ludicrous Infidel, in ſome Remarks on Mr. Woolſton's fifth Diſcourſe on the Miracles of our Saviour. With a Preface concerning the proſecution of ſuch writers by the civil powers [*R*].’ It was in the ſame year alſo that he

(*m*) Funeral Sermon, p. 24.

(*n*) *Id. ibid.*

Mr. Atkey ſays, ‘What was moſt extraordinary in his caſe, was this; that, excepting the ſingle point I have mentioned, on which the diſtraction turned, his imagination was not only more lively (which is leſs to be wondered at), but (in the opinion of thoſe who knew him before, and ſince) his judgment was even improved, beyond what it was in his more flouriſhing times (17).’

(17) Funeral Sermon, p. 24.

[*O*] *Having quitted the miniſtry.*] His congregation had ſo great a regard for him, that they delayed for a conſiderable time appointing a ſucceſſor, in hopes of his recovery: but about the year 1725, the Rev. Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Samuel Chandler, whoſe name is well known in the learned world, was appointed Miniſter of the congregation in the Old Jewry.

[*P*] *Compiled likewiſe a Dictionary.*] It is ſaid, that a friend once called upon him, and aſked him what he was doing? He replied, ‘I am doing nothing that requires a reaſonable ſoul; I am making a Dictionary: but you know thanks ſhould be returned to God for every thing, and therefore for Dictionary-makers (18).’

(18) From private information.

[*Q*] *A ſober and charitable Diſquiſition concerning the Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, &c.] It will be ſeen, from the title of this piece, that Mr. Browne's deſign in it, was to recommend mutual candour and forbearance to perſons of different ſentiments; and he obſerves in it, that it does not ‘ſeem to have been the divine purpoſe, that *all* men, in *all* different points of religion, however near they may ſeem to the foundation, ſhould have the ſame ſentiments. No doubt, God could have delivered his mind ſo plainly, on every head of religion, that none ſhould have more diſagreed about its preciſe meaning, or certain truth, than they do about that of a mathematical definition, axiom, or demonſtration. And had he purpoſed there ſhould have been no diſagreement, doubtleſs he had expreſſed himſelf with this plainneſs (19).’

(19) Sober and charitable Diſquiſition concerning the Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity, p. 38.

[*R*] *A fit Rebuke to a ludicrous Infidel*, &c.] Dr. Leland obſerves, that this piece of Mr. Browne's is ‘written with great ſmartneſs and ſpirit (20).’ In his preface, he expreſſed, in very ſtrong terms, his diſapprobation of the proſecution of Mr. Woolſton, or any other Deiſt, on account of their writings; and he proved, in a very able manner, that all ſuch interpoſitions of the civil magiſtrate, to prevent attacks againſt Chriſtianity, were extremely diſhonourable to it. ‘I always uſed to think,’ ſays he, ‘that neither Chriſtianity, nor any of the truths taught in it, could ſuffer by thorough examination, or fair debate. The evidences for it will bear the moſt exact and accurate ſcrutiny. Nor could I ever think it could be for its prejudice, to have theſe ſet in the ſtrongeſt light: and yet very ſerious doubts have ariſen in the minds of the wiſeſt and beſt of men. And ſhould any ſuch ariſe, as are too much for themſelves to maſter, what harm were there in publiſhing them, that the matter might be cleared up to themſelves and the world? Nor could I ſee reaſon why profeſſed unbelievers ſhould be hindered from offering their reaſons againſt it. The firſt preachers of Chriſtianity thought it reaſonable, no doubt, though they did not expect it, that all men where they came ſhould give them the hearing, weigh what they ſaid, compare the religion they taught, with that in which themſelves had been educated, and not cry them down with noiſe, or cruſh them with power. And ſo would any Chriſtian preachers now, who were to go on the ſame errand. And what Chriſtians would readily expect from others, they ſhould readily allow to others, or they tranſgreſs that excellent rule of their maſter, of *doing to others as they would have others do to them*. If it would be unreaſonable and injurious in Heathens and Mahometans, to run *them* down with clamour and violence, when they ſought by fair reaſoning only, to ſhew the falſehood of their religion; they would think ſo, would they act equitably, when by clamour and power they ſtop the mouths of thoſe, who by *argument* only endeavour to ſhew the falſehood of theirs. Nor is this for the honour of Chriſtianity itſelf. Can it not ſtand againſt fair argument, that recourſe muſt be had to the civil power for its defence? It is treachery to it, to do any thing that fairly carries ſuch an intimation. If it can, let its profeſſors and miniſters defend it, and ſhew the weakneſs of what is objected againſt it, and in this manly way convince and ſilence gainſayers; not padlock their mouths, by making it penal to gainſay it at all. If they take ſuch a method to ſupport it, both enemies and indifferents will be ready to ſuſpect, they diſtruſt either their *religion* or *themſelves*; that *that* is not defenſible, at leaſt, that *they* cannot defend it. Or elſe, that *they* are content their religion ſhould ſhift for itſelf, if they, by power, may ſecure the worldly emoluments annexed to it. And this is the way to diſgrace their religion, and bring themſelves into diſeſteem (21).’ In another place, he ſays, ‘If it be not for the honour of Chriſtianity, for private Chriſtians to beat and hurt thoſe who revile it, and repay their wrong and contempt with ſuch injury; I cannot ſee, that it is for its honour, for Chriſtian magiſtrates to do, what is in effect the ſame, viz. avenge it with proſecutions and penalties. Revenge for ſuch injurious uſage is no more decent in them, than in private perſons, though legal forms may put a better face on it: and the temper of their maſter ſhould be as conſpicuous in them, as in others. Jeſus and his religion look better like themſelves, by patience under ſuch abuſe, than paſſionate revenge for it. Magiſtrates may indeed think their *wiſdom* affronted, and *their authority* deſpiſed;

(20) View of the Deiſtical Writers, p. 110. Vol. i. edit. 1766.

(21) Browne's Preface to his fit Rebuke to a ludicrous Infidel, p. 1, 2.

he publiſhed his 'Defence of the Religion of Nature, and the Chriſtian Revelation, againſt the defective account of the one, and the exceptions againſt the other, in a book, entitled, Chriſtianity as old as the Creation [*S*].' In all theſe pieces, though written in his retirement, with little aſſiſtance from books, or learned converſation, he yet diſplayed great extent of knowledge, and uncommon argumentative powers. But to the laſt of theſe performances, he had prefixed a very ſingular Dedication to Queen Caroline [*T*], expreſſive of the unhappy deluſion under which he laboured; and which his friends prudently ſuppreſſed.

After his retirement into the country, he could not be prevailed upon to uſe any kind of exerciſe or recreation; ſo that a complication of diſorders, contracted by his ſedentary mode of living, at length brought on a mortification in his leg, which put a period to his life, at the cloſe of the year 1732, in the fifty-ſecond year of his age (*o*). He had ſeveral daughters, who ſurvived him (*p*). He was a man of extenſive knowledge [*U*], and very

(*o*) Funeral Sermon, p. 25.

(*p*) Town and Country Mag. *ut ſupra.*

despiſed, who have thought meet to profeſs and countenance this religion, if it be reproached; and may reſent this, and by proſecutions ſhew their reſentment: but this is really a mere *human concern* for their *own* honour, not a Chriſtian concern for the honour of Jeſus's religion. This would be much more honoured by their ſharing its reproach, and patience under it, than ſuch a vindication as the example of Jeſus does not recommend, his goſpel no where enjoins or allows, nor does at all ſeem ſuited to his ſpirit, or that of his religion (22).'

(22) Preface, *ubi ſupra*, p. 5.

[*S*] *His Defence of the Religion of Nature, and the Chriſtian Revelation*, &c.] Mr. Atkey obſerves, that 'ſome of the beſt judges have thought this Defence ſuperior to moſt, and inferior to none, that have appeared on the ſame ſubject (23).' It is obſerved in the Adventurer (24), that this work of our author 'is univerſally allowed to be the beſt book which that controverſy produced.' This is, perhaps, ſpeaking of Mr. Browne's performance ſomewhat too highly; though it is certainly a very valuable piece; and is ſtyled by Dr. Leland 'a ſolid and excellent anſwer' to Tindal (25).

(23) Funeral Sermon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 25.

(24) No. 88.

(25) View of the Deiſtical Writers, *ubi ſupra*, p. 130.

After Mr. Browne's death, in 1733, was publiſhed, in 8vo, as a ſeparate piece, 'The Cloſe of the Defence of the Religion of Nature and the Chriſtian Revelation: in Anſwer to Chriſtianity as old as the Creation. In an addreſs to Chriſtian miniſters and the Chriſtian people.' The author of Chriſtianity as old as the Creation urges it as an argument againſt the truth of the Goſpel revelation, that it has been productive of but little good effect in the lives of Chriſtians, and that it does not appear that they have arrived at any higher ſtate of perfection than the reſt of mankind. This objection Mr. Browne anſwered in his *Defence*; and his *Cloſe* of that Defence is an earneſt and pathetic exhortation to Chriſtian miniſters and people, of all denominations, not to give ſo much ground by their conduct for ſuch objections of the Deiſts, but to regulate their lives in a more exact conformity to the precepts of the excellent religion which they profeſſed.

Beſides the works of Mr. Browne which have been enumerated, he alſo publiſhed ſeveral ſingle ſermons; and Mr. Atkey ſays, that, if his life had been longer continued, he intended to have written a work on 'the Scripture notion of the death of Chriſt as a propitiatory ſacrifice (26).'

(26) Funeral Sermon, p. 25.

[*T*] *A very ſingular Dedication to Queen Caroline.*] Though this was at the time ſuppreſſed by his friends, a copy of it was preſerved, which has been publiſhed in the Adventurer, No. 88. It is as follows:

'Madam,

'Of all the extraordinary things that have been tendered to your royal hands ſince your firſt happy arrival in Britain, it may be boldly ſaid, what now beſpeaks your Majeſty's acceptance is the chief.

'Not in itſelf indeed; it is a trifle unworthy your exalted rank, and what will hardly prove an entertaining amuſement to one of your Majeſty's deep penetration, exact judgment, and fine taſte.

'But on account of the author, who is the firſt being of the kind, and yet without a name.

'He was once a man; and of ſome little name; but of no worth, as his preſent unparalleled caſe makes but too manifeſt; for by the immediate hand of an avenging God, his very thinking ſubſtance has for more than ſeven years been continually waſting away, till it is wholly periſhed out of him, if it be not utterly come to nothing. None, no not the leaſt remembrance of its very ruins remains, not the ſhadow of an idea is left, nor any ſenſe, that, ſo much as one ſingle one, perfect or imperfect, whole or diminiſhed, ever did appear to a mind within him, or was perceived by it.

'Such a preſent from ſuch a thing, however worthleſs in itſelf, may not be wholly unacceptable to your Majeſty, the author being ſuch as hiſtory cannot parallel: and if the fact, which is real and no fiction, nor wrong conceit, obtains credit, it muſt be recorded as the moſt memorable, and, indeed, aſtoniſhing event in the reign of George the Second, that a tract, compoſed by ſuch a thing, was preſented to the illuſtrious Caroline; his Royal conſort, needs not be added: Fame, if I am not miſinformed, will tell that with pleaſure to all ſucceeding times.

'He has been informed that your Majeſty's piety is as genuine and eminent, as your excellent qualities are great and conſpicuous. This can, indeed, be truly known to the great ſearcher of hearts only. He alone who can look into them can diſcern if they are ſincere, and the main intention correſponds with the appearance; and your Majeſty cannot take it amiſs if ſuch an author hints, that HIS ſecret approbation is of infinitely greater value than the commendation of men, who may be eaſily miſtaken, and are too apt to flatter their ſuperiors.

'But if he has been told the truth, ſuch a caſe as his will certainly ſtrike your Majeſty with aſtoniſhment, and may raiſe that commiſeration in your royal breaſt, which he has in vain endeavoured to excite in thoſe of his friends; who, by the moſt unreaſonable and ill-founded conceit in the world, have imagined that a thinking being could for ſeven years together live a ſtranger to its own powers, exerciſes, operations, and ſtate; and to what the great God has been doing in it, and to it.

'If your Majeſty, in your moſt retired addreſs to the King of kings, ſhould think of ſo ſingular a caſe, you may perhaps make it your devout requeſt, that the reign of your beloved Sovereign and conſort may be renowned to all poſterity by the recovery of a ſoul now in the utmoſt ruin, the reſtoration of one utterly loſt at preſent amongſt men.

'And ſhould this caſe affect your royal breaſt, you will recommend it to the piety and prayers of all the truly devout who have the honour to be known to your Majeſty: many ſuch doubtleſs there are; though courts are not uſually the places where the devout reſort, or where devotion reigns. And it is not improbable, that multitudes of the pious throughout the land, may take a caſe to heart, that under your Majeſty's patronage comes thus recommended.

'Could ſuch a favour as this reſtoration be obtained from Heaven by the prayers of your Majeſty, with what tranſport of gratitude would the recovered being throw himſelf at your Majeſty's feet, and adoring the divine power and grace, profeſs himſelf,

'Madam,

'Your Majeſty's moſt obliged and dutiful ſervant,

'Simon Browne.'

[*U*] *He was a man of extenſive knowledge.*] We are informed, that 'there was ſcarcely any art or ſcience with which he had not ſome acquaintance. Hardly could any topic be ſtarted on affairs of a ſpeculative nature, very conſiderable learning. He was well ſkilled in theology [*W*], his ſentiments were liberal [*X*], and he was a zealous advocate for freedom of inquiry. He appears, from the general tenor of his life, and of his writings, to have been a man of diſtinguiſhed virtue, and of the moſt fervent piety, and to have been animated by an ardent zeal for the intereſts of rational and practical religion. It is impoſſible, therefore, to reflect without regret, that ſuch a man ſhould have been diſabled from his public ſervices, by a malady ſo unhappy to himſelf, and ſo affecting to his friends. His abilities made him reſpected, and his virtues [*Y*] rendered him beloved: but ſuch was the peculiarity of his caſe, that he was at once an evidence of the dignity, and of the weakneſs of human nature.] T.

‘ nature, or relating to common life, but he was capable of talking on it judiciouſly and knowingly: and, indeed, he had an admirable talent of conducting a converſation agreeably; having a great command of expreſſion, joined with uncommon accuracy, and the art of enlivening it by many ſprightly narrations. With a great compaſs of learning, he had none of the affected airs of the pedant, or the ill-natured critic (27).’

[*W*] *He was well ſkilled in theology.*] Mr. Atkey ſays, ‘ he underſtood natural and revealed religion well; and had a truer notion of both, than to ſuppoſe there was the leaſt neceſſity of advancing the credit of one, by detracting from the other. He was very earneſtly and impartially ſet upon the purſuit of truth; and whether he met with it in the beaten track, or, as it ſometimes happens, in leſs frequented paths, it was alike welcome to him. And this is indeed the true freedom of thought. If he found he had been at any time deceived in his inquiries, he was as ready to quit his former ſentiments, when they appeared fallacious, as he was at firſt to entertain them, when they appeared under the diſguiſe of truth (28).’—‘ He was often very happy in giving light to obſcure texts of Scripture, and left behind him ſeveral valuable criticiſms on ſome difficult paſſages of St. Paul's Epiſtles (29).’

[*X*] *His ſentiments were liberal.*] Mr. Atkey ſays, ‘ He could never believe that the favour of Heaven was entailed on any ſet of opinions; and I have often heard him obſerve, how much juſter notion the poor blind man in the Goſpel had of Divinity, than ſome of thoſe who would paſs under the character of the greateſt Divines, when he concluded, that *if any man be a worſhipper of God, and doth his will, him he heareth* (30).’

[*Y*] *His virtues.*] The writer juſt referred to obſerves, ‘ that ſuch was his love of rectitude, that he could not bear the leaſt deviation from ſtrict right upon any conſideration whatſoever. He eſteemed the doing evil that good may come, as the worſt maxim in the world. He was a ſincere and hearty friend. He could never bring himſelf to profeſs a value for any perſon where he really had none: He diſtinguiſhed the friend from the flatterer; and would have made a better figure in thoſe days, when integrity was thought eſſential to friendſhip, than in a time, when faithfulneſs and politeneſs are conſidered as incompatible. His conjugal affection you may gather from what has been hinted at already. He was equally a kind and tender parent: but he did not think that relation was to obliterate all others. His filial piety and brotherly love were peculiarly exemplary (31).’

(27) Funeral Sermon, p. 26.

(28) *Id. ibid.*

(29) *Ibid.* p. 27.

(30) *Id. Ibid.*

(31) *Ibid.* p. 29, 30.

⁂ [BROWNE (ISAAC HAWKINS), Eſq; (*), Fellow of the Royal Society, and a very ingenious and elegant Poet of the preſent century, was born at Burton upon Trent, on the 21ſt of January 1705-6; and was the ſon of the Rev. William Browne, Miniſter of that pariſh. Mr. William Browne, beſides holding the living of Burton, where he chiefly reſided, was Vicar of Winge, in Buckinghamſhire, and a Prebendary of Litchfield, which laſt preferment was given him by the excellent Biſhop Hough. He was poſſeſſed, alſo, of a ſmall paternal inheritance, which he greatly increaſed by his marriage with Anne, daughter of Iſaac Hawkins, Eſq; all whoſe eſtate at length came to his only grandſon and heir at law, the ſubject of this article. Our Author received his grammatical education firſt at Litchfield, and then at Weſtminſter, where he was much diſtinguiſhed for the brilliancy of his parts, and the ſteadineſs of his application. The uncommon rapidity with which he paſſed through the ſeveral forms, or claſſes, of Weſtminſter ſchool, attracted the notice, and ſoon brought him under the direction, of the head-maſter, Dr. Freind, with whom he was a peculiar favourite. Mr. Browne ſtaid above a year in the ſixth or head form, with a view of confirming and improving his taſte for claſſical learning and compoſition, under ſo polite and able a ſcholar. When he was little more than ſixteen years of age, he was removed to Trinity College, Cambridge, of which College his father had been Fellow. He remained at the Univerſity till he had taken his degree of Maſter of Arts; and though, during his reſidence there, he continued his taſte for claſſical literature, which, through his whole life, was his principal object and purſuit, he, nevertheleſs, did not omit the peculiar ſtudies of the place; but applied himſelf, with vigour and ſucceſs, to all the branches of mathematical ſcience, and the principles of the Newtonian philoſophy. When, in May 1724, King George the Firſt eſtabliſhed, at both Univerſities, a foundation for the ſtudy of modern hiſtory and languages, with the deſign of qualifying young men for employments at court and foreign embaſſies, Mr. Browne was among the earlieſt of thoſe who were ſelected to be ſcholars upon this foundation (*). On the death of that Prince, he wrote an univerſity copy of verſes, which was the firſt of his poems that has been printed; and for which he received a very handſome compliment from the Profeſſor of Poetry at Cambridge. About the year 1727, Mr. Browne, who had been always intended for the bar, ſettled at Lincoln's-Inn. Here he proſecuted, for ſeveral years, with great attention, the ſtudy of the law, and acquired in it a conſiderable degree of profeſſional knowledge, though he never arrived to any eminence in the practice of it, and entirely gave it up long before his death. He was the leſs ſolicitous about the practice of his profeſſion, and it was of the leſs conſequence to him, as he was poſſeſſed of a fortune adequate to his deſires; which, by preſerving the happy mean between extravagance and avarice, he neither diminiſhed nor increaſed.

Mr.

(*) For the material facts contained in this article we are indebted to the preſent Iſaac Hawkins Browne, Eſq;

(*) Mr. Browne alludes to this circumſtance, in his Poem on the Death of the Founder, George the Firſt.

Mr. Browne's application to the law did not prevent his occaſionally indulging himſelf in the exerciſe of his poetical talents. It was not long after his ſettlement at Lincoln's-Inn, that he wrote his Poem on Deſign and Beauty, addreſſed to Mr. Highmore the Painter, for whom he had a great friendſhip and eſteem. In this, which is one of the longeſt of his poems, he ſhews a true taſte and extenſive knowledge of the Platonic philoſophy; and purſues, through the whole, the idea of beauty advanced by that philoſophy. By *Deſign* is meant, in a large and extenſive ſenſe, that power of genius, which enables the real artiſt to collect together his ſcattered ideas, to range them in proper order, and to form a regular plan, before he attempts to exhibit any work in architecture, painting, or poetry (*a*). Several other poetical pieces, which were written by Mr. Browne, during the interval between his fixing at Lincoln's-Inn and his marriage, will be mentioned hereafter: but we cannot omit ſpeaking, in this place, of one of the moſt pleaſing and popular of his performances, his ‘ Pipe of Tobacco [*A*];’ which is an imitation of Cibber, Ambroſe Philips, Thomſon;

(*a*) Preface to Mr. Hawkins Browne'sPoems, publiſhed in 1768.

[*A*] *His pipe of Tobacco.*] Though the imitations included under this title are well known, and have appeared in ſeveral collections, we cannot forbear inſerting them; as the re-peruſal of them is always attended with freſh pleaſure.

A PIPE OF TOBACCO:

IN IMITATION OF

SIX SEVERAL AUTHORS.

IMITATION I.

Laudes egregii Cæſaris ——
Culpâ deterere ingeni. HOR.

A NEW-YEAR's ODE.

RECITATIVE.

‘ OLD battle-array, big with horror is fled,
‘ And olive-rob'd peace again lifts up her head.
‘ Sing, ye Muſes, TOBACCO, the bleſſing of peace:
‘ Was ever a nation ſo bleſſed as this?

AIR.

‘ When ſummer ſuns grow red with heat,
‘ TOBACCO tempers Phœbus' ire,
‘ When wintry ſtorms around us beat,
‘ TOBACCO chears with gentle fire.
‘ Yellow autumn, youthful ſpring,
‘ In thy praiſes jointly ſing.

RECITATIVO.

‘ Like NEPTUNE, CÆSAR guards VIRGINIAN fleets,
‘ Fraught with TOBACCO's balmy ſweets;
‘ Old Ocean trembles at BRITANNIA's pow'r,
‘ And BOREAS is afraid to roar.

AIR.

‘ Happy mortal! he who knows
‘ Pleaſure which a PIPE beſtows;
‘ Curling eddies climb the room,
‘ Wafting round a mild perfume.

RECITATIVO.

‘ Let foreign climes the vine and orange boaſt,
‘ While waſtes of war deform the teeming coaſt;
‘ BRITANNIA, diſtant from each hoſtile ſound,
‘ Enjoys a PIPE, with eaſe and freedom crown'd;
‘ E'en reſtleſs Faction finds itſelf moſt free,
‘ Or if a ſlave, a ſlave to Liberty.

AIR.

‘ Smiling years, that gayly run
‘ Round the Zodiac with the ſun,
‘ Tell, if ever you have ſeen
‘ Realms ſo quiet and ſerene.
‘ BRITAIN's ſons no longer now
‘ Hurl the bar, or twang the bow,
‘ Nor of crimſon combat think,
‘ But ſecurely ſmoke and drink.

CHORUS.

‘ Smiling years, that gayly run
‘ Round the Zodiac with the ſun,
‘ Tell, if ever you have ſeen
‘ Realms ſo quiet and ſerene.’

IMITATION II.

Tenues fugit ceu fumus in auras. VIRG.

‘ LITTLE tube of mighty pow'r,
‘ Charmer of an idle hour,
‘ Object of my warm deſire,
‘ Lip of wax, and eye of fire:
‘ And thy ſnowy taper waiſt,
‘ With my finger gently brac'd;
‘ And thy pretty ſwelling creſt,
‘ With my little ſtopper preſt,
‘ And the ſweeteſt bliſs of bliſſes,
‘ Breathing from thy balmy kiſſes.
‘ Happy thrice, and thrice agen,
‘ Happieſt he of happy men;
‘ Who when agen the night returns,
‘ When agen the taper burns;
‘ When agen the cricket's gay,
‘ (Little cricket full of play)
‘ Can afford his tube to feed
‘ With the fragrant INDIAN weed
‘ Pleaſure for a noſe divine,
‘ Incenſe of the god of wine.
‘ Happy thrice, and thrice agen,
‘ Happieſt he of happy men.’

IMITATION III.

—— Prorumpit ad æthera nubem
Turbine fumantem piceo. VIRG.

‘ O Thou, matur'd by glad Heſperian ſuns,
‘ TOBACCO, fountain pure of *limpid truth,*
‘ *That looks the very ſoul* (*); whence pouring thought
‘ *Swarms all the mind*; abſorpt is yellow care,
‘ *And at each puff imagination burns* (†).
‘ Flaſh on thy bard, and with exalting fires
‘ Touch the myſterious lip, that chaunts thy praiſe
‘ In ſtrains to mortal ſons of earth unknown.
‘ Behold an engine, wrought from tawny mines
‘ Of ductile clay, with *plaſtic virtue* (‡) form'd,
‘ And glaz'd magnifick o'er, I graſp, I fill.
‘ From *Pætotheke* (§) with pungent pow'rs perfum'd,
‘ *Itſelf one tortoiſe all, where ſhines imbib'd*
‘ *Each parent ray* (‖); then rudely ramm'd illume,
‘ With the red touch of zeal-enkindling ſheet,
‘ *Mark'd with Gibſonian lore* (¶); forth iſſue clouds,
‘ Thought-thrilling, thirſt-inciting clouds around,
‘ And many-mining fires: I all the while,
‘ Lolling at eaſe, *inhale* (**) the breezy balm.
‘ But chief, when *Bacchus wont with thee to join,*
‘ *In genial ſtrife* and orthodoxal ale,
‘ *Stream life and joy into the Muſes bowl* (††).
‘ Oh be thou ſtill *my great inſpirer,* thou
‘ *My Muſe*; oh fan me with thy zephyrs boon,
‘ While I, in clouded tabernacle ſhrin'd,
‘ Burſt forth all oracle and myſtick ſong.’

(*) Poem on Liberty, ver. 12.
(†) *Ibid.* ver. 16.
(‡) *Ibid.* ver. 104.
(§) A poetical word for tobacco-box.
(‖) Poem on Liberty, ver. 243. 245.
(¶) *Ibid.* ver. 247.
(**) *Ibid.* ver. 309.
(††) *Ibid.* ver. 171.

IMITATION IV.

—— Bullatis mihi nugis,
Pagina turgeſcat, dare pondus idonea fumo. PERS.

‘ CRITICKS avaunt; TOBACCO is my theme;
‘ Tremble like hornets at the blaſting ſteam,
‘ And you, court-inſects, flutter not too near
‘ Its light, nor buzz within the ſcorching ſphere.
‘ POLLIO, with flame like thine, my verſe inſpire,
‘ So ſhall the Muſe from ſmoke elicit fire.
‘ Coxcombs prefer the tickling ſting of ſnuff;
‘ Yet all their claim to wiſdom is—a puff:

Thomſon, Young, Pope, and Swift, who were then all living. We need not ſay that the peculiar manner of theſe ſeveral writers is admirably hit off by our Author, and that he hath ſhewn himſelf to have poſſeſſed an excellent imitative genius. Indeed, nothing but a nice ſpirit of diſcrimination, and a happy talent at various compoſition, could have enabled him to have ſucceeded ſo well as he hath done in the ‘ Pipe of Tobacco.’ The imitation of Ambroſe Philips was not written by our Poet, but by an ingenious friend (*b*), the late worthy Dr. John Hoadly, Chancellor of the Dioceſe of Wincheſter, and ſecond ſon of the Biſhop. Dr. Hoadly, however, acknowledged (*c*), that his little imitation was altered ſo much for the better by Mr. Browne, that he fairly made it his own.

On the 10th of February 1743-4, Mr. Browne married Jane, daughter of the Rev. Dr. David Trimnell, Archdeacon of Leiceſter, and Precentor of Lincoln, and niece to the Right Rev. Dr. Charles Trimnell, Biſhop of Wincheſter, of whom an account will be given in its proper place. Mr. Browne was ſingularly happy in his union with this lady, who was a woman of great merit, and of a very amiable temper, and who always ſhewed him the trueſt attention and regard. He was choſen twice to ſerve in parliament; firſt upon a vacancy in December 1744, and then at the general election in 1748; both times for the borough of Wenlock in Shropſhire, near to which was his own eſtate. His being brought into the Houſe of Commons was principally owing to the intereſt of William Foreſter, Eſq; a gentleman of great fortune and ancient family in Shropſhire. Mr. Foreſter recommended Mr. Browne to the electors, from no other motive than the opinion he entertained of his abilities, and the confidence he had in his integrity and principles. As Mr. Browne had obtained his ſeat in parliament without oppoſition or expence, and without laying himſelf under obligations to any party, he never made uſe of it to intereſted or ambitious purpoſes. The principles, indeed, in which he had been educated, and which were confirmed by reading and experience, and the good opinion he had conceived of Mr. Pelham's adminiſtration, led him uſually to ſupport the meaſures of government; but he never received any favour, nor deſired any employment. He ſaw with great concern the dangers ariſing from parliamentary in-

‘ Lord FOPLIN ſmokes not—for his teeth afraid:
‘ Sir TAWDRY ſmokes not—for he wears brocade.
‘ Ladies, when pipes are brought, affect to ſwoon;
‘ They love no ſmoke, except the ſmoke of town;
‘ But courtiers hate the puffing tribe,—no matter,
‘ Strange if they love the breath that cannot flatter!
‘ Its foes but ſhew their ignorance; can he
‘ Who ſcorns the leaf of knowledge, love the tree?
‘ The tainted Templar (more prodigious yet)
‘ Rails at TOBACCO, though it makes him—ſpit.
‘ CITRONIA vows it has an odious ſtink;
‘ She will not ſmoke (ye gods) but ſhe will drink:
‘ And chaſte PRUDELLA (blame her if you can)
‘ Says, pipes are us'd by that vile creature Man:
‘ Yet crouds remain, who ſtill its worth proclaim,
‘ While ſome for pleaſure ſmoke, and ſome for fame:
‘ Fame, of our actions univerſal ſpring,
‘ For which we drink, eat, ſleep, ſmoke,—ev'ry thing.

IMITATION V.

—— *Solis ad ortus*
Vaneſcit fumus. LUCAN.

‘ BLEST leaf! whoſe aromatick gales diſpenſe
‘ To Templars modeſty, to parſons ſenſe:
‘ So raptur'd prieſts, at fam'd DODONA's ſhrine
‘ Drank inſpiration from the ſteam divine.
‘ Poiſon that cures, a vapour that affords
‘ Content, more ſolid than the ſmile of lords:
‘ Reſt to the weary, to the hungry food,
‘ The laſt kind refuge of the WISE and GOOD.
‘ Inſpir'd by thee, dull cits adjuſt the ſcale
‘ Of Europe's peace, when other ſtateſmen fail.
‘ By thee protected, and thy ſiſter, beer,
‘ Poets rejoice, nor think the bailiff near.
‘ Nor leſs the critick owns thy genial aid,
‘ While ſupperleſs he plies the piddling trade.
‘ What though to love and ſoft delights a foe,
‘ By ladies hated, hated by the beau,
‘ Yet ſocial freedom, long to courts unknown,
‘ Fair health, fair truth, and virtue are thy own.
‘ Come to thy poet, come with healing wings,
‘ And let me taſte thee unexcis'd by kings.’

IMITATION VI.

Ex fumo dare lucem. HOR.

‘ BOY! bring an ounce of FREEMAN's beſt,
‘ And bid the vicar be my gueſt:
‘ Let all be plac'd in manner due,
‘ A pot wherein to ſpit or ſpue,
‘ And London Journal, and Free Briton,
‘ Of uſe to light a pipe or * *
‘ * * * * * * * *
‘ * * * * * * * *
‘ This village, unmoleſted yet
‘ By troopers, ſhall be my retreat:
‘ Who cannot flatter, bribe, betray;
‘ Who cannot write or vote for *.
‘ Far from the vermin of the town,
‘ Here let me rather live, my own,
‘ Doze o'er a pipe, whoſe vapour bland
‘ In ſweet oblivion lulls the land;
‘ Of all which at Vienna paſſes,
‘ As ignorant as * * Braſs is:
‘ And ſcorning raſcals to careſs,
‘ Extol the days of good Queen BESS,
‘ When firſt TOBACCO bleſt our iſle,
‘ Then think of other Queens—and ſmile.

‘ Come jovial pipe, and bring along
‘ Midnight revelry and ſong:
‘ The merry catch, the madrigal,
‘ That echoes ſweet in City Hall;
‘ The parſon's pun, the ſmutty tale
‘ Of country juſtice o'er his ale.
‘ I aſk not what the French are doing,
‘ Or Spain to compaſs Britain's ruin:
‘ Britons, if undone, can go,
‘ Where TOBACCO loves to grow (1).’

The following poetical compliment hath been paid to the ‘ Pipe of Tobacco,’ by Mr. Robert Lloyd.

‘ Some few, the fav'rites of the Muſe,
‘ Whom with her kindeſt eye ſhe views;
‘ Round whom Apollo's brighteſt rays
‘ Shine forth with undiminiſh'd blaze;
‘ Some few, my friend, have ſweetly trod
‘ In Imitation's dang'rous road.
‘ Long as Tobacco's mild perfume
‘ Shall ſcent each happy Curate's room,
‘ Oft as in elbow-chair he ſmokes,
‘ And quaffs his ale, and cracks his jokes,
‘ So long, O Browne, ſhall laſt thy praiſe,
‘ Crown'd with Tobacco-leaf for bays;
‘ And whoſoe'er thy verſe ſhall ſee,
‘ Shall fill another pipe to thee (*).

(*b*) Preface to Mr. Hawkins Browne's Poems, publiſhed in 1768.

(*c*) In a letter to the preſent Mr. Hawkins Browne.

(1) Poems on various Subjects, Latin and Engliſh, by the late Iſaac Hawkins Browne, Eſq; p. 115—124.

(*) Lloyd's poetical Works, vol. i. p. 107, 108.

fluence, and was determined that no perſonal conſideration ſhould biaſs his public conduct. The love of his country, and an ardent zeal for its conſtitution and liberties, formed a diſtinguiſhing part of his character. In private converſation, Mr. Browne poſſeſſed ſo uncommon a degree of eloquence, that he was the admiration and delight of all who knew him. It muſt, therefore, have been expected that he would have ſhone in the Houſe of Commons, as a public ſpeaker. But he had a modeſty and delicacy about him, accompanied with a kind of nervous timidity, which prevented him from appearing in that line. His caſe, in this reſpect, was ſimilar to that of the third Earl of Shafteſbury, Mr. Addiſon, and other ingenious men. A niceneſs of claſſical taſte, and a high ſenſe of the accuracy, purity, and elegance of language, are not always favourable to the exertion of oratorical talents. The man who wiſhes to diſtinguiſh himſelf in popular aſſemblies ought to lay aſide the fear of offending in the little proprieties of ſtyle, and ſhould hazard his ſentiments with a noble, though, perhaps, an irregular boldneſs.

In the year 1754, Mr. Browne publiſhed what may be called his great work, his Latin poem ‘ De Animi Immortalitate,’ in two books. The reception which this poem met with was ſuch as its merit deſerved. It immediately excited the applauſe of the moſt polite ſcholars, and the Author was complimented upon it, by ſome of the moſt eminent and ingenious men of the age [*B*]. Its popularity was ſo great, that ſeveral Engliſh tranſlations of it appeared in a little time. The firſt was by Mr. Hay, author of an Eſſay on Deformity, and other pieces; and the ſecond in blank verſe, by Dr. Richard Grey, a learned clergyman in Northamptonſhire, well known by his Memoria Technica, and his publications in Scripture Criticiſm. A third tranſlation was publiſhed without a name, together with a laboured preface, containing ſome quotations from Sir John Davies's ‘ Noſce Teipſum,’ which were ſuppoſed to be analogous to certain paſſages in Mr. Browne (*e*). All theſe verſions made their appearance in the courſe of a few months; and there was afterwards printed, by an unknown hand, a tranſlation of the firſt book. Some years after Mr. Browne's death, the ‘ De Animi Immortalitate,’ was again tranſlated by the Rev. Mr. Crawley, a Clergyman in Huntingdonſhire. A cloſe and literal verſion of it in proſe, was inſerted in a publication which appeared in 1766, intitled

(*e*) Monthly Review, vol. x. p. 218. vol. xi. p. 77.

[*B*] *By ſome of the moſt eminent and ingenious men of the age.*] Before the publication of the poem, the manuſcript was ſhewn to Dr. Thomas Herring, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to whom it was deſigned to be addreſſed. Upon this occaſion that excellent Prelate declared, that the peruſal of it had given him prodigious pleaſure; and, with regard to the Author's intention of inſcribing it to him, that he was proud of being tranſmitted to poſterity, as a friend to ſuch doctrine, ſo explained and illuminated. When the poem was actually publiſhed, the Archbiſhop wrote to Mr. Browne the following letter:

‘ SIR,

‘ IF my indiſpoſition, and the ſeaſon of the year ‘ did not hinder me, I would wait upon you, and ‘ kiſs your hands for a very fine preſent which you ‘ have made me. I have read it, and could be‘come laviſh in its praiſes; but thoſe expreſſions of ‘ applauſe muſt be reſerved for other ears than yours. ‘ Thus far, however, I muſt and will declare, that ‘ for the plan and conſtruction of it, the juſtneſs of ‘ the ſentiments, the pure Latinity and clear diction, ‘ the harmony of the numbers, the enchanting imi‘tation of the great Roman maſter, the beauty, ‘ choice, and aptneſs of the alluſions, and the ſtrong, ‘ though delicate, encomiums, ſo ſparingly and ju‘diciouſly employed, the poem is incomparable. ‘ What an inference ariſes from hence to the honour ‘ of the man, to whom you have been pleaſed to ad‘dreſs it! I know his heart, and know it to be ‘ full of the warmeſt acknowledgments to you, for ſo ‘ ſingular a diſtinction.

‘ I am, dear Sir,
Croydon-Houſe, ‘ Your obliged and
Dec. 20, 1753. ‘ aſſured Friend,
‘ THO. CANTUAR.’

Dr. Edward Barnard, the preſent learned and worthy Provoſt of Eton College, told Mr. Browne, both by writing and in converſation, that, in treating a very intereſting and important ſubject, he had adopted, with great judgment, the manner of Lucretius, but that his arguments were conducted with more logic and perſpicuity; and that he had very happily enriched the didactic ſtile with many ſentiments and expreſſions from the more glowing parts of Cicero's philoſophical pieces. Richard Owen Cambridge, Eſq; to whom the poetical world is ſo much indebted for the Scribleriad, and ſeveral other excellent poems, was full of his friend's praiſes on this occaſion. Mr. Upton, the editor of Spenſer, called it a truly immortal poem; and the eminent Biſhop Hoadly declared, that he had no doubt, but that it would be always highly eſteemed by all men of true taſte and learning. Dr. Green, the late Biſhop of Lincoln, after beſtowing the higheſt applauſe upon it, adds, ‘ I am better pleaſed, when I conſider the nature of ‘ the ſubject, with that neatneſs and purity of diction ‘ which is ſpread over the whole, than I ſhould have ‘ been, had more poetical ornaments been beſtowed ‘ upon it, and which you manifeſtly could have be‘ſtowed upon it, had your judgment allowed it. ‘ In this point I muſt differ from the Critics in this ‘ place (Cambridge), who are rather diſpoſed to ‘ blame the ſparing manner in which you aimed at ‘ embelliſhing it.’ James Harris, Eſq; whoſe name, as a polite and profound ſcholar, is above all encomium, declared himſelf to Mr. Browne in theſe terms: ‘ I need not enter into a detail, to ſhew how ‘ well you have followed, not ſervilely imitated, Lu‘cretius and Virgil; how perſpicuouſly, as well as ‘ elegantly, you have handled ſome of the abſtruſeſt ‘ arguments; how juſtly you have preſerved the latent ‘ force of order, without the pedantic oſtentation of ‘ it. I need not, I ſay, enter into a detail of all ‘ this; but if I were to be copious upon this, and ‘ much more, I ſhould not exceed the bounds of truth ‘ and impartial criticiſm (2).’

Beſides theſe teſtimonies of his eminent and learned friends, Mr. Browne had many compliments paid to him in print, on account of his poem, ‘ De Animi ‘ Immortalitate;’ all of them without his knowledge, and ſome of them from perſons unknown to him. To inſert them, after what hath been already produced, would be ſuperfluous; and, therefore, we ſhall content ourſelves with reciting a ſingle ſentence, which includes in it the approbation of two names of deſerved note in the literary and poetical world. Dr. Beattie, in his Eſſay on the utility of claſſical learning, having mentioned our Author, amongſt others, as having derived advantage from the practice, at ſchool, of writing Latin exerciſes in verſe, ſubjoins the following note: ‘ Iſaac Hawkins Browne, Eſq; ‘ author of ſeveral excellent poems, particularly one ‘ in Latin, on the immortality of the ſoul; of which ‘ Mrs. Carter juſtly ſays, that it does honour to our ‘ country (3).’

(2) The above particulars are taken from original letters in the poſſeſſion of the preſent Mr. Hawkins Browne.

(3) Beattie's Eſſays, p. 732. 4to edition.

‘ Eſſays moral, religious, and miſcellaneous (*f*).’ But the beſt tranſlation of all is that by Soame Jenyns, Eſq; printed in his Miſcellanies, and ſince publiſhed in Mr. Browne's Poems. Theſe teſtimonies and attentions paid to our ingenious Author's principal production, are ſtriking evidences of the high ſenſe which was entertained of its merit: and that it deſerved theſe inſtances of approbation, a peruſal of it will oblige us to acknowledge. For, not to mention the uſefulneſs and importance of the ſubject, every man of taſte muſt feel that the poem is admirable for its perſpicuity, preciſion, and order; and that it unites the philoſophical learning and elegance of Cicero, with the numbers, and much of the poetry, of Lucretius and Virgil [*C*]. Mr. Browne intended to have added a third

[*C*] *With the numbers and much of the poetry of Lucretius and Virgil.*] Though the poem is ſo well known to our learned readers, we ſhould ſcarcely do juſtice to the memory of the ingenious writer, if we did not inſert a ſpecimen of it; which we ſhall take, without aiming at any particular ſelection, from the firſt book.

‘ Jam quorum undanti eloquium fluit amne, ra-
‘ pitque
‘ Quò velit affectus, tonitruque et fulgura miſcet;
‘ Divitias trahit unde ſuas? Vigor igneus ille
‘ Num mortale ſonat? Quid cenſes carmina vatum?
‘ Sive etenim flexu numerorum vique canora,
‘ Oblectet varia dulcedine lapſus ad aures;
‘ Seu, ſpecioſa canens rerum miracula, fictis
‘ Laudat imaginibus, peragretque per intima cordis;
‘ Nil parvum ſpirat, nil non ſublime Poeta.
‘ Cumque ſuper terris quæ fiunt, quæque tuemur
‘ Omnia, curriculo volventia ſemper eodem,
‘ Non explent animum, varia et magis ampla pe-
‘ tentem;
‘ Sanctus adeſt Vates, per quem ſublimior ordo,
‘ Pulcrior et ſpecies, et mentis idonea votis
‘ Exoritur, vitæ ſpes auguriumque futuræ.

‘ Quid, qui cœleſtes nôrunt deſcribere motus;
‘ Sidera, qua circa ſolem, qua lege Cometæ
‘ Immenſum per Inane rotentur, ut æthere vaſto
‘ Aſtra alia illuſtrent alios immota planetas;
‘ Nonne hanc credideris mentem, quæ nunc quoq;
‘ Cœlum
‘ Aſtraque pervolitat, delapſam cœlitus, illuc
‘ Unde abiit remeare, ſuaſque reviſere ſedes?

‘ Quî tandèm hæc fierent niſi quædam in mente
‘ ſubeſſet
‘ Vis ſua materiæ mixtura immunis ab omni?
‘ Conſcia porrò ſibi eſt, vult, nonvult, odit, amatque,
‘ Et timet, et ſperat; gaudet, mœretque ſua vi
‘ Ipſa; miniſterio neque corporis indiget ullo:
‘ Viribus ipſa ſuis inter ſe comparat, et res
‘ Sejungit rebus; vaga diſſociataque Veri
‘ Membra minutatim legit, ac concinnat amicè.
‘ Elicit hinc rerum cauſas, atque artibus artes
‘ Hinc alias aliis ſuper extruit ordine pulcro;
‘ Et magis atque magis ſumma ad faſtigia tendit
‘ Unde omnis ſeries cauſarum apparet, et omnis
‘ Numinis à ſolio ad terram demiſſa catena.
‘ Denique et in ſeſe deſcendit, et aſpicit intus
‘ Rerum ideas, quo quæque modo naſcantur; et unde
‘ Cogitet, ac prope jam ſua quæ ſit fabrica novit.
‘ Tantane corporea eſt virtus? An machina vires
‘ Percipit ulla ſuas, aut quid ſibi præbeat eſcam?
‘ Omne etenim corpus nihil eſt niſi machina, motu
‘ Impulſa externo, non interiore ſuoque.

‘ Vulgi igitur ſtudiis noli altæ mentis acumen
‘ Metiri; aſt illos, etiam nunc laude recentes,
‘ Contemplare viros tellus quos Attica, vel quos
‘ Roma, nec alterutri cedens tulit Anglia, nutrix
‘ Heroum, dum tempus erat, melioribus annis.

‘ Quid tibi tot memorem divino pectore vates,
‘ Totve repertores legum, fandive potentes?
‘ Quid, per quos venit ſpectanda ſcientia; dudùm
‘ Informi cooperta ſitu, lucemque peroſa?
‘ Ante alios verò Baconus, ut ætherius ſol,
‘ Effulgens, artes aditum patefecit ad omnes.
‘ Hic à figmentis Sophiam revocavit ineptis
‘ Primus; quàque regit fida Experientia greſſus,
‘ Securum per iter, Newtono ſcilicet idem
‘ Deſignatque viam, et præcurſor lampada tradit.

‘ Illuſtres animæ! Si quid mortalia tangunt
‘ Cœlicolas, ſi gentis adhuc cura ulla Britannæ;
‘ Vos precor, antiquum Vos inſtaurate vigorem;
‘ Ut tandem excuſſo nitamur ad ardua ſomno,
‘ Virtutis veræ memores, et laudis avitæ.

‘ Nempe horum egregias reor haud ſine numine
‘ dotes
‘ Enaſci potuiſſe; Deum quin tempore in omni
‘ Conſperſiſſe, velut ſtellas, hinc inde locorum
‘ Splendidiora animi quaſi quædam lumina; ut iſtis
‘ Accenſa exemplis ſe degener efferat ætas,
‘ Agnoſcatque ſuî quàm ſit ſublimis origo.’

‘ When now the rapid ſtream of Eloquence
‘ Bears all before it, paſſion, reaſon, ſenſe,
‘ Can its dread thunder, or its lightning's force
‘ Derive their eſſence from a mortal ſource?
‘ What think you of the bard's enchanting art,
‘ Which, whether he attempts to warm the heart
‘ With fabled ſcenes, or charm the ear with rhime,
‘ Breathes all pathetic, lovely, and ſublime?
‘ Whilſt things on earth roll round from age to age,
‘ The ſame dull force repeated; on the ſtage
‘ The Poet gives us a creation new,
‘ More pleaſing, and more perfect than the true;
‘ The mind, who always to perfection haſtes,
‘ Perfection, ſuch as here ſhe never taſtes,
‘ With gratitude accepts the kind deceit,
‘ And thence foreſees a ſyſtem more compleat.
‘ Of thoſe what think you, who the circling race
‘ Of ſuns, and their revolving planets trace,
‘ And comets journeying through unbounded ſpace?
‘ Say, can you doubt, but that th' all-ſearching ſoul,
‘ That now can traverſe heaven from pole to pole,
‘ From thence deſcending viſits but this earth,
‘ And ſhall once more regain the regions of her birth?

‘ Could ſhe thus act, unleſs ſome Power unknown,
‘ From matter quite diſtinct, and all her own,
‘ Supported, and impell'd her? She approves
‘ Self-conſcious, and condemns: ſhe hates, and loves,
‘ Mourns, and rejoices, hopes, and is afraid,
‘ Without the body's unrequeſted aid:
‘ Her own internal ſtrength her reaſon guides,
‘ By this ſhe now compares things, now divides;
‘ Truth's ſcatter'd fragments piece by piece collects,
‘ Rejoins, and thence her edifice erects;
‘ Piles arts on arts, effects to cauſes ties,
‘ And rears th' aſpiring fabric to the ſkies:
‘ From whence, as on a diſtant plain below,
‘ She ſees from cauſes conſequences flow,
‘ And the whole chain diſtinctly comprehends,
‘ Which from th' Almighty's throne to earth deſcends:
‘ And laſtly, turning inwardly her eyes,
‘ Perceives how all her own ideas riſe,
‘ Contemplates what ſhe is, and whence ſhe came,
‘ And almoſt comprehends her own amazing frame.
‘ Can mere machines be with ſuch pow'rs endued,
‘ Or conſcious of thoſe pow'rs, ſuppoſe they could?
‘ For body is but a machine alone
‘ Mov'd by external force, and impulſe not its own.

‘ Rate not th' extenſion of the human mind
‘ By the plebeian ſtandard of mankind,
‘ But by the ſize of thoſe gigantic few,
‘ Whom Greece and Rome ſtill offer to our view;
‘ Or Britain well-deſerving equal praiſe,
‘ Parent of heroes too in better days.
‘ Why ſhould I try her num'rous ſons to name
‘ By verſe, law, eloquence conſign'd to fame?
‘ Or who have forc'd fair Science into ſight
‘ Long loſt in darkneſs, and afraid of light.
‘ O'er all ſuperior, like the ſolar ray
‘ Firſt Bacon uſher'd in the dawning day,
‘ And drove the miſts of ſophiſtry away;
‘ Pervaded nature with amazing force,
‘ Following experience ſtill throughout his courſe,
‘ And finiſhing at length his deſtin'd way
‘ To Newton he bequeath'd the radiant lamp of day.

‘ Illuſtrious ſouls! if any tender cares
‘ Affect angelic breaſts for man's affairs,

‘ If

(*f*) Monthly Review, vol. xxxv. for July, 1766.

a third book. In theſe three books, he propoſed to carry natural religion as far as it would go, and in ſo doing, to lay the true foundation of Chriſtianity, of which he was a firm believer. But he went no farther than to leave a fragment of the third book, which gives us cauſe to lament that he did not complete the whole.

Though Mr. Browne was not bred to a profeſſion, and ſat ſeveral years in parliament, he was not ſo ſhining or diſtinguiſhed a character in public as in private life. His private life was chiefly divided between his books and his friends. His reading took in a large compaſs; but he had the greateſt delight in the Greek and Roman writers. Few men formed ſo early and laſting a taſte, and acquired ſo familiar a knowledge of the ancient poets, philoſophers, orators, and hiſtorians, particularly thoſe of the pureſt ages; and hence it was, that he derived the happy art of transfuſing into the more ſerious of his compoſitions, the graces of their diction, and the ſtrength of their ſentiments, without plagiariſm or ſervile imitation. He was very converſant, likewiſe, with the beſt Engliſh and Italian authors. His memory enabled him to retain every thing which he had heard or read; and he could repeat, with the greateſt facility and gracefulneſs, the fine paſſages he had treaſured up in his mind. Having a perfect ear for harmony and rhythm, he was an admirable reader both of proſe and verſe. Without having ever applied himſelf to the practice of muſic, his natural taſte for it rendered him a good judge in that delightful art. With theſe various accompliſhments, to which were added, a remarkably happy talent of telling a ſtory, a genuine flow of wit (*), as well as eloquence, a peculiar vein of humour, and, indeed, an excellence in every ſpecies of converſation, it is not ſurpriſing that his company was almoſt univerſally ſought for and deſired. His acquaintance was ſo courted, that, though his private inclination would have led him to have lived retired, in the ſociety of a few old friends, he became, at different periods of his life, intimate with all the diſtinguiſhed men of the age, and with thoſe eſpecially, who were moſt eminent for their learning and parliamentary abilities. His particular friends were perſons of diſtinguiſhed merit and virtue. By theſe he was held in the higheſt eſteem and reſpect, and his union with them was never broken by any thing but death. His fine feelings, his enlarged and exalted ſentiments, and the general excellence of his character, continued to render any ſocial connections with him as laſting as they were deſirable and delightful. The moſt intimate friend he ever had was Paul Feilde, Eſq; of Stanſted Bury, near Hoddeſdon in Hertfordſhire, and one of the preſent repreſentatives in parliament for the borough of Hertford. One great object of Mr. Browne's attention, during the latter part of his life, was the education of his only ſon, to whom he was an excellent father and inſtructor. Our Author, after having laboured a conſiderable time under a weak and infirm ſtate of health, died, of a lingering illneſs, at his houſe in Great Ruſſel-ſtreet, Bloomſbury-ſquare, London, on the 14th of February, 1760, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. In 1768, the preſent Mr. Hawkins Browne publiſhed an elegant edition, in large octavo, of his father's poems [*D*]; upon which occaſion he had the ſatisfaction of receiv-

(*) Lord Lyttelton, having once ſitten with Mr. Browne till it was paſt one o'clock in the morning, ſaid to him, ‘ Sir, you ‘ make a rake ‘ of me: there ‘ is no parting ‘ with you at ‘ ſeaſonable ‘ hours; for ‘ methinks you ‘ are like the ‘ nightingale, ‘ whoſe ſweeteſt ‘ ſong is at ‘ midnight.’ ‘ No, my Lord,’ returned Mr. Browne, ‘ ſay ‘ rather that I ‘ am like the ‘ flying fiſh; ‘ and that, having wetted my ‘ wings, I ſoar ‘ above my element (§).’

(§) From the information of Mr. Wharton, who had the anecdote from Dr. Campbell.

‘ If in your preſent happy heav'nly ſtate,
‘ You're not regardleſs quite of Britain's fate,
‘ Let this degen'rate land again be bleſt
‘ With that true vigour which ſhe once poſſeſt;
‘ Compel us to unfold our ſlumb'ring eyes
‘ And to our ancient dignity to riſe.
‘ Such wond'rous pow'rs as theſe muſt ſure be given
‘ For moſt important purpoſes by heaven;
‘ Who bids theſe ſtars as bright examples ſhine
‘ Beſprinkled thinly by the hand divine,
‘ To form to virtue each degenerate time,
‘ And point out to the ſoul its origin ſublime (4).’

(4) Browne's Poems, p. 8—12. p. 53—57.

[*D*] *Publiſhed an elegant edition, in large octavo, of his father's poems*] To this edition is prefixed a print of the Author, from a painting of Mr. Highmore's, engraved by Ravenet. The Editor's preface is ſhort and modeſt. The poems contained in this collection ſtand in the following order: ‘ De Animi Immortalitate.’ ‘ Mr. Soame Jenyns's tranſlation.’ ‘ On ‘ Deſign and Beauty.’ ‘ A Letter from a Captain in ‘ Country Quarters to his Corinna in town.’ The publication of this hath been objected to, but without ſufficient reaſon. The irony is ſo obvious, that it cannot well be miſtaken. The fact was, that a young officer, a friend of Mr. Browne's, wanted to carry a miſtreſs with him to his country quarters; and he deſired our Author to write a copy of verſes, to perſuade ſome lady of eaſy virtue to comply with his requeſt. Mr. Browne wrote theſe verſes, which were deſigned as a ſtrong ridicule, and ſevere reproof of ſuch kind of criminal connections; and they produced an immediate effect; for the young gentleman gave up all thoughts of his intended companion. The whole muſt be conſidered as written in the character of a rakiſh officer, during a time of profound peace. Biſhop Hoadly ſaid, that the verſes would do more good than twenty ſermons; and the late Lord Lyttelton expreſſed a high commendation of their moral tendency. ‘ An Epitaph, in imitation of Dryden.’ ‘ A Pipe of ‘ Tobacco.’ ‘ The Fire-ſide, a paſtoral Soliloquy.’ This may require ſome explanation. It was written, as is believed, in the Summer of 1746; and the Poet aſſumes the character of the famous Earl Granville. Thoſe who were moſt intimate with his Lordſhip ſay, that his character is painted to the life. Lord Granville had at that time taken the Seals; and, in order to underſtand the alluſions of the poem, it is neceſſary to have ſome knowledge of the ſtate of parties and political connections at home, and the intereſts of the ſeveral courts of Europe, at that period. ‘ Horace, Ode 14, Book 1, imitated, in 1746.’ ‘ A ‘ Latin Ode, addreſſed to Mr. Highmore.’ ‘ On ‘ Phœbe.’ ‘ On the ſame.’ ‘ To ſome Ladies, ‘ who ſaid the Author loved Chicken.’ ‘ On the ‘ Author's Birth-day.’ ‘ On a Fit of the Gout.’ It hath been obſerved of theſe verſes, that they have both good poetry and good philoſophy to recommend them (5). ‘ An Ode addreſſed to the Hon. Charles ‘ York.’ This was compoſed a ſhort time before Lord Hardwicke reſigned the Seals. The following paſſage, in the ‘ De Animi Immortalitate,’ was deſigned as a compliment to that noble Lord and his five ſons, all of whom were at that time coming out into the world, and highly diſtinguiſhed for their accompliſhments and virtues.

‘ Non ſi contingant vitam quæcunque beârint;
‘ Ingenii vis, eloquium, prudentia, mores,
‘ Invidiâ ſine partus honos, longo ordine nati
‘ Clari omnes patriâ pariter virtute ſuaque (6).’

(5) Monthly Review, Vol. xxxviii. p. 362.

(6) De Animi Immortalitate, lib. i. verſ. 364—367.

ing freſh teſtimonies to their merit, from the Biſhop of Lincoln (Dr. Green), Dr. John Hoadly, Dr. Campbell, Dr. Warburton the late celebrated Biſhop of Glouceſter, and ſeveral eminent perſons now living. The letter of Dr. Warburton ſhall be here recited.

‘ SIR, Prior Park, Feb. 7, 1768.

‘ I HAVE the honour and favour of receiving from you a very valuable preſent of ‘ your father's works: whoſe great parts and knowledge, in more arts and ſciences than ‘ one, few men had the pleaſing opportunity of knowing more than I had. His happy ‘ vein in poetry made him ſtand amongſt the foremoſt of the art, in his lifetime; and ‘ he will be amongſt the laſt that barbarity and ignorance (faſt returning upon us) ‘ ſhall be able to obliterate. This mark of your filial piety to ſo diſtinguiſhed a perſon ‘ will do you laſting honour, and give much pleaſure to the friends of his family, in ‘ which number I deſire to be reckoned, being,

SIR,
Your obliged and obedient humble Servant,
W. Gloucester (g).’] K.

(g) From the Original, in Mr. Hawkins Browne's poſſeſſion.

‘ An Epode, written in the Year 1756;’ at the beginning of the late war, after the King of Pruſſia's firſt glorious campaign, and before our great victories. ‘ A ‘ Tranſlation of a Fragment of Solon.’ ‘ Fragmentum.’ Mr. Browne wrote ſeveral other things; but his ſon publiſhed chiefly thoſe of his father's poems which had appeared in print in his lifetime. Thoſe which remain in manuſcript, are generally of a private or temporary nature; though many of them would do him no ſmall honour, and afford ſtrong proofs of the wit and humour which he ſo eminently poſſeſſed. All the pieces, the dates of which have not been diſtinctly ſpecified, were written before his marriage. Several of his productions were inſerted, with his own conſent, in Mr. Robert Dodſley's Collection, in ſix volumes.

The late ingenious Thomas Edwards, Eſq; addreſſed two Sonnets to our Poet, with the ſecond of which we ſhall conclude this note.

‘ ONCE more, my *Hawkins*, I attempt to raiſe
‘ My feeble voice to urge the tuneful ſong
‘ Of that ſweet Muſe, which to her Country's
‘ wrong
‘ Or ſleeps, or only wakes to *Latian* lays.

‘ Great is the Merit, well-deſerv'd the praiſe
‘ Of that laſt Work, where reaſoning juſt and
‘ ſtrong
‘ In charming verſe thy name ſhall bear along
‘ To learned foreigners, and future days:

‘ Yet do not thou thy native language ſcorn
‘ In which great *Shakeſpeare*, *Spenſer*, *Milton* ſang
‘ Such ſtrains as may with *Greek* or *Roman* vie:
‘ This cultivate, raiſe, poliſh, and adorn;
‘ So each fair Maid ſhall on thy numbers hang,
‘ And every *Briton* bleſs thy melody (7).’

(7) Prefixed to Mr. Hawkins Browne's Poems, and publiſhed in the Canons of Criticiſm.

*** [BROWN (John) (*), a Clergyman of the Church of England, and an ingenious Writer in various kinds of compoſition, was born at Rothbury, in the county of Northumberland, on the 5th of November 1715. The family from which he was deſcended were the Browns of Colſtown, near Haddington in Scotland (*a*). His mother's maiden name was Potts, and his father, Mr. John Brown, who was a native of Duns, in Scotland, had been at firſt deſigned for the profeſſion of phyſic, and had ſtudied at Edinburgh with that view; but afterwards changed his purpoſe, and entered into the ſervice of the church. He was ordained by one of the Scotch Archbiſhops; but we know not whether he ever exerciſed any part of his miniſterial functions in his own country. After ſome time he removed to England, where he became Curate to Dr. John Thomlinſon, Rector of Rothbury, and continued in that ſtation till, on the recommendation of Dr. Thomlinſon, he was collated, by Dr. Nicolſon, Biſhop of Carliſle, to the Vicarage of Wigton in Cumberland. This was in the latter end of the year 1715. Mr. Brown, upon this preferment, carried his infant ſon to Wigton, at the grammar ſchool of which place our Author received the firſt part of his education. From thence he was removed to Cambridge, at which Univerſity he was matriculated on the 18th of December 1732, and entered of St. John's College, where he was put under the tuition of Dr. Tonſtal. Young Brown remained at the Univerſity till, in 1735, he had taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, which he did with conſiderable marks of diſtinction, being amongſt the Wranglers, and it is underſtood that his name was at the head of the liſt. From Cambridge he returned to Wigton, and received, in due courſe, both Deacon's and Prieſt's orders, from the hands of Sir George Fleming, Biſhop of Carliſle. His firſt ſettlement was in that city, being appointed, by the Dean and Chapter, a Minor Canon and Lecturer of the Cathedral Church. Here Mr. Brown lived ſome years in obſcurity; and we know nothing farther of him during this period, but that, in 1739, he went to Cambridge, to take his degree of Maſter of Arts. When the rebellion happened, in 1745, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal for government, and acted as a volunteer at the ſiege of Carliſle, during which he behaved with great intrepidity. After the defeat of the rebels, when ſeveral of them were tried, at the Aſſizes held at Carliſle, in the Summer of 1746, he preached at the cathedral church of that city two excellent diſcourſes [*A*], on the mutual

(*) In this article we are much indebted to the Rev. Dr. Balguy, and very particularly to Mr. Lockyer Davis. Through him we are, likewiſe, obliged to the Rev. Mr. Fariſh, and others. Our peculiar obligations to ſome gentlemen beſides, will appear in the courſe of the article.

(*a*) This appears from his Will.

[*A*] *He preached at the cathedral church of that city two excellent Diſcourſes.*] Theſe Diſcourſes, which are well worthy of peruſal, have been printed in Dr. Brown's Sermons. The following extract will ſhew the juſt ſentiments he entertained with regard to freedom of enquiry. ‘ Thus favourable is religious ‘ truth to civil liberty, which in its turn becomes no ‘ leſs the ſupport of religious truth. Indeed not only ‘ the mutual connection between religious truth and civil freedom; and between ſuperſtition, tyranny, irreligion, and licentiouſneſs.

Mr. Brown's attachment to Whiggiſm procured him the friendſhip of Dr. Oſbaldeſton, who was zealouſly devoted to the ſame cauſe; and who contributed to his obtaining from the Dean and Chapter of Carliſle the living of Morland in the county of Weſtmorland. When, on the death of Sir George Fleming, Dr. Oſbaldeſton was advanced to that See, he appointed our Author (but whether immediately or not, we cannot poſitively ſay) one of his chaplains. We are told that Mr. Brown quitted his place of Minor Canon, on the following occaſion. One day, in performing divine ſervice, he omitted the Athanaſian Creed. The omiſſion, which did not proceed from any ſcruples upon the ſubject, was merely accidental. The Chapter, however, which conſiſted of men very zealous for eſtabliſhed opinions, reproved him, for his neglect, in terms to which he did not chooſe to ſubmit; and, therefore, on the next Sunday, he read the Creed, out of courſe, to vindicate his orthodoxy, and immediately after reſigned his office.

It was probably in the early part of our Author's life, and during his reſidence at Carliſle, that he wrote his poem intitled, ‘Honour,’ inſcribed to the Lord Viſcount Lonſdale. The deſign of this piece is to ſhew, that true honour can alone be founded in virtue; and in ſupport of ſo juſt a doctrine, the Writer advances many excellent ſentiments, delivered in accurate and elegant verſification [*B*]. Mr. Brown's next poetical production, though not immediately publiſhed, was his Eſſay on Satire, in three parts; and which was of conſiderable advantage to him, both in point of fame and fortune. It was addreſſed to Dr. Warburton, to whom it was ſo acceptable, that he took our Author into his friendſhip, which was followed, of courſe, with the friendſhip of Ralph Allen, Eſq; of Prior-park, near Bath. This benevolent gentleman was very generous to Mr. Brown, at a time when his circumſtances had not raiſed him above pecuniary obligations. While he was entertained at Mr. Allen's, he preached at the Abbey Church at Bath, on the 22d of April 1750, a ſermon for promoting the charity and ſubſcription towards the general Hoſpital in that city. It was intitled, ‘On the Purſuit of falſe Pleaſure, and the Miſchiefs of immoderate Gaming;’ and there was

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the perfection, but the very being of religious truth depends on the exerciſe of freedom. Whatever ſome may fear from an open and unlimited enquiry, it ſeems evidently the only means God hath vouchſafed us for the attainment of truth. The *abuſe* of it may be *dangerous*, but the *want* of it is *fatal*: without this, opinion degenerates into abſurdity, as a field runs to weeds without a proper cultivation. Such are the undoubted principles of the Goſpel, where we are commanded to *prove all* things and *hold faſt* that which is good; where we are not only allowed, but required *to be able to give a reaſon for the faith and the hope that is in us*. This principle is conſonant with the ſtricteſt reaſon. It is *falſehood* only that loves and retires into darkneſs: *Truth* delights in the day, and demands no more than a juſt and a ſtrong light, to appear in perfect beauty. A rigid examination is its only teſt: For we know by experience, that even obſtinacy and error can endure the *fires* of perſecution; but it is genuine truth, and *that* alone, which comes out pure and unchanged from the *ſeverer tortures* of debate (1).’ The ſubſequent paſſage finely repreſents the different effects of religion and atheiſm. ‘Thus religion, wherever *ſincerely* and *habitually* embraced, is the natural parent of integrity and virtue: Whereas atheiſm, at beſt, leaves a man to the impulſe of appetite and paſſion. The religious man hath gained a full view of his ſovereign good;—the atheiſt muſt ſeek it in the darkneſs and irregularities of his temper. The one keeps his eye fixed on the pole-ſtar that leads him aſſuredly to happineſs;—the other becomes the ſport of every guſt of paſſion,—a prey to the tempeſts of his own heart. The Chriſtian reveres his nature, as he is one of the ſons of God, and *heirs of immortality*;—the unbeliever deſpiſeth himſelf as the work of chance, as being no more than one of *the beaſts that periſh*. The firſt looks up to heaven with hope and joy;—the latter, which way ſoever he turns his eyes, meets with nothing but deſpondence and deſpair. In a word, religion includes and inforces all the *obligations to virtue*;—atheiſm, all the *temptations to vice*. And though it is admitted that ſome noble characters would, under any circumſtances, purſue virtue for its own ſake; yet if we figure to ourſelves a man *deprived* of all the hopes, and *let looſe* from all the fears of a futurity, nor yet guarded by an uncommon ſhare both of philoſophy and *fine* temper, we ſhall with reaſon conclude, that his ſentiments are as juſtly as they are elegantly deſcribed in the following paſſage of the Book of Wiſdom:——*We are born at all adventure, and we ſhall be hereafter as though we had never been;—our body ſhall be turned into aſhes, and our ſpirit ſhall vaniſh as the ſoft air:—Come on therefore, and let us enjoy the good things that are preſent; let us fill our ſelves with coſtly wine and ointments, and let no flower of the ſpring paſs by us: Let us crown our ſelves with roſe-buds before they be withered; let none of us go without his part of our voluptuouſneſs; let us leave tokens of joyfulneſs in every place; for this is our portion, and our lot is this. Let us oppreſs the poor that is righteous, let us not ſpare the widow, nor reverence the white hairs of the aged; but let our ſtrength be the law of juſtice* (†) (2).’

(1) Brown's Sermons on various Subjects, p. 78, 79.

(†) Wiſdom, ch. ii.

(2) Brown's Sermons on various Subjects, p. 102—104.

[*B*] *Delivered in accurate and elegant verſification.*] We ſhall inſert ſome lines as a ſpecimen of this poem, and which will prove that the character we have given of it is juſt.

‘Where then is found TRUE HONOUR, heavenly fair?
‘Aſk, LONSDALE, aſk your heart—ſhe dictates there.
‘Yes: 'tis in VIRTUE:——That alone can give
‘The laſting honour, and bid glory live:
‘On Virtue's baſis only Fame can riſe,
‘To ſtand the ſtorms of age, and reach the ſkies:
‘Arts, conqueſt, greatneſs, feel the ſtroke of fate,
‘Shrink ſudden, and betray th' incumbent weight;
‘Time with contempt the faithleſs props ſurveys,
“And buries madmen in the heaps they raiſe.”
‘'Tis Virtue only can the bard inſpire,
‘And fill his raptur'd breaſt with laſting fire:
‘Touch'd by th' ethereal ray each kindled line
‘Beams ſtrong: ſtill Virtue feeds the flame divine:
‘Where-e'er ſhe treads ſhe leaves her footſteps bright,
‘In radiant tracts of never dying light;
‘Theſe ſhed the luſtre o'er each ſacred name,
‘Give SPENSER's clear, and SHAKESPEARE's noble flame;
‘Blaze to the ſkies in MILTON's ardent ſong,
‘And kindle the briſk-ſallying fire of YOUNG;
‘Theſe gild each humble verſe in modeſt GAY;
‘Theſe give to SWIFT the keen, ſoul-piercing ray;
‘Mildly through ADDISON's chaſte page they ſhine,
‘And glow and warm in POPE's immortal line (3).’

(3) Dodſley's Collection, vol. iii. p. 292.

prefixed to it, when publiſhed, the following advertiſement: ‘ In juſtice to the magiſtrates of the city of Bath, it is thought proper to inform the reader, that the public ‘ gaming-tables were by them ſuppreſſed there, ſoon after the preaching of this ſermon.’ Such an effect did honour to the preacher's eloquence; and the diſcourſe itſelf will ſhew that it was worthy of the ſucceſs with which it was attended. In the next year, appeared the Eſſay on Satire; being given to the world in the ſecond volume of Dr. Warburton's edition of Pope's Works, with which it ſtill continues to be printed, as well as in Dodſley's Collection. In the third part of the Eſſay, in which the Author celebrates the moſt eminent Satiriſts, he hath drawn Mr. Pope's poetical character to great advantage [*C*]. About this time Mr. Brown began to make no ſmall figure as a writer: for it was in 1751 that he publiſhed what, perhaps, may ſtill be regarded as his capital production; we mean his ‘ Eſſays on the Characteriſtics of the Earl of ‘ Shafteſbury. I. On Ridicule, conſidered as a Teſt of Truth. II. On the Motives ‘ to Virtue, and the Neceſſity of religious Principle. III. On revealed Religion, and ‘ Chriſtianity.’ The work was dedicated to Ralph Allen, Eſq; and was received by the public with a high degree of applauſe. This applauſe it deſerved; for it is certainly written with elegance and ſpirit, with candour and politeneſs. While juſtice is done to Lord Shafteſbury's excellencies, many of his erroneous poſitions are unanſwerably refuted. In ſaying thus much concerning Mr. Brown's publication, we do not mean to intimate our concurrence with every thing which hath been advanced by him. We think that he hath fallen into errors as well as the noble Writer whom he hath attacked; and, in particular, we cannot agree with him in the whole of what he hath ſaid concerning the nature and obligation of virtue. In that part of the work which relates to revealed religion and Chriſtianity, and which hath great merit, our Author is ſaid to have received conſiderable aſſiſtance from his father. It was not likely that an attack upon ſo celebrated and ſo admired a writer, as the Earl of Shafteſbury, ſhould paſs unnoticed and uncenſured: and accordingly, Mr. Charles Bulkley, an ingenious and learned diſſenting miniſter, publiſhed two pamphlets upon the occaſion. The firſt was intitled, ‘ A Vindication of Lord Shafteſbury, on the Subject of Ridicule;’ and the ſecond, ‘ A Vindication of Lord Shafteſbury, on the Subjects of Morality and Religion.’ In the latter of theſe pieces, Mr. Bulkley hath defended his Lordſhip's ſentiments, concerning the nature and foundation of morality and virtue, with ability and ſpirit. There appeared, likewiſe, about the ſame time, an anonymous publication, under the title of ‘ Animadverſions on Mr. Brown's three Eſſays on the Characteriſtics;’ the concealed author of which endeavoured to prove, that Lord Shafteſbury was a believer in Chriſtianity (*b*). But whatever merit there might be in theſe anſwers to Mr. Brown, or however juſt might be ſome of the remarks contained in them, they did not hinder the general reputation and ſucceſs of his work; a fifth edition of which was publiſhed in 1764. Beſides what our Author publiſhed in his own name, in 1751, he had the principal hand in the compoſition of another book, which came out in that year, and was well received; Mr. Charles Aviſon's Eſſay on muſical Expreſſion [*D*]. In

1754,

(*b*) Theſe three pamphlets were all publiſhed for J. Noon, in the Poultry, in 1751, and the beginning of 1752.

[*C*] *Hath drawn Mr. Pope's poetical character to great advantage.*] We cannot more advantageouſly diſplay Dr. Brown's talents as a poet, than by inſerting this character.

‘ But ſee, at length, the *Britiſh* Genius ſmile,
‘ And ſhow'r her bounties o'er her favour'd iſle:
‘ Behold for Pope ſhe twines the laurel crown,
‘ And centers every poet's power in *one*.
‘ Each *Roman*'s force adorns his various page;
‘ Gay ſmiles, collected ſtrength, and manly rage.
‘ Deſpairing Guilt and Dulneſs loath the ſight,
‘ As ſpectres vaniſh at approaching light:
‘ In this clear mirror with delight we view
‘ Each image juſtly fine, and boldly true:
‘ Here Vice, dragg'd forth by Truth's ſupreme de-
‘ cree,
‘ Beholds and hates her own deformity;
‘ While ſelf-ſeen Virtue in the faithful line
‘ With modeſt joy ſurveys her form divine.
‘ But oh, what thoughts, what numbers ſhall I find,
‘ But faintly to expreſs the poet's mind!
‘ Who yonder ſtar's effulgence can diſplay,
‘ Unleſs he dip his pencil in the ray?
‘ Who paint a god, unleſs the god inſpire?
‘ What catch the lightning, but the ſpeed of fire?
‘ So, mighty Pope, to make thy genius known,
‘ All pow'r is weak, all numbers —— but thy own.
‘ Each Muſe for thee with kind contention ſtrove,
‘ For thee the Graces left th' Idalian grove:
‘ With watchful fondneſs o'er thy cradle hung,
‘ Attun'd thy voice, and form'd thy infant tongue.
‘ Next, to her bard majeſtic Wiſdom came;
‘ The bard enraptur'd caught the heav'nly flame:
‘ With taſte ſuperior ſcorn'd the venal tribe,
‘ Whom fear can ſway, or guilty greatneſs bribe;
‘ At fancy's call who rear the wanton ſail,
‘ Sport with the ſtream, and trifle in the gale:
‘ Sublimer views *thy* daring ſpirit bound;
‘ Thy mighty voyage was creation's round;
‘ Intent new worlds of wiſdom to explore,
‘ And bleſs mankind with Virtue's ſacred ſtore;
‘ A nobler joy, than wit can give, impart;
‘ And pour a moral tranſport o'er the heart.
‘ Fantaſtic wit ſhoots momentary fires,
‘ And like a meteor, while we gaze, expires:
‘ Wit kindled by the ſulph'rous breath of Vice,
‘ Like the blue lightning, while it ſhines, deſtroys:
‘ But genius, fir'd by Truth's eternal ray,
‘ Burns clear and conſtant, like the ſource of day:
‘ Like this, its beam prolific and refin'd
‘ Feeds, warms, inſpirits, and exalts the mind;
‘ Mildly diſpels each wint'ry paſſion's gloom,
‘ And opens all the virtues into bloom.
‘ This praiſe, immortal Pope, to thee be giv'n:
‘ Thy genius was indeed a *gift* from heav'n.
‘ Hail, bard unequall'd, in whoſe deathleſs line
‘ Reaſon and wit with ſtrength collected ſhine:
‘ Where matchleſs wit but wins the ſecond praiſe,
‘ Loſt, nobly loſt, in Truth's ſuperior blaze.
‘ Did Friendship e'er miſlead thy wand'ring Muſe?
‘ That friendſhip ſure may plead the *great* excuſe,
‘ That ſacred friendſhip which inſpir'd thy ſong,
‘ *Fair* in defect, and *amiably* wrong.
‘ Error like this ev'n truth can ſcarce reprove;
‘ 'Tis almoſt virtue when it flows from love (4).’

(4) Dodſley's Collection, vol. iii. p. 336—338.

[*D*] *Mr. Charles Aviſon's Eſſay on muſical Expreſſion.*] This treatiſe is divided into three parts; the firſt of which conſiders the force and effect of muſic, and the analogies between muſic and painting. The ſecond part, which is on muſical compoſition,

treats

1754, Mr. Brown printed a ſermon, ‘On the Uſe and Abuſe of Externals in Religion,’ which he had preached at the conſecration of St. James’s Church in Whitehaven, before Dr. Oſbaldeſton, Biſhop of Carliſle. In this diſcourſe, our ingenious Writer, while he allows, and contends for, the great expediency of ceremonials in worſhip, does not ſeem attached to any particular mode, as deſigned to diſtinguiſh particular ſects, but vindicates the outward forms of devotion, only ſo far as they are calculated to promote the purpoſes of religion, and the general union of all the profeſſions of Chriſtianity. We apprehend it muſt have been not long after this time that our Author was promoted, by the preſent Earl of Hardwicke, to the living of great Horkeſley in Eſſex; which preferment his Lordſhip is underſtood to have given at the ſolicitation of his brother, the Honourable Charles Yorke, to whom Mr. Brown had been recommended by Dr. Warburton. Mr. Brown’s next appearance in the world, as a writer, was in his poetical capacity. In the beginning of the year 1755, his Tragedy, intitled, ‘Barbaroſſa,’ was produced upon the ſtage. Our Author informs his readers, in a ſhort advertiſement prefixed to it, that he aimed to write this piece, in its eſſential parts, according to the model of ancient tragedy, ſo far as modern ideas and manners would permit. Under the management of Mr. Garrick, who acted a capital part in it, it met with conſiderable applauſe, during its repreſentation. When it came to be publiſhed, it was expoſed to a variety of ſtrictures and cenſures, as is the caſe with every dramatic production. However, its merit is equal to that of many other modern pieces of the ſame kind; and being what is called a play of buſtle and buſineſs, it kept its footing upon the ſtage for ſeveral years. This tragedy introduced our Author to the acquaintance and friendſhip of Mr. Garrick, who wrote both the prologue and epilogue to Barbaroſſa, and who himſelf ſpoke the prologue, in the character of a country boy. By the favour of this eminent actor, Dr. Brown (*) had a ſecond tragedy, ‘Athelſtan,’ repreſented at the theatre in Drury-Lane, about the commencement of the year 1756. Mr. Garrick performed a principal part in it, and wrote the epilogue. Athelſtan was well received by the public, but did not become ſo popular a play as Barbaroſſa, nor did it preſerve ſo long the poſſeſſion of the ſtage. In excellence it was little, if at all, inferior to the other; and it met with the ſame fate of being cenſured and condemned, as well as applauded. Some writer of the time thought proper to attack it in a ſeparate pamphlet of critical remarks. Dr. Brown did not give his name to the world, either with Barbaroſſa or Athelſtan.

We come now to what may be conſidered as a great æra in our Author’s literary life and character; we mean the publication, in 1757, of his famous ‘Eſtimate of the Manners and ‘Principles of the Times.’ The reception which this work met with from the public was highly flattering to the vanity of the writer, ſeven editions of it having been printed in little more than a year. It was, indeed, almoſt univerſally read, and made an uncommon impreſſion upon the minds of great numbers of perſons. To this, beſides its own merit, it was, in part, indebted to its being well-timed. It came out when the minds of the people had been extremely depreſſed by ſome unproſperous events; and when, conſequently, they were the more ready to liſten to the melancholy, and, perhaps, too juſt repreſentation that was given of the manners and principles of the nation. The chief deſign of the Eſtimate was to ſhew that a vain, luxurious, and ſelfiſh effeminacy, in the higher ranks of life, marked the character of the age; and to point out the effects and ſources of this effeminacy. In the proſecution of his deſign, Dr.

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treats on the too cloſe attachment to air, and neglect of harmony; on the too cloſe attachment to harmony, and neglect of air; and on muſical expreſſion, ſo far as it relates to the compoſer. The third part, which is on muſical expreſſion, as it relates to the performer, includes the expreſſive performance of muſic in general, and the expreſſive performance of muſic in parts. To the ſecond edition of the Eſſay, which appeared in 1753, was added an ingenious and learned letter to the Author, concerning the Muſic of the Ancients, written by the late Dr. Jortin, though publiſhed without his name. Mr. Aviſon’s treatiſe, which, beſides being drawn up in a very elegant manner, contains a number of ſenſible and important obſervations with regard to muſical expreſſion, was well received in the world. Some, however, thought it rather too general and vague; and others were diſſatiſfied with the ſentiments which he delivered concerning the excellencies and defects of certain eminent muſicians. In 1753 were publiſhed ‘Remarks on Mr. ‘Aviſon’s Eſſay on muſical Expreſſion: wherein the ‘Characters of ſeveral great Maſters, both ancient ‘and modern, are reſcued from the Miſrepreſentations of the above Author; and their real Merit ‘aſſerted and vindicated. In a Letter from a Gentle‘man in London to his Friend in the Country.’ In this tract, which is now known to have been written by the late Dr. Hayes, profeſſor of muſic at Oxford, Mr. Aviſon is treated with no ſmall degree of ſeverity. The profeſſor goes ſomewhat out of his way to attack Mr. Aviſon’s concertos; beſides which, he expoſes, and, indeed, we think juſtly, that gentleman’s ignorance of, or neglect of our ancient Engliſh muſicians, and the cold manner in which he had ſpoken of Mr. Handel. Mr. Aviſon wrote a reply to Dr. Hayes’s remarks, in which he chiefly confines himſelf to a vindication of his own concertos. Several other points wherein the profeſſor appears to have had the advantage over him, he prudently leaves untouched (5). It ought to be remembered, that Aviſon had been a diſciple of Geminiani, the rival of Handel. Whenever Geminiani affected to hold Mr. Handel’s compoſitions cheap, it was uſual with him to ſay, ‘Charley Aviſon ſhall make a better ‘piece of muſic, in a month’s time (6)’. Sir John Hawkins, ſpeaking of the Eſſay on muſical Expreſſion, ſays, that there are in it ſome judicious reflections on muſic in general, but that the diviſion of modern authors into claſſes is rather fanciful than juſt; and that, throughout his book, Mr. Aviſon celebrates Marcello and Geminiani; the latter frequently to the prejudice of Mr. Handel. Sir John is likewiſe of opinion, that the writer of the Remarks upon Aviſon ſeldom fails to prove him in the wrong (7).

(*) He had taken, in 1755, his Doctor of Divinity’s Degree at Cambridge.

(5) See the reply, at the end of the 3d edition of the Eſſay on muſical Expreſſion, publiſhed in 1775.

(6) Remarks on Mr. Aviſon’s Eſſay on muſical Expreſſion, p. 111.

(7) Hiſt. of Muſic, vol. v. p. 419.

Brown certainly diſplayed much ſagacity and ingenuity of obſervation; though it muſt, likewiſe, be acknowledged, that his remarks are ſometimes too minute, and that he writes with too great an air of ſelf-importance. At firſt, however, he met with far more applauſe than cenſure [*E*]. But, in a courſe of time, ſeveral antagoniſts roſe up againſt him, ſome of whom were of very little conſequence, while others were poſſeſſed of a conſiderable portion of ſtrength and ability [*F*]. In the Summer after the Eſtimate

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[*E*] *He met with far more applauſe than cenſure.*] As it would carry us too far to inſert many of the encomiums which were beſtowed on Dr. Brown's Eſtimate, we ſhall content ourſelves with two inſtances, which happen to be neareſt at hand. One of the periodical critics, in giving an account of the work, ſays, 'The ſubject is, no doubt, extremely intereſting, and requires great delicacy, extenſive knowledge of the world, ſound judgment, and no ſmall inſight into human nature. In the proſecution of it, our author has given abundant proofs of diſcernment: he has made many pertinent and ſome ſtriking obſervations, and marked the peculiar features of the times with great juſtneſs and accuracy.' The ſame critic hath added, that Mr. Brown's language is clear and ſtrong; that his manner is ſprightly and animated, and, unleſs when he puts on his haughty and dogmatical airs, pleaſing and agreeable; and, in a word, that his merit as a writer is very conſiderable, and would be ſtill more ſo, did not he himſelf appear ſo extremely conſcious of it (8). In the firſt volume of the Annual Regiſter it is obſerved, that the great ſucceſs of the Eſtimate aroſe partly from the circumſtances of the time when it appeared, and partly from its own merit. 'It appeared at a time when our ill ſucceſs in the war had infuſed ſo general a diſcontent into the minds of all people, that even a ſevere national ſatire was not then diſagreeable to the public diſpoſition. And as to the work itſelf, though the obſervations it contains were many of them not abſolutely new; yet they were ſo methodiſed, the connection and relation of the ſeveral reigning vices and follies were ſo well marked, and their neceſſary influence on the proſperity of the ſtate were ſo well diſplayed, that it had the appearance of being both new and uſeful.' It is farther obſerved, that the Eſtimate diſcovers reading and reflection; that the characters are ſtrongly marked, and the ſtyle elegant, pointed, and lively; but that the author ſometimes is too minute in his paintings, and ſometimes overcharges them; and that a certain air of arrogance and ſuperiority prevails through the whole (9).

(8) Monthly Review, vol. xvi. p. 430. 443.

(9) Annual Regiſter, vol. i. p. 444, 445.

[*F*] *Several antagoniſts roſe up againſt him*, &c.] To mention the ſtrictures that were made upon him in the news-papers and periodical collections, would be almoſt an endleſs taſk; and, therefore, we ſhall content ourſelves with taking notice only of ſome ſeparate publications. The firſt piece of this kind which appeared againſt our Eſtimator, was intitled, 'The real Character of the Age;' a pamphlet that had ſome ſmartneſs of compoſition, but which was otherwiſe very trifling and ſuperficial. The moſt pleaſant circumſtance in it, was the Writer's affecting to miſtake an extravagant panegyric made by Dr. Brown on Dr. Warburton for an encomium upon Mr. Lockman. As this panegyric on Dr. Warburton occaſioned much noiſe at the time, and expoſed the Author of the Eſtimate to a variety of cenſures and ſatirical reflections, we ſhall here inſert it. After having endeavoured to depreciate the literary ſpirit of the age, he added, 'True it is, amidſt this general defect of taſte and learning, there is a *Writer*, whoſe force of genius, and extent of knowledge, might almoſt redeem the character of the times. But that ſuperiority, which attracts the reverence of the *few*, excites the envy and hatred of the *many*: And while his works are tranſlated and admired *abroad*, and patroniſed at *home*, by thoſe who are moſt diſtinguiſhed in genius, taſte, and learning, himſelf is abuſed, and his friends inſulted for his ſake, by thoſe who never read his writings, or, if they did, could neither *taſte* nor comprehend them: while every little aſpiring or deſpairing ſcribbler eyes him as Caſſius did Cæſar, and whiſpers to his fellow,

"Why, man, he doth beſtride the narrow world
"Like a Coloſſus; and we petty men
"Walk under his huge legs; and peep about
"To find ourſelves diſhonourable graves!"

'No wonder then, if the malice of the *Lilliputian* tribe be bent againſt this dreaded *Gulliver*; if they attack him with *poiſoned* arrows, whom they cannot ſubdue by ſtrength (10).'

(10) Eſtimate, Vol. i. p. 43, 44.

A ſecond pamphlet, called 'The Proſperity of Britain, proved from the Degeneracy of the People; a Letter to Dr. Brown on his Eſtimate of Manners;' was, likewiſe, an inſignificant production, which made an attempt at irony, without the capacity of ſuſtaining it. The Eſtimator's next Adverſary was a more formidable one. Mr. Ralph, in his 'Caſe of Authors,' calls the Eſtimate 'A modeſt Attempt to prove that the character of Fribble in the farce, is our Repreſentative General; or in other words, that our national effeminacy is the ſource of all our miſcarriages and misfortunes; of which effeminacy, however, no better proof is to be met with, than the reception given to this tinſel performance.' He ſays alſo, that Dr. Brown, to eſtabliſh his *own ſelf*, as ſucceſſor to Monteſquieu, takes care to be his own index in every page and every paragraph: 'The Prince *Prettyman* of writers is ever before your eyes; and the reader finds himſelf obliged to acknowledge, no title was ever ſo well beſtowed.' Mr. Ralph is, likewiſe, very ſevere on our author for his panegyric on Warburton; and, with regard to the ſin of venality charged upon the times, obſerves, that 'Whoever caſts an eye on the *Exiſtimator*'s ſcanty page and over-grown margin, will pronounce at once, that nobody underſtands the value of three ſhillings and ſixpence better than he (11).' One of the beſt anſwers to the Eſtimate, was the 'Characteriſtics of the preſent Political State of Great Britain,' written by Dr. Wallace, an ingenious and learned clergyman of Edinburgh. In this performance, though it contained many important and ſagacious obſervations, it ſeemed to us, at the time of reading it, that too flattering a picture was drawn of the times. Though the author differed in almoſt every reſpect from Dr. Brown, he, nevertheleſs, treated him with the greateſt civility; and the Doctor himſelf acknowledged, that he was the only candid and decent adverſary that had appeared againſt him (12). When the ſecond volume of the Eſtimate and the Explanatory Defence were publiſhed, they brought on a train of freſh antagoniſts. In a pamphlet, entitled, 'Some Doubts, occaſioned by the ſecond Volume of an Eſtimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times; humbly propoſed to the Author or to the Public,' Dr. Brown's vanity was ironically and pleaſantly expoſed. He was ridiculed, with equal facetiouſneſs, in a letter on that part of his Explanatory Defence which related to the univerſities. This was followed by another letter, one chief deſign of which was to expoſe, by an unuſually large type, and wide ſpaces between the lines, the looſe manner in which Dr. Brown's works were printed. A more elaborate attack, but mixed with many ſtrokes of humour, was afterwards made upon the Doctor, in 'A new Eſtimate of Manners and Principles; being a Compariſon between ancient and modern Times, in the great Articles of Knowledge, Happineſs, and Virtue, both with reſpect to Mankind at large, and to this Kingdom in particular.' The two firſt parts of this work were publiſhed in the beginning of 1760; and the third in 1761. A fourth and a fifth part were promiſed; but we do not recollect that they ever made their appearance. The author, though he hath ſhewn himſelf to be a man of ability and learning, and poſſeſſed of liberal ſentiments, and though he has made a number of important and uſeful remarks, hath by no means conſidered the ſubject with that accuracy, and in that extent, which it required and deſerved. He gave juſt offence, likewiſe, in point of taſte, to claſſical readers, by declaring that he had no reliſh for the beauties of

(11) Caſe of Authors, p. 12—18.

(12) Explanatory Defence, p. 35.

mate was publiſhed, as our Author was one night ſitting alone, in Vauxhall Gardens, the following lines, with which he was much pleaſed, were ſent to him by an unknown perſon:

IMPROMPTU.

‘ Oh ſay, thou gracious Cenſor of the age;
‘ What can thy ſolitary thoughts engage?
‘ What lures thee thus to pleaſure's golden reign?
‘ Cam'ſt thou, like Cato, to go out again?
‘ No! ſent, like Raphael, from the Heav'nly powers
‘ To meet the inhabitants of Eden's bowers;
‘ Welcome, Oh Seer, purſue the glorious plan;
‘ To mark the manners, and reform the man:

‘ CANTAB.’

The teſtimony given by Monſ. de Voltaire to the effect which the Eſtimate had on the conduct of the nation, is very honourable to Dr. Brown. ‘ When Marſhal Richlieu, in 1756, ſays that celebrated writer, laid ſiege to Port Mahon, the capital of Minorca, the Engliſh ſent out Admiral Byng, with a ſtrong naval force, to drive the French Fleet off the iſland, and raiſe the ſiege.—At this time there appeared a book, entitled, “ An Eſtimate of the Manners of the Times,” of which there were no leſs than five editions printed off in London in the ſpace of three months. In this treatiſe the Author proves that the Engliſh nation was entirely degenerated;—that it was near its ruin;—that its inhabitants were no longer ſo robuſt and hardy as in former times;—and that its ſoldiers had loſt their courage.—This work rouſed the ſenſibility of the Engliſh nation, and produced the following conſequences. They attacked, almoſt at one and the ſame time, all the ſea-coaſts of France, and her poſſeſſions in Aſia, Africa, and America (*c*).’

(*c*) Smollet's Voltaire, Vol. xxiii. p. 183.

In 1758, our Author publiſhed the ſecond volume of his ‘ Eſtimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times;’ containing additional remarks on the ruling manners and principles, and on the public effects of thoſe manners and principles. The deſign of this volume was, to *retract* ſuch miſtakes as he thought he had committed; to *prove* ſuch points as were affirmed and not proved; to *illuſtrate* thoſe particulars which were hinted, but not explained; to *reply* to ſuch capital objections, as had been made to his general ſyſtem, by preceding writers on the ſame ſubject; and to diſplay the *conſequences* which might be fairly deduced from his principles, and through a deſigned brevity were omitted in the firſt volume. Theſe ſeveral topics are not collectively conſidered, in the order in which they are here laid down; but touched upon as they ariſe ſucceſſively in the peruſal of the firſt volume, to which alone they refer. In the proſecution of his deſign, Dr. Brown hath manifeſted his uſual ingenuity, and made ſome important obſervations: and the ſection, in particular, concerning the different genius and permanency of popery and proteſtantiſm hath conſiderable merit. But it unfortunately happened that the Doctor's ſelf-opinion, which gave ſo much offence in his firſt volume, broke out in the ſecond with ſtill greater violence [*G*]. The conſequence of this

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Homer. A rational and copious eſtimate of manners and principles, ſo as to include the ſtate of knowledge, happineſs and virtue, with reſpect to mankind at large, both in ancient and modern times, would indeed be a noble undertaking.

[*G*] *Breaks out in the ſecond with ſtill greater violence.*] It cannot be denied that Dr. Brown's vanity is too conſpicuous in this publication. He affects to ſpeak as if he had not read the criticiſms written on his Eſtimate; though that he muſt have done ſo, is plain from what we have ſeen him obſerving, in the preceding note, that Dr. Wallace was his only candid and decent adverſary. Our Author having been charged with mixing in public life, and with the faſhionable world, as frequently as moſt of his profeſſion, and with being ſeen, at times, in places of the moſt public reſort and diſſipation, he admitted the fact, and preſented the following apology; which was not, in general, deemed ſatisfactory, and the concluſion of which was thought to diſplay a high degree of arrogance. ‘ Firſt, Suppoſing all that is alleged or inſinuated, to be true; he apprehends, the conduct of his life cannot affect or weaken the reaſoning of his work.—Secondly, He hath cauſe to believe, that they who thus accuſe him, are ſuch as themſelves frequent thoſe ſcenes of faſhionable folly. Now, let but theſe gentlemen as loudly and publicly declare againſt the modern ſpirit of effeminacy and diſſipation, as he hath done; and then the world may poſſibly believe, that he and they are *there* upon the *ſame principle.*—Thirdly, He hath reaſon to ſuſpect, that if he writ altogether from the cloſet, theſe objectors would then aſſume another tone. They would ſay (and indeed with good reaſon),

‘ Yes; we deſpiſe the man to books confin'd,
‘ Who from his ſtudy rails at all mankind.
‘ The coxcomb bird, ſo talkative and grave,
‘ Who from his cage cries cuckold, fool, and knave;
‘ Tho' many a paſſenger he rightly call,
‘ We hold him no philoſopher at all *.

* Mr. Pope.

‘ Laſtly; Therefore, if he mixeth in public life, the candid world will judge for what end he does it, not from the railing of angry men, but from the *tenor* of his *writings*; the beſt indications of his mind and character. There is an eſſential diſtinction between thoſe who *love* diſſipation, and thoſe who *view*, in order to *expoſe* it. There is an eſſential diſtinction between the *provoſt* of an army, who goes out on duty, and the *marauders*, whom he hangs upon the next tree.—To conclude; every man's ſphere of obſervation and experience ſhould be, as far as poſſible, of the ſame extent with the objects of his attention. The painter, if he would give the truth, muſt copy from Nature. The *retailing* tradeſman keeps to his ſhop; the *private* officer to his *platoon*; the *ſailor* to his *gun*: But the *merchant*, the *general*, the *admiral*, if they be wiſe, will take a *larger tour* of obſervation. The writer neither *deſpiſes* nor *neglects* the duties of his private ſtation: But as he hath taken upon him not only the taſk of a *parochial*, but the more important and arduous one of a *national preacher*, he hopes theſe gentlemen will excuſe him, if he goes a little out of the *common* road, and endeavours to *underſtand* this was, that he expoſed himſelf to general cenſure and diſlike; and the prejudices againſt him occaſioned the real excellencies of the work to be very much overlooked. The periodical critics, whom he had gone needleſsly out of his way to abuſe, treated him with uncommon ſeverity; and ſuch a multitude of antagoniſts roſe againſt him, ſo many objections were urged upon him, by friends as well as enemies, that he ſeems to have been deeply impreſſed, and to have retired, for a while, into the country [*H*]. From the country it was that he wrote, in a ſeries of letters to a noble friend, 'An Explanatory Defence of the Eſtimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times; being an Appendix to that Work, occaſioned by the Clamours lately raiſed againſt it among certain Ranks of Men.' In this publication, Dr. Brown acknowledges himſelf to have been alarmed at the exceptions taken againſt the Eſtimate; and, in endeavouring to remove them, he writes, upon the whole, in a more modeſt ſtrain than he had done in the ſecond volume. Though the prejudices of the time were ſo great, that the Explanatory Defence appears to have had little or no effect in the Doctor's favour, every candid reader will now be able to perceive that he hath ſaid much in his own vindication. Among other things, he ſtrongly aſſerts the uprightneſs of his intentions, and we ſee no reaſon to doubt the truth of his aſſertion. One objection raiſed

'*ſtand* his ſubject before he *talks* upon it. With their leave therefore (nay, without their leave), he will continue to viſit the ſeveral parts of his *larger* diſtrict; and intends not to content himſelf with a narrower ſphere of remark, than that of his Majeſty's dominions (13).' In the two laſt ſections of the volume, Dr. Brown hath given the characteriſtics of a great miniſter, and of a political writer. The ſketch of the former, which was allowed, even by the Doctor's enemies, to be very maſterly, we ſhall have occaſion to produce when we come to the article of the illuſtrious William Pitt, Earl of Chatham. The character of the political writer, which, notwithſtanding ſome expreſſions ſeemingly to the contrary, was certainly intended, by Dr. Brown, for himſelf, we ſhall here inſert; and we apprehend, it will afford farther proofs of the high opinion he entertained of his own abilities and importance. 'There is another character, belonging indeed to a much lower walk in life, which might be no leſs ſtrange than that which is here delineated. I mean, the character of a political writer, not only *intentionally*, but *in fact* IMPARTIAL.—This is a character which hath never yet exiſted; nor, probably, will ever appear, in our own country. However, let us attempt a ſketch of this ideal portrait, for the uſe of thoſe who may aſpire to impartiality; and conſider, "by what characteriſtics HE would be diſtinguiſhed."—He would chuſe an untrodden path of politics, where no party-man ever dared to enter.—He would be diſliked by party-bigots of every denomination; who, while they applauded one page of his work, would execrate the next.—The undiſguiſed freedom and boldneſs of his manner, would pleaſe the brave, aſtoniſh the weak, diſguſt and confound the guilty.—Every rank, party, and profeſſion would acknowledge he had done tolerable juſtice to every rank, party, and profeſſion, their own only excepted.—He would be called *arrogant* by thoſe, who call every thing *arrogance*, that is not *ſervility*.—If he writ in a period, when his country was declining; while he pointed out the means from whence alone honeſt *hope* could ariſe, he would be charged by ſcribbling ſycophants with plunging a nation in *deſpair*.—While he pointed out the abuſes of freedom, and their fatal effects, he would be blackened by deſigning whiſperers, as the enemy of freedom itſelf.—The worthleſs of every profeſſion would be his ſworn enemies; but moſt of all, the worthleſs of his own profeſſion.—As he would be reviled and defamed by the *diſſolute* great, without cauſe; ſo he would be applauded by an *honeſt* people, beyond his deſervings.—Though his abilities were ſmall, yet the integrity of his intentions would make amends for the mediocrity of his talents.—As ſuch a writer could have little pretenſions to literary fame, ſo he would not be intoxicated with the fumes of literary vanity: But would think, with SHEFFIELD, that

'One moral, or a mere well-natur'd deed,
'Does all deſert in ſciences exceed.

'Yet, though he ſcorned the gildings of falſe ambition, and riches acquired by adulation; he might not, poſſibly, be unconſcious of that unſought dignity, that envied ſuperiority to wealth and titles, which even the love of wiſdom and virtue give.—Should any of the great, therefore, affect to diſdain him, on account of his private ſtation, he might perhaps reply, with PERDITA,

'I was not much afraid; for once or twice
'I was about to ſpeak, and tell him plainly,
'The ſelf-ſame ſun that ſhines upon his palace,
'Hides not his heav'nly viſage from *my* cottage,
'But looks on *both alike*.

'His free and unconquered ſpirit would look down with contempt on views of intereſt, when they came in competition with views of duty.—Nay, were he called to ſo ſevere a trial, he would even dare to make the greateſt and the rareſt of all honeſt ſacrifices, that of friendſhip itſelf, to truth and virtue.—Should the ſenſe of his duty to his country determine him to a farther proſecution of his labours, he would ſay,

'If ſuch his fate, do thou, fair TRUTH, deſcend,
'And, watchful, guard him in an honeſt end:
'Kindly ſevere, inſtruct his equal line,
'To court no friend, nor own a foe, but thine.
'But if his giddy eye ſhould vainly quit
'Thy ſacred paths, to run the maze of wit;
'If his apoſtate heart ſhould e'er incline
'To offer incenſe at corruption's ſhrine,
'Urge, urge thy pow'r; the black attempt confound;
'Oh, daſh the ſmoking cenſer to the ground!
'Thus aw'd to fear, inſtructed man may ſee,
'That guilt is doom'd to ſink in infamy (14).'

[*H*] *Retired, for a while, into the country.*] During the Doctor's retirement, in May 1758, he wrote the following beautiful Inſcription, which was printed at the end of his Diſſertation on Poetry and Muſic.

——*Finemque tueri*
——*Naturamque ſequi.*

'What though no glittering turret riſe,
'Nor ſplendor gild theſe mild retreats?
'Yet NATURE *here*, in modeſt guiſe,
'Diſplays her unambitious ſweets:

'Along each gently-ſwelling lawn
'She ſtrays, with ruſtic garlands crown'd;
'And wakes the flowers at early dawn,
'To fling their boſom'd fragrance round.

'*Here* teach thy vot'ry, blameleſs guide,
'To trace thy ſtep ſerene and free,
'To ſhun the toilſome heights of pride,
'Thro' theſe calm ſcenes to *follow* THEE.

'His ſilent walks do thou adorn,
'O'er theſe green ſlopes, from tumult far;
'Whether he greet the bluſhing morn,
'Or welcome up yon evening ſtar:

'Intent, while thro' theſe tufted bowers
'Thy gen'rous whiſpers charm his ear,
'To hail from Heaven thy kindred powers,
'And meet fair *Peace* and *Freedom* here.

'Yet prompt to ſtay his country's fall,
'The ſtormy city's war he'll join,
'When *Thou*, and *Truth*, and *Freedom* call:
'For *Freedom*'s voice, and *Truth*'s, are *thine*.

againſt

(13) Eſtimate, Vol. ii. p. 122—125.

(14) *Ibid.* p. 260—265.

againſt him was, that his book had given advantage and encouragement to our enemies, by painting the nation as being ſunk in effeminacy. To this objection he made the following reply, which may poſſibly, in the courſe of human events, be found applicable to ſome future period. ‘ Alas, my Lord, our enemies knew our weakneſs and degeneracy ‘ before the national diſgraces had proclaimed it. As to the *cauſes* and *remedies* of this ‘ political degeneracy, the knowledge of theſe could only affect ourſelves. We might ‘ reap advantage (if we ſo pleaſed) by being led to the knowledge and ſenſe of theſe. ‘ Our enemies had already reaped all the advantages of information, from the mere ‘ knowledge of the *fact*. Is a nation to go quietly to ruin, without one awakening voice ‘ to rouſe it from its fatal lethargy, merely through fear that our enemies ſhould take ‘ advantage? They ſaw we were aſleep: They had ſurpriſed and attacked us in our ‘ ſlumber. Sure, it could not be dangerous or hurtful, to awaken from its dream a ‘ nation ſo expoſed and attacked; nor could it leſſen that nation in another's eyes, to ‘ ſee there was one bold enough to attempt it *(d)*.’ With the Explanatory Defence, ended, on Dr. Brown's part, the affair of the Eſtimate (*), which, at firſt, gained him an extravagant applauſe, and, at length, expoſed him to as extravagant cenſure; to the latter of which it muſt be allowed that he contributed by his own indiſcretion. The Doctor is a ſtriking inſtance, that few things are more pernicious to a writer's reputation than vanity. This unhappy quality is not unfrequently found in men of real abilities and learning; but it always greatly leſſens their acceptance and merit. The pains they take to ſhew the high opinion they entertain of themſelves and their works, defeat the end they have in view, of exciting the ſame opinion in others. Nor doth vanity often, or perhaps ever, belong to minds of the firſt order with regard to intellectual attainments. We ſee nothing of it in a Bacon and a Boyle, a Locke and a Newton, a Clarke and a Hoadly.

While Dr. Brown was thus diſtinguiſhing himſelf as a political writer, he ſeems to have gained no ground in the way of preferment. The great Miniſter, whoſe character he had drawn in ſo able and advantageous a manner, did nothing for him; and ſome of his other friends were not quite ſatisfied with the part he had acted. Though, in the ‘ Eſtimate,’ he had paid a compliment to Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, as preſiding in the higheſt court of law, it is ſuppoſed that he did not pleaſe that noble and truly reſpectable family, by his ſeverity on the Walpole and the Pelham adminiſtrations; and, being of a high ſpirit, it is believed that, on this account, he determined to reſign the living in Eſſex which he had received from the preſent Earl of Hardwicke. To whatever cauſes it was owing, our Author did not excel in the art of preſerving his friends. He quarrelled, in the courſe of his life, with many of them; and particularly with the Biſhop of Glouceſter, to whom he had been under peculiar obligations. In mentioning this circumſtance, we do not intend to charge him with ingratitude. We are not acquainted enough with the affair, to ſay, how far he was blameable, or whether he was at all blameable. It hath often been inſinuated, though we know not upon what authority, that he did not ſufficiently bend to that literary ſubjection which was expected of him towards the celebrated writer of the Divine Legation of Moſes. But omitting matters of ſo doubtful a nature, it is certain that Dr. Brown had one friend, who ſteadily adhered to him through life. This was Biſhop Oſbaldeſton, who had ſupported him when he thought him perſecuted by the Tory Chapter of Carliſle; and who now enabled him to reſign the living of Great Horkeſley in Eſſex, by preſenting him to the vicarage of St. Nicholas, in Newcaſtle upon Tyne. It was probably owing to the influence of the ſame prelate, that he was appointed one of the chaplains in ordinary to his preſent Majeſty. Theſe, with what we have before mentioned, were all the preferments our Author ever received; which muſt have been no ſmall mortification to a man of Dr. Brown's ſpirit, who undoubtedly eſteemed himſelf qualified for the higheſt offices in the church, and whoſe abilities, under proper direction, would have rendered him equal to any ſtation. He would probably have met with farther favours from his friend Dr. Oſbaldeſton, if that Prelate had not died ſoon after he was advanced to the See of London.

To return to Dr. Brown's writings, he publiſhed, in 1760, an Additional Dialogue of the Dead, between Pericles and Ariſtides; being a Sequel to a Dialogue of Lord Lyttelton's, between Pericles and Coſmo. As Lord Lyttelton had been ſuppoſed, in the Dialogue laſt mentioned, to have thrown out ſome hints of diſapprobation with regard to Mr. Pitt's meaſures, when at the head of affairs in this country, it was one deſign of the Doctor, in his additional Dialogue, to vindicate that great Miniſter's political character and conduct. Our Author's next publication (in 1763) was the Cure of Saul, a ſacred Ode, which, if it doth not ariſe to the poetry and harmony of Dryden's St. Cecilia, hath, nevertheleſs, allowance being made for a few exceptions, no ſmall degree of beauty and merit [I]. The ſacred Ode was followed, in the ſame year, by ‘ A Diſſer-

(d) Explanatory Defence, p. 52, 53.

(*) Between the appearance of the ſecond volume of the Eſtimate, and the Explanatory Defence, our Author republiſhed Dr. Walker's Diary of the Siege of Londonderry, with a Preface, pointing out the uſeful purpoſes to which the peruſal of the Diary might be applied.

[I] *Hath ——— no ſmall degree of beauty and merit.*] The following paſſages will juſtify our aſſertions:

‘ Lead the ſoothing verſe along:
‘ He feels, he feels the power of ſong —.

‘ Ocean haſtens to his bed:
‘ The lab'ring mountain rears his rock-encumber'd
‘ head;
‘ Down his ſteep and ſhaggy ſide
‘ The torrent rolls his thundering tide;

(e) In Quarto.

'tation (e) on the Riſe, Union, and Power, the Progreſſions, Separations and Corruptions of Poetry and Muſic.' This, which is one of the moſt pleaſing of Dr. Brown's performances, diſplays great ingenuity, and abounds with many critical diſcuſſions, ſome more, ſome leſs happily conducted. It muſt, at the ſame time, be confeſſed, that the Doctor hath given free indulgence to fancy and conjecture, and that he hath formed a round and compact ſyſtem out of very ſlender materials. Hence it was that he laid himſelf open to a variety of ſtrictures. The anonymous writer, in particular, of 'Some Obſervations on Dr. Brown's Diſſertation on the Riſe, Union, &c. &c. &c. of 'Poetry and Muſic (*),' pointed out ſeveral of his miſtakes, with great critical ſagacity, depth of learning, and ſtrength of judgment. A defence of the Doctor ſoon appeared, in 'Remarks on Some Obſervations on Dr. Brown's Diſſertation on Poetry and 'Muſic,' written by the Doctor himſelf; but what was its merit, we are not able certainly to ſay; the piece not having happened to fall into our hands. In 1764, our Author publiſhed, in octavo, 'The Hiſtory of the Riſe and Progreſs of Poetry through its ſeveral Species;' which is no more than the ſubſtance of what was given on the ſame ſubject in the Diſſertation above mentioned; but diveſted of what ſpecifically related to muſic, for the ſake of ſuch claſſical readers as were not particularly converſant with that art. In the ſame year Dr. Brown gave to the world a volume of ſermons [*K*], dedicated to his patron Dr. Oſbaldeſton, Biſhop of London. Moſt, if not all, of theſe ſermons had before been ſeparately printed, excepting the firſt three, which are upon education, and the merit of which is ſuch, that we ſhould rejoice if they were in the hands of every parent. Our Author hath, we think, unanſwerably refuted ſome of the poſitions of Rouſſeau, and other ſpeculatiſts; and has proved, beyond reaſonable contradiction, the importance, and, indeed, the neceſſity of forming the minds of children to early habits of virtue and piety. It is obſervable that an eminent writer (*f*), who differed exceedingly from Dr. Brown in many reſpects, hath delivered congenial ſentiments, in a late excellent Treatiſe on Education. In the beginning of the year 1765, the Doctor again reverted to politics, and publiſhed 'Thoughts on civil Liberty, Licentiouſneſs and Faction;' a work, which, though drawn up with great parade, and aſſuming a ſcientific form, was, in fact, little more than a party pamphlet; intended to cenſure (whether juſtly or not, we do not here enquire) the perſons who at that time oppoſed the meaſures of adminiſtration. The author having propoſed, at the concluſion of this tract, a preſcribed code of education, Dr. Prieſtley publiſhed remarks upon it, at the end of his 'Eſſay on the

(*) A Quarto Pamphlet, printed for Johnſton.

(*f*) Dr. Prieſtley.

'Then ſmooth and clear, along the fertile plain
'Winds his majeſtic waters to the diſtant main.
'Flocks and herds the hills adorn:
'The lark, high-ſoaring, hails the morn.
'And while along yon crimſon-clouded ſteep
'The ſlow ſun ſteals into the golden deep,
'Hark! the ſolemn nightingale
'Warbles to the woodland dale.
'See, deſcending angels ſhower
'Heaven's own bliſs on Eden's bower:
'Peace on Nature's lap repoſes;
'Pleaſure ſtrews her guiltleſs roſes:
'Joys divine in circles move,
'Link'd with Innocence and Love.
'Hail, happy Love, with Innocence combin'd!
'All hail, ye ſinleſs parents of mankind (14)'!

(14) Pearch's Collection of Poems, Vol. ii. p. 106, 107.

Again, the deſcription of the expulſion of our firſt parents from Paradiſe, to make Saul feel that guilt is woe:

'The King, with pride, and ſhame, and anguiſh, torn,
'Shot fury from his eyes, and ſcorn.
'The glowing youth,
'Bold in truth,
'(So ſtill ſhould Virtue guilty power engage)
'With brow undaunted met his rage.
'See, his cheek kindles into generous fire:
'Stern, he bends him o'er his lyre;
'And, while the doom of guilt he ſings,
'Shakes horror from the tortur'd ſtrings (15).'

(15) *Ibid.* p. 108.

The Cure of Saul was afterwards ſet to muſic, and performed as an oratorio. The muſic to it was partly ſelected, by Dr. Brown, from ſuch favourite movements, in the works of the moſt celebrated compoſers, as would beſt expreſs the ſenſe of the words. He took, in particular, for a ſolo air, the Saraband in the eighth ſonata of Corelli's ſecond opera; and, for the chorus, that moſt admirable movement in Purcell's "O give thanks," 'Remember me, O Lord!' and any ſtranger would have thought that the muſic had been originally compoſed for the ode (16).

(16) Hawkins's Hiſtory of Muſic, Vol. i. Prel. Diſc. p. xxvii. note.

[*K*] *Gave to the world a volume of ſermons.*] Theſe ſermons are twelve in number. The firſt three, as is taken notice of in the text, are upon education. Of the two next we have already given an account, in note [*A*]. The ſixth and ſeventh are upon the duty of charitable diſtribution. This duty the author ſtrongly enforces; points out the proper methods and objects of it; and is very ſevere againſt beſtowing alms on vagrant beggars. The eighth diſcourſe, on externals in religion, hath been mentioned above. The ninth, which is on the natural duty of a perſonal ſervice, in defence of ourſelves and country, was preached at St. Nicholas church, in Newcaſtle, on occaſion of a dangerous inſurrection at Hexham, 1761. The tenth was preached in the ſame place, on the trial of the Rioters at the Summer aſſizes of that year, and is, 'On the different provinces of goodneſs, 'juſtice, and mercy.' The text is Rom. chap. v. ver. 7. 'For ſcarcely for a righteous man will one 'die: yet peradventure for a good man ſome would 'even dare to die;' and Dr. Brown builds his diſcourſe on the ſuppoſition that St. Paul here makes a diſtinction between the righteous or juſt, and the good man; implying the moral ſuperiority of the latter over the former. But we are perſuaded that no ſuch refinement of ideas entered into the Apoſtle's mind; and, if we recollect aright, there is, in Dr. Taylor's edition of Lyſias, a learned note of the late Mr. Jeremiah Markland, ſhewing the futility of this diſtinction. The eleventh ſermon is *that* on immoderate gaming, which, as we have ſeen before, was preached at Bath. The twelfth and laſt is, 'On religious liberty;' preached at St. Paul's cathedral, March 6th, 1763, on occaſion of the Brief for the eſtabliſhment of the colleges of Philadelphia and New York. To this, which is an excellent diſcourſe, is prefixed, 'A Letter to the principal Inhabitants of 'the Britiſh North American Colonies, on occaſion 'of the Peace;' pointing out the methods in which that event ought to be improved in eſtabliſhing the generous principles of religious liberty, and counterworking the deſigns of popery. Upon the whole, we ſcruple not to pronounce that Dr. Brown's ſermons are amongſt the moſt valuable and leaſt exceptionable of his writings; and we are pleaſed with this opportunity of teſtifying our ſenſe of their merit.

‘ Courſe of a liberal Education for civil and active Life;’ which remarks he afterwards interſperſed in his Treatiſe on Government. Dr. Prieſtley's obſervations, which are very ſenſible and ſpirited, have great force and reaſon in them; but the ſubject is not without its difficulties [*L*]. Dr. Brown's next publication was a ſermon ‘ on the Female Character and Education,’ preached on the 16th of May, 1765, before the Guardians of the Aſylum for deſerted Female Orphans. This diſcourſe was intended as a ſequel to the three before publiſhed, on the general ſubject of education. An appendix is added relative to the propoſed code of education; in which appendix the Author lays down, from his ſermons on education, the religious opinions proper to be inſtilled carefully into the minds of children. His ſentiments on this head appear to be liberal. With regard to moral and political principles, he is for having ſuch only inculcated, as are clearly built on the precepts of Chriſtianity, and the laws of freedom. A queſtion remaining, ‘ Whether there be any opinions or principles, which ought *not* to be tolerated (or ſuffered to be taught) in a well ordered free community;’ to this the writer replies, that, in his judgment, there are many opinions or principles, tending evidently to the deſtruction of ſociety or freedom; and which, therefore, ought *not* to be tolerated in a well ordered free community. Accordingly, he gives an inſtance in each of the three capital ſpecies, religious, moral, and political. The inſtances are taken from Mr. Locke, and ſupported by that great man's authority: but it may now be obſerved, that a deeper inveſtigation of the ſubject, and a more enlarged experience, have convinced the enlightened part of mankind, that toleration may ſafely be extended farther than even Mr. Locke imagined. Dr. Brown's laſt publication, which was in 1766, was, ‘ A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Lowth, occaſioned by his late Letter to the Right Rev. ‘ Author of the Divine Legation of Moſes.’ This pamphlet was owing to Dr. Lowth's having *clearly*, though *indirectly*, pointed at Dr. Brown, as one of the extravagant adulators and defenders of Biſhop Warburton. The Doctor conſidered the inſinuations thrown out againſt him as an attack on his moral character; and accordingly, he hath given a qualified ſenſe to the paſſages that contained high encomiums on the writer of the Divine Legation: beſides which, he hath ſhewn, that, while he was in the greateſt intimacy with that eminent writer, and publicly vindicated him when injured, he ſtill, in fact, diſputed his particular opinions; and firmly refuſed his *aſſent*, and declared his right to *diſſent*, when he ſaw cauſe, in the moſt unreſerved manner (*). In a ſhort and genteel anſwer by Dr. Lowth, and in two other ſmall pieces, our Author was rallied for ſuppoſing that his moral character was meant to be injured; and, indeed, it is ſufficiently evident that no ſuch thing was intended. Beſides the works we have mentioned, Dr. Brown publiſhed a Poem on Liberty, and two or three anonymous pamphlets, copies of which we have not been able to procure. At the end of ſeveral of his later writings, he advertiſed his intention of publiſhing ‘ Principles of Chriſtian Legiſlation;’ but he was prevented from doing it, by his death. However, the work appears to have been completed, though it was not in all parts fairly tranſcribed; and, in his laſt will, he gave directions for its publication. He there particularly requeſts that the Rev. Mr. Nathaniel Clayton, of St. John's Church, in Weſtgate, Newcaſtle, the Rev. Mr. Darrel, Percival Clennal, Eſq; and Joſeph Airey, Eſq; would reviſe and correct the manuſcript, intitled ‘ Principles of Chriſtian Legiſlation;’ and, as the copy of it was in ſome places interlined and obſcure, he deſires that they will make it out, according to the beſt of their judgment, and the tenor of the argument. He ordered, likewiſe, in his will, that all his writings, already publiſhed, ſhould be republiſhed together; with the addition of ſuch manuſcripts and copies, as were mentioned in a particular paper; and that they ſhould be publiſhed in ſeven volumes, in the order and manner deſcribed in that paper. The reviſion and ſuperintendence of the publication, he recommended to the four gentlemen ſpecified above. The property of his works, thus publiſhed, he bequeathed to the Rev. Mr. William Hall, ſon to the Rev. Mr. Mark Hall; upon condition, that he aſſiſted the aforeſaid gentlemen, by taking the principal part of the trouble upon himſelf, and by acting according to their opinion and directions; and upon condition that he employed Mr. Lockyer Davis, in Holborn, London, as the bookſeller for the ſale of the firſt edition, and allowed him one half of the clear profits of that edition. We are not able to aſſign the reaſons why the orders of Dr. Brown's will have not been carried into execution. ‘ The Principles of Chriſtian ‘ Legiſlation’ at leaſt, might, we think, have appeared, without any danger of loſs to the proprietor.

(*) In a Letter, which ſeems to have been written in 1764, to Charles Gray, Eſq; Member for Colcheſter, are the following expreſſions: ‘ You know I ‘ cautiouſly avoided all ‘ perſonal ſarcaſm: I wiſh ‘ I had as cautiouſly avoided ‘ all perſonal ‘ panegyric. I ‘ had then ſaved ‘ myſelf the ‘ trouble (ſhame ‘ I reckon it ‘ none, to confeſs an error) ‘ of ſetting right ‘ a character ‘ which I far ‘ overpainted.’

[*L*] *But the ſubject is not without its difficulties.*] We do not wonder that Dr. Prieſtley, whoſe heart was warmed with paternal affection, and who was conſcious of his ability to train up his children in the beſt manner, ſhould be ſtruck with horror at the thought of having that delightful buſineſs, in any meaſure, taken out of his hands. It muſt, however, be lamented, that education, under the direction of individuals, will, in all probability, require a long time to be carried to perfection. Conſidering the ignorance, the folly, the caprice, the miſguided fondneſs, the prejudices, the paſſions, and the vices of many parents, what numbers are there of the riſing generation, who have little or no chance for the attainment of knowledge, virtue, and happineſs! It becomes, therefore, an important queſtion, and, perhaps, not of eaſy ſolution, whether it would be practicable for the magiſtrate ſo far to interfere, as to preſcribe young perſons certain bodily exerciſes, and to provide for their inſtruction in certain general principles of integrity, patriotiſm and liberty, in ſuch a way, as, while it ſcarcely infringed at all upon the parental rights and authority, would be evidently conducive to the public good.

Having given an account of all our ingenious Author's writings, ſo far as they have come to our knowledge, we proceed to the concluding event of his life, his intended expedition to Ruſſia. On this ſubject many groundleſs things were ſaid at the time, and ſome perſons, we believe, either treated the matter as chimerical, or, at moſt, would not allow that Dr. Brown had an authoritative invitation to that country. How much they were herein miſtaken, will appear from the authentic intelligence we are enabled to give of the whole affair, by the favour of the worthy and learned Dr. Dumareſq (*) [*M*]; and by the communications of an officer of diſtinction and merit in his Majeſty's ſervice, who was well acquainted with, and had a great eſteem for Dr. Brown.

(*) F. R. S. honorary Member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Peterſburg, Prebendary of Saliſbury, and Rector of Yeovilton, in the county of Somerſet. The Doctor, in the moſt obliging manner, hath put into our hands the correſpondence which paſſed between himſelf and Dr. Brown on the occaſion.

Whilſt Dr. Dumareſq, in 1765, reſided in Ruſſia, to which country he had been invited, in the preceding year, by the preſent Empreſs, to give his advice and aſſiſtance for the eſtabliſhment and regulation of ſeveral ſchools, which her Imperial Majeſty intended to erect in different parts of her dominions, he received a letter *(g)* from a lady of moſt excellent character and underſtanding in England, in which was the following paſſage. ‘As you wiſh for all poſſible hints on the ſubject (of education) from perſons of genius and literature, I have prevailed on a gentleman of my acquaintance to mention your wiſh to Dr. Brown (the Author of an Eſſay on the Characteriſtics, of the Eſtimate, and of a piece on Faction, this laſt winter, in which he throws out ſome ideas on national education, in a way that made me fancy he might be no unuſeful correſpondent to you). Dr. Brown, as my friend aſſures me, expreſſed a great readineſs to enter into a correſpondence, if you think it worth your while, and if you will be ſo good as to open it by informing him, what ſteps have been already taken; what are the principal difficulties in the execution, as yet; and what kind of ſcheme is already formed (†).’ In conſequence of this intelligence, Dr. Dumareſq wrote a letter to Dr. Brown *(b)*, ſtating the circumſtances that occaſioned his application, and the difficulties he found occurring, with regard to the proſecution of the object for which he had been invited to Ruſſia. He had imagined that nothing more would be wanted of him, than what concerned claſſical learning, and a general foundation for the ſciences; as *that* had been the common introduction to every kind of uſeful knowledge, in all the weſtern parts of Europe. But on his arrival in Ruſſia, he found that a ſcheme far more extenſive was required, ſuch as extended not only to *learning*, commonly ſo called, but alſo to matters *military* and *naval*, *civil* and *commercial*. How to combine all theſe matters together, in each place of education, ſo as to avoid both confuſion and the neceſſity of employing a great number of inſtructors, where few were to be obtained who were properly qualified, was found peculiarly difficult. There were, alſo, other doubts and difficulties, relating to the objects of ſtudy; ſuch as, which of them were moſt neceſſary and proper for the Ruſſian empire; what languages, next to the mother tongue, were to be preferred; whether or no the firſt beginnings of Latin (as being the beſt ground for learning) ought to be taught to all the foundationers without exception; what was the beſt method of teaching that dead language with eaſe and brevity, when no more was intended by it than to make the ſcholars underſtand their

(g) Dated May 29, 1765.

(†) The idea, ſuggeſted to Dr. Dumareſq, of correſponding with Dr. Brown, was the Lady's own thought, and not known till afterwards by thoſe with whom ſhe was particularly connected.

(b) Dated July 8, 1765.

[*M*] *By the favour of the worthy and learned Dr. Dumareſq.*] It will contribute to throw farther light on the narration in the text, to add a few particulars concerning this gentleman. He was formerly Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and, in 1747, was appointed Chaplain to our Ruſſia Factory at St. Peterſburg, where he conſtantly reſided (excepting one year, in which he made a viſit to his friends in England) till the Summer of 1762. During his reſidence at Peterſburg, Dr. Dumareſq became acquainted with many of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons among the clergy and the laity, both Ruſſians and foreigners, and particularly with a nobleman ſince raiſed to a throne: and the Doctor had the happineſs of contributing to the farther progreſs of knowledge in that country. Upon this topic he had the honour of particularly converſing with the preſent Empreſs, whilſt ſhe was Great Ducheſs; and after her acceſſion to the throne, ſhe invited Dr. Dumareſq over to Ruſſia, by the intervention of the Earl of Buckinghamſhire, who was at that time our Ambaſſador at that court. In conſequence of the invitation, the Doctor arrived at St. Peterſburg, about the latter end of September 1764, and ſtaid there till the beginning of January 1766. During his ſtay there, Dr. Dumareſq and his aſſociates delivered in their plans and propoſals for the intended ſchemes of education; but the immediate ſucceſs of them was prevented by a variety of concurring circumſtances and difficulties. One was, a prejudice againſt Latin and Greek, entertained by ſome very worthy and ſenſible perſons (but not regularly educated in ſchool-learning), who were in great credit with the Empreſs; though ſhe herſelf, by the help of her uncommon ſagacity and good ſenſe, ſaw the importance of that kind of ſtudy. Another was a rule, ſtrongly inſiſted upon, to admit no ſcholars but ſuch as were between five and ſix years of age. Among other cauſes which obſtructed the accompliſhment of her Imperial Majeſty's noble deſigns, the two following were particularly efficacious: The concerns of Ruſſia with Poland and Turkey, followed by a war which conſumed treaſures that might otherwiſe have been employed in the founding of ſchools and colleges: And the great number of *volunteers*, who were continually offering advices, and projects of education, either uſeleſs, and which ſerved only to perplex, or too grand and extenſive to be put into execution all at once, though they were calculated to dazzle and unſettle the mind. In ſhort, by deſiring to do more than could poſſibly be compaſſed, nothing was done while Dr. Dumareſq remained in Ruſſia. When, by the permiſſion of the Empreſs, he quitted that country, to take poſſeſſion of a prebend offered him by Dr. Thomas, biſhop of Saliſbury, it was underſtood that he was to return thither; though it was not what he himſelf wiſhed or thought likely. It hath ſince been the earneſt deſire of ſome perſons of the greateſt diſtinction abroad, that Dr. Dumareſq might again be employed in carrying on the valuable deſigns he was formerly engaged in; but the circumſtances of the times have not afforded ſufficient encouragement to any ſcheme of this kind. The Doctor contents himſelf, therefore, in a peaceful and learned retirement, with no other regret than that he hath not the opportunities he once had, of being more extenſively uſeful; and that he is, in a great meaſure, debarred, by his ſituation, from keeping up a correſpondence with his friends in Ruſſia.

own tongue better, and to diſcover the geniuſes that were fitted for a learned education; and in *what manner*, and how *far* the ſtudents were to proceed in each ſcience, at the ſchools to be erected. Theſe, and various circumſtances beſides, Dr. Dumareſq laid before Dr. Brown, and particularly, that the foundationers were to be received when only five or ſix years old, and always kept within the precincts of the ſchool; ſo as not to converſe even with their parents, but in the preſence of their inſtructors. ‘The advice, added the Doctor, of ingenious and public-ſpirited perſons, like you, who look on themſelves as citizens of the world, would be very acceptable, eſpecially to me. Vanity had but little ſhare, and intereſtedneſs ſtill leſs, in my entering on this taſk; and therefore, what I have chiefly at heart is the ſucceſs of ſo noble an undertaking.’ Dr. Dumareſq's letter produced an anſwer from Dr. Brown (*i*), that ſhewed the vigour of his mind, and the height to which he raiſed his conceptions. He declared that nothing could give him ſo true a pleaſure as *that* of aſſiſting, in any reſpect, in the improvement of the morals of mankind; and that the particular account which Dr. Dumareſq had given him of the noble intentions of her Imperial Majeſty, had animated him not a little in the conſideration of ſo great a ſubject, and intereſted him much in its ſucceſs. He ſays farther, that he had, for ſome years paſt, turned both his thoughts and ſtudies towards the general ſubject of Legiſlation, which had, at length, ſo engroſſed his attention, that he now regarded other arts and ſciences only as they ſtood related to *this*, which he thought ſupreme. But as every nation is diſtinguiſhed by ſome peculiar circumſtances of climate, manners, policy, and religion; and as the application of general principles to any particular community can only be *juſt*, ſo far as it is founded on the knowledge of theſe peculiar characters; the Doctor was, on this account, apprehenſive that it would be impoſſible for him, whilſt at ſuch a diſtance, to be very particular, without incurring the imputation, or, at leaſt, running the hazard of ſeeming to be chimerical and romantic, by propoſing things perhaps impracticable, through the want of a true acquaintance with the ſtate of the country. However, as he was deſirous of treating the ſubject in its moſt comprehenſive view, he adds, that he ſhould give Dr. Dumareſq the firſt general reſult of his reflections, which was to be regarded as the foundation of what might follow. This ſketch of Dr. Brown's plan diſplays ſo ſtrongly the greatneſs and extent of his ideas, that we ſhall recite it in his own words. ‘I. I conſider the unlimited ſovereignty and power of her Imperial Majeſty, as the chief corner-ſtone of this great deſign; without which its progreſs muſt be for ever obſtructed, by the ignorance, prejudices, and vices of thoſe whom ſhe would reform. II. I regard the Greek church, eſtabliſhed in Ruſſia, in its clear, eſſential, and ſalutary principles, founded on the Goſpel, and ſubject to the authority of her Imperial Majeſty, as the rule by which all improvement in religious knowledge and practice is to be directed. And I look upon theſe as the two great engines of power, by which all reformations are to be accompliſhed. III. It gave me a particular ſatiſfaction to find that her Imperial Majeſty regards a very early education (even from the infant ſtate), as the only ſolid foundation of moral and religious improvement.—As I have been very large on this ſubject, in *three Sermons* which I publiſhed, and which expreſsly treat of this particular period and branch of education, as well as ſeveral ſections in my late *Thoughts on Liberty and Licentiouſneſs*, I ſhall ſay no more at preſent on this matter; but ſhall refer you to theſe. IV. It follows from theſe principles, that a proper and effectual education of the *female ſex* is one of the very firſt ſteps to be taken for the effectual improvement and civilization of the whole empire. For children fall inevitably into the hands and under the care of women in their infant ſtate: Therefore their firſt and ſtrongeſt impreſſions will be good or bad, ſalutary or deſtructive, according to the morals, character, and conduct of thoſe women under whoſe early tuition they may fall. V. Again it follows, that an improvement in the morals and knowledge of the clergy (if any be wanting), is another of the firſt and moſt important ſteps that ſhould be attempted, towards the general civilization of the empire. For as they are the general and authoriſed teachers, and come armed with the power of religious principle, the influence of their example and doctrine muſt ever be great. Therefore, till a reformation in theſe (ſuppoſing them defective) ſhall in ſome conſiderable degree take place, the religious power, which ought to co-operate with the noble and gracious intentions of her Imperial Majeſty, will hang for ever as a dead weight upon them; will always counteract, and in a great degree fruſtrate the ſucceſs of her endeavours. VI. Next to thoſe who are authoriſed teachers, that is, the clergy, the improvements in education might ſeem to be beſt employed on the great Lords and Gentry of the empire. I underſtand there is ſome diſtinction of that kind among the higher ranks; though I know not in what it conſiſts. However that be, it is certain that the example and influence of the higher ranks are univerſally ſo great, that it will in many inſtances overbear the united power of policy and religion; and therefore ought always to be thrown into the ſame channel, and made to co-operate with them. VII. It ſeems to me that the general civilization of the whole empire will flow moſt effectually from theſe ſources. The Imperial power, as the great and commanding ſpring of action, directing the conduct of the female ſex, the clergy, Gentry, and Lords, to the deſigned end of public happineſs, and to the im-

(*i*) Dated Oct. 1, 1765.

provement of the children and people who are under their immediate influence. If the plans of civilization begin at a lower point than this, they never can riſe higher; no more than water can be forced by pipes, beyond the level of the fountain-head. All attempts to improve the inferior ranks will meet with perpetual obſtructions; and muſt, in the end, prove abortive. VIII. All the plans of national education and policy in Europe, are ſo miſerably defective, that, in my humble opinion, very little is to be learnt from them; and, therefore, no great attention ought to be paid to them, as *models* of *legiſlative wiſdom*. They were all occaſionally begun, and, by ſtarts, independently of each other, eſtabliſhed, amidſt the darkneſs of barbarous ages: and in conſequence of this, are palpably defective in Three great and capital circumſtances, thoſe of *Utility*, *Connection*, and *Permanency*. They teach many things that tend to obſtruct, inſtead of promoting, the true welfare of the reſpective countries where they are eſtabliſhed. They are ſo far from having any general or ſufficient *connection* (a circumſtance which alone could render them truly efficacious, by giving a capacity to the great political machine, to work by its own natural power), that their ſeveral parts often claſh, oppoſe, and deſtroy each other. They have no *permanency*, becauſe there are no ſufficient checks provided, ſuch as might effectually prevent the inroads of irreligion, falſe honour, ſelfiſhneſs, exceſſive luxury, vice, and profligacy; which are the natural enemies of all civil ſociety, and have an unalterable tendency to its ruin. IX. As, therefore, her Imperial Majeſty hath conceived a deſign ſo far ſurpaſſing any thing that hath been attempted, or thought of in modern Europe; I apprehend it will be a matter of the higheſt importance, that, in the firſt great outlines of a general civilization, theſe Three capital circumſtances of general *Utility*, *Connection*, and *Permanency*, be moſt carefully attended to: that nothing be admitted or taught but what hath a clear tendency to the real benefit of the whole empire: that the ſeveral eſtabliſhments may have ſuch a mutual conſiſtency and connection, that they may ſuſtain, aſſiſt, and forward each other in their operations: and that ſuch checks may be provided, as may give them a permanency or duration, by effectually preventing the inroad of ſuch ill principles and morals, as may tend to their deſtruction. X. If I might preſume in any thing to queſtion the conduct of ſo exalted a character as that of *Peter the Great*, I would propoſe it as a doubt, whether the want of ſuch a general and connected plan of civilization was not a leading cauſe of that inefficacy and partial ſucceſs which attended many of his beſt intended inſtitutions. XI. The principal and moſt important eſtabliſhments to be built on theſe foundations, and ſupported (as far as poſſible) by a correſpondent education of children through the empire, may ſeem chiefly to relate, 1. To Morals. 2. To Religion. 3. To Laws. 4. To Agriculture. 5. To Commerce. 6. To Arts. 7. To Sciences. 8. To Population. 9. To Defence of the Empire.

'I perceive that Peter the Great had formed ſome very wiſe eſtabliſhments relative to Religion and Laws; and likewiſe touched occaſionally upon ſome other of the articles above mentioned. So far as theſe eſtabliſhments can be brought in or improved, ſo as to make a part of ſuch an extended plan as is here propoſed, it will be highly proper, on many accounts, to retain and adopt them. But the formation of a *General Code*, which ſhould be conſiſtent with itſelf in all its parts, and in all theſe eſſential articles, and tend to their mutual ſupport, and to the utility and permanency of the empire through ſucceeding ages, can only be the reſult of a perſonal inſpection and experience in the preſent leading circumſtances and characters of the Ruſſian empire. XII. Such a code ought not only to reſpect the preſent ſtate of the empire, but ought alſo to be ſo framed, as to expand and ſuit itſelf to every degree of improvement and civilization, which future times might produce: containing in itſelf, likewiſe, all poſſible ſecurities, which might check the progreſs of things, ſhould they ever arrive at that point, which (if not guarded againſt) is the ſure forerunner of national miſery and ruin.

'Such then is the general outline of the plan which I ſhould preſume to propoſe for the accompliſhment of the great deſigns of her Imperial Majeſty. And it appears to me, that the Ruſſian empire is at preſent in that ſtate of manners, knowledge, and policy, which renders it moſt ſuſceptible of ſuch a general improvement and civilization as are here pointed out. I will add, that I know of no other that is ſo. For moſt other nations are either too much ſunk in barbariſm, or too deeply tinctured with prior inſtitutions, or they want the great connecting Imperial Power, which alone can bind the whole together. But the Ruſſian empire hath (in many parts of it) ſo far emerged from barbariſm as to be ſenſible of its own defects; and yet hath not ſo ſtrongly, or univerſally, received any diſcordant inſtitutions or impreſſions, which may not gradually be rooted out, or melted into the general plan of civilization; while the great fountain of power, her Imperial Majeſty, leads the way in this grand and unequalled undertaking.'

Dr. Brown goes on to acquaint Dr. Dumareſq, that to bear any part in ſo noble a deſign ought ſurely to be the ambition of every friend of mankind; and that, to this end, he offered, with zeal, any ſmall aſſiſtance he might be capable of giving. 'If, ſays he, the general plan which I have ſketched out ſhould be thought worthy the ‘attention of her Imperial Majeſty, *I ſhould not ſcruple to take a voyage to St. Peterſburg at a proper ſeaſon*, in order more effectually to throw in my mite towards its completion and actual accompliſhment; by more maturely weighing its ſeveral parts along with you and other capable perſons on the ſpot; and by making myſelf more intimately and perſonally acquainted with the manners and character of the Ruſſian empire: provided I may be made certain of being favourably received, and honoured with the protection of her Imperial Majeſty. On the other hand, if this plan be ſo far beyond what has been thought of, as to be judged totally impracticable, I ſhall with pleaſure communicate to you any thoughts which your laſt letter, or any future one, may ſuggeſt, towards a leſs enlarged ſcheme of national education.’

The letter, of which we have given an account, ſeems to have thrown Dr. Dumareſq into no ſmall degree of perplexity. He had deſired Dr. Brown's advice relative to the eſtabliſhment of ſchools; but our Author's lively imagination led him to a much larger plan, even the civilization, and, indeed, the legiſlation of the whole Ruſſian empire. In forming this plan, he laid more ſtreſs upon the ſupport, efficacy, and energy of abſolute power in Princes, when exerciſed in a good cauſe, than experience would juſtify; and he was ready to imagine, that the bulk of the Ruſſian nation, emerging out of barbariſm, was like a *Tabula raſa*, upon which any characters might be written. He became afterwards ſenſible that he was miſtaken in theſe reſpects. Dr. Dumareſq, before he took any particular meaſures with regard to Dr. Brown's letter, thought proper to conſult with Monſ. Muller, who was aſſociated with him in the deliberations concerning the ſchools proper to be eſtabliſhed, and who had lately reſided at Moſcow. In writing to this gentleman, Dr. Dumareſq ſtated, with great reſpect to the abilities and character of Dr. Brown, the difficulties which occurred to his own mind with regard to the practicability of the plan ſuggeſted, and deſired Monſ. Muller's advice upon the ſubject. Profeſſor Muller, however, not caring to hazard his ſentiments, by the poſt, on a queſtion which certain circumſtances rendered a delicate one, returned only a very general and indeterminate anſwer. Other friends, with whom Dr. Dumareſq conſulted on the occaſion, were divided in their opinions. At length, he took the reſolution of tranſlating Dr. Brown's propoſals into French, and prefixing to them a fair, plain, and ſhort account of the manner *how*, and the perſon *from whom*, they came into his hands, without interpoſing his own judgment. All this he did, and delivered to Monſ. de Panin [*N*], who ſhewed it to her Imperial Majeſty, the reſult of which was a meſſage to Dr. Brown, to the following effect: That the Empreſs was much pleaſed with his letter; and that, as it contained many things which deſerved attention, but were ſuch as he could not well know at that diſtance, whether they were ſuitable to Ruſſia; and as ſhe had a very favourable opinion of him, and wiſhed to confer with him; therefore it would be very agreeable to her, if he would come over to St. Peterſburg, as ſoon as conveniently might be, in order to conſider farther of thoſe matters. M. de Panin himſelf was to have tranſmitted this meſſage from the Empreſs directly to Dr. Brown; but being, at that time, extremely buſy, he delegated the commiſſion to Dr. Dumareſq, who, that no miſtakes might be committed in an affair of ſo delicate a nature, read the whole letter in which the meſſage was ſent (or rather a literal tranſlation of it into French), to his Excellency, for his approbation. An invitation from ſo illuſtrious a woman as the preſent Empreſs of Ruſſia, to pay a viſit to her court, for the purpoſe of promoting ſo great an object as the general improvement of the empire, was received with no ſmall pleaſure by Dr. Brown. In his anſwer (*k*) to Dr. Dumareſq's letter, he expreſſes his ſenſe of the honour done him by the Empreſs, and obſerves, that, as he was not eaſily diſcouraged in things of this nature, when the Imperial power gave him ſome ground to ſtand upon, he was not without hopes that ſomething material might be done; at leaſt that ſome ſtrong and enlarged foundations might be laid for future improvements in the Ruſſian empire [*O*].

A letter

(*k*) Dated at Newcaſtle, March 19, 1766.

[*N*] *All this he did, and delivered to Monſ. de Panin.*] Theſe circumſtances are related, in a letter to Dr. Brown, dated from Riga, Jan. $\frac{20}{31}$, 1766, where Dr. Dumareſq then was, in his way to England. In this letter, Dr. Dumareſq gives his ſentiments concerning the extent of Dr. Brown's ſcheme, with ſo much good ſenſe, candor, and modeſty, that we ſhall recite them in his own words.——‘I beg your pardon for not anſwering ſooner your moſt ingenious letter of laſt October. It contained matter of ſuch a nature, that, I own, I was, for ſome time, uncertain how to proceed. My endeavours to be uſeful to this country have always been confined chiefly to the improvement of morals, and to the advancement of learning, particularly of the claſſical kind, which contributed moſt to introduce arts and ſciences, and civilization, in the weſtern and northern parts of Europe, as far as it ſpread. For that ſole purpoſe I was ſent for laſt year. Neither do I find in myſelf ſo extenſive a genius, nor ſo reſolute a courage, as to engage in thoſe enlarged plans of education which you ſuggeſt in your letter.

‘However, as that letter ſeemed to be an offer, indirectly made through me, to engage in a work the ſucceſs of which would be extremely deſirable; benevolence towards all mankind, and a particular attachment to this country, made me afraid of hindering the carrying on of your noble projects, which perhaps my diffidence and confined views alone repreſented to me as hardly practicable, or rather as impracticable, at this time, in this empire.

‘It was owing to theſe motives, that, after a long deliberation, which did not clear all my ſcruples, I at length determined to tranſlate your letter into French, with as much fidelity as I could, and (without interpoſing my own judgment) to tranſmit it to her Imperial Majeſty, who might beſt judge of it. His Excellency M. de Panin, whoſe exalted character you, doubtleſs, are acquainted with, and who acts in this empire as firſt Miniſter in foreign affairs, delivered that tranſlation into her Imperial Majeſty's own hands.’

[*O*] *Future improvements in the Ruſſian empire.*] How ſanguine Dr. Brown was in his expectations upon the

A letter from Dr. Dumareſq in return, written after his arrival in England, and principally containing ſome directions and advices to Dr. Brown, with regard to the method in which it would be beſt for him to make his intended voyage, cloſed the correſpondence between theſe two gentlemen. In the mean time, Dr. Brown acquainted the Ruſſian Court with his deſign of complying with the Empreſs's invitation, and received an anſwer from M. de Panin, ſignifying how much her Imperial Majeſty was pleaſed with his intention, and informing him that ſhe had ordered a thouſand pounds ſterling to be remitted to him, by her Miniſter in London (M. Pouſchkin), for the expences of his journey. M. Pouſchkin was likewiſe directed, as Dr. Brown was one of his Majeſty's Chaplains in ordinary, to aſk the King's permiſſion for the Doctor's going over to Ruſſia [*P*], which appears to have been readily granted. In conſequence of all theſe proceedings, our Author ardently ſet himſelf to prepare for his journey. But while he was thus intent upon a ſcheme which was ſo flattering to his imagination, he did not ſufficiently reflect, that the ſtate of his health was by no means ſuitable to ſuch an expedition. He was ſubject to attacks of the gout and rheumatiſm, and had had an attack of this kind not long before he received M. de Panin's letter. After the receipt of that letter, and when he was almoſt on the point of ſetting out for St. Peterſburg, his diſorder returned upon him with great violence. In this ſituation of things, his friends took the alarm. They juſtly apprehended that ſo long a journey, at the latter end of the year, to ſuch a climate as that of Ruſſia, might be hurtful, in the higheſt degree, to his health and conſtitution. One worthy friend, in particular, the Rev. Mr. Stevens, wrote him an excellent letter upon the occaſion, which we ſhall inſert in a

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the ſubject, will appear from ſome paſſages in a private letter, written about this time to a friend. 'This deſign, if in any degree ſucceſsful, will *realize* many things in my principal work, *On Chriſtian Legiſlation*; which till now I could only talk of in theory; and will, in this reſpect, give it a weight which mere ſpeculation can never obtain.—If you will indulge me in carrying my imagination into futurity, I can fancy that I ſee civilization and a rational ſyſtem of Chriſtianity extending themſelves quite acroſs the immenſe continent, from Peterſburg to Kamſchatſka.——I can fancy that I ſee them ſtriking farther into the more ſouthern regions of Tartary and China, and ſpreading their influence even over the nations of Europe; which, though now poliſhed, are far from being truly Chriſtian, or truly happy. Nay, I am ſometimes fantaſtic enough to ſay with Pitt, that as America was conquered in Germany, ſo Great Britain may be reformed in Ruſſia. However chimerical this imagination may be, or ſeems to be, this I am perſuaded you will allow, that it is a great and important object which I have now before me. If in any degree I ſucceed, it will be well. If I fail, or die in the attempt, I only deſire ſome kind friend to write my apology upon my tombſtone,

——'Magnis tamen excidit auſis.'

[*P*] *To aſk the King's permiſſion for the Doctor's going over to Ruſſia.*] It will probably be acceptable to our readers to ſee the letters which were written to Dr. Brown, on this occaſion, by Monſ. Panin and Monſ. Pouſchkin.

'*To the Rev. Dr. Brown, one of his Britannic Majeſty's Chaplains in Ordinary, at Mr. Davis's, Bookſeller, near Gray's-Inn, Holborn, London.*

'A St. Peterſbourg, le 3 Juin, 1766.

'L'Imperatrice a appris avec plaiſir, Monſieur, par le rapport que je lui ai fait de votre lettre, que vous conſentez à venir paſſer quelque tems à ſa cour. Elle m'a ordonné de vous faire remettre par ſon miniſtre à Londre les mil livres ſterlings auxquelles monteront les frais de votre voyage, & de vous prier de l'entreprendre auſſitot que l'arrangement de vos affaires pourra le permettre. M. de Mouſſin Pouſchkin auquel j'ecris aujourdhui, & qui vous fera tenir ma lettre, demandera pour vous, Monſieur, un congé au miniſtere de votre cour pour le tems que vous croirez pouvoir nous donner, & vous munira à votre depart de lettres pour les miniſtres de ſa Majeſté Imperiale aux differentes cours par leſquelles vous paſſerez. Ils feront aſſurement ce qui dependra d'eux pour vous faciliter la route, & vous la rendre plus agreable. J'attends avec une ſorte d'impatience, Monſieur, le moment que j'aurai le plaiſir de vous entretenir, et de vous temoigner le degré d'eſtime & de conſideration avec lequel je ſuis, Monſieur,

'Votre tres humble & tres obeiſant ſerviteur,

'N. PANIN.'

'C'EST dans ce moment même, que je viens, Monſ. le Docteur, de recevoir l'aſſurance de S. E. Monſieur le General de Conway, que ſa Majeſté le Roy a eu la grace de vous accorder la permiſſion d'aller en Ruſſie. Il vient de me confirmer cette aſſurance par ecrit. Il n'eſt donc plus queſtion, Monſieur, que de faire vos arrangemens pour votre voyage tout de ſuite, & de vous diſpoſer à baiſer la main du Roy ce Mecredy prochain. Je ſuis en mon particulier charmé de vous prouver par toutes les occaſions l'eſtime parfaite avec laquelle je vous ſerois, Monſieur,

'Votre tres humble ſerviteur,

'MOUSSIN POUSCHKIN.'

'*To the Rev. Dr. Brown.*

'St. Peterſburg, June 3, 1766.

'THE Empreſs learns with pleaſure, Sir, by the account I have given of your letter, that you conſent to ſpend ſome time at her Court. She has given me orders to cauſe to be remitted to you, by her Miniſter at London, the thouſand pounds ſterling, which the expences of your journey will amount to. M. Mouſſin Pouſchkin, to whom I this day write, and who will convey this letter to you, will aſk a permiſſion of your Court, Sir, with reſpect to the time you think you ſhall be able to give us; and, at your departure, he will furniſh you with letters to her Imperial Majeſty's Miniſters at the ſeveral Courts you will take in your way. Theſe Miniſters will moſt aſſuredly do every thing in their power to facilitate your route, and that can render it moſt agreeable to you. I wait with impatience, Sir, for the opportunity I ſhall have of converſing with you, and of demonſtrating to you that degree of eſteem and regard with which I am, Sir,

'Your moſt humble
'and moſt obedient ſervant,

'N. PANIN.'

'*To the Rev. Dr. Brown.*

'I HAVE this inſtant, Sir, been aſſured, by General Conway (*), that the King has been graciouſly pleaſed to give you his permiſſion to go to Ruſſia. He has alſo juſt now confirmed to me this aſſurance in writing. There is no doubt then, Sir, but that you may immediately make your arrangements, and prepare to kiſs hands on Friday next. For myſelf, I am much pleaſed in proving to you, upon all occaſions, that perfect eſteem with which I ſhall ever be, Sir,

'Your moſt humble ſervant,

'M. POUSCHKIN.'

(*) Secretary of State.

note [*Q*]. Influenced, therefore, by the advices and perſuaſions of his medical and other acquaintance, Dr. Brown determined to lay aſide his deſign of going over to Ruſſia; with a purpoſe, however, of reſuming it in the following ſpring, in caſe it ſhould be thought expedient by her Imperial Majeſty. His letter to Monſ. Pouſchkin, declining the journey, will be given below [*R*]. It will be ſeen, from the account ſubjoined

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[*Q*] *Wrote him an excellent letter upon the occaſion.*]

‘ My dear Sir, July 30th, 1766.

‘ I AM ſo nearly intereſted in the event of your intended journey to Ruſſia, that I cannot forbear expreſſing in this manner the particular anxieties and apprehenſions I feel for you on that account.

‘ The generous zeal and warmth of your temper, in an enterprize for the good of mankind, will, I fear, in this inſtance, animate you beyond your ſtrength, and conceal the very great hazard of ſuch an undertaking. You muſt, therefore, indulge me in the tenderneſs of an honeſt friendſhip, if I take the liberty of ſuggeſting a few hints relative to this affair, which may perhaps be overlooked, or too little regarded by you, on the preſent occaſion.

‘ In the firſt place, the critical ſtate of health you are in, and the very nature of your diſorder, are, in my opinion, ſerious objections to your embarking at this time: But theſe, added to the far advance of the ſeaſon, form an almoſt inſuperable argument. Your diſorder requires eaſe, warmth, and nurſing; and your journey will inevitably expoſe you to the very reverſe of theſe.

‘ Beſides, it aſks little ſkill in phyſic to foretel that a northern climate *now* may probably be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences to your conſtitution: Becauſe, by giving a ſudden check to the operations of nature, who has been kindly relieving you for many weeks paſt by gentle perſpiration, you confine the morbific humours, and by that means obſtruct the only certain progreſs towards a recovery.

‘ Conſider farther, my dear friend, that, by the late violent attack, you are rendered leſs able to encounter the difficulties and fatigues which you muſt unavoidably meet with in ſuch an arduous undertaking. Languid ſpirits and feeble limbs are moſt miſerable companions in an expedition to Ruſſia. But perhaps the eſteem and affection I have for you may multiply dangers. Yet dangers there certainly are, and very imminent ones to You, which I could not forbear thus hinting at in a letter, as they may poſſibly lie too near your own eye to be ſeen diſtinctly.

‘ After all, give me leave to enquire into the errand you are going upon:—To aſſiſt, I ſuppoſe, in forming ſome general ſyſtem of civilization. But pray who are to be your co-adjutors in this great work? Have you yet heard their names? Or, are you ſent for to ſtand alone, naked and defenceleſs in a land of ſtrangers, oppoſed to ſingle combat with the ſtubborn paſſions and inveterate prejudices of a whole people; pointed at as a public reformer of old eſtabliſhed favourite manners, and a declared enemy to atheiſm and irreligion on the one hand, and bigotry and ſuperſtition on the other?

‘ If theſe be the monſters you have to contend with (as they certainly are, by the accounts I have had of the preſent ſtate of that country), you have too intimate a knowledge of mankind to doubt for a moment what ſevere conflicts and united ſtrength it muſt require:—what preparation and materials are previouſly neceſſary to be laid in, as a foundation for you to work upon, before there can be the leaſt probability of ſucceſs to the beſt contrived plan imaginable. Pleaſe to believe me, with the trueſt reſpect and eſteem,

‘ Dear Sir,
‘ Your much obliged
‘ and moſt affectionate humble Servant,
‘ W. Stevens.’

[*R*] *Will be given below.*]

‘ *To his Excellency M. de* Mouſſin Pouſchkin.

‘ SIR,

‘ IT is with the greateſt concern imaginable, that I acquaint your Excellence of my abſolute incapacity to undertake my intended journey to Peterſburg this ſeaſon. What I feel from the return of my diſorder gives a ſufficient conviction to myſelf: But I would not finally declare my inability to perform this taſk, till I had conſulted an able phyſician; who, together with my experienced apothecary, and other friends, who know my conſtitution, declare, that, in my preſent ſtate of bad health, not only the journey would be dangerous, but the winter climate of Peterſburg ſtill more ſo, by fixing the diſorder upon me in an incurable manner.

‘ This being unfortunately my ſituation, however deſirous I am of paying my duty to her Imperial Majeſty, I cannot think of doing it at the certain expence of my health; being perſuaded, that her Imperial Majeſty's goodneſs would be far from deſiring me to endanger or deſtroy it.

‘ I muſt, therefore, content myſelf at preſent, with writing a letter to his Excellency M. de Panin; and ſending a memorial to be preſented to her Imperial Majeſty, containing my ſentiments of what I think ought firſt to be done, for the accompliſhment of her Imperial Majeſty's great deſigns, according to the beſt informations I am able to obtain, from a variety of perſons, concerning the preſent ſtate of the Ruſſian Empire; and which I ſhall ſubmit to her Imperial Majeſty's ſuperior judgment and determination.

‘ As her Imperial Majeſty is now certainly diſengaged from her late generous propoſal; and as your Excellence ſeems to think it doubtful whether ſhe will renew it again any future time, I ſhall either deliver the things I have bought into your hands, or ſell them to the beſt advantage I can, and return you the money they are ſold for. Along with this I ſend an account of what I have expended in preparation for my journey to Peterſburg; and, according to what I have expreſſed in that paper, am willing to refer the whole to the honour of the parties concerned.

‘ And whatever be her Imperial Majeſty's future reſolutions, be aſſured, Sir, that I ſhall always be ready to give any aſſiſtance I can, to the accompliſhment of her great deſigns, whenever my ſentiments ſhall be thought worthy of her Imperial Majeſty's attention. I have the honour to be, Sir,

‘ Your Excellency's moſt obedient
‘ *London,* and moſt humble Servant,
‘ *Aug. 8th,* 1766. J. Brown.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
‘ Received by Dr. Brown, of his Excellency M. M. P. - -	200	0	0
‘ Returned, - - -	102	14	0
‘ Expended,			
‘ For a Poſt-chaiſe, - -	40	12	0
‘ For a travelling Trunk, - -	1	16	0
‘ For a travelling Bed, - - -	9	18	6
‘ For a foreign Servant extraordinary,	20	0	0
‘ For ſupplying his Cure at Newcaſtle,	8	8	0
‘ For extraordinary Expences in London,	15	0	0
‘ For Cloaths (at preſent uſeleſs) - -	1	11	6
	97	6	0

‘ *N. B.* Dr. Brown provided many more clothes than what are here charged; but the reſt being ſuch as he can wear at home, he does not charge them.

‘ Dr. Brown engaged himſelf in the ſervice of the Empreſs of Ruſſia, with intention of going to Peterſburg ſolely on the affairs of that empire. And after having prepared every thing for his journey, and expended the above ſums, was unfortunately prevented by ſickneſs. He, therefore, refers it to the honour of the parties concerned, to determine how far theſe neceſſary expences of preparation are to fall upon himſelf, or to be defrayed by her Imperial Majeſty, out of that ſum which was appointed for his journey to Peterſburg.’

It appears, from the above account, that though the Empreſs ordered a thouſand pounds for Dr. Brown, he had taken up only two hundred in advance. The reſt of the money might lie in a banker's hands.

to that letter, that Dr. Brown returned the money which had been advanced to him, deducting only ſome extraordinary expences. His enemies, it ſeems, inſinuated that he had appropriated to himſelf the thouſand pounds aſſigned for his journey, and then found it convenient not to go. But nothing could be more falſe than ſuch an inſinuation. The Doctor was a man of the ſtricteſt private integrity; and all who were acquainted with him knew that he was far above any pecuniary meanneſs. That he had not quitted the thoughts of being ſerviceable to Ruſſia, is manifeſt from a long letter which he wrote to the Empreſs, after he had declined going over to St. Peterſburg. In this letter, which does great honour to his abilities [S], he confines himſelf chiefly to the

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[S] *Which does great honour to his abilities.*] The letter was accompanied with another to M. de Panin, of which an extract will be firſt given. The letter to the Empreſs, though a very long one, will, we are perſuaded, be peruſed with pleaſure by our readers, as it ſtrongly diſplays the vigour and extent of Dr. Brown's mind, and ſhews, at the ſame time, that having wiſely dropped, at leaſt for the preſent, the idea of the civilization and legiſlation of the whole Ruſſian Empire, he had directed his views to a more practicable, and, on that account, a more uſeful object.

Extract of a Letter to his Excellency Monſ. DE PANIN, *dated London, Aug.* 28, 1766.

‘SIR,

‘HAVING had a violent attack of the gout and rheumatiſm, both before and after I had received the honour of your Excellency's letter, and alſo after I had made all proper preparations for my journey to St. Peterſburgh; I am at length totally diſabled from undertaking ſo long a journey for this ſeaſon.’—‘I hope the Spring may bring me better health, and enable me to pay my reſpects to your Excellence, and my duty to her Imperial Majeſty, in caſe it ſhould ſtill be thought expedient.’—‘M. Mouſſin Pouſchkin will acquaint your Excellence that I returned to him the thouſand pounds, except a ſmall ſum which I had laid out in preparations for my journey.’

‘In the mean time I have done myſelf the honour of communicating my thoughts in a letter to her Imperial Majeſty; the original of which, together with a French tranſlation, I have the honour of ſending to your Excellence by the hands of M. Mouſſin Pouſchkin.’

‘*To her Imperial Majeſty,* CATHERINE, *Empreſs of all the* Ruſſias, *&c.*

‘MADAM, London, Aug. 28, 1766.

‘IT is an unſpeakable mortification to me, that I have been prevented by ſickneſs from accepting your Imperial Majeſty's moſt gracious invitation, and for the preſent deprived of the honour of paying my duty to the greateſt Empreſs upon earth.

‘In the mean time, till a change in my ſtate of health enables me to accompliſh that journey, which I ſo ardently wiſh for; in conſequence of the beſt information I have been able to obtain from a variety of perſons, concerning the preſent ſtate of the Ruſſian Empire, and ſuch as may in ſome degree ſtand in the place of perſonal obſervation and experience, I will take the liberty to lay before your Imperial Majeſty my full and ſincere thoughts concerning the firſt ſteps to be taken for the accompliſhment of your Imperial Majeſty's great and generous deſigns.

‘And I am emboldened to do this with the greater freedom, both becauſe, in an affair of ſuch high importance, I think it my duty to ſpeak the truth without diſguiſe; and alſo becauſe the fame of your Imperial Majeſty's condeſcenſion and candour, as well as penetration, hath reached the moſt diſtant countries.

‘In my letter to Dr. Dumareſq, which had the honour of being peruſed and approved by your Imperial Majeſty, I mentioned a general and ſelf-conſiſtent code of legiſlation for the Ruſſian Empire, which might be formed and eſtabliſhed as a ſtandard for all further regulations: But, upon enquiry, I am of opinion, that before any thing of this kind can be properly attempted, it will be neceſſary that ſome prior ſteps ſhould be taken, and certain improvements made in the preſent ſtate of things in Ruſſia, in order to render ſuch a general plan of legiſlation more practicable and effectual in its execution.

‘Though I am well perſuaded, that your Imperial Majeſty's dominions abound with many worthy perſons of all ranks and ſtations, yet I underſtand there are two oppoſite extremes which powerfully mix themſelves with the better part, and which it is undoubtedly your Imperial Majeſty's generous intention to mitigate and correct. Theſe are ignorance and barbarous manners on the one hand; diſſipation, exceſſive luxury, licentiouſneſs, and irreligion on the other: and I apprehend it is the noble intention of your Imperial Majeſty to reduce theſe two extremes as much as poſſible to the medium of virtue, true religion, uſeful knowledge, induſtry, and rational civilization.

‘Now, among whatever ranks theſe two unhappy extremes prevail, it is certain that no effectual changes can be expected among thoſe (of either ſex) who are arrived at the maturity of age. Their habits of thought and action are too much confirmed by time; therefore your Imperial Majeſty hath given proof of the trueſt penetration, in turning your attention upon the improvements of the riſing generation.

‘In my former letter to Dr. Dumareſq, I mentioned the female ſex, the clergy, and the nobility, or higher ranks of the empire, as the three great claſſes on whom the firſt efforts of a general reformation would beſt be beſtowed; becauſe their influence over young minds is the moſt general and moſt extenſive.

‘With reſpect to the improvement of the firſt of theſe claſſes, the female ſex, I ſhall ſay nothing here further than to expreſs my great ſatisfaction in finding that my opinion in this article has the honour of coinciding with that of your Imperial Majeſty, by whom (as I am now informed) a noble ſeminary hath lately been eſtabliſhed for their proper education. Therefore, inſtead of offering any thoughts upon this ſubject, I ſhall rather expect to receive inſtructions from the regulations of that noble ſeminary which your Imperial Majeſty hath eſtabliſhed.

‘With regard to the monaſteries, it will be time enough to take their preſent ſtate into conſideration, when the more active members of the church have received a juſt improvement. It is upon the ſecular or parochial clergy, that the morals of the people do chiefly depend.

‘But before I proceed to offer my ſentiments concerning the beſt means of introducing into the empire a proper mode of education for thoſe who are deſigned for the ſecular orders of the church, as well as for the young nobility, and higher ranks of the empire, I will beg leave to lay before your Imperial Majeſty ſome circumſtances which ſeem neceſſary, either to precede or accompany it: in both caſes, in order to render ſuch an education more effectual in its conſequences.

‘I am informed, that the ſecular or parochial clergy have generally very ſmall incomes, many of them nothing certain, depending on the trifling donations of their pariſhioners for their ſupport. I humbly apprehend it is impoſſible they can be of much influence among the people, while they continue in this dependent ſtate. For it not only prevents men of character and ability from entering into a profeſſion, where poverty and contempt are to be their certain lots; but alſo ſuch poverty and contempt incurably prevent their proper influence and power over the morals of the people. Therefore, as a neceſſary encouragement to worthy perſons to enter into this ſtate of life, and alſo to give them their due weight among the people, it would be of great conſequence, that competent ſtipends ſhould be appointed and fixed according to your Imperial Majeſty's good pleaſure, the ſubject of education, and points out ſome excellent methods of improving it in the Ruſſian empire.

Thus

‘ by which the ſecular clergy may ſubſiſt in a decent and comfortable manner.

‘ Without ſomething of this kind, a liberal education will, perhaps, hardly bring any addition, either to their private happineſs or their public utility.

‘ If the ſons of merchants and other creditable profeſſions, and alſo the younger ſons of the higher ranks, were encouraged and invited to enter into the ſervice of the church, the clerical profeſſion would become more uſeful, becauſe more honourable.

‘ Neither can there be any reaſonable ground for jealouſy of any ill conſequences to the ſtate from ſuch a happy change in the circumſtances of the ſecular clergy as is here propoſed. Their incomes may be ſo limited as to give them a proper influence over the morals of their reſpective congregations; yet not to arm them with power to interpoſe in affairs of ſtate.

‘ This conſequence could only be feared from the opulence and union of the monaſtic clergy, animated by the patriarchal power, which, being now happily diſſolved, can never more interfere with that of the Imperial crown.

‘ The ſecular or parochial clergy, thus rendered more conſiderable, could, by a proper education, become the natural inſtructors and reformers of their reſpective congregations. The common people through all Chriſtendom have been chiefly civilized, and ſtill are preſerved from degenerating into barbarity, by the labours of the ſecular clergy.

‘ Eſpecially theſe good effects will hereafter ariſe, when a well-educated nobility ſhall ſecond the labours of the clergy, by turning their attention from falſe pleaſure towards the welfare and civilization of their reſpective vaſſals; which it may be hoped they will hereafter do; eſpecially as they have before them ſo great an example in the attention which your Imperial Majeſty gives to the happineſs and improvement of all your ſubjects.

‘ And this, Madam, naturally leads me to offer my thoughts to your Imperial Majeſty concerning the ſteps which may be preparatory and neceſſary towards a proper education of the nobility and higher ranks of the empire; and here, as I would willingly avoid giving offence, as much as poſſible, to any rank of men, while I ſpeak what I apprehend to be the truth, I ſhall leave it to your Imperial Majeſty's better judgment, to determine how far the following remarks are, in any degree, applicable to the preſent ſubject. Peter the Firſt was naturally led, in the infancy of his empire, to turn his attention chiefly on the eſtabliſhment of a navy, the improvement of commerce, and the extirpation of barbariſm. With theſe views he invited foreigners from all parts, and ſent his young ſubjects to travel into foreign countries.

‘ That theſe two things ſhould be done was certainly right; but had they been done with greater caution, it had been more fortunate for the Ruſſian empire.

‘ For both the travels of the Ruſſian youth, and the entrance of foreigners into the empire, having been permitted and encouraged in the moſt unguarded manner, the natural conſequence was, that along with the good, the evils alſo of foreign countries ſhould be introduced.

‘ And as young men of quick minds and paſſions, not overlooked and reſtrained by proper tutors, are more apt to catch at foreign follies and vices than at wiſdom and virtue, it is no wonder if they brought home both manners and opinions which, upon the whole, gave more detriment than advantage to their country.

‘ And again, as the leaſt virtuous part of ſome of the nations of Europe were, perhaps, the readieſt to quit their own country, to gain an eſtabliſhment in Ruſſia; from hence alſo a ſimilar conſequence could hardly fail to ariſe. More eſpecially, as the ſame Prince, for the ſame ends, thought proper to remove the ſeat of empire from Moſcow to St. Peterſburg; and by this ſtep brought moſt of his ſubjects to inhabit that metropolis, which is alſo the great ſeat of commerce; the entrance and influence of foreign manners and opinions, whether good or bad, ſalutary or pernicious, became ſtill more inevitable among the higher ranks of the empire.

‘ From theſe cauſes, Madam, I can ſuppoſe it poſſible, nay probable, that among many of the higher ranks ignorance and barbariſm might be immediately ſucceeded by the oppoſite extremes of luxury and irreligion, without the natural intervention of that ſalutary medium of uſeful knowledge, ſound religion, virtue, public ſpirit, and rational civilization, which your Imperial Majeſty is now labouring to introduce.

‘ I call this a natural intervention, becauſe it appears from the hiſtory of mankind, that when the improvement and civilization of a kingdom proceeds by a more gradual and unforced progreſs of things; that is, when the ſovereign engages his nobles and people, firſt in the practice and improvement of agriculture, by which the honeſt comforts of life are firſt obtained, and a general ſpirit of induſtry is excited throughout the internal parts of the country; when to this is added an application to home-manufactures, in order to make the beſt of what agriculture hath produced; when population is thus naturally increaſed, and when theſe improved goods of nature are diſperſed through ſuch a country by the arts and conveniencies of a domeſtic commerce; when ſuch is the natural and unforced progreſs of things, I believe your Imperial Majeſty will find it a truth founded in the hiſtory of mankind, that among ſuch a people, an honeſt ſimplicity of manners, with a concomitant regard to religious principles, and uſeful, though bounded, knowledge, do generally, and if attended with a tolerable ſyſtem of policy, almoſt ſpontaneouſly ariſe: and from thence the aſcent is alſo eaſy and natural, nor yet dangerous, up to a higher ſtate of elegance, arts, ſcience, and foreign emoluments; which may then be ſafely brought in by a guarded communication and commerce with foreign countries.

‘ But where a Prince, impatient to obtain his favourite purpoſes, overlooks and neglects theſe intermediate ſteps and gradual modes of internal civilization, attempting immediately to build foreign commerce and foreign arts on national ignorance and barbarity, the effects muſt neceſſarily be ſuch as have appeared in Ruſſia ſince the time of Peter the Great. The internal civilization of the country, inſtead of being forwarded, muſt be checked: the higher ranks, allured by the ſeduction of foreign and imported luxuries, and ſuch principles as luxuries bring in, will forſake their eſtates, and neglect their vaſſals, to indulge themſelves in diſſipation and the ſelfiſh pleaſures of the capital. And the people thus abandoned, muſt inevitably continue ſunk in their native barbarity.

‘ Theſe thoughts I humbly preſume to lay before your Imperial Majeſty, not only the better to diſcloſe the true cauſes of the ſlow progreſs of internal civilization in the Ruſſian empire, but alſo with all deference to point out certain principles of conduct, without which the progreſs of a national civilization muſt be for ever checked and obſtructed.

‘ Now if, from this general cauſe, a ſpirit of diſſipation, exceſſive luxury, licentiouſneſs, and irreligion have gained an early and too general influence over any of the higher ranks of the empire; if foreigners (from any licentious nation) of improper character have intruded, and are too generally admitted, into conſiderable families, as inſtructers of youth; and by theſe means, as well as by ſpreading improper books, miſlead them, either in moral or religious principles; if theſe things be ſo, your Imperial Majeſty may pleaſe, in your wiſdom, to conſider how far a greater degree of caution ought, for the future, to be obſerved in theſe two important circumſtances, the travels of the Ruſſian youth, and the admiſſion of foreign inſtructers or books into the Ruſſian empire.

‘ And alſo your Imperial Majeſty may pleaſe to deliberate how far, and by what means, it may be poſſible immediately to reſcue the Ruſſian youth, Thus ended Dr. Brown's negociation with the court of Ruſſia, which was ſo much ſpoken of at the time, though but little underſtood. The affair, taken in all its circumſtances,

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'yet uncorrupted, from the dangerous influence of ſuch improper manners and opinions; by checking the circulation of immoral and irreligious writings; by diſcountenancing the influence of thoſe who propagate them; and by preventing the young men of the riſing generation from mixing too early in public companies and unguarded aſſemblies, where ſuch immoral and irreligious opinions may be induſtriouſly propagated, under the ſpecious title of ſublime philoſophy.

'Such then, Madam, being the preparatory ſteps which may ſeem proper to be taken, and which are ſubmitted to the wiſdom of your Imperial Majeſty; I will now beg leave to offer my ſentiments concerning the moſt proper, the moſt practicable, and moſt effectual methods of education for the Ruſſian youth; ſuch as may by degrees combat, and in ſome time correct, thoſe two unhappy extremes of ignorance and barbariſm on the one hand, licentiouſneſs and irreligion on the other.

'As it is a great and arduous taſk (though by no means impoſſible) to throw the manners, opinions, principles, and character of a whole nation into a new channel, the foundations muſt be laid deep, and much reſolution and perſeverance exerciſed in the progreſs of the undertaking. Eſpecially, the beginnings, therefore, which in the end may be moſt certain and effectual, though ſlow in their operation, are to be employed in preference to thoſe, which, ſeemingly moſt rapid and perfect to abſtracted minds, are in danger of being ineffectual in the execution. Now, in the empire, where (as yet) there ſeem to be very few inſtructers upon the ſpot, capable of being inſtrumental in carrying this great work into execution, it may, perhaps, at firſt view ſeem the readieſt and moſt perfect method of accompliſhing it, to invite inſtructers of all kinds, from foreign countries, for the improvement of the riſing generation; yet, I fear, this method, though plauſible in appearance, would prove ineffectual, for the following reaſons:

'Firſt, Becauſe men of the beſt abilities will, in the common ſituations of life, be unwilling to quit their native country, and the eſtabliſhments which they are already poſſeſſed of, to dwell for life in a country where they are ſtrangers; where the climate is unfriendly, and where the language and manners are entirely new to them.

'Secondly, Even ſuppoſing (what I think impoſſible) that a competent number of able men, in all the branches of art or ſcience, could be collected from the various countries of Europe, yet, I apprehend, even this would very ineffectually anſwer the great intentions of your Imperial Majeſty: for although there might be many things laudable in their various modes of inſtruction, when ſeparately conſidered; yet when meeting together, and blended in the ſame academy, they muſt often claſh with each other, and produce a motley and inconſiſtent ſyſtem of education.

'Again, Though a ſufficient number of accompliſhed men ſhould be found willing to fix in Ruſſia, yet they could not carry along with them all the ſources of inſtruction, which are to be found in eſtabliſhed ſchools and univerſities. Public libraries, public diſputations, the neceſſary apparatus for lectures in ſeveral branches of philoſophy, the converſation of thoſe who are further advanced in literature, the force of example, and emulation; all theſe are things which could not be at once tranſported into the Ruſſian empire.

'Laſtly, Theſe reaſonings ſeem to be ſtrongly confirmed by fact: for after many years ſpent in endeavouring to bring over men of ability in their reſpective profeſſions into Ruſſia, the progreſs of education and inſtruction ſeems to have been very imperfect. This great and glorious taſk hath been left for your Imperial Majeſty to accompliſh.

'Since, therefore, the improvement of the empire ſeems a work impracticable, by the means of inviting foreigners into Ruſſia;—it appears to me, Madam, that the moſt effectual method of accompliſhing this great deſign, will be to ſend a conſiderable number and a ſucceſſion of the Ruſſian youth, for ſome years, to be carefully placed and inſtructed in the beſt ſchools and univerſities already eſtabliſhed, in whatever nation your Imperial Majeſty ſhould moſt approve.

'It will probably alſo ſeem beſt to your Imperial Majeſty, that they ſhould all be ſent to the ſame country, to the end that when they return, they may carry back a ſyſtem of education which may be conſiſtent with itſelf.

'By this method they may reap all the advantages of the beſt ſchools and univerſities already eſtabliſhed: for they may be put under the care of the moſt accompliſhed maſters and tutors that the nation can afford. Their education (by a proper choice of what is beſt) may be carried on upon one ſelf-conſiſtent plan: all the ſources of inſtruction that are to be found in the eſtabliſhed ſchools and univerſities, laid before them; and, with proper caution, they may be removed from the danger of improper examples.

'Thus, if youths of good diſpoſitions, and promiſing genius, be properly ſelected and ſent, they will return well accompliſhed for the purpoſes of national improvement; and, if properly diſperſed, may be formed into a variety of well-appointed ſeminaries; will become the inſtructers of their own country; will be better underſtood, better received, and more reſpected, than any foreigners can be, however well accompliſhed; and will naturally and effectually ſpread that ſyſtem of education, which they have received, through the ſeveral parts of the Ruſſian empire: Provided that the Imperial power ſhall authoriſe and encourage this ſyſtem of education, and forbid and diſcourage every other that ſhould be incompatible with it.

'A partiality in favour of my native country may be natural to me; and, therefore, whatever I advance upon this ſubject, is humbly ſubmitted to the more impartial conſideration of your Imperial Majeſty.

'It appears, therefore, to me, from the beſt information I have been able to obtain, that there is no nation in Europe, into which the Ruſſian youth can be ſent with greater advantages to themſelves and their country, than to ſome of the beſt regulated ſchools and univerſities of this kingdom.

'This opinion is founded on the following reaſons:

'Firſt, The moderation of the Engliſh church is ſuch, that no attempts need be feared of giving the Ruſſian youth a diſlike to the doctrines of the Greek church, as it is eſtabliſhed in Ruſſia. The attention of our modern divines and profeſſors being altogether turned upon the great and leading principles of Chriſtianity, which are equally maintained by all Chriſtian churches; in theſe they would be inſtructed, if they ſhould come to England; and would be left at perfect liberty to apply theſe general principles to the particular ſyſtem of religion eſtabliſhed in their own country.

'Again, Although there be ſome ſchools and colleges in this kingdom, where their morals might be endangered; yet there are others in which they may be planted, where (in general) they will meet with ſuch examples, as will tend to confirm them in innocence and virtue, as well as to improve them in learning and true philoſophy.

'Farther, The moſt uſeful and important branches of knowledge may be ſelected, for their more proper and more effectual inſtruction. For though it muſt be acknowledged, that the methods of education here, in common uſe, are not in all things perfect, yet theſe methods would not be ſo rigorouſly inſiſted on, but that ſome deviations from the common road would be allowed, in all caſes where ſuch deviation ſhould appear better ſuited to the end for which the Ruſſian youth were ſent.

'Laſtly, Their ſituation here would naturally bring them into the acquaintance, converſation, and intimacy of the middle ranks of this kingdom; who being equally removed from the temptations which attend exorbitant wealth and extreme poverty, are thence naturally led to cultivate good ſenſe, religion, and virtue; and do thence abound in praiſe-worthy cumſtances, did, no doubt, greatly agitate his mind; and his being obliged, at length, to give up the journey, muſt have been no ſmall diſappointment to a man of his ſanguine temper. This diſappointment, concurring with his ſtate of health in general,

‘worthy and amiable qualities, at leaſt as much, I believe, as any rank of people upon earth.

‘If your Imperial Majeſty ſhould honour this kingdom, in preference to others, in the manner here propoſed, it is ſubmitted to your Imperial Majeſty's wiſdom, how far the following circumſtances might be judged proper or expedient.

‘As I am informed, that the Ruſſian youth are brought very early to mix in public companies, I ſhould regard it as a circumſtance of great importance, that they ſhould be ſent from home before that dangerous period arrives. If they were ſent from the age of ten to twelve years old, I ſuppoſe that all improper conſequences of this kind would be prevented. Thus alſo they would more eaſily learn the Engliſh language. While at ſchool, and before they were removed to the univerſity, they would alſo be more ſuſceptible of all good impreſſions, both moral and literary, as well as of the general principles of religion and Chriſtianity, in which they might receive inſtruction.

‘One or two capable perſons of moderate principles might accompany them, who ſhould be maſters of the Ruſſian language, in which they ought frequently to exerciſe them; that they might not forget, but continually improve in the language of their own country.

‘The ſame perſons might alſo have regard to their religious duties and exerciſes; that a proper ſenſe of the principles, the forms, and diſcipline of the Greek church might be kept up in their minds; and on ſolemn occaſions they might repair to the Ruſſian chapel in London; or the Ruſſian chaplain might repair to them.

‘After they had remained at proper ſchools till they were ſufficiently qualified in the learned languages, the next ſtep would be to remove them to the univerſity for their improvement in the higher ſpheres of literature. Here much would depend on placing them in proper colleges, and under proper tutors. Here alſo a capable perſon or two from Ruſſia ſhould attend them, for the reaſons aſſigned above.

‘Their expences, both at the ſchools and univerſities, ſhould be carefully regulated. The leſs money they expend, the more they will improve, both in morals and learning.

‘Fifty pounds a year for each boy while at ſchool, and one hundred while at college, would, in my opinion, be amply ſufficient.

‘With reſpect to the number of youths to be ſent from Ruſſia on this occaſion, I ſhould think that twenty-five or thirty, the firſt year, the ſame number a ſecond year, the ſame a third, and the ſame a fourth year, would form a nurſery of inſtruction ſufficient to ſet forward your Imperial Majeſty's great deſigns throughout the Ruſſian empire. If every youth ſhould remain four or five years at ſchool, and a like number of years at a proper univerſity, I imagine they might return home generally well qualified for the great work of national inſtruction.

‘But as the means of ſecuring their proper education, and of perpetuating in Ruſſia thoſe improvements which they ſhould receive here; I apprehend it would be neceſſary that a capable perſon of this kingdom ſhould be appointed by your Imperial Majeſty, to ſuperintend and regulate the whole of their education. This perſon ought to ſeek out for the propereſt ſchools and colleges, where they ought to be planted: he ſhould be empowered to fix upon the moſt capable maſters and tutors; ſhould regulate their expences; and alſo ſhould inform the tutors of every particular, in which the education of the Ruſſian youth ought to differ from that of a Britiſh. By theſe means he might ſo order it, that they might receive a ſelf-conſiſtent ſyſtem of education, ſuited to the policy, the religion, and genius of the Ruſſian empire.

‘As there are ſome arts and ſciences which are not publicly taught in the univerſities, ſuch as muſic, drawing, painting, ſculpture, and architecture, he ſhould be empowered to place ſuch of them as were intended for the profeſſion of theſe arts under ſuch proper maſters as might be found, either in the univerſity or in London.

‘Farther, Before the Ruſſian youth depart for their own country, he ought to draw up a general and comprehenſive code or ſyſtem of education, to be approved of by your Imperial Majeſty, ſuited to that method in which they ſhall have been inſtructed, and to the religion, policy, and genius of the Ruſſian empire. This ought to be particularly explained to them, till they be thoroughly poſſeſſed of it in its full extent; ſo that when they return home, they may be able by this to regulate their future inſtructions to their own countrymen.

‘Thus, Madam, it ſeems to me, that a proper, effectual, and laſting foundation may be laid, for the future improvement and general civilization of your Imperial Majeſty's dominions. From this foundation, ſupported by the Imperial power, proper ſchools and univerſities may be founded throughout the empire, and may thus be furniſhed with a competent number of native and well-accompliſhed inſtructers, in every uſeful branch of arts and ſciences. To theſe the riſing youths of the ſeveral ranks of the empire may be encouraged to repair; by which means, with due encouragements given, and proper eſtabliſhments extended, a ſalutary and ſelf-conſiſtent plan of education will take place, and by degrees diffuſe itſelf through the remoteſt provinces.

‘When ſuch a ſyſtem of education ſhall be generally eſtabliſhed, and begin to work its happy effects in Ruſſia; when the minds and manners of the riſing generation ſhall be, in ſome degree, formed to this ſalutary plan; then, and not till then, would be the proper and effectual time for framing a ſelf-conſiſtent code of laws (ſuch as was mentioned in my letter to Dr. Dumareſq), which ought to correſpond with this plan of education: and this forming one great chain of policy and power, would tend to ſecure the virtue, the religion, the public happineſs, and unſhaken permanency of your Imperial Majeſty's dominions.

‘It is certain, that to carry ſo great a work into execution will demand the firmeſt reſolution and perſeverance; yet not more, I am perſuaded, than what your Imperial Majeſty is poſſeſſed of. Neither is the preſent ſtate of things ſo unpromiſing, as to forbid, or even diſcourage, ſo noble a deſign. If your Imperial Majeſty's ſubjects have been unhappily tainted by the vices of foreign countries, the ſame active principle of mind will lead them to embrace and hold faſt a more ſalutary ſyſtem of principles and practice, when they ſhall be happily initiated in them from their youth.

‘If certain vices, in ſome degree natural to the climate, do ſtill infect the ſecular clergy, it is almoſt incredible how generally theſe may be made to vaniſh in the next generation, by the power of a well ordered education.

‘About forty years ago, intemperance in drinking was a very common vice among the clergy of this kingdom: at preſent, it is ſo generally extirpated, that ſcarce an inſtance is now to be found.

‘Thus the difficulties that offer themſelves to view, may be regarded as incentives to proſecute ſo noble a deſign, rather than as diſcouragements from engaging in it—and ſhould it in the end ſucceed, it will crown your Imperial Majeſty with truer glory, than the conqueſt of the whole earth.

‘I have the honour to be, with the moſt profound veneration and reſpect,

‘Madam,

‘Your Imperial Majeſty's moſt devoted
‘and moſt obedient humble ſervant,
‘J. Brown.’

The plan propoſed, in this letter, of educating young perſons abroad, hath, we are informed, been adopted, and England fixed upon as the place of education. Some Ruſſian youths have ſucceſſively been brought up at Oxford. Other young gentlemen have reſided in this country for different purpoſes, and agriculture hath been one object of attention.

and

and accompanied, perhaps, with a recollection of the other failures that had happened to him in his expectations and wiſhes, was followed by a dejection of ſpirits, which cauſed him to put a period to his own life, on the 23d of September 1766, in the fifty-firſt year of his age. On the morning of that day, his ſervant came into his bed-chamber, and aſked him what ſort of a night he had had; to which he replied, 'A pretty good 'one.' The ſervant having quitted the bed-ſide for a few minutes, heard a noiſe in the Doctor's throat, which he imagined to be owing to ſome obſtruction occaſioned by phlegm. Going to aſſiſt his maſter, he found him ſpeechleſs, and bleeding profuſely, having cut the jugular vein with a razor; and this he had done ſo effectually, that death ſpeedily enſued. Such was the unhappy end of this ingenious Writer; but the manner of it, when ſome previous circumſtances of his life are underſtood, will caſt no ſtain on his character. He had a tendency to inſanity in his conſtitution; and, from his early life, had been ſubject, at times, to ſome diſorder in his brain, at leaſt to melancholy in its exceſs. Mrs. Gilpin of Carliſle, ſoon after Dr. Brown's deceaſe, wrote in the following terms, in a letter to a friend. 'His diſtemper was a frenzy to which 'he had by fits been long ſubject; to my own knowledge, above thirty years. Had it 'not been for Mr. Fariſh (*) frequently, and once for myſelf, the ſame event would have 'happened to him long ago. It was no premeditated purpoſe in him; for he abhorred 'the thought of ſelf-murder, and, in bitterneſs of ſoul, expreſſed his fears to me, that, 'one time or another, ſome ready miſchief might preſent itſelf to him, at a time when 'he was wholly deprived of his reaſon.'

(*) A worthy Clergyman at Carliſle.

With regard to the general character of Dr. Brown, it will eaſily be diſcerned, from what hath already been ſaid. We have ſeen that he was a man of uncommon ingenuity, and that it was unfortunately tinctured with an undue degree of ſelf-opinion. Perhaps the bias of his mind to inſanity will aſſign the beſt cauſe, as well as form the beſt excuſe, for any errors he has been charged with in this reſpect. His genius was extenſive; for, beſides his being ſo elegant a proſe writer in various kinds of compoſition, he was a poet, a muſician (†), and a painter. His poetical character, and his ſkill in muſic, have been mentioned before; but no ſpecimens of his paintings have fallen under our inſpection. We find that he bequeathed to the Rev. Mr. Mark Hall, by his laſt will, the pictures of his father and mother, painted in crayons, by Himſelf. His learning doth not appear to have been equal to his genius. His invention was, indeed, inexhauſtible; and hence he was led to form magnificent plans, which required a greater depth of erudition than he was poſſeſſed of, fully to execute. In divinity, properly ſo called, as including an extenſive knowledge of the controverted points of theology, and a critical acquaintance with the Scriptures, he was not deeply converſant. However, it appears from his ſermons, that his ideas of this kind were liberal, and that he did not lay much ſtreſs on the diſputed doctrines of Chriſtianity. His temper, we are told, was ſuſpicious, and ſometimes threw him into diſagreeable altercations with his friends. But it may be urged in his behalf, that this aroſe, in a great meaſure, if not entirely, from the conſtitutional diſorder deſcribed above. It hath been obſerved by ingenious remarkers upon human nature, that a very ſuſpicious turn of mind is one of the ſureſt prognoſtics of lunacy. Dr. Brown hath been charged with ſhifting about too ſpeedily, with a view to preferment; and it muſt be acknowledged, that his Thoughts on Civil Liberty, Licentiouſneſs, and Faction, ſeemed to have ſomething of this appearance. He hath, however, in that performance endeavoured to remove any charge of this nature, by obſerving, that, if he had indirectly cenſured thoſe whom he had formerly applauded, he never was attached to *men*, but *meaſures*; and that, if he had queſtioned the conduct of thoſe only who were then out of power, he had heretofore queſtioned their conduct with the ſame freedom, when in the fullneſs of their power (*l*). At the concluſion, likewiſe, of his letter to Dr. Lowth, he ſays, 'I am, 'and ever have been, conſcious of the *independence* of my mind, and I hope I may 'without vanity add, the *integrity* of my heart (*m*).' Such too is the teſtimony given of him by his ſurviving friends. Upon the whole, Dr. Brown's defects, which chiefly aroſe from too ſanguine a temperament of conſtitution, were compenſated by many excellencies and virtues. With reſpect to his writings, they are all of them elegant. Even thoſe which are of a more temporary nature may, moſt of them, continue to be read with pleaſure, as containing a variety of curious obſervations; and others of his works, being calculated for a more laſting duration, will probably tranſmit his name with conſiderable reputation to future times [*T*].]

K.

(†) He played well on ſeveral inſtruments.

(*l*) Thoughts on Civil Liberty, Licentiouſneſs, and Faction, p. 138, 139.

(*m*) Letter to Dr. Lowth, p. 43, 44. It was reported, that the laſt effort of Dr. Brown's genius was a panegyric on the Earl of Chatham; but when his papers were examined after his death, nothing of this ſort was found among them.

[*T*] *To future times.*] Two ſmall pieces of Dr. Brown's have been put into our hands, which we think worthy of preſerving in this place. The firſt is a deſcription of Keſwick, in a letter to Lord Lyttelton.

'*Extract of a letter to Lord Lyttelton.*

'IN my way to the North from Hagley, I paſſed 'through Dovedale; and, to ſay the truth, was 'diſappointed in it. When I came to Buxton, I viſited another or two of their romantic ſcenes; but 'theſe are inferior to Dovedale. They are all but 'poor miniatures of KESWICK; which exceeds them 'more in grandeur than I can give you to imagine; 'and more, if poſſible, in beauty than in grandeur.

'Inſtead of the narrow ſlip of valley which is ſeen 'at Dovedale, you have at KESWICK a vaſt amphitheatre, in circumference above twenty miles. Inſtead of a meagre rivulet, a noble living lake, ten 'miles round, of an oblong form, adorned with a 'variety of wooded iſlands. The rocks, indeed, of 'Dovedale are finely wild, pointed, and irregular; 'but the hills are little and unanimated; and the margin of the brook is poorly edged with weeds, moraſs, and bruſhwood.—But at Keswick you will, on one ſide of the lake, ſee a rich and beautiful landſkip of cultivated fields, riſing to the eye in fine inequalities, with noble groves of oak happily diſperſed; and climbing the adjacent hills, ſhade above ſhade, in the moſt various and pictureſque forms. On the oppoſite ſhore, you will find rocks and cliffs of ſtupendous height, hanging broken over the lake in horrible grandeur, ſome of them a thouſand feet high, the woods climbing up their ſteep and ſhaggy ſides, where mortal foot never yet approached. On theſe dreadful heights the eagles build their neſts: A variety of waterfalls are ſeen pouring from their ſummits, and tumbling in vaſt ſheets from rock to rock in rude and terrible magnificence; while, on all ſides of this immenſe amphitheatre, the lofty mountains riſe round, piercing the clouds in ſhapes as ſpiry and fantaſtic, as the very rocks of Dovedale.—To this I muſt add the frequent and bold projection of the cliffs into the lake, forming noble bays and promontories: in other parts they finely retire from it, and often open in abrupt chaſms or clefts, through which at hand you ſee rich and cultivated vales, and beyond theſe, at various diſtances, mountain riſing over mountain; among which, new proſpects preſent themſelves in miſt, till the eye is loſt in an agreeable perplexity,

‘ Where active fancy travels beyond ſenſe,
‘ And pictures things unſeen——

‘ Were I to analyſe the two places into their conſtituent principles, I ſhould tell you, that the full perfection of Keswick conſiſts of three circumſtances, *beauty*, *horror*, and *immenſity* united; the ſecond of which alone is found in Dovedale. Of beauty it hath little: nature having left it almoſt a deſert: neither its ſmall extent, nor the diminutive and lifeleſs form of the hills, admit magnificence.—But to give you a complete idea of theſe three perfections, as they are joined at Keswick, would require the united powers of Claude, Salvator, and Pouſſin. The firſt ſhould throw his delicate ſunſhine over the cultivated vales, the ſcattered cots, the groves, the lake, and wooded iſlands. The ſecond ſhould daſh out the horror of the rugged cliffs, the ſteeps, the hanging woods, and foaming waterfalls; while the grand pencil of Pouſſin ſhould crown the whole with the majeſty of the impending mountains.

‘ So much, for what I would call the permanent beauties of this aſtoniſhing ſcene. Were I not afraid of being tireſome, I could now dwell as long on its *varying* or *accidental* beauties. I would ſail round the lake, anchor in every bay, and land you on every promontory and iſland. I would point out the perpetual change of proſpect: the woods, rocks, cliffs, and mountains, by turns vaniſhing or riſing into view: now gaining on the ſight, hanging over our heads in their full dimenſions, beautifully dreadful; and now, by a change of ſituation, aſſuming new romantic ſhapes, retiring and leſſening on the eye, and inſenſibly loſing themſelves in an azure miſt. I would remark the contraſt of light and ſhade, produced by the morning and evening ſun; the one gilding the weſtern, the other the eaſtern ſide of this immenſe amphitheatre; while the vaſt ſhadow, projected by the mountains, buries the oppoſite part in a deep purple gloom, which the eye can hardly penetrate: the natural variety of colouring, which the ſeveral objects produce, is no leſs wonderful and pleaſing: the ruling tints in the valley being thoſe of azure, green, and gold, yet ever various, ariſing from an intermixture of the lake, the woods, the graſs, and corn-fields: theſe are finely contraſted by the grey rocks and cliffs; and the whole heightened by the yellow ſtreams of light, the purple hues, and miſty azure of the mountains. Sometimes a ſerene air and clear ſky diſcloſe the tops of the higheſt hills: at others, you ſee the clouds involving their ſummits, reſting on their ſides, or deſcending to their baſe, and rolling among the valleys, as in a vaſt furnace.—When the winds are high, they roar among the cliffs and caverns like peals of thunder; then, too, the clouds are ſeen in vaſt bodies ſweeping along the hills in gloomy greatneſs, while the lake joins the tumult, and toſſes like a ſea. But in calm weather, the whole ſcene becomes new: the lake is a perfect mirror; and the landſkip in all its beauty, iſlands, fields, woods, rocks, and mountains, are ſeen inverted, and floating on its ſurface . . . . I will now carry you to the top of a cliff, where, if you dare approach the ridge, a new ſcene of aſtoniſhment preſents itſelf; where the valley, lake, and iſlands ſeem lying at your feet; where this expanſe of water appears diminiſhed to a little pool amidſt the vaſt and immeaſurable objects that ſurround it; for here the ſummits of more diſtant hills appear beyond thoſe you had already ſeen; and riſing behind each other in ſucceſſive ranges and azure groups of craggy and broken ſteeps, form an immenſe and awful picture, which can only be expreſſed by the image of a tempeſtuous ſea of mountains. — Let me now conduct you down again to the valley, and conclude with one circumſtance more; which is, that a walk by ſtill moon-light (at which time the diſtant waterfalls are heard in all their variety of ſound) among theſe inchanting dales, opens a ſcene of ſuch delicate beauty, repoſe, and ſolemnity, as exceeds all deſcription.’

The next piece is a ſhort paper, intitled,

‘ The JESUITS:

‘ A Society, which, raiſed on powerful but unnatural principles, and ſupported by an early and correſpondent education, became firſt the wonder, then the terror of the Chriſtian world: aſſerting rights independent of civil government, and poſſeſſed of art to elude, or influence to defy it.

‘ Their patron firſt carried the flambeau of enthuſiaſm through the colleges he founded. Worldly ambition he had none; aiming only at the miſtaken glory of his Maker. But as time and ſucceſſion gave entrance to men of far different genius, then it was that worldly ambition began to build her views on the enthuſiaſtic viſions of Ignatius Loyola.

‘ Thus while their leaders are guided by worldly policy, their ſubalterns are actuated by enthuſiaſtic zeal.

‘ By the moſt unbounded influence of command and obedience, which their education naturally produces, ſelf-love thus compaſſeth its ends, by the means of generous prejudices.

‘ Formed for external command by the power of internal obedience; perverting private harmony into the inſtrument of public diſcord; their virtues over-rated by ſome, their faults by others; not void of wiſdom, nor yet of charity, yet their wiſdom often fooliſh, and their charity cruel. Deſtined to form and to overturn empires. Propitious to barbarous tribes, whom they could inſtruct and rule: fatal to eſtabliſhed ſtates, whom they muſt rule or deſtroy. Aſſuming the moſt contradictory ſhapes, while actuated by unvarying ſelf-conſiſtent principles. Princes in Italy; rebels in Portugal; ſtateſmen in Spain; ſpies in England; aſſaſſins in France; martyrs in Siam; traders at Canton; talapoins in India; courtiers at Pekin; ſavages in Canada: in Europe the enemies of their ſpecies; in Paraguay the friends and legiſlators of mankind.’

BROWNRIG, or BROUNRIG (Ralph), Biſhop of Exeter in the XVIIth century, was born at Ipſwich in Suffolk, in the year 1592. His father, who was a Merchant of that place, dying when he was but a few weeks old (*a*), his mother took due care to have him well educated, and brought up to learning, in which he made a very conſiderable progreſs [*A*]. At the age of fourteen, he was ſent to Pembroke Hall in Cambridge;

(*a*) Memorials of Biſhop Brounrig, by D. Gauden: at the end of his Funeral Sermon, Lond. 1660, 8*vo*. p. 142, 143.

[*A*] *In which he made a very conſiderable progreſs.*] ‘ For he was, *to a wonder*, in all ages of his life, not only *capable* of learning, but ſo *comprehenſive*, that he drank in learning not as narrow-mouthed bot-

Cambridge; of which he ſucceſſively became Scholar, and Fellow (*b*) [*B*]; and there he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by his facetious and inoffenſive wit, his eloquence, and his great ſkill and knowledge in Philoſophy, Hiſtory, Poetry, and all ſorts of ingenious Arts and Sciences (*c*). He was appointed *Prævaricator* when King James I. viſited the Univerſity, and diſcharged that employment to the univerſal admiration of the whole audience (*d*). His firſt preferments were, the Rectory of Barley in Hertfordſhire (*e*), and a Prebend of Ely in 1621 (*f*), to both which he was collated by Dr. Nicholas Felton, Biſhop of Ely (*g*). July 15, 1628, he was incorporated Doctor of Divinity at Oxford (*h*). On the twenty-firſt of September 1629, he was collated to the Prebend of Tachbrook, in the cathedral church of Litchfield (*i*), which he quitted September 19, 1631 (*k*), when he was admitted to the Archdeaconry of Coventry (*l*). He was likewiſe Maſter of Catherine-Hall in Cambridge (*m*), and proved a great benefit and ornament both to that College and the whole Univerſity [*C*]. In the years 1637, 1638, 1643, and 1644, he underwent the office of Vice-Chancellor; which he diſcharged to the univerſal ſatisfaction of all people, and to his own great credit (*n*). In 1641, he was preſented to the eleventh Stall or Prebend in the church of Durham (*o*), by Dr. Thomas Morton, Biſhop of that dioceſe, to whom he was chaplain (*p*). Upon the tranſlation of Dr. Joſeph Hall to the Biſhopric of Norwich, Dr. Brownrig was nominated to ſucceed him in the See of Exeter, in 1641. Accordingly he was elected March 31, 1642; confirmed May 14; conſecrated the day following; and inſtalled the firſt of June (*q*). But the troubles that ſoon after followed, did not permit him long to enjoy that dignity. Before the beginning of them, he was much eſteemed, and highly commended, by his relation Mr. John Pym, and others of the Preſbyterian ſtamp (*r*): but they forſook him, only becauſe he was a Biſhop; and ſuffered him to be deprived of his revenues, ſo that he was almoſt reduced to want (*s*). Nay, once he was aſſaulted, and like to have been ſtoned by the rabble, his epiſcopal character being his only crime (*t*). About the year 1645, he was deprived of his maſterſhip of Catherine-Hall, on account of a ſermon, preached by him before the Univerſity, on the King's inauguration; at ſome paſſages of which, offence was taken by the Parliament-party; and neither his piety, gravity, or learning, were ſufficient to preſerve him in his ſtation (*u*). Being thus robbed of all, he retired to the houſe of Thomas Rich, of Sunning, Eſq; in Berkſhire, by whom he was generouſly entertained [*D*]: and there, and ſometimes at London, at Highgate, and St. Edmundſbury, ſpent ſeveral years (*w*) [*E*]. During this time, he had the courage to adviſe Oliver Cromwell to reſtore King Charles II. to his juſt rights (*x*). But, notwithſtanding, he ſuffered in his reputation, of not being zealous enough for the Church (*y*). About a year before his deceaſe, he was invited to be a Preacher at the Temple, in London, with a handſome allowance; and accordingly he went and ſettled there, in good lodgings furniſhed for him (*z*). But his old diſtemper, the ſtone, coming upon him with greater violence than uſual, and being attended with the dropſy, and the infirmities of age, they all together put an end to his life, on the ſeventh of December 1659 (*a*): he was buried the ſeventeenth following in the Temple church, where there is an epitaph over him [*F*]. He was once married, but never

(*b*) Gauden, p. 146.

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 147.

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 154, 155.

(*e*) See Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, fol. p. 618.

(*f*) Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. Vol. ii. edit. 1730, 4*to*. p. 385.

(*g*) Gauden, *ubi ſupra*, p. 157, 158.

(*h*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. i. edit. 1721, col. 245.

(*i*) Br. Willis, as above, Vol. i. p. 465.

(*k*) J. Le Neve ſays it was the 29th, Faſti Eccl. Angl. edit. 1716, fol. p. 132.

(*l*) Willis, *ut ſupra*, p. 416.

(*m*) J. Le Neve, *ibid.* p. 430.

(*n*) Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. by J. Walker, Lond. 1714. fol. P. ii. p. 23.

(*o*) Willis, *ubi ſupra*, p. 274.

(*p*) Life of Biſhop Morton, 4*to*, p. 162.

(*q*) J. Walker, *ubi ſupra*, and Br. Willis, as above, Vol. ii. p. 385.

‘To the liking ‘all good men,’ ſays Wood, Faſti, Vol. i. edit. 1721, col. 245.

(*r*) Gauden, *ubi ſupra*, p. 191, 192.

(*s*) Gauden, *ibid.* p. 201—206. He found, as Dr. Gauden obſerves, the predominant genius of the times was ſuch, that inſtead of letting Biſhops live in a capacity to be given to *hoſpitality*, they reduced them to the neceſſity of getting into ſome *hoſpital* for their relief, p. 203.

(*t*) J. Walker, *ubi ſupra.*

(*u*) Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, edit. 1655, fol. p. 169.

(*w*) Gauden, as above, p. 197. 219.

(*x*) J. Walker, *ubi ſupra.*

(*y*) See Life of Dr. John Barwick in Engliſh, 8*vo*, Append. No. XXIV. p. 488.

(*z*) Gauden, as above, p. 220, 221. His laſt Sermon was on Nov. 5, 1659. *Ibid.* p. 181.

(*a*) Gauden, *ibid.* p. 229.

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tles (to which young learners are compared) by drops, but as a ſponge by great draughts, even in his minority.——Nay he ſcarce had any minority, comparatively to others, except in growth and ſtature; for he was above his equals for coetaneans; ſuperior or *major* in abilities, when inferior or *minor* in years (1).’

[*B*] *Of which he ſucceſſively became Scholar and Fellow.*] ‘He was made Fellow, a little ſooner than either his years or ſtanding, according to the ſtatutes of the college, permitted. But the college was impatient not to make ſure of him, by grafting him firmly into their Society; which had been famous for many excellent men, but for none more than for him (2).’

[*C*] *And proved a great benefit and ornament both to that College and the whole Univerſity.*] So that, it was wonderful to ſee, how the buildings, the revenues, the ſtudents, and the ſtudiouſneſs of that place increaſed, by the care, counſel, prudence, diligence, and fame of Dr. Brownrig, who had ſuch an eye to all, that he over-ſaw none; frequenting the ſtudies, and examining even younger ſcholars, that they might be encouraged, both in learning and piety (3).

[*D*] *By whom he was generouſly entertained.*] Not that he wholly depended upon his bounty, and muſt have ſtarved without it. For ‘his wife brought him a very handſome eſtate in money, and being conſumptive, and ſo likely to die without child, ſhe deſired him to give her leave to give away by will, as ſhe pleaſed, to her friends ſome part of that eſtate ſhe brought him. He moſt cheerfully granted her deſire (if ſhe would to the half or all her eſtate). She having made this eſſay of his noble mind, told him, with thanks and tears, that ſhe gave all ſhe had to him as her beſt friend, and one that deſerved much more than ſhe could give him. Soon after ſhe left him.———After-times ſhewed him, what a providence it was, by ſo ingenuous a way to have ſomething of eſtate caſt in, to defend himſelf againſt the after-injuries and preſſures of life, beſides learning and merit. For that eſtate was his beſt reſerve; though the diſtreſs of times had ſhrewdly wire-drawn that alſo before he died (4).’

[*E*] *And ſometimes at London, at Highgate, and St. Edmundſbury, ſpent ſeveral years.*] ‘Willing (as Dr. Gauden obſerves) (5) to appear, as he thought himſelf, and was treated in this world, *a pilgrim and ſtranger*, never at home, nor owning any home, till he came to Heaven, which was his father's houſe, where he ſhould find better-natured and more loving brethren than thoſe, that, as Joſeph's, had without cauſe ſtripped him, and caſt him into a pit of narrowneſs and obſcurity to die there.’

[*F*] *Where there is an epitaph over him.*] Which was compoſed by Dr. Gauden, his ſucceſſor in the See of Exeter, and is as follows:

Sumptibus & Auſpiciis Honorab. Societat.
Templi, ſubtus poſitæ ſunt Reliquiæ
RADOLPHI BROWNRIG, S. T. D. *Cantabr.*
Reverendiſſ. Epiſcopi Exon. quem honorem
Optime meruit, & per annos xix *tenuit.*
Malo tamen ſeculi fato Bellis, Schiſmatibus,
Sacrilegiis, & Regicidibus ferociente, nunquam
Exercuit.

(1) Gauden, *ubi ſupra*, p. 143, 144.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 146.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 160.

(4) Gauden, *ubi ſupra*, p. 206, 207.

(5) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 219.

never had a child (*b*). Though he was very elaborate and exact in his compoſitions, and completely wrote his ſermons (*c*); yet he could not be perſuaded to put any thing in print (*d*). But ſeveral of his ſermons were publiſhed after his deceaſe [*G*]. Biſhop Brownrig, as to his perſon, was taller and bigger than ordinary, yet very comely. The majeſty of his preſence was ſo allayed with meekneſs, candor, and humility, that no man was farther from any thing moroſe or ſupercilious (*e*). He had a great deal of wit, as well as wiſdom (*f*); and was an excellent ſcholar, an admirable orator, an acute diſputant, a pathetic preacher, and a prudent governor, full of judgment, courage, conſtancy, and impartiality (*g*). He was, likewiſe, a perſon of that ſoundneſs of judgment, of that conſpicuity for an unſpotted life, and of that unſuſpected integrity, that he was a complete pattern to all (*h*). In a word, Dr. Gauden, who had known him above thirty years, declares (*i*), that he never heard of any thing ſaid or done by him, which a wiſe and good man would have wiſhed unſaid or undone. We ſhall give the reſt of his character in the note [*H*].

(*b*) Gauden, p. 204, 205, &c. His wife lived but a little while, *ib.*

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 209.

(*d*) *Ibid* p. 213.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 232, 233.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 146—154.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p 195.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 137.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 138, 139.

⁂ [Ralph Brownrig became M. A. in 1617; B. D. in 1621; and proceeded to his degree of Doctor in Divinity, at Cambridge, in 1626 (*k*)]. K.

(*k*) Bentham's Hiſt. of the Church of Ely, p. 254, 255.

Exercuit. Tandem anno ætatis LXVII. *Provinciam*
Terreſtrem nondum viſam deſerens, ad cœleſtem
Migravit. Æra Chriſti MDCLX. *illuceſcente*
Caroli II. *fœliciſſimo reditu, L. M. P. I. G.*
Epiſc. Exon. Electus.

The meaning of which is, 'That the remains of 'Ralph Brownrig, the right reverend Biſhop of Exeter, had been depoſited there, at the charge of the 'honourable Society of the Temple. That he well 'deſerved, and poſſeſſed for 19 years, the epiſcopal 'dignity, but never enjoyed it, by reaſon of the bad 'times he lived in; full of ſchiſms, ſacrilege, king-'killing and wars. At length leaving his earthly 'province which he never ſaw, he paſſed into Hea-'ven, in the 67th year of his age. And, that this 'monumental ſtone was put down by J. Gauden, 'Biſhop Elect of Exeter, in the year 1660, at the 'dawn of King Charles IId's reſtoration.'

[*G*] *But ſeveral of his ſermons were publiſhed after his deceaſe.*] Some of his ſermons were publiſhed at London in 1662, fol. under this title; 'Forty Ser-'mons preached by the Right Reverend Father in 'God Ralph Brownrig, late Lord Biſhop of Exeter. 'Publiſhed by William Martyn, M. A. Preached 'at the Rolls: being ſuch Sermons as have been per-'uſed and approved of by the Right Reverend Fa-'ther in God, John Gauden, now Lord Biſhop of 'Exeter, his reverend and worthy ſucceſſor.' They were reprinted (with the addition of twenty-five more, which make a ſecond volume) under this general title; 'Sixty-five Sermons by the Right Reve-'rend Father in God, Ralph Brownrig, late Lord 'Biſhop of Exeter. Publiſhed by William Martyn, 'M. A. ſometimes Preacher at the Rolls. Lond. '1674. fol. in two volumes.' The firſt volume is dedicated to King Charles II., and the ſecond to Gilbert (Sheldon) Archbiſhop of Canterbury. At the beginning of the firſt volume, there is a letter from Biſhop Gauden to the publiſher, dated June 12, 1661, in which he gives, both the author, and the ſermons, a very great character.——— Biſhop Brownrig's ſtyle is tolerably good, and his ſentences generally ſhort. But he is too full of diviſions and ſubdiviſions, and of ſcraps of Latin and Greek: which was the great fault of the age he lived in. He hath ſomething particular in his manner of writing, which will be beſt underſtood by the following inſtances. 'The chapter, *'tis* a pathetical expoſtulation of God 'with his choſen people, &c. (6).—The text, *'tis* a 'prophecy, &c. (7)'

[*H*] *We ſhall give the reſt of his character in the note.*] Dr. Gauden informs us (beſides what hath been already cited from him) that he was 'a perſon 'of thoſe ample and cubical dimenſions, for *height* 'of learning and underſtanding, for *depth* of hu-'mility and devotion, for *length* of all morality and 'virtue, and for *breadth* of all humanity and cha-'rity, that it is hard to *contract* or *epitomize* him (8).' ——And, that 'he had the learning of Nazianzen, 'Baſil, or Jerom; the courage and conſtancy of 'Athanaſius and St. Ambroſe; the eloquence of St. 'Chryſoſtom and Chryſologus; the mildneſs and 'gentleneſs of St. Cyprian or St. Auſtin; the chari-'ty and benignity of Paulinus and Martinus. And 'bore his troubles with great contentedneſs and pa-'tience (9).' Another author (10) gives him this character, that he was 'a great man for the Anti-'arminian cauſe (for he was a rigid Calviniſt), yet a 'mighty champion for the Liturgy and Ordination 'by Biſhops. And his death was highly lamented 'by men of all parties.' M.

(6) Beginning of Sermon on *Micab* vi. 5. Vol. i. p. 63.

(7) In the ſame Volume, p. 76.

(8) Gauden, *ubi ſupra*, p. 135.

(9) *Ibid.* p. 201.

(10) Echard's Hiſt. of England, edit. 1720, fol. p. 752.

BUC (George), a learned Antiquarian, was born in Lincolnſhire (*a*) in the XVIth century, and flouriſhed in the beginning of the XVIIth. He was deſcended from the ancient family [*A*] of the Bucs [or Buckes], of Weſt-Stanton and Herthill in Yorkſhire, and Melford-hall in Suffolk (*b*). His great-grand-father, Sir John Buc, Knt. (*c*) was one of King Richard IIId's favourites, and attended that unfortunate Prince to the battle of Boſworth, where he loſt his crown and life (*d*). In the firſt Parliament of King Henry VII., this Sir John Buc was attainted, for being one of the chief aiders and aſſiſtants to the King juſt now mentioned, in the battle of Boſworth, and ſoon after was beheaded at Leiceſter (*e*). By this attainder, his poſterity were reduced to very great ſtreights (*f*); but, through the favour and intereſt of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, the great patron of the family, they had probably ſome of their eſtates reſtored to them, and, among others, that in Lincolnſhire (*g*), where our Author was born. In the reign of King James I., he was made one of the Gentlemen of His Majeſty's Privy-Chamber, and knighted (*h*). He was alſo conſtituted Maſter of the Revels, whoſe office was then kept upon St. Peter's-Hill, in London (*i*). What he moſtly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by, was, writing *The Life and Reign of Richard* III., *in five Books* [*B*]; wherein, in oppoſition

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 38. edit. 1721.

(*b*) Life and Reign of Richard III. by G. Buc, in Compleat Hiſt. Lond. 1706, Vol. ii. p. 545.

(*c*) Camden's Britannia, edit. 1722, Vol. ii. col. 1092.

(*d*) G. Buc, *ibid.*

(*e*) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. ii. p. 762. edit. 1587, and G. Buc, *ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) G. Buc, *ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) See G. Buc, *ubi ſupra.*

(*h*) Wood, Ath. Vol. i. col. 38.

(*i*) See Dedicat. of his Third Univerſitie of England. Wood, *ubi ſupra*, and Camden, Brit. *ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] *He was deſcended from the ancient family of the Bucs.*] This family derive their deſcent from Sir Walter de Buc, a younger ſon of the houſe of Flanders; who came over to England in King John's reign (1), as one of the Commanders of thoſe Rutarii, or adventurers, ſent for by that King, to aſſiſt him againſt his Barons (2). Walter behaving with great prudence aud bravery, was rewarded by that Monarch with lands in Yorkſhire and Northamptonſhire, where his poſterity flouriſhed for many generations (3).

[*B*] *The life and reign of Richard* III.] It is printed in that collection of the Engliſh Hiſtorians, made by Doctor (afterwards Biſhop) Kennet, which was pub-

(1) G. Buc's Life of King Richard, *ubi ſupra.*

(2) See M. Paris, ad ann. 1215.

(3) G. Buc, *ubi ſupra.* Camden's Britan. Vol. ii. col. 1092.

oppoſition to the whole body of Engliſh hiſtorians, he endeavours to repreſent that Prince's perſon and actions, in a quite different light from what they have been by others; and takes great pains to wipe off the bloody ſtains that have been fixed upon his character [*C*]. He hath alſo written, *The third Univerſitie of England; or, a Treatiſe of the Foundations of all the Colledges, ancient Schooles of Priviledge, and of Houſes of Learning, and liberall Arts, within and about the moſt famous Citie of London. With a briefe Report of the Sciences, Arts, and Faculties therein profeſſed, ſtudied, and practiſed* [*D*]. And

liſhed at London, in 1706, 3 Vol. fol. and again there in 1719, with notes and animadverſions by the induſtrious Mr. Strype. This book, as the ingenious Mr. Hughes obſerves (4), ' is much too looſely writ ' for a Hiſtory; it is pedantic and full of harangue, ' and may more properly be called A Defence of ' King Richard, than any thing elſe.' Beſides, it is full of needleſs digreſſions, and too frequent quotations out of the Greek and Latin writers; and abounds with faults, which, in a man of his learning, is ſomething unaccountable.

[*C*] *He endeavours to repreſent that Prince's perſon and actions in a different light from what they have been by others.*] He will neither allow him to have had any deformity in mind or body: and is angry to find him deſcribed by others crook backed, and of an ill countenance; ſo that he ſeems to be for reverſing his character throughout. Thus he ſays (5), ' That he ' was of bodily ſhape comely enough, only of low ' ſtature.' And he concludes (6), that he was ' without diſproportion and unevenneſs either in lineament or parts.' And that he had, ' even from thoſe ' bittereſt times in which he lived, the eſteem of a ' valiant, wiſe, noble, charitable, and religious ' Prince.' He alſo labours hard to clear him of the imputation of having been the murderer of King Henry VI., King Edward V., and his brother Prince Richard, *&c.* (7) It is indeed very probable, that his anceſtors obligations to the houſe of York, and the cruel attainder under Henry VII., might bias him very much. But it is likewiſe certain, that there ought to be great abatements in all the ill that hath been ſaid of King Richard III. Sir Thomas More, who compoſed his life, writ, as Mr. Rapin obſerves (8), when the throne was filled with the Princes of the houſe of Lancaſter, and at a time when it was almoſt a crime to praiſe, or ſpeak well of, the Princes of the houſe of York: and after-writers have copied him without examination. For, bating Richard's too great eagerneſs, and unlawful meaſures taken, to obtain the Crown; he behaved well in other reſpects, and expreſſed a due regard for learning and religion, a concern for checking vice and wickedneſs, and a greater care for the good and welfare of his people, than many of his ſucceſſors have done.

[*D*] *The third Univerſitie in England,* &c.] This is printed at the end of the folio edition of J. Stow's Chronicle by E. Howes, Lond. 1631, and dedicated to Sir Edward Coke, Knight, the dedication bearing date, Auguſt 24, 1612. His deſign in that treatiſe is, to ' preſent a view of the Academicall State, and ' of the Univerſality of the Studies, and of the liberall Arts, and Learnings taught, and profeſſed in ' the cittie of London (9): and to ſet down, *firſt*, ' the beginnings and foundations of all the Colledges ' and Schooles of Learning within and about the citty ' of London, with a briefe mention of the Arts, Sciences, and Faculties, profeſſed and taught in them: ' *next*, the names of the founders, with the times of ' their erection and foundation: and, *laſtly*, cloſe ' every one of them with the blazon of the Armes belonging to every School and Colledge (10).' Theſe Schools and Colleges he divides into three parts; namely, 1. Schools of Divinity, 2. Colleges of the Common Law, 3. and thoſe of the Civil Lawes, *&c.* The firſt are St. Paul's Cathedral, Weſtminſter-Abbey, St. Peter's Cornhill, and other churches where there are regular Lectures, and ſettled Sermons. The ſecond are, The Temple, and ſeveral Inns of Court. The third, Doctors Commons: With the College of Phyſicians, Greſham College, Wittington College, St. Catherine's, Chriſt Church, St. Anthony's College, and the College of Heralds. He ſhows, at the ſame time, that all ſorts of liberal Arts and Sciences are taught in London. M.

⁂ [The character of Buc's Hiſtory of the Life and Reign of Richard the Third, as given by Mr. Hughes, in note [*B*], is undoubtedly juſt. But though Buc writes very pedantically, which may partly be attributed to the faſhion of the times, he diſplays conſiderable abilities. His digreſſions, in particular, though they are introduced in an improper place, manifeſt a good portion of antiquarian knowledge. In his Vindication of Richard the Third, he hath offered ſome things worthy of attention; but he writes in ſo declamatory a manner, and with ſo much of the air of a profeſſed panegyriſt, rather than of a cool enquirer into truth, that he makes, on that account, the leſs impreſſion upon the minds of his readers. He lays great ſtreſs, in his Defence of Richard, on what was done by the Parliament, in ſupport of that King's title. But this is a matter from which no favourable concluſion can be drawn. Too many inſtances occur, in the Engliſh Hiſtory, of the ſubſerviency of our ancient Parliaments to the Princes in power. With regard, likewiſe, to this particular Parliament, the time ſhould be conſidered when it was called. It was ſummoned after the defeat of the Duke of Buckingham's conſpiracy, and the execution of that nobleman; when there was not a ſingle perſon of conſequencein the kingdom who dared to appear againſt Richard. It is not ſurpriſing that, at ſuch a time, he procured repreſentatives devoted to his will. In the Parliamentary Hiſtory, may be found a full account of what was done to recognize and eſtabliſh this King's title to the crown (11).

Richard the Third hath been celebrated, by ſeveral writers, for the good laws enacted in his reign: but the encomiums beſtowed upon him in this reſpect, ſeem to have been carried to an exceſs. He never ſummoned any more than one Parliament, and *that* was of very ſhort duration; for it met on the 23d of January, 1483-4, and was diſſolved on the 20th of February following (12). During the ſmall ſpace it continued, it was chiefly employed about the King's title; ſo that it had not time to make many ſtatutes. However, among the few laws enacted by it, there were two which were of great conſequence to the liberty of the people. One was, that whereas the ſubjects of this realm had of late been burdened with a new impoſition, called a *Benevolence*, the ſame ſhould thenceforth not be exacted. The other was, that every juſtice of peace ſhould have power to admit a priſoner, arreſted for felony, to bail; and that no officer ſhould ſeize the goods of a priſoner, arreſted for felony, till he be attainted (13). Mr. Barrington obſerves, that theſe acts will for ever ſhew, that Richard meant well (at leaſt upon his acceſſion) to the liberties of his ſubjects (14). It is ſaid that he himſelf afterwards broke the law againſt Benevolences (15); and it is certain that this was done by Henry the Seventh (16). The reign of Richard the Third is remarkable in the *Legiſlative* Annals of our country; as the ſtatutes have continued from this time to be in the Engliſh language, and as they were the firſt which were ever printed. What are called private acts begin, likewiſe, with this reign (17).

Buc's account of Richard hath generally been held in diſlike; and it hath not had much effect in clearing up that Prince's character. But Buc hath lately had an able ſupport, and this King a powerful advocate, in Mr. Walpole. This ingenious gentleman, in his ' Hiſtoric Doubts,' hath called in queſtion moſt of the charges brought againſt Richard the Third, and hath endeavoured to ſhew that the evidence produced in confirmation of them, is far from being deciſive. The points conſidered by him are, the following ſuppoſed crimes of Richard: 1. His murder of Edward Prince of Wales, ſon of Henry the Sixth. 2. His murder of Henry the Sixth. 3. The murder of his brother, George Duke of Clarence. 4. The execution of Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan. 5. The execution of Lord Haſtings. 6. The murder of Edward the Fifth and his brother. 7. The murder of his own Queen. To which may be added, as

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(4) Preface to Compleat Hiſt. at the beginning of Vol. i.

(5) In Compleat Hiſt. Vol. ii. p. 548. col. 2.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 577.

(7) *Ibid.* p. 549, 550, 551.

(8) Hiſt. of Engl. fol. Lond. 1733, Vol. i. p. 627.

(9) Epiſtl: Dedicat.

(10) End of chap. ii and chap. iii.

(11) Parliamentary Hiſtory, Vol. ii. p. 393—401.

(12) *Ibid.* p. 390. 405.

(13) *Ibid.* p. 410.

(14) Barrington's Obſervations on the more ancient Statutes, p. 437, 4th edition.

(15) Parl. Hiſt. *ubi ſupra*, p. 410, 411.

(16) Barrington, *ubi ſupra*, p. 433, 434.

(17) *Ibid.* p. 431, 432.

And a treatiſe of *The Art of Revels* (*k*). Mr. Camden (*l*) gives him the character of ‘ a ‘ perſon of excellent learning,’ and thankfully acknowledges, that he ‘ remarked many ‘ things in his hiſtories, and courteouſly communicated his obſervations to him.’ But what character is given of him by others, the reader may ſee in the note [*B*].

(*k*) See his Third Univerſitie of England, cap. 47.

(*l*) Britannia, Vol. ii. col. 1092.

as they are thrown into the liſt to blacken him, his intended match with his own niece, Elizabeth; the penance of Jane Shore, and his own perſonal deformities. In examining ſome of theſe accuſations, Mr. Walpole appears to have ſo far ſucceeded, as to evince that the proof of them is, at leaſt, doubtful. In other parts of his argument, we do not apprehend him to have been equally happy. We cannot, in particular, by any means agree with him in the following aſſertions. ‘ The great regularity with ‘ which the coronation was prepared and conducted, ‘ and the extraordinary concourſe of the nobility at ‘ it, have not at all the air of an unwelcome revolu‘ tion, accompliſhed merely by violence. On the ‘ contrary, it bore great reſemblance to a much ‘ later event, which being the laſt of the kind, we ‘ term the *Revolution*. The three eſtates of nobility, ‘ clergy, and people, which called Richard to the ‘ crown, and whoſe act was confirmed by the ſubſe‘ quent Parliament, trod the very ſame ſteps as the ‘ convention did which elected the Prince of Orange; ‘ both ſetting aſide an illegal pretender, the legiti‘ macy of whoſe birth was called in queſtion. And ‘ though the partizans of the Stuarts may exult at ‘ my comparing King William to Richard the Third, ‘ it will be no matter of triumph, ſince it appears ‘ that *Richard's cauſe was as good as King William's*, ‘ and that in both inſtances it was a free election ‘ (18).’

(18) Hiſtoric Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard the Third, p. 45.

It muſt not here be omitted, that ſome of the arguments by which Mr. Walpole hath ſupported his doubts, have been controverted by able antiquaries. That Gentleman, in his exculpation of Richard, has laid no ſmall ſtreſs upon a ſuppoſed coronation roll, now preſerved in the office of the Great Wardrobe, which he conſiders as affording a proof that Richard had no evil intentions againſt his nephews, becauſe it hence appears that he made, or intended to make, Edward the Fifth walk at his coronation. But Dr. Milles, Preſident of the Society of Antiquaries, in ſome accurate and curious obſervations on this roll, hath ſhewn that it is only a wardrobe account; and that the royal and magnificent robes, ſaid to have been delivered for *the Lord Edward, ſonne of King Edward the IVth*, were, moſt probably, ſuch robes as had been ordered for him ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, and previous to his depoſition. Dr. Milles hath added an account of the Tyrrel family, and of Sir James Tyrrel in particular, ſhewing, that he was not Maſter of the Horſe at Richard's * firſt coronation, and that his ambitious character might induce him, for the purpoſes of his own preferment, to execute any of that King's commiſſions (19). The learned Mr. Maſters hath alſo made ſome Remarks upon Mr. Walpole's Hiſtoric Doubts in general, and hath clearly evinced that his reaſonings are far from being in every caſe deciſive (20). Upon the whole, notwithſtanding what has been alleged by Buc and Mr. Walpole, and notwithſtanding the few good laws enacted by Richard in the beginning of his reign, and the wiſe meaſures he might in ſome reſpects purſue, we apprehend that he muſt ſtill be regarded as an uſurper, a tyrant, and, we fear it muſt be added, a murderer. It was, without doubt, the intereſt of the partizans of Henry the Seventh, to blacken Richard the Third as much as poſſible, and they have certainly carried the matter to an exceſs. Of this Rapin was in ſome meaſure ſenſible; and Guthrie ſtill more ſo, in his unjuſtly neglected Hiſtory of England. But when all allowances are made, there is cauſe enough left to conſign Richard's memory to indignation and abhorrence. As to the queſtion, whether the famous Perkin Warbeck was really Richard Duke of York, Edward the Fifth's brother, it muſt be left in that uncertainty in which it is involved. For though many may think, that the arguments in ſupport of Perkin Warbeck's being an impoſtor, have the greater weight, yet ſtill difficulties do ſo far ſubſiſt in the determination of the affair, that ingenious men will be induced to form different concluſions.]

K.

* Richard was crowned a ſecond time at York.

(19) Archæologia, Vol. i. p. 361—383.

(20) *Ibid.* Vol. ii. p. 198—215.

⁂ [BUCHANAN (George), a Scottiſh Hiſtorian, and Latin Poet, of great eminence, and uncommon abilities and learning, was deſcended from an ancient family, and was born in the ſhire of Dumbarton, in Scotland, in the month of February 1506 (*a*). His father died of the ſtone in the prime of life, whilſt his grandfather was yet living; by whoſe extravagance the family, which before was but in low circumſtances, was now nearly reduced to the extremity of want. He had, however, the happineſs of a very prudent mother, who, though ſhe was left a widow with five ſons and three daughters, brought them all up in a decent manner, by her care and judicious management. She had a brother, Mr. James Heriot, who, obſerving the marks of genius which young George Buchanan diſcovered when at School, ſent him to Paris for his education (*b*). There he cloſely applied himſelf to his ſtudies, and particularly cultivated his poetical talents: but before he had been there quite two years, the death of his uncle, and his own ill ſtate of health, and want of money, obliged him to return home. Having arrived in his native country, he ſpent almoſt a year in endeavouring to re-eſtabliſh his health; and afterwards, in order to acquire ſome knowledge of military affairs (*c*), he made a campaign with the French auxiliaries, who came over into Scotland with John Duke of Albany [*A*]. But in this new courſe of life he encountered ſo many hardſhips, that he was confined to his bed by ſickneſs all the enſuing winter. He had probably much more propenſity to his books, than to the ſword; for early in the following ſpring he went to St. Andrews, and attended the lectures on logic, or rather, as he ſays, on ſophiſtry, which were read in that univerſity by John Major, or Mair, whom he ſoon after accompanied to Paris [*B*]. After ſtruggling for about two years with indigence and ill fortune, he was admitted, in 1526, being then not more than

(*a*) Mackenzie's Lives and Characters of the moſt eminent Writers of the Scots Nation, Vol. iii. p. 156.

(*b*) Georgii Buchanani Vita, ab ipſo ſcripta biennio ante mortem, et Poematibus præfixa.

(*c*) Buchan. in Vita ſua, *ut ſupra*.

[*A*] *He made a campaign with the French auxiliaries*, &c.] Mackenzie ſays, ‘ John, Duke of Alba‘ ny, viceroy or governor of Scotland, coming from ‘ France with auxiliary troops, to carry on a war ‘ againſt England, Buchanan, being reduced to great ‘ want, liſted himſelf as a common ſentinel in the ‘ army (1).’

[*B*] *John Major, or Mair, whom he ſoon after accompanied to Paris.*] Mackenzie intimates that Buchanan had received many good offices from Major, for which he made an ungrateful return, by writing a ſatirical epigram upon him: but we know too little reſpecting the behaviour of Major to Buchanan, or of his ſervices to him, to be enabled to form any accurate judgment upon this ſubject; and Mackenzie is a writer too much prejudiced againſt Buchanan to be implicitly relied on, when he does not produce proper evidence.

(1) Lives and Characters of the moſt eminent Writers of the Scots Nation, Vol. iii. p. 157.

than twenty years of age, into the college of St. Barbe, where he continued as grammatical profeſſor for near three years *(d)*. But Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Caſſils, a young Scottiſh nobleman, being then in France, and happening to fall into the company of Buchanan, was ſo delighted with his wit, and the agreeableneſs of his manners, that he prevailed upon him to continue with him five years. According to Mackenzie, he acted as a kind of tutor to this young nobleman (*e*); and, during his ſtay with him, tranſlated Linacre's Rudiments of Grammar out of Engliſh into Latin; which was printed at Paris, by Robert Stephens, in 1536, and dedicated to the Earl of Caſſils. He returned to Scotland with that nobleman, whoſe death happened about two years after; and Buchanan had then an inclination to return to France: but James V. King of Scotland, prevented him, by appointing him preceptor to his natural ſon, James, afterwards the famous Earl of Murray, regent of that kingdom *(f)*. About this time, he wrote a ſatirical poem againſt the Franciſcan Friars, intitled, *Somnium* [*C*]; ‘ and thoſe ‘ good fathers,’ ſays Bayle, ‘ inſtead of clothing themſelves with that ſpirit of patience ‘ which ſo well becomes Churchmen, put themſelves in a violent paſſion; and to ‘ revenge themſelves more dexterouſly, they cried out that Buchanan was an impious ‘ perſon, and an heretic *(g)*.’ The clamours and behaviour of theſe monks only increaſed the diſlike which he had conceived againſt them on account of their diſorderly and licentious lives; and inclined him the more towards Lutheraniſm, to which he ſeems to have had before no inconſiderable propenſity. About the year 1538, the King having diſcovered a conſpiracy againſt himſelf, in which he ſuſpected that ſome of the Franciſcans were concerned, commanded Buchanan to write a poem againſt that order. But he had probably already experienced the inconveniency of exaſperating ſo formidable a body; for he only wrote a few verſes which were ſuſceptible of a double interpretation. By this conduct he pleaſed neither party. The King was diſſatisfied, that the ſatire was not more poignant; and the friars conſidered it as a heinous offence, to mention them in any way that was not honourable. But the King gave Buchanan a ſecond command, to write againſt them with more ſeverity (*h*); which he accordingly did in the poem, intitled, *Franciſcanus* [*D*]; by which he pleaſed the King, and rendered the friars his irreconcileable enemies. He ſoon found, that the animoſity of theſe eccleſiaſtics was of a more durable nature than royal favour: for the King had the meanneſs to ſuffer him to feel the weight of their reſentment, though it had been chiefly excited by obedience to his commands. It was not the Franciſcans only, but the clergy in general, who were incenſed againſt Buchanan: they appear to have made a common cauſe of it, and they left no ſtone unturned till they had prevailed with the King that he ſhould be tried for hereſy [*E*]. He was accordingly impriſoned at the beginning of the year 1539, but found means to make his eſcape [*F*]. He fled into England, where he found King Henry the Eighth, with much impartiality, perſecuting both Proteſtants and Papiſts (*i*). Not thinking that kingdom, therefore, a place of ſafety, he again went over into France, to which he was the more inclined becauſe he had there ſome literary friends, and was pleaſed with the politeneſs of French manners. But when he came to Paris, he had the mortification to find there Cardinal Beaton, who was his great enemy, and who appeared there as ambaſſador from Scotland. Expecting, therefore, to receive ſome ill offices from him, if he continued at Paris, he withdrew himſelf privately to Bourdeaux, at the invitation of Andrew Goveanus, a learned Portugueſe, who was principal of a new college in that city (*k*). Buchanan taught in the public ſchools there three years; in which time he compoſed two trage-

(d) Buchan. in Vita ſua, *ut ſupra.*

(e) Lives and Characters, *ut ſupra.*

(f) Birch's Lives and Characters, publiſhed with Houbraken and Vertue's Heads of illuſtrious Men, Vol. i. p. 19.

(g) Dictionaire, art. Buchanan.

(h) Buchan. in Vita ſua.

(i) Ibid.

(k) Birch, *ut ſupra.*

[*C*] *Somnium.*] In this Poem ‘ he makes St. Francis to appear to him in a dream, perſuading him to ‘ be a Franciſcan Monk: but our Author tells him, ‘ that he was no ways fit for that, becauſe he had ‘ not ſuch a mean, daſtardly ſoul, as to ſubject him‘ſelf to be a ſlave and a beggar, or to become ſuch ‘ an impudent cheat as the laws of their fraternity ‘ required; and he was firmly perſuaded, that few or ‘ none either of that order, or of any other order of ‘ monks, could be ſaved.

‘ *Pervia ſed raris ſunt Cœli regna Cucullis,*
‘ *Vix Monachis illic creditur eſſe locus* (2).’

[*D*] *The poem, intitled, Franciſcanus.*] Le Clerc obſerves, that this is a very ſevere piece againſt theſe monks, and in which Buchanan hath ſatirized them ‘ in the cleareſt and ſtrongeſt terms that he could poſ‘ſibly employ. He has imitated the ſtyle of Juvenal ‘ more than that of Horace, and he bites more than ‘ he rallies. It may alſo be ſaid, that his ſtyle is too ‘ much elevated, and too heroical, for a ſatire. He ‘ pretends, that one of his friends had a deſire to be‘come a Cordelier, and that he was impatient to be ‘ clothed in the habit of a monk, and to be girded ‘ with a cord; upon which he tells him, that he had ‘ alſo had a ſimilar deſign, but that he had been ‘ diſſuaded by another of his friends; and he relates ‘ the reaſons which had prevailed upon him to change ‘ his purpoſe. They turn chiefly upon the vicious ‘ manners of thoſe who entered into the order of St. ‘ Francis, and the abominable leſſons which he puts ‘ into the mouth of an old monk, who inſtructs the ‘ novices (3).’

[*E*] *Prevailed with the King that he ſhould be tried for hereſy.*] Buchanan himſelf ſays, in his account of his life, that he ‘ was made acquainted by his friends ‘ at court, that cardinal Beaton ſought his life, and ‘ had offered the King a ſum of money, as a price for ‘ his head.’

Biſhop Burnet ſays, that ‘ the clergy were reſolved ‘ to be revenged on George Buchanan for the ſharp‘neſs of the poems he had written againſt them. ‘ And the King had ſo abſolutely left all men to their ‘ mercy, that he had died with the reſt, if he had not ‘ made his eſcape out of priſon. Then he went be‘yond ſea, and lived twenty years in that exile, and ‘ was forced to teach a ſchool moſt part of the time: ‘ yet the greatneſs of his mind was not oppreſſed with ‘ that mean employment (4).’

[*F*] *Found means to make his eſcape*] In his Hiſtory of Scotland, he ſays, that ‘ he got out at the cham‘ber-window, while his guards were aſleep (5).’

(2) Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 158.

(3) Bibliotheque Choiſie, Tome viii. p. 113, 114.

(4) Hiſt. of the Reformation, part i. book iii. p. 211.

(5) Hiſt. lib. xiv. § 55.

dies,

dies, the one intitled, *Baptiſtes, ſive Calumnia* [*G*], and the other *Jephthes, ſive Votum*; and alſo tranſlated the Medea and Alceſtis of Euripides. Theſe were all afterwards publiſhed [*H*]; but they were originally written in compliance with the rules of the ſchool, which every year required ſome new dramatic exhibition; and his view in chooſing theſe ſubjects was, to draw off the youth of France as much as poſſible from the Allegories, which were then greatly in vogue, to a juſt imitation of the ancients; in which he ſucceeded beyond his hopes. During his reſidence at Bourdeaux, the Emperor Charles V. paſſed through that city; upon which Buchanan preſented his Imperial Majeſty with an elegant Latin poem, in which the Emperor was highly complimented, and at which he expreſſed great ſatisfaction (*l*). But the animoſity of Cardinal Beaton ſtill purſued our poet: for that haughty prelate wrote letters to the Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, in which he informed him, that Buchanan had fled his country for hereſy; that he had lampooned the church in moſt virulent ſatires; and that if he would put him to the trial, he would find him a moſt peſtilentious Heretic (*m*). Fortunately for Buchanan, theſe letters fell into the hands of ſome of his friends, who found means to prevent their effects: and the ſtate of public affairs in Scotland, in conſequence of the death of King James V. gave the cardinal ſo much employment, as to prevent any farther proſecution of his rancour againſt Buchanan (*n*).

In 1543, he quitted Bourdeaux, on account of the peſtilence being there (*o*); and about this time ſeems to have had ſome ſhare in the education of Michael de Montaigne, the celebrated author of the Eſſays [*I*]. In 1544, he went to Paris, where he taught the ſecond claſs of the college of Bourbon, as Turnebus did the firſt, and Muretus the third (*p*); and it appears that in ſome part of this year he was afflicted with the gout (*q*). In 1547, he went into Portugal with his friend Andrew Goveanus, who had received orders from the King his maſter to return home, and bring with him a certain number of learned men, qualified to teach the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, and polite literature, in the univerſity which he had lately eſtabliſhed at Coimbra (*r*). He ſays himſelf, that he the more readily agreed to go to Portugal [*K*], becauſe that ‘ all Europe ‘ beſides was either actually engaged in foreign or domeſtic wars, or upon the point of ‘ being ſo; and that this corner of the world appeared to him the moſt likely to be free ‘ from tumults and diſturbances. Beſides which, his companions in that journey were ‘ ſuch, that they ſeemed rather his familiar friends than ſtrangers, or foreigners; for ‘ with moſt of them he had been upon terms of much intimacy for ſome years; and ‘ they were men well known to the world by their learned works (*s*).’

During the life of Goveanus, who was a great favourite of his Portugueſe Majeſty, matters went on extremely well with Buchanan in Portugal; but after the death of Goveanus, which happened in 1548, a variety of ill treatment was practiſed againſt the learned men who followed him, and particularly againſt Buchanan. He was accuſed of being author of the poem againſt the Franciſcans, of having eaten fleſh in time of Lent, and of having ſaid that, with reſpect to the Euchariſt, St. Auguſtine was more favourable to the doctrine of the Reformers, than to that of the church of Rome. Beſides theſe enormities, it was alſo depoſed againſt him by certain witneſſes, that they had *heard* from divers reputable perſons, that Buchanan was not orthodox as to the Romiſh faith and religion (*t*). Theſe were ſufficient reaſons in that country for putting any man into the Inquiſition; and accordingly Buchanan was confined there about a year and a half. He was afterwards removed to a more agreeable priſon, being confined in a monaſtery till he ſhould be better inſtructed in the principles of the Romiſh church (*u*). He ſays of the monks under whoſe care he was placed [*L*], that ‘ they were altogether ‘ ignorant of religion, but were otherwiſe men neither bad in their morals, nor rude in ‘ their behaviour.’ It was during his reſidence in this monaſtery, that he began to

(*l*) Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 159. *Vid.* G. Buchanani Poemata, p. 318. edit. Amſt. 1687.

(*m*) Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 160.

(*n*) *Ibid.*

(*o*) Birch's Lives and Characters, *ubi ſupra.*

(*p*) Birch, *ut ſupra.*

(*q*) Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 160.

(*r*) Birch, *ut ſupra.*

(*s*) Buchan. in Vita ſua.

(*t*) Buchanan, Mackenzie, and Birch, *ut ſupra.*

(*u*) Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 161, 162.

[*G*] *One intitled, Baptiſtes,* &c.] A tranſlation of this was publiſhed, in 1641, which Mr. Peck ſuppoſed to have been made by Milton, and therefore re-printed it with his New Memoirs of the Life and Poetical Works of Milton, publiſhed in 4to, in 1740.

[*H*] *Theſe were all afterwards publiſhed.*] The *Baptiſtes*, though the firſt written, was not publiſhed till the year 1578, when it was printed at London. His tranſlation of the Medea of Euripides was acted at Bourdeaux in 1543. His *Jephthes* was publiſhed at Paris in 1554, and his tranſlation of the Alceſtis of Euripides at the ſame place in 1556 (6).

[*I*] *Some ſhare in the education of Michael de Montaigne,* &c.] Montaigne, in his Eſſays (7), ſpeaks of Buchanan as one of his domeſtic tutors; and alſo ſays, ‘ Buchanan, whom I ſince ſaw attending the late ‘ Marſhal de Briſſac, then told me, that he was ‘ about to write a treatiſe of education, the example ‘ of which he intended to take from mine, for he was ‘ then tutor to the count de Briſſac, who afterwards ‘ proved ſo valiant and ſo brave a gentleman (8).’ It is much to be regretted, that Buchanan did not execute his purpoſe; as a treatiſe on education by a man who had been ſo much practiſed in it, and of ſo admirable a genius, would probably have been very valuable.

[*K*] *Agreed to go to Portugal.*] Mackenzie ſays, that ‘ before Buchanan undertook this voyage for ‘ Portugal, he cauſed his friend Andrew Govea to ‘ inform the king of Portugal by a letter, of the ‘ whole affair between him and the Franciſcans in ‘ Scotland, and that the ſatire he had writ againſt ‘ them, was not, as his enemies gave out, to defame ‘ the Catholics, but wrote in obedience to the King ‘ his maſter's command, whom the Franciſcans had ‘ offended. The King of Portugal being ſatisfied ‘ with this apology, Govea, Nicholas Gruchius, ‘ Gulielmus Garantæus, Jacobus Tævius, Helius ‘ Venetus, Mr. Buchanan, and his brother Mr. Patrick Buchanan, embarked for Portugal, where ‘ they ſafely arrived in the year 1547 (9).’

[*L*] *He ſays of the monks,* &c.] As theſe monks ſeem to have treated Buchanan with ſome civility, therefore Mackenzie ridiculouſly charges him with ingratitude, in having given the above character of them (10).

(6) Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 160.

(7) Book I. ch. 25.

(8) *Ibid.*

(9) Lives and Characters, *ubi ſupra*, p. 161.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 162.

tranſlate

tranſlate the Pſalms of David [*M*] into Latin verſe; and which he executed, ſays Mackenzie, ‘ with ſuch inimitable ſweetneſs and elegancy, that this verſion of the ‘ Pſalms will be eſteemed and admired as long as the world endures, or men have any ‘ reliſh for poetry (*w*).’ Having obtained his liberty in 1551, he deſired a paſſport of the King, in order to return to France: but his Majeſty endeavoured to retain him in his ſervice, and aſſigned him a ſmall penſion till he ſhould procure him an employment (*x*). But theſe uncertain hopes did not detain him long in Portugal: and indeed, it was not to be ſuppoſed, that the treatment which he had received there, could give a man of Buchanan's temper any great attachment to the place. He readily embraced an opportunity which offered of embarking for England; where, however, he made no long ſtay, though ſome advantageous offers were made him (*y*). Edward VI. was then upon the throne of England; but Buchanan, apprehending the affairs of that kingdom to be in a very unſettled ſtate, went over into France at the beginning of the year 1553. It ſeems to have been about this time that he wrote ſome of thoſe ſatirical pieces againſt the monks, which are found in his *Fratres Fraterrimi* (*z*). He was alſo probably now employed at Paris in teaching the belles lettres: but though he ſeems to have been fond of France, yet he ſometimes expreſſes his diſſatisfaction at his treatment and ſituation there. The ſubject of one of his elegies is, the miſerable condition of thoſe who were employed in teaching literature at Paris [*N*] (*a*). His income was, perhaps, ſmall; and he ſeems to have had no great propenſity to œconomy: but this is a diſpoſition too common among the votaries of the Muſes, to afford any peculiar reproach againſt Buchanan. In 1555, the Marſhal de Briſſac ſent for Buchanan into Piedmont, where he then commanded, and made him preceptor to Timoleon de Coſsé, his ſon [*O*]. He ſpent five years in this ſtation, partly in Italy, and partly in France (*b*). This employment probably afforded him much leiſure; for he now applied himſelf cloſely to the ſtudy of the ſacred writings, in order to enable him to form the more accurate judgment concerning the ſubjects in controverſy between the Proteſtants and Papiſts (*c*). It was alſo during this period that he compoſed his Ode upon the taking of Calais by the Duke of Guiſe, his Epithalamium upon the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to the Dauphin of France, and part of his poem upon the Sphere (*d*).

(*w*) Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 161, 162.

(*x*) Birch, *ut ſupra*.

(*y*) Buchan. in Vita ſua.

(*z*) Le Clerc, Bibliotheque Choiſie, Tome viii. p. 125.

(*a*) Buchan. Poemata, p. 298. edit. Amſt. 1687.

(*b*) Buchan. in Vita ſua.

(*c*) *Ibid.*

(*d*) Le Clerc, *ubi ſupra*, p. 126.

In the year 1560, he returned to Scotland, and finding the reformation in a manner eſtabliſhed there, he openly renounced the Romiſh religion, and declared himſelf a Proteſtant. He was ſoon after made principal of St. Leonard's college, in the univerſity of St. Andrews, where he taught philoſophy for ſome time; and he employed his leiſure hours in collecting all his Poems [*P*], ſuch of them excepted as were in the hands of

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[*M*] *He began to tranſlate the Pſalms of David.*] Mr. Granger obſerves, that ‘ the moſt applauded of ‘ Buchanan's poetical works is his tranſlation of the ‘ Pſalms, particularly of the 104th.’—‘ This pſalm ‘ has been tranſlated into Latin by nine Scottiſh ‘ poets. Eight of theſe tranſlations were printed at ‘ Edinburgh, 1699, 12mo, together with the *Poetic* ‘ *Duel* of Dr. George Egliſem with Buchanan. The ‘ former accuſed that great poet of bad Latin, and ‘ bad poetry, in his verſion of this pſalm, and made ‘ no ſcruple of preferring his own tranſlation of it to ‘ Buchanan's (11).’ Egliſem made an appeal to the univerſity of Paris, concerning the juſtice of his own criticiſms on Buchanan. In the ſecond volume of the *Poetarum Scotorum Muſæ Sacræ*, publiſhed at Edinburgh in 1739, is re-printed the piece mentioned by Mr. Granger, under the following title: ‘ Poeticum ‘ Duellum: ſeu Georgii Egliſemmii cum Georgio ‘ Buchanano pro dignitate Paraphraſeos Pſalmi civ. ‘ certamen. Cui adnectitur Gul. Barclaii, amænio- ‘ rum artium & medicinæ doctoris, de eodem certa- ‘ mine judicium; nec non conſilium collegii medici ‘ Pariſienſis de ejuſdem Egliſemmii maniâ, quod car- ‘ mine exhibuit Arcturus Jonſtonus, M. D.’ The vanity and abſurdity of Egliſem are ridiculed in this with much humour. Barclay ſays, that ‘ it would ‘ be more difficult to find in Buchanan's tranſlation ‘ any verſes that are not good, than it would be to ‘ find any in Egliſem's that are not bad (12).’ In the *Poeticum Duellum* the verſions of the 104th pſalm by Buchanan and Egliſem are printed oppoſite to each other; and at the end of the ſecond volume of the *Poetarum Scotorum*, beſides the pieces concerning Buchanan and Egliſem, are ſix other verſions of the ſame pſalm, by Scottiſh poets, the laſt of whom is Dr. Archibald Pitcairne. Theſe are the verſions mentioned by Mr. Granger: but he enumerates one more than there are, there being only eight in the whole, including thoſe of Buchanan and Egliſem.

[*N*] *The miſerable condition of thoſe who were employed in teaching literature*, &c.] In the elegy above referred to, he threatens to forſake the Muſes, and bids them adieu, becauſe, though he had ſpent his youth with them, yet they could not afford him a tolerable maintenance.

‘ Ite leves nugæ, ſterileſque valete Camœnæ,
  ‘ Grataque Phœbeo Caſtalis unda choro.
‘ Ite, ſat eſt; primos vobiſcum abſumpſimus annos,
  ‘ Optima pars vitæ deperiitque meæ.’

He then tells them to ſeek for thoſe who could ſing in famine, or make verſes with drinking only water:

‘ Quærite quem capiat jejuna cantus in umbra,
  ‘ Quærite qui potâ carmina cantet aquâ.’

Towards the end, after having ſpoken of the poverty of ſeveral poets, he pleaſantly aſks, why Calliope had ſo long remained a virgin? The reaſon is, ſays he, becauſe ſhe has no portion.

‘ Calliope longum cœlebs cur vixit in ævum?
  ‘ Nempe nihil dotis quod numeraret, erat.’

This poem alſo contains a repreſentation, ſomewhat ludicrous, of the inconveniences attendant on the life of a ſchoolmaſter.

[*O*] *The Marſhal de Briſſac ſent for Buchanan into Piedmont*, &c.] He had publiſhed his *Jephthes* in 1554, with a dedication to the Marſhal, who was highly pleaſed with it; and this is ſaid to have induced him to appoint Buchanan preceptor to his ſon (13).

[*P*] *Employed his leiſure hours in collecting all his Poems.*] The poems of Buchanan have paſſed through many editions. The firſt part contains his elegant verſion of the Pſalms; ‘ which hath been,’ ſays Le Clerc, ‘ and always will be, the admiration of thoſe ‘ who have any taſte for works of this kind (14).’ The Pſalms are followed by the tragedies of Jephtha and St. John Baptiſt. Le Clerc obſerves, that ‘ theſe ‘ are not the beſt poetical productions of Buchanan. ‘ Grotius, who was a good judge of works of this ‘ kind, had reaſon to ſay of the author, although a ‘ very great man in other things, that he hath not ‘ ſufficiently maintained the gravity of the tragic ‘ ſtyle;

(11) Biog. Hiſt. of England, Vol. i. p. 263.

(12) Poetarum Scotorum, Vol. ii. p. 481.

(13) Birch, *ut ſupra*.

(14) Bibliotheque Choiſie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 127.

of his friends, and of which he had no copies (*e*). In 1567, on account of his uncommon abilities and learning, he was appointed, though a layman, Moderator of the general aſſembly of the church of Scotland (*f*). He joined himſelf to the party that acted againſt Queen Mary, and appears to have been particularly connected with the Earl of Murray, who had been educated by him, and for whom he had a great regard. He attended that nobleman to the conference at York, and afterwards at Hampton-court, being nominated one of the aſſiſtants to the commiſſioners who were ſent to England againſt Queen Mary (*g*). He had been previouſly appointed, in an aſſembly of the Scottiſh nobility, preceptor to the young king James VI. [*Q*] (*h*). During his reſidence in England, he wrote ſome encomiaſtic verſes, in honour of Queen Elizabeth, and ſeveral Engliſh ladies of rank, from whom he received preſents (*i*). He appears to have been very ready to receive favours of that kind; and, like Eraſmus, not to have been at all backward in making his wants known, or taking proper meaſures to procure occaſional benefactions from the great. In 1571, he publiſhed his *Detectio Mariæ Reginæ* [*R*] (*k*), in which he very ſeverely arraigned the conduct and character of Queen Mary [*S*], and expreſsly charged her with being concerned in the murder of her husband,

ſtyle; and to this may be added, that he has not adhered with much exactneſs to the rules of dramatic poetry. But there were very few at that time who had juſt ideas upon this ſubject (15).' The ſecond part begins with his Franciſcanus, and other ſatires againſt the monks. Theſe are followed by ſome poems in elegiac verſe, in imitation of Ovid; his *Sylvæ*, in heroic verſe, in imitation of Statius; verſes of eleven ſyllables, in imitation of Catullus; iambic verſes in imitation of the ſame poet, and which are chiefly ſatirical; three books of epigrams, and one of miſcellanies, conſiſting of odes, epigrams, &c. The collection ends with his poem upon the Sphere, in imitation of Aratus, in five books, which he left unfiniſhed; and his tranſlations of the Medea and Alceſtis of Euripides. In the whole collection, ſays Le Clerc, ‘ if we except the tragedies, and the books upon the Sphere, which are leſs poliſhed than the reſt, becauſe the author has not put his laſt hand to them, there is nothing which does not ſuſtain the high reputation of Buchanan in Latin poetry. We ſee every where much invention, and a ſtyle pure, clear, elegant, and as much elevated as the matter requires. His turns are alſo ſo eaſy and happy, that the fineſt paſſages ſeem hardly to have coſt their author any trouble. Thoſe who have read the ancient poets will every where perceive, that he had them as it were by heart; and he imitated them ſo happily, that he ſeems little indebted either for his expreſſions or his thoughts, even when we perceive that he had in his mind ſome paſſage of the ancients (16).'

Monſ. Menage obſerves, that ‘ Buchanan was a poet very much celebrated in his own time. All his verſes,' ſays he, ‘ are excellent; but ſome of them are ſo fine, that I repeat them frequently with pleaſure; and in particular the following, in which he ſpeaks of his miſtreſs:

‘ Illa mihi ſemper præſenti dura Neæra,
  ‘ Me, quoties abſum, ſemper abeſſe dolet.
‘ Non deſiderio noſtri, non mœret amore,
  ‘ Sed ſe non noſtro poſſe dolore frui.'

‘ She treats me, ſays he, with nothing but cruelty whenever I am with her; notwithſtanding which, ſhe is extremely diſtreſſed when I am abſent from her. But her grief does not ariſe from her regret at not ſeeing me, nor from the love that ſhe has for me, but becauſe ſhe is not a witneſs of how much I ſuffer in conſequence of my attachment to her (17).'

Mr. Warton obſerves, that ‘ the verſification and phraſeology of Buchanan's Latin poetry are ſplendid and ſonorous, but not marked with the chaſte graces and ſimple ornaments of the Auguſtan age (18).'

[*Q*] *Preceptor to the young King James* VI.] That prince was ſome years under his tuition; and it is ſaid, that when it was afterwards obſerved to him, that he had made his majeſty a Pedant, he replied, that ‘ it was the beſt he could make of him (19).'

Mrs. Macaulay, ſpeaking of King James I., obſerves, that ‘ his want of gratitude to the memory of his preceptor Buchanan, who had taken pains to form his tender mind to virtue, and to teach him true policy and magnanimity, is one inſtance of his diſregard to worth (20).'

It appears from a ſtory related by Mackenzie, that Buchanan had not the moſt profound reverence for the rank of his royal pupil. The young king being one day at play with his fellow-pupil, the maſter of Erſkine, the Earl of Mar's eldeſt ſon, Buchanan, who was reading, deſired them to make leſs noiſe. Finding that they diſregarded his admonition, he told his majeſty, that if he did not hold his tongue, he would certainly whip him. The king replied, he ſhould be glad to ſee who would *bell the cat*, alluding to the fable. Upon this Buchanan threw his book from him in a paſſion, and gave his majeſty a ſevere whipping. The old counteſs of Mar, who was in an adjoining apartment, hearing the king cry, ran to him, and enquired what was the matter. He told her, that the maſter, for ſo Buchanan was called, had whipped him. She immediately aſked Buchanan, ‘ how he durſt put his hand on the Lord's anointed?' His reply was, ‘ Madam, I have whipped his a——, you may kiſs it if you pleaſe (21).'

It appears that King James had a great averſion to the writings of Buchanan: for in the ſecond book of his *Baſilicon-Doron*, addreſſed to his ſon, is the following paſſage: ‘ I would have you to be well verſed in authentic hiſtories, and in the chronicles of all nations, but ſpecially in our own hiſtories *(ne ſis peregrinus domi)* the example whereof moſt nearly concerns you: I mean not of ſuch infamous invectives as Buchanan's or Knox's chronicles: and if any of theſe infamous libels remain until your days, uſe the law upon the keepers thereof. For in that point I would have you a Pythagoriſt, to think that the very ſpirits of theſe archibellowſes of rebellion, have made tranſition in them that hoard theſe books, or maintain their opinions; puniſhing them, even as it were their authors riſen again (22).' Le Clerc, commenting on this paſſage, ſays, ‘ The Buchanans and the Knoxes have been ſtrangely multiplied, ſince their death, both in England and on the continent, if all thoſe who have read their books, and who have imbibed their ſentiments, are to be conſidered as Buchanans and Knoxes. To ſpeak ſeriouſly, it would have been happy for King James VI. if he had profited by the leſſons of his maſter. He would not then have had thoſe unfortunate contentions with his parliaments; and if his ſon Charles had been well read in the works of Buchanan, and had entered into his ſentiments, he would not have loſt his head upon a ſcaffold (23).'

[*R*] *He publiſhed his Detectio*, &c.] A Scottiſh tranſlation of this was publiſhed ſoon after; and another tranſlation, or rather the ſame ſomewhat moderniſed and anglicifed, was publiſhed at London, in 8vo, in 1721, in an Appendix to Buchanan's Hiſtory of Scotland. A French tranſlation was publiſhed in France in 1572.

[*S*] *He very ſeverely arraigned the conduct and character of Queen Mary.*] He has done the ſame alſo in his Hiſtory of Scotland, B. XVII, XVIII. Without entering into a minute inquiry into the conduct of Mary, we may venture to affirm, that it was ſufficiently criminal to juſtify men of probity and honour in

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(*e*) Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 163.

(*f*) *Id. ibid.*

(*g*) *Ib.* p. 167. Hume's Hiſt. of England, Vol. v. p. 137, 138. edit. 8vo. 1763. Robertſon's Hiſt. of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 475.

(*h*) Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 166.

(*i*) Le Clerc, *ubi ſupra*, p. 134.

(*k*) Robertſon's Critical Diſſertation, annexed to his Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 30, edit. 8*vo*, 1776.

(15) Bibliotheque Choiſie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 128.

(16) *Ibid.* p. 129, 130.

(17) Menagiana, Tome ii. p. 133.

(18) Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry, Vol. ii. p. 460, 461.

(19) Supplem. to the Biog. Britan. firſt edit. p. 19.

(20) Hiſt. of England, Vol. i. p. 256, edit. 8*vo*, 1769.

(21) Lives and Characters, *ubi ſupra*, p. 180.

(22) King James's Works, p. 176, edit. Lond. 1616.

(23) Bibliotheque Choiſie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 198, 199.

huſband, Lord Darnly. After his return from England, he had the abbacy of Croſs Raguel beſtowed upon him, and was made Director to the Chancery *(l)*. At the beginning of the year 1570, his pupil, the Earl of Murray, Regent of Scotland, was aſſaſſinated; which, Mackenzie ſays, ‘ was a heavy ſtroke to him, for he loved him as ‘ his own life (*m*).’ He continued, however, to be in favour with ſome of thoſe who were inveſted with power in Scotland: for, after the death of the Earl of Murray, he was appointed one of the Lords of the Council, and Lord Privy Seal (*n*). It appears alſo that he had a penſion of one hundred pounds a-year ſettled on him by Queen Elizabeth (*o*). In 1579, he publiſhed his famous treatiſe ‘ De Jure Regni apud Scotos [*T*];’ which he dedicated to King James. In 1582, he publiſhed, at Edinburgh, his

in taking part againſt her, and eſpecially thoſe who were zealous Proteſtants. That Mary was a bad woman, and a bad queen, there ſeems no reaſonable cauſe to doubt; though there may be ſome grounds for diſpute concerning the degree of her criminality. Perhaps the perſonal accompliſhments of Mary may have ſomewhat prejudiced even later writers in her favour, as well as her contemporaries, and led them to repreſent her actions in rather too favourable a light. There is ſomewhat amuſing in the extreme zeal which ſome late authors have diſcovered for the honour and reputation of that princeſs (24). It appears a kind of literary Quixotiſm.

If Buchanan has done Mary any conſiderable injuſtice, he might probably be deceived by thoſe from whom he received his information. Sir James Melvil, though of the contrary party, does not charge him with intentional falſehood; but only ſays, that ‘ he ſpoke and wrote as thoſe that were about him in‘ formed him (25).’

Dr. Robertſon obſerves, that ‘ of all our hiſtorians ‘ Buchanan alone avowedly accuſes Mary of a criminal ‘ love for Rizzio (26).’ Whether Mary had any criminal intercourſe with Rizzio, or not, Buchanan appears firmly to have believed it; and it is certain, that her huſband, Lord Darnly, had the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicions of this kind. In the Appendix to Dr. Robertſon's Hiſtory of Scotland is part of a letter from the Earl of Bedford, and Mr. Thomas Randolph, to the lords of the council of England, dated March 27, 1566, in which are the following paſſages: ‘ This ‘ we find for certain, that the Queen's huſband having ‘ entered into a vehement ſuſpicion of David, that ‘ by him ſome thing was committed, which was moſt ‘ againſt the Queen's honour, and not to be borne of ‘ his part, firſt communicated his mind to George ‘ Douglas, who finding his ſorrows ſo great, ſought ‘ all the means he could to put ſome remedy to his ‘ grief; and communicating the ſame unto my Lord ‘ Ruthen by the King's commandment, no other ‘ way could be found than that David ſhould be ‘ taken out of the way.’—‘ Upon Saturday, at night, ‘ near unto eight of the clock, the King conveyeth ‘ himſelf, the Lord Ruthen, George Douglas, and ‘ two others, through his own chamber by the privy ‘ ſtairs up to the Queen's chamber, going to which ‘ there is a cabinet about twelve feet ſquare; in the ‘ ſame a little repoſing bed and a table, at the which ‘ there were ſitting at ſupper the Queen, the Lady ‘ Argyle, and David with his cap upon his head. ‘ Into the cabinet there cometh in the King and Lord ‘ Ruthen, who willed David to come forth, ſaying, ‘ that was no place for him. The Queen ſaid, that ‘ it was her will. Her huſband anſwered, that that ‘ was againſt her honour.’—‘ There remained a long ‘ time with the Queen her huſband and the Lord ‘ Ruthen. She made, as we hear, great interceſſion ‘ that he ſhould have no harm. She blamed greatly ‘ her huſband that was the actor of ſo foul a deed. ‘ It is ſaid, that he did anſwer, that David had more ‘ company of her body than he for the ſpace of two ‘ months; and therefore, for her honour, and his ‘ own contentment, he gave his conſent that he ‘ ſhould be taken away. It is not, ſaith ſhe, the ‘ woman's part to ſeek the huſband; and therefore in ‘ that the fault was his own. He ſaid, that when he ‘ came, ſhe either would not, or made herſelf ſick. ‘ Well, ſaith ſhe, you have taken your laſt of me, ‘ and your farewell.’ The ſame letter contains ſome particulars of Rizzio's aſſaſſination, and it is added, that ‘ he was not ſlain in the Queen's preſence, as ‘ was ſaid, but going down the ſtairs out of the cham‘ ber of preſence (27).’

The great charge brought by Buchanan againſt Mary in his *Detectio*, is, that ſhe was actually concerned in the murder of her huſband. Dr. Robertſon ſays, that ‘ it was not her own ſubjects alone who ‘ ſuſpected Mary of having been acceſſary to this ‘ unnatural crime; nor did an opinion, ſo diſhonour‘ able to her character, owe its riſe and progreſs to ‘ the jealouſy and malice of her factious nobles. The ‘ report of the manner and circumſtances of the King's ‘ murder ſpread quickly over all Europe, and, even ‘ in that age, which was accuſtomed to deeds of vio‘ lence, it excited univerſal horror. As her unhappy ‘ breach with her huſband had long been matter of ‘ public diſcourſe, the firſt conjectures which were ‘ formed with regard to his death, were extremely to ‘ her diſadvantage (28).’ Mr. Hume, after giving an account of the Queen's marriage with Bothwell, ſays, ‘ The rumours, which, from the very begin‘ ning, had been ſpread againſt Mary, as if ſhe had ‘ concurred in the King's murder, ſeemed now, by ‘ the ſubſequent tranſactions, to have received a ‘ ſtrong confirmation and authority. It was every ‘ where ſaid, that, even though no particular and ‘ direct proofs had as yet been produced of the Queen's ‘ guilt, the whole tenor of her late conduct was ſuf‘ ficient, not only to beget ſuſpicion, but to produce ‘ entire conviction againſt her (29).’ Indeed, the Scottiſh parliament voted that ſhe was undoubtedly an accomplice in her huſband's murder, and condemned her to impriſonment (30).

Three of Mary's letters to Bothwell were tranſlated by Buchanan, and annexed to his *Detectio Mariæ Reginæ*; ſeven of theſe letters were afterwards publiſhed in the French tranſlation, and eight in that printed in the Scottiſh dialect (31). Theſe letters, as Mr. Hume obſerves, contain ‘ inconteſtible proofs ‘ of Mary's criminal correſpondence with Bothwell, ‘ and of her conſent to the King's murder (32).’ The authenticity of theſe letters has, indeed, been diſputed by Mr. Goodall, and the author of the ‘ Inquiry, hiſtorical and critical, into the Evidence ‘ againſt Mary, Queen of Scots.’ But the objections againſt the genuineneſs of theſe letters are abundantly outweighed by the poſitive evidence in ſupport of their authenticity, produced by Dr. Robertſon (33), and Mr. Hume (34).

It is ſaid that the confeſſions of George Dalgleiſh, mentioned by Buchanan in his *Detection*, and appealed to by him as in the public records, are now found not to contain the facts which he aſſerts (35). Some variations are alſo ſaid to be in other confeſſions produced by him. It is very extraordinary, that Buchanan ſhould have ventured to make ſuch an appeal, when he might ſo eaſily have been detected, if there had been any impoſture. But is it certain that theſe confeſſions have been preſerved entire and unmutilated? Mr. Hume accounts for the diſappearance of the original letters from Queen Mary to Bothwell ‘ from the care of King James's friends, ‘ who were deſirous to deſtroy every proof of his ‘ mother's crimes (36).’ To the ſame cauſe he attributes ‘ the diſappearance of Morton's Narrative, ‘ and of Crawford's evidence, from the Cotton li‘ brary (37).’

[*T*] *He publiſhed his famous treatiſe* De Jure Regni apud Scotos.] This work is written by way of dialogue: the ſpeakers in it are Buchanan and Thomas Maitland, whom he repreſents as lately returned from his travels, and expreſſing his ſurpriſe at the late violent proceedings againſt Mary, Queen of Scots, as well as at the murder of her late huſband, Lord Darnly; and telling him, that, in conſequence of theſe tranſactions, the Scottiſh nation were become odious

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(l) Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 167.

(m) Id. ibid.

(n) Id. ibid.

(o) Id. ibid.

(24) *Vid.* An Inquiry, hiſtorical and critical, into the Evidence againſt Mary, Queen of Scots, 8*vo*, Edinb. 1772.

(25) Memoirs, p. 250, edit. Lond. 1752.

(26) Hiſt. of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 356, edit. 1776.

(27) Vol. ii. p. 355, 356.

(28) Vol. i. p. 402, 403.

(29) Hiſt. of England, Vol. v. p. 118, 119.

(30) *Ibid.* p. 128.

(31) Robertſon's Critical Diſſertation, annexed to his Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 30.

(32) Hiſt. of England, *ubi ſupra*, p. 145.

(33) Critical Diſſertation, *ut ſupra*.

(34) Hiſt. of England, *ubi ſupra*, p. 146—149.

(35) Inquiry, hiſtorical and critical, into the Evidence againſt Mary, Queen of Scots, p. 225, 226.

(36) Hiſt. *ubi ſupra*, p. 148.

(37) *Id. ibid.*

his 'Rerum Scoticarum Hiſtoria,' in twenty books [U]; in which he had chiefly employed the laſt twelve or thirteen years of his life (p). He died at Edinburgh, the ſame

odious in foreign nations (38). Buchanan replies, that foreigners cannot conſiſtently cenſure the Scots for both theſe tranſactions. For if the murder of the Queen's huſband were conſidered, as it ought to be, as an atrocious act, then the Scottiſh nation could not be blameable for their endeavours to bring the actors and accomplices in that murder to juſtice and to puniſhment: and this had been the occaſion of the public proceedings againſt the Queen. To this Maitland anſwers, that however deſirous men might be to ſee juſtice done upon the murderers of the Queen's huſband, yet they could not view with approbation ſuch contempt thrown upon ſovereignty, as had been done in the late proceedings againſt the Queen (39). Buchanan replies, that there are ſeveral ſorts of perſons, who are always ready to cenſure any proceedings againſt crowned heads: but the worſt are thoſe, who having ſold themſelves to the luſts of tyrants, ſuppoſe nothing to be wrong by which kings may be gratified; who judge of things, not by their own nature, but by the pleaſure of their maſters; and who are ſo devoted to their will, as to have no liberty either of ſpeaking or of acting (40). The ſpeakers in the dialogue then proceed to an inveſtigation of the origin of kings, and the nature and deſign of government. Buchanan maintains, that men were formed to live in ſociety; that they originally elected kings to be the protectors of that ſociety; and that it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, they endeavoured to chuſe for this purpoſe the moſt virtuous and able among them. That as the vices and diſorders of individuals in ſociety occaſioned men to create kings, ſo the injuries which kings did to their ſubjects cauſed them to eſtabliſh laws, by which they were obliged to regulate their government. 'When the will and pleaſure of kings,' ſays he, 'ſtood in the room of laws, and men who were inveſted with an unlimited regal power did not exerciſe it moderately, but in many things were influenced by favour, by hatred, and by private advantage, then the inſolence of kings rendered laws deſirable. Laws, therefore, were made by the people, that kings might not be left to the mere guidance of their own licentious judgments, but be reſtrained by laws that the people had enacted. For they had been taught by many inſtances, that it was much better to entruſt their liberty to the laws, than to kings (41).'

In the courſe of the dialogue, Buchanan ſhews what kings ought to be: that as they are raiſed above others, they ſhould be eminent in virtue; that it ſhould be their great aim to adminiſter juſtice impartially to their ſubjects, and to promote their happineſs. But as there can be no certainty that men elevated to the regal office will not encroach upon the rights of their ſubjects, therefore it is neceſſary that they ſhould be under the reſtraint of laws. He alſo ſhews, that the power of making new laws reſides in the people, or their repreſentatives the ſtates of parliament: for if it were otherwiſe, and kings were allowed to make new laws as they pleaſed, their ſubjects would then fall into the inconveniences they endeavoured to ſhun by electing them. For in this caſe they would be above the laws, and conſequently their government would be abſolute and arbitrary. Nay, he adds, they ought not to be allowed to interpret the laws: for, if they were, they would give them whatever gloſs or ſenſe they pleaſed, as the popes do to the ſacred ſcriptures, and the canons of councils. Buchanan applies theſe principles to the conſtitution of the Scottiſh government; and obſerves, that their kings ſolemnly ſwore to the people, at their inauguration, to reign according to the laws, and to preſerve inviolably the rights and privileges of the nation; from whence it follows, that they are only kings upon that condition; and that whenever they tranſgreſs theſe laws, they are no more kings, but perjured tyrants. He ſays, that men inveſted with regal power, who employ their authority, not in protecting the people, but in tyrannizing over and oppreſſing them, with whatever external pomp they may be ſurrounded, are unworthy of the leaſt regard, and ought to be driven out of human ſociety (42). He ſhews from the Roman, French, Daniſh, and Scottiſh hiſtories, that all theſe nations have puniſhed their kings, when they abuſed the power that was given them by the people: and he appeals to the common ſenſe of all men, if it be not better that kings ſhould be ſubject to the laws, and puniſhed by them, than that they ſhould be above them, and act according to their own wickedneſs or caprice. Nor is this, he aſſerts, at all prejudicial to good kings, who obſerve the laws of their country; and as for vicious kings, none can reaſonably doubt, but that it is beneficial that they ſhould be reſtrained by the laws. It is very evident, argues Buchanan, that kings were made for the people; for if there were no people or ſocieties, there would be no uſe for kings; and ſince that which is inſtituted on account of another thing, is leſs excellent than that for which it was inſtituted, it follows, that kings are leſs excellent than the people; and conſequently the collective body of the people have greater authority than their kings, and may call them to an account for their mal-adminiſtration (43). Neither ought we to be ſurpriſed at this, ſince they appear even before inferior judges by their procurators, when they are accuſed of having added to their domains any thing that does not properly belong to them. Is it not then abſurd, proceeds our Author, to ſuppoſe it proper, that judgment ſhould be given againſt a king for ſeizing a little farm, or a trifling invaſion of another man's property, and yet that no ſentence ſhould be paſſed againſt him, for crimes committed againſt the whole community (44)? Buchanan maintains alſo, that there is a mutual compact between kings and their ſubjects; that when this compact has been violated by the prince, he has no longer any equitable claim to the privileges of royalty; that it is juſt to oppoſe a tyrant by force of arms; and that this was a very general ſentiment among the ancients, and was founded upon the higheſt reaſon (45).

Le Clerc ſays, 'This book of Buchanan's has been much traduced, by ſome good kind of men, and paſſes for a very pernicious work. But, after a careful peruſal, I cannot view it in this light: he only teaches, that kings are not above the laws that they have ſworn to, and that the people may oblige them to obſerve them, and that without this they are not bound to obey them. Buchanan teſtifies, both in this dialogue, and in his hiſtory, that it is not for inconſiderable defects, or ſlight faults, that the yoke of kings ſhould be thrown off: but for thoſe diſorders which overturn the laws, and are inconſiſtent with the welfare of ſociety.'—'This is no new doctrine: the Greeks, the Romans, the moſt flouriſhing ſtates, have entertained the ſame ſentiment, and have ratified it by their conduct, when they have unfortunately fallen under an exorbitant tyranny. Some nations, indeed, of Aſia, of Africa, and America, without courage, as without virtue, have been willing to depend on the caprice of a ſingle individual. But the ancient Greeks and Romans, who have written on the ſubject of politics, and eſpecially Ariſtotle, whoſe opinions ſo long paſſed for oracles, have inculcated the ſame ſentiment with Buchanan, and have not been cenſured for it. I do not therefore comprehend, that it can be any very peculiar crime in him; and I much ſuſpect, that thoſe who have ſo vehemently exclaimed againſt him, have either never read his book, which is not well adapted for thoſe who have no taſte for, or who do not underſtand, any thing better than law Latin; or, that they have never examined the matter with care; or, that they have been led to give to kings an unbounded authority, for ſome private views of their own, at the expence of juſtice and of liberty (46).'

Thoſe who differ from Buchanan, with reſpect to the propriety or expediency of putting tyrannical princes to death, muſt yet approve of many of his general ſentiments of government, unleſs they adopt thoſe abſurd and ſlaviſh maxims, which have been exploded by all liberal-minded men, and for which hardly any, in this age, and in this country, will venture to be advocates. But his book was violently oppoſed ſoon after its publication, and particularly by ſame year, on the fifth of December, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age (*q*). Towards the cloſe of his life, he had ſometimes reſided at Stirling [*W*]. It is ſaid, that when he was upon his death-bed, he was informed that the King was highly incenſed againſt him, for writing his book ' De Jure Regni,' and his Hiſtory of Scotland: to which he replied, that ' he was not much concerned about that; for he was ſhortly ' going to a place where there were few kings (*r*).' We are alſo told, that when he was dying, he called for his ſervant, whoſe name was Young, and aſked him how much money he had of his; and finding that it was not ſufficient to defray the expences of his burial, he commanded him to diſtribute it amongſt the poor. His ſervant thereupon aſked him, ' Who then would be at the charge of burying him?' Buchanan replied, ' That he was very indifferent about that; for if he were once dead, if they ' would not bury him, they might let him lie where he was, or throw his corpſe where ' they pleaſed.' Accordingly he was buried at the expence of the city of Edinburgh (*s*).

(p) Birch, *ut ſupra.*

(38) De Jure Regni apud Scotos, Dialogus, edit. 4to, 1580, p. 1. 3.

(39) *Ibid.* p. 4.

(40) *Ibid.* p. 5.

(41) *Ibid.* p. 20.

(42) *Ibid.* p. 55, 56, &c.

(43) *Ibid.* p. 86, 87.

(44) *Ibid.* p. 90.

(45) *Ibid.* p. 96, 97, 98, &c.

(46) Bibliotheque Choiſie, *ubi ſupra,* p. 160, 161, 162.

(*q*) Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 172.

(*r*) *Ibid* p. 180.

(*s*) *Ibid* p. 172.

Archbiſhop Spotſwood ſays of Buchanan, that ' in his old age he applied himſelf to ' write the Scots Hiſtory, which he renewed with ſuch judgment and eloquence, as no ' country can ſhew a better: only in this he is juſtly blamed, that he ſided with the ' factions of the time, and to juſtify the proceedings of the noblemen againſt the Queen, ' he went ſo far in depreſſing the royal authority of princes [*X*], and allowing their ' controulment by ſubjects: his bitterneſs alſo in writing of the Queen, and of the ' times, all wiſe men have diſliked; but otherwiſe no man hath merited better of his ' country for learning, nor thereby did bring to it more glory. He was buried in the ' common burial-place, though worthy to have been laid in marble, and to have had ' ſome ſtatue erected to his memory; but ſuch pompous monuments in his life he was ' wont to ſcorn and deſpiſe, eſteeming it a greater credit, as it was ſaid of the Roman ' Cato, to have it aſked why doth he lack a ſtatue, than to have had one, though never ' ſo glorious, erected (*t*).'

(*t*) Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 176.

Mr. Teiſſier ſays (*u*), that ' it cannot be denied but Buchanan was a man of admirable eloquence, of rare prudence, and of an exquiſite judgment: he has written ' the Hiſtory of Scotland with ſuch elegancy and politeneſs, that he ſurpaſſes all the

(*u*) Eloges des Hommes Scavans, Tome ii. p. 10.

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by William Barclay, who treated him with great ſcurrility (47); and by Adam Blackwood, Profeſſor of Civil Law at Poictiers, a bigotted Papiſt, and a zealous advocate for the doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance. In his anſwer to Buchanan, he endeavoured to prove, that, ' in all monarchies, the ' legiſlative power muſt be lodged in the king;' and that ' an abſolute monarchy was the very nature and ' eſſence of the conſtitution' of Scotland. He alſo ſays, that even ' the Highland chieftains were as abſolute as any princes in the world (48).'

(47) Bayle, *ut ſupra*, note [*E*].

(48) Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 497. 503. 510.

A bad tranſlation of Buchanan's piece, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, was publiſhed in 1721, in 8*vo*, in an Appendix to the tranſlation of his Hiſtory of Scotland.

[*U*] *His* Rerum Scoticarum Hiſtoria, *in twenty books.*] Le Clerc obſerves of this Hiſtory of Scotland by Buchanan, and eſpecially from the commencement of the eighth book, from whence his materials became more authentic than in the preceding books, that ' his ſtyle is fine and pure, and the hiſtorian ' appears every where to ſpeak the truth, as far as it ' was known to him. His judgment of things is ' ſound, becauſe his political and moral principles ' are juſt, and founded on the moſt ſolid baſis. He ' cenſures freely that which deſerves it, and he commends that which is worthy of praiſe (49).'—— ' Buchanan has united the brevity of Salluſt to the ' elegance and perſpicuity of Livy; for theſe were ' the two authors that he chiefly intended to imitate: ' —and I do not believe that any modern hiſtorian ' hath better ſucceeded in imitating the hiſtorians of ' antiquity (50).' But the ſame learned writer remarks, that Buchanan is not ſufficiently exact in his dates, nor does he cite his authorities; and that in ſome parts of his hiſtory he is rather too fond of the marvellous, and of putting fine ſpeeches into the mouths of his great men, in imitation of the ancient hiſtorians, whoſe defects he had copied, as well as their excellencies (51).

(49) Bibliotheque Choiſie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 190.

(50) *Ibid.* p. 174, 175.

(51) *Ibid.* p. 191, 192, &c.

An Engliſh tranſlation of Buchanan's Hiſtory of Scotland has been publiſhed in two volumes, 8*vo*, by Mr. William Bond. The ſecond edition was printed in 1722. The original Latin has paſſed through ſeveral editions in *folio*, *octavo*, and 12*mo*.

Mackenzie ſays, that Buchanan's Hiſtory of Scotland, and his treatiſe *De Jure Regni*, were both condemned in Scotland by act of parliament (52).

(52) Lives and Characters, *ubi ſupra*, p. 171.

[*W*] *Towards the cloſe of his life he had ſometimes reſided at Stirling.*] ' Thuanus relates, that every ' year Elias Vinetus received letters from Buchanan, ' by the Scottiſh merchants who came to load their ' veſſels with wines at Bourdeaux. Vinetus ſhewed ' theſe letters to Thuanus, who obſerved in the laſt a ' great deal of courage, though it had been written ' with a trembling hand. Buchanan therein complained, not ſo much of the inconveniencies of old ' age, as of being tired with living ſo long: *De ſenectutis incommodis non tam querebatur, quàm de vitæ* ' *longioris tædio.* He ſaid, that he had quitted the ' court, and was retired to Stirling, where he made ' but one thing his buſineſs, which was, to quit, with ' the leaſt noiſe that might be, the company of thoſe ' who were not like him. He meant the living, and ' conſidered himſelf as dead. *Interea hoc unum ſatago,* ' *ut quam minimo cum ſtrepitu ex inæqualium meorum,* ' *hoc eſt mortuus è vivorum contubernio demigrem* ' (53).'

(53) Bayle, *ut ſupra*, note [*N*].

[*X*] *To juſtify the proceedings of the noblemen againſt the Queen, he went ſo far in depreſſing the royal authority of princes.*] We apprehend the Archbiſhop to be totally miſtaken, in ſuppoſing that Buchanan advanced the ſentiments he did concerning the juſtice and propriety of controuling princes, merely to juſtify the party againſt Queen Mary. From the uniformity and conſiſtency of his writings with reſpect to this point, they appear to have been his real ſentiments; and he ſupported them by arguments abundantly more ſtrong than any which have been produced againſt them. A circumſtance mentioned by Dr. Gilbert Stuart, may ſerve to ſhew how ſolicitous Buchanan was, on every occaſion, to propagate the opinion, that reſiſtance to tyrants is lawful. That learned writer obſerves, that in the ancient feudal ſyſtem, ' the high conſtable poſſeſſed ſignal prerogatives. When the ſovereign, upon his advancement ' to the royalty, was to ſwear fidelity to his ſubjects, ' and to pay homage to the laws, he delivered his ' naked ſword into the hands of the conſtable. Uſe ' this in my defence, ſaid he, while I ſupport the ' intereſts of my people; uſe it to my deſtruction ' when I forſake them.'——' In alluſion to this form, ' Buchanan made a naked ſword to be repreſented ' on the money coined in the minority of James VI. ' with theſe words, *Pro me, ſi mereor, in me* (54).' Buchanan might poſſibly only have a reference to the memorable words of the emperor Trajan: however, in either view, this circumſtance ſerves to evince his ſolicitude to aſſert the doctrine of reſiſtance.

(54) Obſervations concerning the public Law and the conſtitutional Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 78, 79.

‘writers of his age; and he has even equalled the ancients themſelves, without excepting either Salluſt or Titus Livius. But he is accuſed by ſome of being an unfaithful hiſtorian, and to have ſhewn in his hiſtory an extreme averſion againſt Queen Mary Stuart: but his maſter-piece is his Paraphraſe upon the Pſalms, in which he outdid the moſt famous poets amongſt the French and Italians (*w*).’

(*w*) Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 177.

Mr. James Crawford, in his ‘Hiſtory of the Houſe of Eſte,’ ſays, ‘Buchanan not only excelled all that went before him in his own country, but ſcarce had his equal in that learned age in which he lived. He ſpent the firſt flame and rage of his fancy in poetry, in which he did imitate Virgil in heroics, Ovid in elegiacs, Lucretius in philoſophy, Seneca in tragedies, Martial in epigrams, Horace and Juvenal in ſatires. He copied after theſe great maſters ſo perfectly, that nothing ever approached nearer the original: and his immortal Paraphraſe on the Pſalms doth ſhew, that neither the conſtraint of a limited matter, the darkneſs of expreſſion, nor the frequent return of the ſame, or the like phraſes, could confine or exhauſt that vaſt genius. At laſt, in his old age, when his thoughts were purified by long reflection and buſineſs, and a true judgment came in the room of one of the richeſt fancies that ever was, he wrote our Hiſtory with ſuch beauty of ſtyle, eaſineſs of expreſſion, and exactneſs in all its parts, that no ſervice or honour could have been done the nation like it, had he ended ſo noble a work as he begun, and carried it on till King James the Fifth's death. But being unhappily engaged in a faction, and reſentment working violently upon him, he ſuffered himſelf to be ſo ſtrangely biaſſed, that in the relations he gives of many of the tranſactions of his own time, he may rather paſs for a ſatiriſt than an hiſtorian (*x*).’

(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 177, 178.

Burnet ſays, that ‘in the writings of Buchanan there appears, not only all the beauty and graces of the Latin tongue, but a vigour of mind, and quickneſs of thought, far beyond Bembo, or the other Italians, who at that time affected to revive the purity of the Roman ſtyle. It was but a feeble imitation of Tully in them; but his ſtyle is ſo natural and nervous, and his reflections on things are ſo ſolid (beſides his immortal poems, in which he ſhews how well he could imitate all the Roman poets, in their ſeveral ways of writing, that he who compares them will be often tempted to prefer the copy to the original), that he is juſtly reckoned the greateſt and beſt of our modern authors (*y*).’

(*y*) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. i. p. 311.

The celebrated Thuanus obſerves, that ‘Buchanan, being old, began to write the hiſtory of his own country; and although, according to the genius of his nation, he ſometimes inveighs againſt crowned heads with ſeverity, yet that work is written with ſo much purity, ſpirit, and judgment, that it does not appear to be the production of a man who had paſſed all his days in the duſt of a ſchool, but of one who had been all his lifetime converſant in the moſt important affairs of ſtate. Such was the greatneſs of his mind, and the felicity of his genius, that the meanneſs of his condition and fortune has not hindered Buchanan from forming juſt ſentiments of things of the greateſt moment, or from writing concerning them with a great deal of judgment (*z*).’

(*z*) Hiſt. lib. 76. Bayle's Dict. art. *Buchanan*, note [*H*].

Dr. Robertſon, ſpeaking of Buchanan's Hiſtory of Scotland, ſays, that ‘if his accuracy and impartiality had been, in any degree, equal to the elegance of his taſte, and to the purity and vigour of his ſtyle, his hiſtory might be placed on a level with the moſt admired compoſitions of the ancients. But, inſtead of rejecting the improbable tales of chronicle writers, he was at the utmoſt pains to adorn them; and hath clothed with all the beauties and graces of fiction, thoſe legends which formerly had only its wildneſs and extravagance (*a*).’ In another place, the ſame celebrated hiſtorian obſerves, that ‘the happy genius of Buchanan, equally formed to excel in proſe and in verſe, more various, more original, and more elegant, than that of almoſt any other modern who writes in Latin, reflects, with regard to this particular, the greateſt luſtre on his country (*b*).’

(*a*) Hiſt. of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 5, edit. 8*vo*, 1776.

(*b*) *Ibid.* Vol. ii. p. 302.

The genius and erudition of Buchanan have procured him, as a writer, the applauſe even of his enemies: but, as a man, he has been the ſubject of the moſt virulent invectives. Far from confining themſelves to truth, they have not even kept within the bounds of probability; and ſome of the calumnies which have been publiſhed againſt him, are calculated only to excite our riſibility [*Y*]. The learned John Le Clerc has

very

[*Y*] *Some of the calumnies which have been publiſhed againſt him, are calculated only to excite our riſibility.*] One of theſe, which is ſomewhat curious, we ſhall give at full length, becauſe it ſerves to ſhew, as Bayle ſays, ‘how far the confidence of lying publickly may be carried.’ Theſe are the words of Father Garaſſe: ‘I will relate to our new Atheiſts the miſerable end of a man of their belief, and their humour, as to eating and drinking. The man I mean was George Buchanan, a perfect Epicurean during his life, and a true Atheiſt at the hour of his death. This libertine, having ſpent his youth in debauchery at Paris and at Bourdeaux, minding ivy, taverns, and tavern buſhes, more than the laurel of Parnaſſus, and being in his latter days recalled into Scotland, to inſtruct the young prince, who is now the moſt ſerene King of Great Britain, continuing his debauches of the belly, made ſhift to get the dropſy by immoderate drinking, though it was ſaid of him, by way of jeſt, that he was troubled *vino intercute*, and not *aqua intercute*. As ſick as he was, he forbore not to drink as freely as he did when he was in health, and with as little water as he uſed formerly to drink at Bourdeaux. The phyſicians, who were ordered to attend him by the King their maſter, ſeeing their patient's ex-

‘ceſſes,

very ably ſhewn, that there is much reaſon to conclude, that many of the ſevere cenſures which have been thrown out againſt Buchanan, were the reſult of ignorance, of prejudice, and of party animoſity (*c*). That he was himſelf influenced by ſome degree of partiality to the party with which he was connected, that he was ſometimes deceived by the reports of others, and that, in the earlier part of his Hiſtory, his zeal for the honour of his country has led him into ſome miſrepreſentations, may be admitted: but we do not apprehend that he wilfully and intentionally violated the truth, or that there is any juſt ground for queſtioning his integrity. Le Clerc obſerves, that as to the ſhare which Buchanan had in public affairs, it appears even from the Memoirs of Sir James Melvil, who was of the oppoſite party, that ‘ he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ‘ probity, and by his moderation (*d*).’ The prejudices of many writers againſt him have been very great: he had ſatirized the prieſts, and many of them therefore were his moſt inveterate enemies; he was generally odious to the bigotted advocates for the Romiſh church, and to the partiſans of Mary; and his free and manly ſpirit rendered him extremely diſagreeable to court flatterers and paraſites, and the defenders of tyranny. His dialogue *De Jure Regni*, which certainly contains ſome of the beſt and moſt rational principles of government, whatever may be thought of ſome particular ſentiments, and which diſplays uncommon acuteneſs and extent of knowledge, has been one ſource of the illiberal abuſe that has been thrown out againſt him. But it is a performance that really does him great honour; and the rather, becauſe it was calculated to enforce ſound maxims of civil policy, in an age in which they were generally little underſtood. The ingenious Dr. Gilbert Stuart, ſpeaking of Buchanan, ſays, ‘ It has ‘ been reproached to this cultivated ſcholar, that he gives his ſentiments with too much ‘ liberty. I am ſurpriſed that ſo many critics have concurred in this cenſure. Is there ‘ a quality in an author ſo honourable, ſo uſeful, as that of expreſſing what he thinks? ‘ Is it proper that ſcience and learning ſhould be put in priſon, and diſhonoured by ‘ confinement and fetters? Miſerable is that nation, where literature is under any ‘ form but that of a republic (*e*).’ Some farther teſtimonies of authors concerning him will be found in the notes [*Z*]; and we ſhall here only add, that when every juſt abatement

(*c*) Bibliotheque Choiſie, *ut ſupra*, p. 131, 132, 133, 134. 137, 138. 140. 198, &c.

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 133, 134.

(*e*) **Obſervations concerning the public Law, and conſtitutional Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 276.**

‘ ceſſes, told him very plainly, and with ſome ‘ warmth, that he did what he could to kill himſelf, ‘ and that if he continued that courſe of life, he could ‘ not laſt above a fortnight or three weeks. He deſired them to have a conſultation among themſelves, ‘ to ſee how long he might live by abſtaining from ‘ wine: they did ſo, and the determination was, ‘ that if he could command himſelf ſo far, he might ‘ yet live five or ſix years: to which he returned an ‘ anſwer ſuitable to his humour: *Get you gone*, ſaid ‘ he, *with your preſcriptions and your diets, and know* ‘ *that I had rather live three weeks, and get drunk* ‘ *every day, than five or ſix years without drinking* ‘ *wine:* and immediately having, like a deſperate ‘ perſon, ſent away his phyſicians, he ordered a tun ‘ of Bourdeaux wine to be brought to his bed's head, ‘ reſolving to ſee the bottom of it before he died; ‘ and he behaved himſelf ſo gallantly, that he drained it to the lees, literally fulfilling what is contained in that pretty epigram of Epigonus on a frog, ‘ which having fallen into a veſſel full of wine, cried ‘ out,

“ Φεῦ τίνες ὕδωρ
“ Πίνουσι, μανίην σώφρονα μαινόμενοι.

“ *Oh! who are ſo ſoberly mad as to drink water?*”

‘ Having death and the glaſs between his teeth, the ‘ miniſters viſited him, to bring him to his right wits, ‘ and to prevail on him to die with ſome ſenſe of religion. One among them ended his exhortation, by ‘ deſiring him to recite the Lord's prayer; whereupon ‘ he opened his eyes, and ſtaring wildly at the miniſter, *What is that*, ſays he, *which you call the Lord's* ‘ *prayer?* Thoſe who were preſent replied, that it ‘ was the *Pater noſter*, and if he could not pronounce ‘ that prayer, begged of him at leaſt to ſay ſome ‘ other Chriſtian prayer, that he might die like a ‘ good man: *As for me*, ſaid he, in a firm and reſolute tone, *I never knew any other prayer than this:*

‘ *Cinthia prima ſuis miſerum me cepit ocellis,*
‘ *Contactum nullis ante cupidinibus.*

“ Cinthia's bright eyes did firſt enthral my heart,
“ Untouch'd before by any fond deſire.”

‘ And ſcarcely had he repeated ten or twelve verſes ‘ of that elegy of Propertius, but he expired in the ‘ midſt of bottles and glaſſes; and it may be ſaid of ‘ him, that in reality *purpuream vomit ille animam*, ‘ he vomited out his purple ſoul; and ſuch is commonly the end of all Epicureans.’—— ‘ The ſame ‘ ſtory is to be found in the *Grammaticus Profanus* of ‘ the jeſuit Sandæus (55).’

Another ſtory of the ſame kind, which is given by Bayle from Moreri, is as follows: ‘ The King ſent ‘ his phyſicians to him, but he refuſed to ſee them; ‘ and he gave no better treatment to a miniſter, who ‘ found him employed in reading Pliny's Natural ‘ Hiſtory. That perſon preſented him the Bible; ‘ but Buchanan rejected it with the utmoſt anger, ‘ and ſhewing him his Pliny: *Go*, ſays he to him, *I* ‘ *find more truth in this book than in all your Scriptures.* ‘ Thus did this Atheiſt end his days, and all Scotland has atteſted the truth of this fact.’—— ‘ There ‘ are ſome lies which a man cannot read without indignation,’ ſays Bayle; ‘ but as for this, it is ‘ fitter to raiſe one's mirth, than one's anger (56).’

Among the ſtories related of Buchanan, which deſerve no regard, may be mentioned that of his having expreſſed his ſorrow, on his death-bed, for what he had written againſt Mary, Queen of Scots. Mackenzie gives ſome countenance to this tale (57): but Le Clerc hath ſhewn that it is entitled to little credit (58); and, indeed, it appears not to have the leaſt foundation in truth.

[*Z*] *Some farther teſtimonies of authors concerning him*, &c.] The firſt which we ſhall give here is that of Sir James Melvil, who was of the oppoſite party, and may therefore reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have been ſomewhat prejudiced againſt him; though he has written with much more moderation concerning him, than the generality of Queen Mary's adherents. He ſays, that Buchanan was ‘ a Stoic philoſopher, ‘ who looked not far before him: a man of notable ‘ endowments for his learning, and knowledge in ‘ Latin poeſy, much honoured in other countries, ‘ pleaſant in converſation, rehearſing at all occaſions ‘ moralities ſhort and inſtructive, whereof he had ‘ abundance, inventing where he wanted. He was ‘ alſo religious, but was eaſily abuſed, and ſo facile, ‘ that he was led by every company that he haunted, ‘ which made him factious in his old days; for he ‘ ſpoke and wrote as thoſe who were about him informed him: for he was become careleſs, following in many things the vulgar opinion: for he was ‘ naturally popular, and extremely revengeful againſt ‘ any man who had offended him, which was his ‘ greateſt fault; for he did write deceitful things ‘ againſt the Earl of Monteith, for ſome particulars ‘ that were betwixt him and the Laird of Buchanan.

‘ He

(55) Garaſſe, Doctrine Curieuſe, p. 748. Bayle, art. *Buchanan*, note [*D*].

(56) Dict. *ut ſupra*, note [*K*].

(57) Lives and Characters, *ubi ſupra*, p. 173.

(58) Bibliotheque Choiſie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 139—142.

ment is made, for what can reaſonably be urged againſt the conduct and writings of Buchanan, he will ſtill have an unqueſtionable claim to our admiration and applauſe. An edition of his works, in two volumes, folio, was publiſhed at Edinburgh in 1714 (*f*). T.]

(*f*) Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 186.

'He became the Earl of Morton's great enemy, for that a nag of his chanced to be taken from his ſervant, during the civil troubles, and was bought by the Regent, who had no will to part with the ſaid horſe, becauſe he was ſure-footed and eaſy; but becauſe he would not part with him, from being the Regent's great friend, he became his mortal enemy, and from that time forth ſpoke evil of him at all times, and on all occaſions (59).'—'If the laſt fact be true,' ſays Le Clerc, 'Buchanan was certainly ſomewhat wrong, but the Earl of Morton was much more ſo; ſince he had probably his ſtable full of horſes, and Buchanan only one. The conduct of the Earl of Morton was alſo not only diſhoneſt, but his behaviour was contemptuous towards a man of merit, who had a juſt claim to different treatment: and, indeed, Melvil himſelf gives us a very bad idea of that nobleman (60).' Le Clerc alſo intimates, that what Melvil ſays of Buchanan muſt not be implicitly relied on, as he had probably no good will towards him (61).

(59) Memoirs, p. 250, edit. Lond. 1752.

(60) Bibliotheque Choiſie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 133.

(61) *Id. ibid.*

Mr. Guthrie ſays of Buchanan, that 'authors have been fond of exaggerating his character in poetry, a province in which, it cannot be denied, he bore a conſiderable rank, but no ſuperior diſtinctions. He may, indeed, be ſaid to have been a fine poet, but he certainly was not a great genius. He could execute a member, but he could not finiſh a whole; and hence his lines are beautiful, but his compoſitions ſlovenly. His poetical ſtyle is not ſo chaſte as that of Vida, his numbers are not ſo ſweet as thoſe of Strada, nor is his fancy ſo beautiful as that of Angerianus; and yet the partiality of his countrymen has placed him at the head of modern Latin poetry (62).'

(62) Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 274.

Mr. Granger, ſpeaking of 'the admirable Crichton,' obſerves, that 'if he had lived longer, and written more, it is probable that his works would not, like thoſe of his countryman Buchanan, have continued unimpaired by time. Crichton ſhot up like the mountain pine; Buchanan roſe ſlowly like the oak. The one is rather an object of temporary admiration; the other retains its ſtrength and beauty, after it hath ſtood the ſhock of ages (63).'

(63) Biographical Hiſtory of England, Vol. i. p. 265, edit. 8*vo*, 1775.

Le Clerc ſays, 'There are very few authors who have ſucceeded equally well in writing both proſe and verſe. The poetic genius, and the ſtyle of poetry, are ſo different from that genius which is requiſite to write well in proſe, and in the ſtyle of orators, that it is very difficult to find united in the ſame perſon, thoſe talents which will enable him to write both in verſe and in proſe; at leaſt in ſuch a manner, as to excel equally in the one and in the other kind of writing. Cicero, the moſt excellent of all the Latin orators, furniſhes us with a remarkable inſtance of this; he being a very indifferent poet, though a moſt admirable orator. Nevertheleſs, there have been found ſome moderns, who have made excellent verſes, and who yet have had not leſs merit as writers in proſe. Such, for example, was Hugo Grotius, whoſe the books in verſe and in proſe are equally eſteemed. But there is no inſtance of this, that I am acquainted with, more celebrated than that of George Buchanan; of whom the ſtyle, both in the one and in the other manner of writing, ſurpaſſes that of Grotius; nor do I know of any perſon, that, in both theſe reſpects, is comparable to him (64).']

(64) Bibliotheque Choiſie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 106, 107.

⁂ [BUDGELL (EUSTACE), Eſq; an ingenious writer, the relation and friend of Addiſon, was the ſon of Gilbert Budgell, D. D. of St. Thomas near Exeter, by Mary his firſt wife [*A*], and was born about the year 1685. In the courſe of his grammatical education, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much by his ſpeedy progreſs in claſſical learning, that he was removed early to Chriſt-Church College in Oxford, of which College he became a Gentleman Commoner. At the Univerſity he continued ſome years, and from thence went to London, where he was entered of the Inner Temple, with a view of being bred to the bar, for which he had always been intended by his father (*a*). However, as hath been the caſe with many young men of lively parts, inſtead of applying, with proper diligence, to the ſtudy of the law, he almoſt wholly devoted himſelf to polite literature, and cultivated an acquaintance with perſons of taſte and faſhion. This conduct was by no means pleaſing to Dr. Budgell. The Doctor grew, by degrees, very uneaſy that his ſon, contrary to his repeated directions and requeſts, was neither called to the bar nor had acquired a ſufficient ſtock of profeſſional knowledge; and young Budgell, on the other hand, who ſtrongly urged the neceſſity of his living like a gentleman, complained of the narrowneſs of his father's allowance (*b*). In one reſpect, his behaviour was exceedingly diſcreet and happy: for he took care to form a ſtrict intimacy and friendſhip with Mr. Addiſon, to whom his being a relation undoubtedly gave him eaſier acceſs. When, therefore, that gentleman, in 1709, was appointed Secretary to the Earl of Wharton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he made an offer to his young friend of taking him with him, as one of the clerks in his office. This propoſal, as Mr. Budgell was on ill terms with his father, and was abſolutely unqualified for the practice of the law, was too pleaſing, and too advantageous, not to be readily accepted. Nevertheleſs, being fearful that Dr. Budgell might not approve of the ſcheme, he did not acquaint him with his reſolution and journey, till the very night on which he ſet out for Ireland. This was in the beginning of April, 1710, when our Author was nearly twenty-five years of age, and was become a very accompliſhed perſon. He had read the Claſſics, the moſt reputed Hiſtorians, and the beſt French, Engliſh, and Italian Writers. He was endued, likewiſe, with a quick apprehenſion, a lively imagination, and ſtrong memory; which were ſet off to the greateſt advantage by a genteel addreſs, a ready wit, and a fine elocution. But theſe ſhining qualities were not a little tarniſhed by a vanity which led him to think that no undertaking was

(*a*) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. v. p. 1, 2.

(*b*) *Ibid.*

[*A*] *By Mary his firſt wife.*] This Lady was the only daughter of Dr. William Gulſton, Biſhop of Briſtol, whoſe ſiſter Jane was married to Dean Addiſon. Mr. Joseph Addiſon and Mr. Budgell's mother were couſin-germans. The family of Budgell is ancient, and had long been ſettled in Devonſhire (1).

(1) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. i. p. 5. Biogr. Brit. vol. i. p. 44. 2d edit.

above his capacity, and no preferment or favour ſuperior to his deſert. He behaved, however, in ſuch a manner, as to preſerve the eſteem and affection of Mr. Addiſon, who introduced him into the beſt and moſt ingenious company in both kingdoms. So cloſe was the friendſhip between the two relations, that they lived and lodged together, and conſtantly followed the Lord Lieutenant into England at the ſame time (*c*).

Now it was that Mr. Budgell commenced Author, and is ſaid to have been partly concerned with Sir Richard Steele and Mr. Addiſon in writing the Tatler (*d*). But the fact ſeems doubtful: for we meet with no acknowledgments of this kind, either in the concluſion or preface to that admirable paper. It is certain, that Mr. Budgell ſuſtained an honourable part in the Spectator. All the papers in the firſt ſeven volumes of that excellent work which are marked X, being twenty-eight in number, were written by him; beſides which, the eighth volume was conducted by Mr. Addiſon and himſelf, without the aſſiſtance of Sir Richard Steele. Our Author's ſpeculations, which are eaſy and elegant, met with a general and juſt approbation: they are much in Mr. Addiſon's manner, but not equally cloſe and ſtrong. Their contexture is looſer, and they have the appearance of Addiſon in an undreſs. While Mr. Budgell was concerned in the Spectator, he wrote an humorous epilogue to Mr. Ambroſe Philips's Diſtreſſed Mother; and it was received with ſuch uncommon applauſe, that it was called for by the audience during the whole run of that tragedy, and continued to be ſpoken many years after, at the repreſentation of the ſame play. The propriety of this epilogue, and of epilogues of the like kind, was attacked by a writer in the Spectator; but the defence of it was undertaken, in the ſame paper, by our Author himſelf, who was by no means ſparing in the praiſes of his own production (*e*). Indeed he was not aſhamed, during the repreſentation of the Diſtreſſed Mother, to ſit in the pit and call for the epilogue. About this period Mr. Budgell wrote ſeveral epigrams and ſongs, which ranked him among the wits of the time; and, in conjunction with Mr. Addiſon's known affection for him, occaſioned him to be generally noticed and careſſed. In 1711, he ſucceeded, by the death of his father, to the eſtates of the family, which amounted to nearly nine hundred and fifty pounds a year, though ſomewhat encumbered with debts. Mr. Budgell, however, notwithſtanding this acceſſion of fortune, did not alter his mode of living. He adhered cloſely to buſineſs, and gave general ſatisfaction in the diſcharge of his office (*f*). When, in the interval between the concluſion of the ſeven firſt volumes of the Spectator, and the reſumption of that work, the Guardian was ſet up, our Author is repreſented as having joined in it with Mr. Addiſon and Sir Richard Steele. It is ſaid, we are told, in the preface, that the papers marked with an aſteriſk were written by Mr. Budgell (*g*). But we are not able to ſpecify them, as in the copy of the Guardian which is in our poſſeſſion, there is no preface, nor any papers marked with an aſteriſk. In the year 1714, our ingenious Writer publiſhed a tranſlation, from the Greek, of Theophraſtus's Characters. Of this tranſlation Mr. Addiſon has ſpoken in terms of great applauſe, in the thirty-ninth number of the Lover; and hath pointed out ſome inſtances of our Author's ingenuity and addreſs (*h*). The work was dedicated by Mr. Budgell to the Earl of Halifax, who was his principal patron, and who honoured him with his friendſhip (*i*).

The literary engagements of Mr. Budgell did not prevent his attending with aſſiduity and diligence to his official buſineſs. He roſe gradually in his office, till, upon the appointment of Mr. Addiſon, in 1714, to be principal Secretary to the Earl of Sunderland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, our Author was promoted to be Under-ſecretary (*k*). He was made, likewiſe, chief Secretary to the Lords Juſtices of Ireland, and Deputy Clerk of the Council in that kingdom. Theſe preferments, of which he took poſſeſſion in the latter end of the year 1714, brought him into ſuch notice, that he was elected a Member of the Iriſh Parliament, where he became an able ſpeaker. At a public entertainment, in the ſame year, at the Inns of Court in Dublin, Mr. Budgell, together with many perſons of diſtinction, was made an honorary Bencher. When he firſt entered on the Secretary's place, he lay under no ſmall difficulties, from the obſtinacy of ſome Tory Clerks in the office, who refuſed to ſerve under him, ſecreted the books, and endeavoured to throw every thing into confuſion. But he ſurmounted theſe embarraſſments with a reſolution, aſſiduity, and ability, which gained him honour and applauſe. When the rebellion broke out, in 1715, a great additional load of buſineſs devolved upon Mr. Budgell. As no Tranſport-office, at that time, ſubſiſted in Ireland, he was charged with the care of the embarkation, and the providing of ſhipping, for all the troops that were to be ſent to Scotland. This is uſually the department of a field-officer. But though it was ſo much out of the ordinary line of buſineſs, Mr. Budgell went through it with ability and exactneſs. His conduct, alſo, was ſingularly diſintereſted; for he took no extraordinary ſervice-money, and would not receive any gratuity or fees for the commiſſions which paſſed through his office for the colonels and officers of militia then raiſing in Ireland. The Lords Juſtices were deſirous that a handſome preſent ſhould be made him for his diſtinguiſhed zeal and labour in this affair; but he generouſly and firmly refuſed to draw up a warrant for that purpoſe. When Mr. Addiſon, in 1717, became one of the principal Secretaries of State, he procured for Mr. Budgell the place of Accomptant and Comptroller Ge-

(*c*) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. v. p. 2, 3.

(*d*) *Ibid.*

(*e*) Spectator, vol. v. N° 338. 341.

(*f*) Cibber, *ubi ſupra*, p. 3, 4.

(*g*) *Ibid.*

(*h*) Addiſon's Works, vol. iv. p. 275–278. Baſkerville's 4to edit.

(*i*) Cibber.

(*k*) Chron. Diary to the Hiſtorical Regiſter, vol. ii. p. 6. Cibber, *ubi ſupra.*

neral of Ireland, which is worth four hundred pounds a year. There were ſome thoughts, at that time, of making him Under-ſecretary to his relation and friend; but it was deemed more expedient for his Majeſty's ſervice, that he ſhould continue to be employed in the Iriſh affairs (*l*).

Hitherto our Author's life appears to have been honourable, proſperous, and happy. But, ſoon after, an event took place, which, in its conſequences, was very fatal to Mr. Budgell's peace, comfort, and ſucceſs. On the 16th of April 1717, Charles Duke of Bolton was declared Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (*m*). When his Grace went over to that kingdom, he carried with him a Mr. Edward Webſter, who had been an under-clerk in the Treaſury in England, and made him a Privy Counſellor and his principal Secretary. This gentleman, it is ſaid, inſiſted upon quartering a friend upon the Under-ſecretary, who had too high an opinion of his own talents and importance to bear, with patience, ſuch unworthy treatment. He not only poſitively declared, that he would never ſubmit to any ſuch condition, but treated Mr. Webſter himſelf, his family, education, and abilities with the utmoſt contempt. Nay, Mr. Budgell was ſo indiſcreet as to write a lampoon, in which the Lord Lieutenant was not ſpared; and completed his indiſcretion by ſuffering it to be publiſhed, in oppoſition to Mr. Addiſon's opinion, who urged that it would be prejudicial both to his intereſt and reputation. The diſcontents and quarrels, at length, roſe to ſuch a height, that the Duke of Bolton, in ſupport of his Secretary, ſuperſeded Mr. Budgell, and ſoon after got him removed from the place of Accomptant-general. It had been inſinuated to our Author, that it might not be ſafe for him to continue any longer in Ireland; and, therefore, having entruſted his papers and private concerns to the hands of his brother William, who was then a clerk in his office, he ſet out for England. One of the firſt things he did, after his arrival in this kingdom, was to wait upon Mr. Addiſon, who had reſigned the ſeals, and was retired into the country on account of his health. But this gentleman found it impoſſible to ſtem the tide of oppoſition which, through the influence and power of the Duke of Bolton, was every where running againſt Mr. Budgell. Mr. Addiſon diſſuaded him, therefore, in the ſtrongeſt manner, from publiſhing his Caſe, but without ſucceſs. Our Author was too wiſe in his own eſteem to follow the advice of his excellent friend. This gave great concern to Mr. Addiſon; who, however, obtained a promiſe from the Earl of Sunderland, that ſomething ſhould be done for Mr. Budgell, when the clamour againſt him was abated. His old patron, the Earl of Halifax, was now dead; and the Earl of Orrery, who had a high eſteem for our Author, being deſtitute of court-favour, could procure him no redreſs. Upon the publication of his Caſe, which appeared, in 1718, under the title of 'A Letter to Lord * * * *, from Euſtace Budgell, Eſq; Accomptant-general of Ireland, and late Secretary to the Lords Juſtices of that Kingdom,' eleven hundred copies were ſold off in one day. He publiſhed, likewiſe, in the Poſt-Boy of January 17, 1718-19, an advertiſement to juſtify his character againſt a report which had been ſpread to his diſadvantage; and he did not ſcruple to declare in all companies, that the reaſon why he did not attend his duty in the Iriſh parliament was, that his life was attempted by his enemies. Indeed his paſſions, about this time, had gained ſo much the aſcendency over him, that he was judged, by many of his friends, to be nearly delirious (*n*). But whatever faults Mr. Budgell might be carried into, by the exceſs of his vanity, ſuſpicion, and reſentment, he ſeems to have been hardly treated. During the four years in which he held the places of Under-ſecretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and Secretary to the Lords Juſtices, he had never been abſent four days from his office, or ten miles from Dublin. His application was indefatigable, and the ſtrength of his natural ſpirits enabled him to go through any difficulties. It was not right that ſo ingenious, able, and uſeful a ſervant of the public ſhould be deprived of his former emoluments, and expoſed to the inſolence of an upſtart in power. Our Author's private conduct had likewiſe been diſcreet, whilſt he reſided at Dublin. Though he lived in a genteel manner, he was, at the ſame time, ſo frugal as to ſave a conſiderable ſum of money. He employed himſelf, alſo, during his abode in Ireland, in collecting materials for the hiſtory of that kingdom; in doing which, the eaſy acceſs that he had to all the public offices gave him conſiderable advantages (*o*). It is uncertain what progreſs he made in the execution of this deſign. The failure of it is now, perhaps, the leſs to be regretted, ſince the appearance of Dr. Leland's excellent Hiſtory. In the beginning of the year 1719, Mr. Budgell wrote a pamphlet, which was well received by the public, againſt the famous Peerage Bill; but by this means he highly offended the Earl of Sunderland. The pamphlet was ſo much approved of by the Oppoſition, that it procured our Author ſome overtures of friendſhip from Mr. Robert Walpole. In the ſame year, he ſuſtained an irreparable loſs, by the death of Mr. Addiſon. This event gave a deciſive blow to Mr. Budgell's ſucceſs at Court; though he ſtill continued to make attempts there, but was conſtantly kept down by the weight of the Duke of Bolton. In the September of that year, he made a tour through part of France, and all the principal places of Flanders, Brabant, and Holland; and then went to Hanover, from whence he returned to England, with his Majeſty's retinue, in the following November (*p*).

(*l*) Cibber, *ubi ſupra*.

(*m*) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 231. edition 1779.

(*n*) Cibber, *ubi ſupra*, p. 6—8.

(*o*) *Ibid.*

(*p*) *Ibid.*

and obtained a verdict, by which the bailiff was committed to the King's Bench priſon, ordered to pay full coſts of ſuit, and five pounds damages (*w*).

About the ſame time, our Author publiſhed a poem, dedicated to the Queen, upon his Majeſty's journey to Cambridge and Newmarket. Another of his poetical productions was 'A Letter to his Excellency Ubrick D'Ypres, and C. ———; in anſwer 'to his Excellency's two Epiſtles in the Daily Courant; with a Word or two to Mr. 'Oſborn the Hyp Doctor, and C. ——— (*x*).' All theſe ſeveral publications, though now ſcarcely known, and, when they happen to be met with, deemed of little eſtimation, were well received by the public; and moſt of them paſſed through a number of editions. It was in 1732 that Mr. Budgell gave to the world his 'Memoirs of the 'Life and Character of the late Earl of Orrery, and of the Family of the Boyles;' a book which, being of an hiſtorical nature, ſtill continues to be read, and to which we have had frequent occaſion to refer, in the articles that relate to that illuſtrious family. In the latter end of the ſame year, our Author began a weekly pamphlet, called 'The Bee,' which was extracted, in a great meaſure, from the News-papers (*y*); and comprehended, likewiſe, the purpoſes of a Magazine. This was carried on till it amounted to about an hundred numbers (*z*). But, at length, in conſequence of quarrelling with his bookſellers, and filling the pamphlet with his own perſonal diſputes and concerns, he was obliged to drop the undertaking. During the progreſs of this work, Dr. Matthew Tindal died, by whoſe will two thouſand one hundred pounds were left to Mr. Budgell. A bequeſt ſo extraordinary, ſo diſproportionate to Dr. Tindal's circumſtances, ſo injurious to his nephew (*a*), and ſo contrary to his known intentions and conduct, ſurpriſed the world, and excited an opinion that there had been ſome unfair dealing in the making of the will. In the conteſt that enſued between Mr. Nicholas Tindal and our Author, many cauſes of ſuſpicion appeared; and, in the end, the will was ſet aſide (*b*). It is thought that Mr. Budgell had had ſome concern in publiſhing Dr. Tindal's 'Chriſtianity as old as the Creation;' and it was the Doctor's requeſt, in his laſt teſtament, that the ſecond part of that performance, and his other pieces, collected into a volume, ſhould be given to the public by our Author. This he frequently ſpoke of doing, and of adding a Life of his deceaſed friend; but he never carried his deſigns into execution. As it was reported that Dr. Conybeare was rewarded with the Deanery of Chriſt-church, for anſwering the firſt part of 'Chriſtianity as old as the Creation,' Mr. Budgell uſed to ſay, that he hoped that the Dean would live a little while longer, that he might have the pleaſure, by the publication of the ſecond part, of making him a Biſhop. While the Bee was carried on, there appeared a ſmart pamphlet, intitled, 'A ſhort Hiſtory of Prime Miniſters,' which was generally aſcribed to our Author. He publiſhed, likewiſe, 'A Letter to the Merchants and Tradeſmen of London and 'Briſtol, upon their glorious Behaviour againſt the Exciſe-law (*c*).'

After the extinction of the Bee, Mr. Budgell became ſo involved in law-ſuits, and ſo incapable of living in the manner he wiſhed, and had always affected to ſupport (*d*), that he was brought to a very unhappy ſituation. He had gotten himſelf called to the bar, and attended ſome time in the courts of law; but, it being too late in life for him to ſucceed in the profeſſion, he ſoon quitted it. At laſt, his law-ſuits having gone againſt him, and being reduced to great difficulties, he determined to put an end to his own life; a reſolution which was ſtrengthened by the pride of his temper, and a diſbelief of Revelation. Accordingly, on the fourth of May, 1737, taking a boat at Somerſet-ſtairs, he ordered the waterman to ſhoot the bridge; and, whilſt that was doing, threw himſelf overboard (*e*). His body was found ſome days afterwards, conſiderably bruiſed and disfigured. In his pockets, which had been filled with ſtones, for the purpoſe of ſinking the more readily, he had a bank note, a gold watch, ſeveral guineas in money, and a protection from Lord Orrery, as Secretary to that Nobleman (*f*). Mr. Budgell was never married, but had one natural daughter, whom, the morning before he deſtroyed himſelf, he would have perſuaded to have accompanied him in that action. The young lady, however, had no inclination to put an end to her own exiſtence. She afterwards aſſumed her father's name, and became an actreſs at Drury-lane Theatre. Our Author left a ſlip of paper upon his bureau, in which were written theſe words:

'What Cato did, and Addiſon approved,
'Cannot be wrong (*g*).'

But the aſſertion that Mr. Addiſon gave his approbation to ſelf-murder, is wholly groundleſs. No ſuch concluſion can be drawn from his repreſentation of the character of Cato in his tragedy of that name. In the ſupport of this character, it was neceſſary that the poet ſhould make Cato ſpeak and act in the manner which was ſuitable to his known principles and conduct. Beſides, Mr. Addiſon has endeavoured to *obviate* the ill effects that might be ſuppoſed to ariſe from Cato's example, by putting into his mouth (whether with dramatic propriety or not, we do not determine) the following words, juſt as he was dying:

'—— And yet methinks a beam of light breaks in
'On my departing ſoul. Alas, I fear

(*w*) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. ii. p. 1123.

(*x*) Cibber, *ubi ſupra.*

(*y*) Oldys's Manuſcripts.

(*z*) It is uſually bound up in eight Volumes 8vo.

(*a*) The Rev. Mr. Nicholas Tindal, the Tranſlator of Rapin.

(*b*) Biog. Brit. Vol. vi. p. 3964, note K.

(*c*) Cibber, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) He kept, to the very laſt, a chariot, and a houſe in London.

(*e*) Cibber, *ubi ſupra.* Gent. Mag. Vol. vii. p. 315.

(*f*) Oldys's Manuſcripts.

(*g*) Cibber, *ubi ſupra.*

ber in manuſcript, that made a part of the curious and valuable collection of Muſic, lately repoſited in the library of Dr. Pepuſch. Upon the eſtabliſhment of Greſham-College, Dr. Bull was choſen the firſt Profeſſor of Muſic there, about the beginning of March 1596, through the recommendation of Queen Elizabeth; and not being able to ſpeak in Latin, he was permitted to deliver his lectures altogether in Engliſh; which practice, ſo far as appears, has been ever ſince continued, though the profeſſors of that ſcience have been all men of learning. In 1601, his health being impaired, ſo that he was unable to perform the duty of his place, he went to travel, having obtained leave to ſubſtitute, as his deputy, Mr. Thomas Birde, ſon of Mr. William Birde, one of the gentlemen of Her Majeſty's chapel. He continued abroad above a year; during which interval, probably, happened the remarkable ſtory related of him by Anthony Wood *(f)* [*C*]. After the death of Queen Elizabeth, our Profeſſor became chief Organiſt to King James I. *(g)*; and December the twentieth the ſame year, he reſigned his Profeſſorſhip of Greſham-College; but for what reaſon is not known *(h)*. In 1613, he again left England, induced, probably, by the declining reputation of Church-Muſic [*D*], which

and Collegiate Choirs, in the Church of England; *collected by* James Clifford, *Petty Canon of St. Paul's, and ſometimes Choriſter of Magdalen-College in Oxford.* Lond. 1663. *in* octavo (6). Some of Dr. Bull's pieces are inſerted in this collection at p. 36. 137. 187, &c.

[*C*] *A remarkable ſtory related of him by* Anthony Wood.] The ſtory, as that Biographer tells it (7), is this: 'Dr. Bull took occaſion to go *incognito* into France and Germany. At length, hearing of a famous Muſician belonging to a certain cathedral (at St. Omers, as I have heard), he applied himſelf as a novice to him, to learn ſomething of his faculty, and to ſee and admire his works. This Muſician, after ſome diſcourſe had paſſed between them, conducted Bull to a veſtry, or muſic-ſchool, joining to the cathedral, and ſhewed to him a leſſon or ſong of *forty* parts, and then made a vaunting challenge to any perſon in the world to add one more part to them; ſuppoſing it to be ſo complete and full, that it was impoſſible for any mortal man to correct, or add to it. Bull thereupon deſiring the uſe of ink and ruled paper (ſuch as we call muſical paper), prayed the Muſician to lock him up in the ſchool for two or three hours; which being done, not without great diſdain, by the Muſician; Bull, in that time, or leſs, added *forty more* parts to the ſaid leſſon or ſong. The Muſician thereupon being called in, he viewed, tried it, and re-tried it. At length he burſt out into great extaſy, and ſwore by the great God, that *he that added thoſe forty parts muſt either be the Devil or Dr. Bull.* Whereupon Bull making himſelf known, the Muſician fell down, and adored him. Afterwards continuing there, and in thoſe parts, for a time, he became ſo much admired, that he was courted to accept of any place or preferment, ſuitable to his profeſſion, either within the dominions of the Emperor, King of France, or Spain. But the tidings of theſe tranſactions coming to the Engliſh Court, Queen Elizabeth commanded him home.' That part of the ſtory relating to the *forty parts* ſaid to have been added by Dr. Bull in *two or three hours*, has been rejected by our beſt artiſts in Muſic, as a thing wholly improbable. And the account they give, as handed down to them by tradition, is this; that the leſſon or ſong, when delivered to the Doctor, conſiſted of *ſixteen parts*, to which he added *four* others. This, conſidering the fulneſs of the piece before, and the ſhortneſs of the time, in which he made thoſe additions, is eſteemed by them an extraordinary performance, and what might juſtly occaſion the greateſt ſurpriſe in the Muſician, upon the firſt ſight of it (8).

[*D*] *The declining ſtate of Church-Muſic.*] It is well known that Church-Muſic, for which the Doctor was ſo eſpecially celebrated, had received a very great change by the Reformation, the *Motettis* of Saints, *Aves*, *Salves*, and the like, being all rejected, where that prevailed. In the Church of England, the matter of it was adapted to the Liturgy. And the Lutherans ſeem to have gone much the ſame length in retaining the ſolemn ſervice, though with more inſtruments and variety of harmony. But the Calviniſts, at the ſame time, wholly excluded this ſervice, and ſubſtituted a metrical pſalmody inſtead of alternate and antiphonical chanting, which by degrees obtained in our Engliſh churches; ſo that the former was kept up only in the colleges, cathedrals, and royal chapels, from which alſo attempts were made by ſome courtiers in the time of Queen Elizabeth to get it removed, had ſhe not prevented it by her Injunction (9). However, that our moſt celebrated compoſers of Church-Muſic till that time flouriſhed in her reign, is acknowledged by a noted author upon this ſubject. 'Since the time, *ſays he* (10), that the old Primate of England Theodore, with his aſſiſtant Adrian the Monk, firſt eſtabliſhed the ſkillful uſe of Muſic throughout all the Saxon-Engliſh Churches; and the good old Biſhop Putta of Rocheſter, being driven from his dioceſe by the Mercians, thought it no diſparagement to go about the churches, and teach them choral harmony; many, doubtleſs, have excelled from time to time in this faculty among us: yet none, that we know of, have committed ought to ſcore, which would be much uſeful, or pleaſing to the ears of our age, till Queen Elizabeth. Her reign brought forth a noble birth, as of all learned men, ſo of famous compoſers in Church-Muſic.' This was very probably owing to the encouragement given by that Princeſs to this art in common with others, as well by her example as favour; for ſhe was not only a lover of Muſic, but likewiſe ſkilled in it herſelf. And therefore Richard Mulcaſter, then Maſter of Merchant-Taylor's ſchool, paid her an handſome compliment on that account in the following verſes:

Regia majeſtas, ætatis gloria noſtræ,
  Hunc in deliciis ſemper habere ſolet;
Nec contenta graves aliorum audire labores,
  Ipſa etiam egregiè voce manuque canit (11).

That is,

The Queen, the glory of our age and iſle,
With royal favour bids this ſcience ſmile;
Nor hears ſhe only others labour'd lays,
But, artiſt-like, herſelf both ſings and plays.

But notwithſtanding there were many artiſts of that profeſſion, who were then very eminent both for their ſkill and compoſitions, the eſteem of that ſcience began to ſink very much in the following reign; ſo that ſeveral maſters, in publiſhing their compoſitions, complain of the great want of court-patrons at that time, and therefore dedicate their works to one another (12). B.

⁂ [Several circumſtances concur in proving, that Bull had great power both in the compoſition and the performance of muſic. It appears, from the long liſt of his muſical pieces given by Dr. Ward, that he was equally excellent in vocal and inſtrumental harmony. From ſome of the leſſons in the Parthenia, it ſeems that he poſſeſſed a power of execution on the harpſichord, far beyond what is generally conceived of the maſters of that time. Bull's Leſſons, in the eſtimation of Dr. Pepuſch, were ſo excellent, not only for harmony and contrivance, but for air and modulation, that the Doctor preferred them to thoſe of Couperin, Scarlotti, and other modern compoſers. Many of theſe Leſſons were ſo very difficult, that there were ſcarcely any maſters, in Dr. Pepuſch's time, who were capable of playing them. When that gentleman married the famous opera ſinger, Signora Margarita De

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(f) Ward, *ubi ſupra*, p. 200—202.

(g) Wood, *ibid.*

(h) Ward, *ibid.* p. 201.

(6) So ſays Mr. Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 73. But Mr. Ward (*ubi ſupra*), though he confeſſes he has not ſeen the book, ſays, in folio.

(7) *Ubi ſupra.*

(8) Ward, *ubi ſupra*, p. 200, 201.

(9) MS. Dr. Pepuſch ap. Ward, *ib.* p. 201.

(10) In the Dedication of The firſt Book of ſelected Church Muſic, &c. See the title at length in the remark [*C*].

(11) In a Poem prefixed to a book intitled *Diſcantus cantiones, quæ ab argumento ſacræ vocantur, quinque et ſex partium: Autoribus Thoma Talliſo et Gulielmo Birdo, Anglis*, &c. 1575, quarto oblongo.

(12) Ward, *ib.* p. 202.

which at this time had not that regard paid to it, that had been formerly. He went directly into the Netherlands, where, about Michaelmas the ſame year, he was received into the ſervice of the Archduke (*i*); and Mr. Wood ſays (*k*), he died at Hamburgh, or (as others, who remember him, have ſaid) at Lubeck. His picture is yet preſerved in the Muſic-School at Oxford, among other famous Profeſſors of that ſcience, which hang round the room.

(*i*) Communicated by Dr. Pepuſch.

(*k*) *Ibid.*

L' Pine, who had a very fine hand on the harpſichord, he inſpired her with the ſame ſentiments of Bull that he himſelf had long entertained, and prevailed upon her to practiſe our muſical Profeſſor's Leſſons; in which ſhe ſucceeded ſo well, as to excite the curioſity of numbers to hear her. One of the Leſſons could not be gone through in leſs than twenty minutes (13).

Dr. Hayes, in his Remarks on Aviſon, ſpeaks of Bull in high terms. He calls him ' that prodigy of ' a man, who was not only an excellent compoſer, ' but perhaps the greateſt performer on the organ in ' Europe (14).' Mr. Aviſon, however, ridicules Dr. Hayes for his admiration of Bull, and laughs at the ſtory related, from Anthony Wood, in note [*C*] (15). Indeed, we cannot but agree with our learned predeceſſor, in conſidering it as highly improbable.

With regard to the declining ſtate of church-muſic in England, Dr. Hayes aſcribes it to the breaking out of the rebellion againſt King Charles the Firſt (16). But there is ſufficient evidence of this declenſion's having begun long before that period. So early as 1572, John Boſwell, in a book intitled ' Workes of Armorie,' uſes this exclamation: ' What ſay I? Muſic, one of the ſeven liberal ſci' ences; it is almoſt baniſhed the realme. If it were ' not the Queenes Majeſty that did favour that excel' lente ſcience, ſinging-men and choriſters might go ' a-begging, together with their maſter the player on ' the organes (17).' Though it doth not appear that James the Firſt either underſtood or loved muſic, he was diſpoſed to give it ſome encouragement. After the example of Charles the Ninth of France, who had inſtituted a Muſical Academy, he incorporated, by his letters patent, the Muſicians of London; and they ſtill continue to be a Society and a Corporation. ' By this act of regal authority, ſays Sir John Haw' kins, the only one of the liberal Sciences that con' ferred the degree of Doctor, was itſelf degraded, ' and put upon a footing with the loweſt of the me' chanic arts; and, under the protection of their ' charter, the Honourable Fraternity of Muſicians of ' the city of London derive the ſole and excluſive ' privilege of fiddling and trumpeting to the Mayor ' and Aldermen, and of ſcrambling for the fragments ' of the city feaſt (18).'

Whatever might be the cauſe of Dr. Bull's quitting England, he had not the ſame reaſons which others of his profeſſion had, to complain of being ſlighted. He ſucceeded Tallis in the Chapel-royal, in January 1585-6. In 1604, his ſalary for the Chapel duty had been augmented. Beſides his other preferments, he was at the head of Prince Henry's Muſicians, with an appointment of forty pounds a year. It is probable, likewiſe, that Dr. Bull was not only one of the Organiſts, but a Gentleman of the Chapel (19).

Sir John Hawkins has publiſhed two Canons of Dr. Bull's. The firſt is for four voices of two parts in one, *recte et retro*; that is, to be ſung both backward and forward. The ſecond is for five voices in two parts, *recte et retro, et per Arſin et Theſin.* This, therefore, was not only to be performed both backward and forward, but ſo to be ſung as that one part aſcended while the other deſcended. Theſe two Canons are given, in the manuſcripts from which they are taken, in a triangular form, with a view of exhibiting the ſingularity of their contexture, and the mutual relation and various progreſſions of the ſeveral ſounds. In this form they are publiſhed by Sir John Hawkins; who, leſt the repreſentation ſhould appear too enigmatical, hath added the reſolution of each Canon in ſcore (20). It is manifeſt, from theſe circumſtances, that the falſe and fanciful taſte of King James the Firſt's reign had reached to muſic, as well as to other arts and ſciences, and other modes of compoſition.] K.

(13) Sir John Hawkins's Hiſtory of Muſic, Vol. iii. p. 322.

(14) Remarks, &c. p. 54, 55.

(15) Eſſay on Muſical Expreſſion, p. 215, 216, third edition.

(16) Remarks on Aviſon, *ubi ſupra.*

(17) Hawkins, *ubi ſupra,* p. 320.

(18) *Ibid.* p. 321.

(19) *Ibid.* p. 320, 321, 322.

(20) Hiſt. of Muſic, Vol. ii. p. 366—371.

BULL (George), Biſhop of St. David's, was born in the pariſh of St. Cuthbert, at Wells in Somerſetſhire, the twenty-fifth of March 1634 (*a*). He was deſcended from an ancient and genteel family, ſeated at Shapwick in that county. Our Prelate's father, Mr. George Bull [*A*], dedicated his ſon to the Church from his infancy, having declared at the font, that he deſigned him for Holy Orders. He died when young George was but four years old, and left him under the care of guardians, with an eſtate of two hundred pounds *per annum*. When he was fit to receive the firſt rudiments of learning, he was placed in a grammar ſchool at Wells, from whence he was ſoon removed to the free ſchool of Tiverton in Devonſhire; where he made a very quick progreſs in claſſical learning [*B*], and became qualified for the Univerſity at fourteen years of age (*b*). He was entered a Commoner of Exeter-College in Oxford, the tenth of July 1648 (*c*), under the tuition of Mr. Baldwin Ackland. And though he loſt much of the time he ſpent at the Univerſity, in the purſuit of pleaſures and diverſions; yet,

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 954. and The Life of Dr. George Bull, &c. by Robert Nelſon, Eſq; Lond. 1713, 8*vo.* p. 6.

(*b*) Nelſon's Life of Dr. G. Bull, *ubi ſupra,* p. 7—11.

(*c*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] *His father, Mr.* George Bull.] He was ſecond ſon of William Bull, Eſq; who had ten ſons and eight daughters; ſo that, by reaſon the family was ſo numerous, he was bred to a trade in Wells, and became a principal member in that corporation. The ſettling him in the world after this manner was contrary to his own inclinations, which led him to a learned education: but the choice of his parents determined him another way, in which he ſucceeded much better than perſons uſually do who engage againſt the bent of their diſpoſitions. ' I venture, ' ſays Mr. Nelſon (1), to call him a good man, be' cauſe the memory that is ſtill preſerved of him re' preſenteth him, as a perſon that was very conſci' entious in his dealing, and very pious towards God; ' and when he left off his trade, which he was never ' well pleaſed with, becauſe it diverted him from ' Holy Orders, which he chiefly coveted, he gave ' conſiderable charities to the poor; and after hav' ing been twice Mayor of the city of Wells, became ' a benefactor to the corporation.' The direct male-line of this ancient family being extinct, the eſtate devolved upon Mrs. Eleanor Doddington, ſole heireſs of Henry Bull, Eſq; of Shapwick, and wife of George Doddington, Eſq; member of Parliament, in Queen Anne's reign, for the borough of Bridgwater, and one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty.

[*B*] *He made a very quick progreſs in claſſical learning.*] Mr. Samuel Butler, the Maſter of Tiverton ſchool, was very eminent in his profeſſion, being an excellent Grammarian both in Latin and Greek, and very diligent in the care and obſervation of his ſcholars. It was his uſual method, when he gave his boys themes for verſes, to preſs them to exert themſelves and do their beſt, becauſe he judged how far each boy's capacity would carry him: but he always told George Bull, that he expected from him verſes like thoſe of Ovid, becauſe, ſaid he, I know you can do it; ſufficiently intimating thereby, that his ſcholar had a capacity and genius that enabled him to excel in ſuch exerciſes (2).

(1) Life of Dr. George Bull, &c. by Robert Nelſon, Eſq; Lond. 1713, 8*vo.* p. 8.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 10, 11.

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by the help of Logic, which he maſtered with little labour, and a cloſe way of reaſoning, which was natural to him, he ſoon gained the reputation of a ſmart diſputant, and as ſuch was taken notice of and encouraged by his ſuperiors, particularly Dr. Conant, Rector of the College, and Dr. Prideaux, Biſhop of Worceſter, who at that time reſided in Oxford. At the Univerſity Mr. Bull began his acquaintance with Mr. Clifford, afterwards Lord High Treaſurer (*d*) [*C*]. He continued in Exeter-College till January 1649 (*e*); at which time, having refuſed to take the oath to the Commonwealth of England [*D*], he retired, with his tutor Mr. Ackland, who had ſet him the example, to North-Cadbury in Somerſetſhire; where he continued under the care of that good and able man, till he was about nineteen years of age. This retreat gave him an opportunity of frequent converſe with one of his ſiſters, whoſe good ſenſe, and pious admonitions, weaned him entirely from all youthful vanities, and influenced him to a ſerious proſecution of his ſtudies (*f*). And now, by the advice of his friends and guardians, he put himſelf under the care of Mr. William Thomas (*g*), Rector of Ubley in Somerſetſhire [*E*], in whoſe houſe he boarded, with ſome of his ſiſters, for the ſpace of two years. It is true, he received little or no aſſiſtance, or real improvement, in the ſtudy of Divinity from that gentleman; but the acquaintance he had an opportunity of contracting with Mr. Thomas's ſon [*F*], made him ſome amends for the loſs of time under ſuch a director. For till now Mr. Bull had applied himſelf entirely to the reading little ſyſtems of Divinity, ſuch as *Wollebius*'s: but, his judgment being ripened, he grew more and more out of conceit with that ſort of Theology, and began to ſtudy Hooker, Hammond, Taylor, Epiſcopius, &c. with which his friend, Mr. Samuel Thomas, ſupplied him [*G*]. Soon after he had left Mr. Thomas, he entertained thoughts of entering into Holy Orders, and for that purpoſe applied himſelf to Dr. Skinner, the ejected Biſhop of Oxford, by whom he was ordained Deacon and Prieſt in the ſame day [*H*], being at that time but twenty-one years of age [*I*]. Not long after, he accepted the ſmall benefice of St. George's near Briſtol;

(*d*) Life, &c. p. 11—15.

(*e*) Wood, *ibid.*

(*f*) *Ib.* p. 17, 18.

(*g*) Anthony Wood tells us, he was put under the care of Mr. Henry Jeanes, Rector of Chedzey in Somerſetſhire: But Mr. Nelſon ſays nothing of that gentleman.

[*C*] *He became acquainted with Mr. Clifford, afterwards Lord High-Treaſurer.*] The greatneſs of Mr. Bull's friend was attended with no advancement to his fellow collegiate; though Mr. Nelſon tells us (3), he was informed, that his Lordſhip did make ſome attempts to procure Mr. Bull preferment, and particularly ſolicited the Lord-Keeper Bridgman for a prebend of Glouceſter: but, probably, no vacancy happened in the Church during my Lord's ſhort reign of favour. Beſides, Mr. Bull living at a diſtance from Court, and not underſtanding the art of intriguing for preferment, might eaſily be forgotten by a great man, who could not want for ſuch as were perpetually ſoliciting his favour.

(3) Life of Dr. George Bull, &c. by Robert Nelſon, Eſq; Lond. 1717, 8*vo*, p. 15.

[*D*] *He refuſed to take the oath to the Commonwealth of England.*] Mr. Bull had not been admitted two years in Exeter-college, before the *Engagement* was impoſed upon the nation by a pretended Act of Parliament, which paſſed in January 1649. The kingly office being aboliſhed upon the beheading of King Charles I., it was declared, that for the time to come England ſhould be governed as a commonwealth by Parliament; and this oath was prepared, and ordered to be taken by the ſubjects, *That they would be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as it was then eſtabliſhed, without a King or Houſe of Lords.* Whoever refuſed to take this engagement, was diſqualified thereby from holding any place or office in the Church or in State; and they who had no employments to loſe, were to be deprived of the benefit of the Law, and to be diſabled from ſuing in any Court. There was great zeal ſhewn in ſeveral places to procure this acknowledgment and ſubmiſſion from the people to this new government; and among others, all the members of the Univerſities were ſummoned to appear, and take the appointed oath. Our young ſtudent appeared upon this occaſion, and ſignalized himſelf by refuſing to take it. The ſeveral Hypotheſes that were then ſtarted to make men eaſy under a change of government, which was directly contrary to the national conſtitution, could not prevail upon him to comply. Neither the argument of Providence, nor preſent poſſeſſion, nor the advantages of protection, which were all pleaded in thoſe times, were ſtrong enough to influence a mind that was early determined to be conſtant in his duty to the Church and the King (4).

(4) *Ibid.* p. 15, 16.

[*E*] *Mr. William Thomas, Rector of Ubley in Somerſetſhire.*] This gentleman then was in great reputation for his piety, and eſteemed one of the chief Miniſters of his time in the neighbourhood where he lived. He was always reckoned a Puritan, and cloſed with the Preſbyterian meaſures in 1642, and was appointed an aſſiſtant to the Commiſſioners for ejecting ſuch whom they called ſcandalous, ignorant, and inſufficient Miniſters and Schoolmaſters. He lived to be ejected himſelf for Non-conformity, and died in 1667 (5).

(5) *Ibid.* p. 22, 23.

[*F*] *Mr. Thomas's ſon.*] Mr. Samuel Thomas was a perſon of a very valuable character for his piety and learning. He was afterwards Chaplain at Chriſt-Church in Oxford, Vicar of Chard in Somerſetſhire, and Prebendary of Wells. The friendſhip contracted between this gentleman and Mr. Bull was afterwards cultivated by many mutual kind offices; and when they were at a diſtance, it was ſupported by a frequent correſpondence (6).

(6) *Ibid.*

[*G*] —— *With which Mr. Samuel Thomas ſupplied him.*] This he did at the hazard of his father's diſpleaſure: for the old gentleman had a watchful eye over Mr. Bull, and never found any of theſe books in his ſtudy without diſcovering viſible marks of his anger and reſentment. For being well acquainted with his ſon's principles, and with the intimate correſpondence there was between them, he eaſily gueſſed from what quarter Mr. Bull was provided with ſo much Heterodoxy, and would often ſay, *My ſon will corrupt Mr. Bull* (7).

(7) *Ibid* p. 24.

[*H*] *He was ordained Deacon and Prieſt the ſame day.*] The Biſhop, though he was willing to ordain Mr. Bull, yet refuſed to give him, or any others, Letters of Orders under his own hand and ſeal, for this prudential reaſon, becauſe he was apprehenſive ſome ill uſe might be made of them, if they fell into the hands of the powers which then prevailed, who had made it criminal for a Biſhop to confer holy Orders; but at the ſame time he aſſured him, that when the ancient Apoſtolical Government of the Church ſhould be reſtored, which he did not queſtion but a little time would bring about, his Letters of Orders ſhould be ſent to him, in what part ſoever of the nation he then lived; which was accordingly punctually complied with upon the reſtoration of King Charles II. (8)

(8) *Ibid.* p. 26.

[*I*] — *Being at that time but twenty-one years of age.*] It is true, this was much ſhort of that age, which is required by the Canons of the Church in candidates for the Prieſthood. But Mr. Bull, upon his examination, acquitted himſelf ſo perfectly well, that though the Biſhop was rightly informed as to that circumſtance, yet he was pleaſed to ſay, that the Church wanted perſons qualified as he was, and that he could not make too much haſte, when his pains and labour might be of ſuch importance; that as to the Canons, they could not be obſerved ſtrictly in ſuch times of difficulty and diſtreſs, and that he did diſpenſe with his want of canonical age as much as in him lay (9).

(9) *Ibid.* p 27.

ſtol [K]; where, by his conſtant preaching twice every Sunday [L], the method he took in governing his pariſh [M], his manner of performing Divine Service [N], his exemplary life, and great charities, he entirely gained the affections of his flock, and was very inſtrumental in reforming his pariſh, which he found over-run with Quakers and other wild Sectariſts (b). Whilſt he remained Miniſter of this pariſh, the providence of God wonderfully interpoſed for the preſervation of his life: for his lodgings being near a powder-mill, Mr. Morgan, a gentleman of the pariſh, repreſented to him the danger of his ſituation, and at the ſame time invited him to his own houſe. Mr. Bull, at firſt, modeſtly declined the offer, but after ſome importunity accepted it; and, not many days after his removal to Mr. Morgan's, the mill was blown up, and his apartment with

(b) Life, &c. p. 18—30.

[K] *He accepted the ſmall benefice of St. George's, near Briſtol.*] He the rather accepted it, becauſe, the income being very inconſiderable, it was very likely he would be ſuffered to reſide without any diſturbance from the men of thoſe times, who would not think it worth their while to perſecute and diſpoſſeſs him for 30*l.* a year. Before he ſettled at this place, he met by accident with one of his godfathers, Mr. Hall a clergyman, who acquainted him with the declaration his father had made when he was baptized; which gave him no ſmall pleaſure and ſatisfaction, in that he had fulfilled the intention of his father from the bent of his own inclination and free choice, without having ever till that time received the leaſt intimation concerning it (10).

(10) Life, &c. p. 29.

[L] *His conſtant preaching twice every Sunday.*] A little accident, ſoon after his coming to this living, contributed very much to the eſtabliſhing of his reputation as a preacher. One Sunday, when he had begun his ſermon, as he was turning over his bible to explain ſome texts of Scripture, which he had quoted, it happened that his notes, contained in ſeveral ſmall pieces of paper, flew out of his Bible into the middle of the church; upon which many of the congregation fell into laughter, and concluded that their young preacher would be non-pluſſed for want of materials: but ſome of the more ſober and better-natured ſort gathered up the ſcattered notes, and carried them to him in the pulpit. Mr. Bull took them, and perceiving that moſt of the audience, conſiſting chiefly of ſea-faring perſons, were rather inclined to triumph over him under that ſurprize, he clapped them into his book again, and ſhut it, and then, without referring any more to them, went on with the ſubject he had begun (11). It happened once, while he was preaching, that a Quaker came into the church, and in the middle of the ſermon cried out, *George, come down, thou art a falſe prophet and an hireling*; whereupon the pariſhioners, who loved their miniſter exceedingly, fell upon the poor Quaker with ſuch fury, as obliged Mr. Bull to come down out of the pulpit to quiet them, and to ſave him from the effects of their reſentment. After they were ſomewhat pacified, Mr. Bull began to expoſtulate with the Quaker concerning his miſbehaviour: but the people perceiving the ſilly enthuſiaſt to be perfectly confounded, and not able to ſpeak a word of ſenſe in his own defence, fell upon him a ſecond time with ſuch violence, that had not Mr. Bull by great intreaties prevailed upon them to ſpare him, and to be ſatisfied with turning him out of the church, he would hardly have eſcaped with his life: after which Mr. Bull went up again into his pulpit, and finiſhed his ſermon (12).

(11) *Ib.* p. 30, 31.

(12) *Ib.* p. 31—34.

[M] *The method he took in governing his pariſh.*] He did not content himſelf only with preaching to his flock on Sundays, and viſiting the ſick; but he went from houſe to houſe, viſiting the rich and poor without diſtinction, not to gratify their civil invitations, or his own diverſion, but to be ſerviceable to them in a matter of the greateſt importance, the ſalvation of their ſouls. And therefore upon theſe occaſions the time was not trifled away in empty talk; but his diſcourſe was ſuited to the ſeveral exigencies of thoſe he converſed with. By this means he became acquainted with the ſtate of their ſouls, and was thereby the better enabled to adapt his public diſcourſes to the wants of his flock; beſides, that this practice gave him an opportunity of thoroughly underſtanding the neceſſities of thoſe that were really poor, whom he conſtantly relieved either from his own charity, or the bounty of thoſe who ſupplied him upon all ſuch occaſions. There was hardly a family in his pariſh which was not furniſhed with great ſtore of Antinomian books, ſuch doctrines prevailing very much in thoſe times; and therefore in theſe viſits he took frequent occaſion to warn his pariſhioners againſt the poiſon they were ſo familiar with, convincing them of the falſe reaſoning contained in thoſe books, and the inconſiſtency of their tenets with the ſcheme of ſalvation laid down in the Goſpel. When Mr. Bull found any perſons, that either never came to the pariſh-church, or, after having frequented it, withdrew to ſome other communion, his conſtant practice was to enquire who had ſeduced them, and to know their names, in order to ſummon them to a conference in the preſence of the perſon who had been prevailed upon to abſent himſelf from the pariſh-church. Theſe challenges were frequently accepted; for Mr. Bull being young, it was not imagined that he was able to maintain a cauſe againſt perſons of riper age, and who had been long verſed in the controverſy; but by the quickneſs of his parts, and his cloſe way of reaſoning, he generally got the better in theſe conferences, and was thereby very ſucceſsful in recovering his wandering ſheep. As to the younger ſort, his method was to addreſs them in public as well as in private; and therefore he uſually preached to them on ſome week-day before he adminiſtered the Euchariſt, in order to inſtruct them in the nature of that Sacrament, and the preparation neceſſary to the worthy receiving it (13).

(13) *Ib.* p. 34—38.

[N] *His manner of performing Divine Service.*] As the iniquity of the times would not admit of the conſtant and regular uſe of the Liturgy, to ſupply this defect, Mr. Bull formed all the devotions he offered up in public, while he continued miniſter of this place, out of the book of Common-Prayer; in which practice he was juſtified by the example of the judicious Dr. Sanderſon, one of the brighteſt lights of that age. And he performed the public ſervice with ſo much ſeriouſneſs and devotion, with ſuch fervour and ardency of affection, and with ſo powerful an emphaſis in every part, that they, who were moſt prejudiced againſt the Liturgy, did not ſcruple to commend Mr. Bull as a perſon who prayed by the Spirit, at the ſame time that they railed at the Common-Prayer as a beggarly element, and a carnal performance. A particular inſtance of this happened to him, upon his being ſent for to baptize the child of a Diſſenter in his pariſh. Upon this occaſion he made uſe of the office of Baptiſm, as preſcribed by the Church of England, which he had got entirely by heart, and which he went through with ſo much readineſs, gravity, and devotion, that the whole company were extremely affected; and notwithſtanding that he uſed the ſign of the croſs, they were ſo ignorant of the offices of the Church, that they did not diſcover thereby that it was out of the Common-Prayer. After the ceremony, the father of the child returned him a great many thanks, intimating at the ſame time, with how much greater edification they prayed, who entirely depended upon the Spirit of God for his aſſiſtance in their *extempore* effuſions, than thoſe did who tied themſelves up to premeditated forms; and that, if he had not made the ſign of the croſs, that badge of Popery, as he called it, nobody could have formed the leaſt objection to his excellent prayers. Upon which Mr. Bull ſhewed him the office of Baptiſm in the Liturgy, wherein was contained every prayer which he had offered up to God on that occaſion; which, with other arguments offered by Mr. Bull in favour of the Common-Prayer, ſo effectually wrought upon the good man and his whole family, that from that time they became conſtant attendants on the public ſervice of the Church (14).

(14) *Ib.* p. 39, 40.

it. In this part of his life he took a journey once a year to Oxford, where he ſtayed about two months, to enjoy the benefit of the public libraries. In his way to and from Oxford, he always paid a viſit to Sir William Maſters of Cirenceſter; by which means he contracted an intimacy with Mr. Alexander Gregory, the Miniſter of the place, and after ſome time married one of his daughters [O], on the twentieth of May 1658 (*i*). The ſame year he was preſented, by the Lady Pool, to the rectory of Suddington St. Mary [*P*], near Cirenceſter in Glouceſterſhire. The next year, 1659, he was made privy to the deſign of a general inſurrection in favour of King Charles II.; and ſeveral gentlemen of that neighbourhood, who were in the ſecret, made choice of his houſe at Suddington for one of the places of their meeting. Upon the Reſtoration, Mr. Bull frequently preached for his father-in-law, Mr. Gregory, at Cirenceſter, where there was a large and populous congregation; and his ſermons gave ſuch general ſatisfaction [*Q*], that, upon a vacancy, the people were very ſolicitous to have procured for him the preſentation; but the largeneſs of the pariſh, and the great duty attending it, deterred him from conſenting to the endeavours they were making for that purpoſe. In 1662, he was preſented by the Lord High-Chancellor, the Earl of Clarendon, to the vicarage of Suddington St. Peter, which lay contiguous to Suddington St. Mary [*R*], at the requeſt of his Dioceſan, Dr. Nicholſon, Biſhop of Glouceſter (*k*). When Mr. Bull came firſt to the rectory of Suddington, he began to be more open in the uſe of the Liturgy of the Church of England, though it was not yet reſtored by the return of the King; for being deſired to marry a couple, he performed the ceremony, on a Sunday morning, in the face of the whole congregation, according to the form preſcribed by the Book of Common-Prayer [*S*]. He took the ſame method in governin gtheſe pariſhes, as in that of St. George's, and with the ſame ſucceſs; applying himſelf with great di-

(*i*) Life, &c. *ubi ſupra*, p. 41—45.

(*k*) Mr. Wood, then, is miſtaken in ſaying, he was preſented by the Biſhop himſelf to both the Suddingtons.

[O] *He married one of Mr. Gregory's daughters.*] Her name was Mrs. Bridget Gregory. The ceremony of their marriage was performed by Mr. William Maſters, Vicar of Preſton, according to the form preſcribed by the book of Common-Prayer, the uſe of which was at that time forbidden under a heavy penalty. Mrs. Bull proved in all reſpects a fit conſort for a clergyman, being in her own nature ſufficiently provident, and yet well diſpoſed in all manner of good works, out of a true principle of love to God and goodneſs. Her attire was very plain and grave: her chief diverſion was the care of her family, and her main ambition to pleaſe her huſband. Her piety extended itſelf to the whole pariſh wherever ſhe lived: for, by the help of her cloſet, and ſkill in Surgery, ſhe made herſelf extremely uſeful upon many occaſions, and very much beloved, eſpecially by thoſe of the meaner ſort. She was very inſtrumental in perſuading the people, eſpecially thoſe of her own ſex, to lay aſide their prejudices againſt the Common-Prayer, to bring their children to church to receive public Baptiſm, which they had not been uſed to do for many years before, and to return thanks to God after child-birth, which had been a long time diſcontinued. Mr. Bull and ſhe were man and wife above fifty years, in which time ſhe brought him five ſons and ſix daughters, and ſo proved a fruitful, as well as a provident and obedient wife, agreeably to the prayer of her wedding-ring, which was, *Bene parere, parere, parare det mihi Deus* (15).

(15) Life, &c. p. 45—47.

[*P*] *He was preſented by the Lady Pool to the Rectory of Suddington St. Mary.*] This living, being under value, was in the gift of the Keeper of the Seal, and conſequently at the diſpoſal of thoſe, who at that time were no friends to the Church of England; notwithſtanding which, Mr. Bull obtained the preſentation in the manner following. The Lady Pool, who at that time lived at Cirenceſter, claimed, as Lady of the Manor of Suddington, a right of preſenting to the living, and having a reſpect for Mr. Gregory, whoſe daughter Mr. Bull had married, and a much greater for Mr. Bull himſelf afterwards (as appeared by making him her executor), ſhe offered him the preſentation, which he accepted purely upon her right. But he had certainly loſt it, if Mr. Stone of Cirenceſter, a particular friend of Mr. Gregory's, had not taken out the Broad Seal, without Mr. Bull's knowledge or privity; which he did on this occaſion: a clergyman, who knew that Mr. Bull had not a good title, endeavoured to get the Broad Seal for the living; which he had certainly ſucceeded in, if Mr. Stone had not been concerned in the preſentations: for when he applied to Mr. Stone for that purpoſe, he told him that there was a miniſter lately ſettled at Suddington, whoſe name was Bull: to which the clergyman replied, that, though he was in poſſeſſion, he had not a legal title. Upon this Mr. Stone acquainted him, that, though he did not perſonally know Mr. Bull, yet he was not a ſtranger to his character; and having heard that he had married a daughter of a very good friend of his, if he had not a good title, he would help him to one. Hereupon, Mr. Stone took out the Broad Seal for Mr. Bull, and ſent it to Mr. Gregory, and at the ſame time gave him an account of the danger his ſon-in-law had been in of loſing his living (16).

(16) *Ib.* p. 47—49.

[*Q*] *His ſermons gave general ſatisfaction.*] The choice of the ſubjects, which he diſcourſed upon at that place, and in that conjuncture of public affairs, was ſo very ſeaſonable, that they had a viſible good effect upon the congregation. His deſign was to convince his hearers of the neceſſity of a religious obſervation of the Lord's day, and decent behaviour in the houſe of God; which he explained and preſſed in ſeveral ſermons from *Levit.* xix. 30. *Ye ſhall keep my ſabbaths, and reverence my ſanctuary*; *I am the Lord.* How proper ſuch applications then were to the people, we may collect from the character of thoſe times, in which, the numerous ſwarms of ſectaries, which overran the nation during the civil wars, having carried religious hypocriſy to its higheſt pitch, many perſons, upon the Reſtoration, thought they could not recede too far from the behaviour and practices of thoſe men; and, being inclined to think every appearance of devotion puritanical, were unhappily led to the other extreme (17).

(17) *Ib.* p. 51.

[*R*] *He was preſented to the vicarage of Suddington St. Peter, which lay contiguous to Suddington St. Mary.*] This vicarage, though the yearly value of it did not amount to above 25 *l.* yet was of ſome advantage to Mr. Bull, by its lying ſo near the rectory of the ſame name, of which he was then in poſſeſſion. The income of both together did not riſe to above 100 *l.* a year, clear of taxes. But Mr. Bull had a farther view in holding them both: for he propoſed to get them united for the future; and the application he made upon this account proved ſucceſsful. For the matter being fairly repreſented to my Lord Chancellor by Mr. Bull's dioceſan, the two livings were accordingly united, and were to paſs under the ſame grant for the future (18).

(18) *Ib.* p. 52, 53.

[*S*] *He married a couple——according to the form preſcribed by the book of Common-Prayer.*] When he came out of the church, he aſked the people how they liked that manner of ſolemnizing matrimony, not concealing from them how much it was in their power to expoſe him to a malicious proſecution; whereupon they all expreſſed their unanimous approbation of his performance, with ſolemn aſſurances, that they would not only make no complaints of him themſelves, but alſo endeavour to prevent them from others (19).

(19) *Ib.* p. 55.

ligence to the diſcharge of his paſtoral functions [T], and ſetting the people an admirable example in the government and œconomy of his own family (l) [U]. During his reſidence here, the providence of God gave him an opportunity of confirming two Ladies of quality in the Proteſtant Communion [W], who were reduced to a wavering ſtate of mind by the arts and ſubtilties of the Romiſh Miſſionaries. The only diſſenters he had in his pariſh were Quakers; whoſe impertinences and extravagances often gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs [X]. In this part of his life, Mr. Bull proſecuted his ſtudies with great application [Y], and compoſed moſt of his works during the twenty-ſeven years that he was Rector of Suddington. Several tracts, indeed, which coſt him much pains, are entirely loſt, through his own neglect in preſerving them; particularly a treatiſe on the *poſture* uſed by the ancient Chriſtians *in receiving the Euchariſt* [Z], a Letter to Dr. Pearſon concerning the genuineneſs of *St. Ignatius's Epiſtles* [AA], a long one to Mr. Glanvil, formerly Miniſter of Bath, concerning the *Eternity of Future Puniſhments*; and another, on the ſubject of *Popery*, to a perſon of very great quality (m). In 1669, he publiſhed that excellent book, his *Apoſtolical Harmony* [BB], with a view to

[T] *He applied himſelf diligently to the diſcharge of his paſtoral functions.*] He had a moſt excellent talent at reading the public prayers. His whole deportment was grave and ſerious, and carried withal an air of authority: his pronunciation was diſtinct and audible, and yet natural and unaffected; and he went through every part of the ſervice with that particular devotion that belongs to it. He read the holy Scriptures with ſuch deliberation, and ſuch exactneſs in obſerving the ſtops and points, that they were rendered thereby the more intelligible to the people (20). Nor did he ſhine leſs in the pulpit. All ſubjects, which he handled there, were confirmed and ſtrengthened by paſſages of holy writ, which were explained and made eaſy to the meaneſt capacity. He had a clear head, and a ſtrong judgment, and perfectly underſtood the learned languages, in which the Bible was originally written. But, above all, he was thoroughly acquainted with primitive antiquity, and had read with care the works of the Fathers and ancient Doctors of the Church (21). He ſeldom committed his ſermons to writing, which is the reaſon he left ſo few finiſhed diſcourſes behind him. His uſual method was, after the choice of his text, to mark ſome words that were to be explained; after which he wrote down ſome obſervations, which flowed naturally from the ſubject, and under each obſervation hints for illuſtrating it, and texts of Scripture to confirm it; and then drew inferences from the whole by way of application. What Mr. Bull delivered of this kind never wanted a becoming fervour; and he enlivened his diſcourſes with proper and decent geſtures, and always exerted his voice with ſome vehemency, to awaken the attention of his hearers (22). He was particularly careful in catechizing the youth; in which God ſo far bleſſed his endeavours, that he carried fifty perſons well inſtructed in the principles of the Chriſtian Religion, at one time, to the viſitation at Cirenceſter, who were all confirmed by the Biſhop, when his whole pariſh did not conſiſt of above thirty families. He adminiſtered the Sacraments with great reverence and ſolemnity, and was always very unwilling to baptize children at home, excepting in caſes of neceſſity. He celebrated the Euchariſt ſeven times a year (23), and ſtrictly obſerved all the feaſts and faſts of the Church (24).

[U] *The government and œconomy of his own family.*] Every morning and evening the family were called to prayers, which were either thoſe compoſed by Biſhop Taylor, or taken out of *The Common-Prayer book the beſt Companion*. A portion of Scripture was read at the ſame time, with the addition, on Sunday evenings, of a chapter out of that excellent book the *Whole Duty of Man*. If any of his ſervants could not read, he would aſſign one of the family to be their teacher; and no neglect of duty in them offended him ſo much as their abſence from the family devotions (24). The conſtant frame and temper of his mind was ſo truly devout, that he would frequently in the day-time, as occaſion offered, uſe ſhort prayers and ejaculations; and when he was ſitting in ſilence in his family, and they, as he thought, intent upon other matters, he would often with an inexpreſſible air of great ſeriouſneſs, lift up his hands and eyes to heaven, and ſometimes drop tears. He was very frequent and earneſt in his private devotions, of which ſinging pſalms always made a part (25).

[W] *He confirmed two Ladies of quality in the Proteſtant Communion.*] As they lived in the neighbourhood, he had frequent conferences with them both, and anſwered thoſe objections, which appeared to them to have the greateſt ſtrength, and which had very near ſeduced them from the Church of England. At the requeſt of one of them he wrote a ſmall treatiſe, of which no copy was to be found among the papers he left behind him. Both the Ladies always owned, with the greateſt ſenſe of gratitude, this ſignal ſervice they received from the learning and capacity of Mr. Bull (26).

[X] *The impertinences and extravagances of the Quakers often gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs.*] There goes a ridiculous ſtory of one of them, who was a preacher among them, and would frequently accoſt Mr. Bull; and once in particular he ſaid to him, *George, as for human learning, I ſet no value upon it; but if thou wilt talk Scripture, have at thee.* Upon which Mr. Bull, to correct his confidence, anſwered, *Come on then, friend.* So opening a Bible, he fell upon the book of *Proverbs*. *Seeſt thou, friend,* ſaid he, Solomon *ſaith in one place,* anſwer a fool according to his folly, *and in another,* anſwer not a fool according to his folly: *how doſt thou reconcile theſe two texts of Scripture?* *Why,* ſaid the preacher, Solomon *don't ſay ſo*; to which Mr. Bull replied, *Ay, but he doth*: and turning to the places, he ſoon convinced him; upon which the Quaker, being much out of countenance, ſaid, *Why then Solomon's a fool*; which put an end to the controverſy (27).

[Y] *He then proſecuted his ſtudies with great application.*] His ſtudy was the ſcene of his moſt exquiſite pleaſure, and he would often declare, that he taſted the moſt refined ſatisfaction in the purſuit of knowledge, and that, when his thoughts were lively and lucky in his compoſitions, he found no reaſon to envy the enjoyment of the moſt voluptuous Epicure. His courſe of ſtudy, indeed, proved prejudicial to his health, becauſe, for many years together, he dedicated the greateſt part of the night to that purpoſe, and contented himſelf with little ſleep (28).

[Z] *A treatiſe on the poſture uſed by the ancient Chriſtians in receiving the Euchariſt.*] It was compoſed by Mr. Bull in anſwer to this queſtion: *What was the poſture of communicating in the bleſſed Sacrament, before the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation was received in the Church?* In his reply, he proved from antiquity, that the practice in the moſt ancient times was for the communicants to draw near the Bema or Chancel, and there to receive the conſecrated elements at the hands of the Prieſt in a bowing or adoring poſture. This piece was written at the requeſt of his dioceſan Biſhop Frampton (29).

[AA] *A Letter to Dr. Pearſon concerning the genuineneſs of St. Ignatius's Epiſtles.*] It was written in Latin, and contained many excellent obſervations and ſolid arguments to prove that thoſe Epiſtles were genuine. Dr. Pearſon, who was about vindicating the Epiſtles of that apoſtolical Biſhop and Martyr, returned Mr. Bull a large anſwer in the ſame learned language; wherein he gave him ample thanks for the pains he had taken upon that ſubject, and acknowledged the great uſefulneſs of his obſervations, and the ſtrength of his arguments (30).

[BB] *His Apoſtolical Harmony.*] It is intitled, *Harmonia Apoſtolica; ſeu Binæ Diſſertationes, quarum in* to ſettle the peace of the Church, upon a point of the utmoſt importance to all its members; and he dedicated it to Dr. William Nicholſon, Biſhop of Glouceſter (*n*). This performance was greatly diſliked, at firſt, by many of the Clergy, and others, on account of the author's departing therein from the private opinions of ſome Doctors of the Church, and his manner of reconciling the two Apoſtles, St. Paul and St. James, as to the doctrine of *Juſtification* (*o*). It was particularly oppoſed by Dr. Morley, Biſhop of Wincheſter [*CC*]; Dr. Barlow, Margaret-Profeſſor of Divinity at Oxford [*DD*]; Mr. Charles Gataker, a Preſbyterian Divine [*EE*]; Mr. Joſeph Truman, a Non-Conformiſt Miniſter [*FF*]; Dr. Tully, Principal of St. Edmund's Hall [*GG*]; Mr. John Tombes,

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(l) Life, &c. *ubi ſupra*, p. 47—78.

(m) *Ib.* p. 78—89.

(20) Life, &c. p. 54.

(21) *Ib.* p. 57—59.

(22) *Ib.* p. 59, 60.

(23) That is, I ſuppoſe, on the three great Feſtivals, and once a quarter beſides.

(24) Life, &c. p. 60—65.

(24) *Ib.* p. 65—68.

(25) *Ib.* p. 69—73.

(26) *Ib.* p. 79.

(27) *Ib.* p. 80, 81.

(28) *Ib.* p. 86.

(29) *Ib.* p. 87.

(30) *Ib.* p. 88, 89.

in priore Doctrina D. Jacobi de juſtificatione ex operibus explanatur et defenditur, in poſteriore conſenſus D. Pauli cum Jacobo liquidò demonſtratur, &c. i. e. 'The 'Apoſtolical Harmony, or Two Diſſertations, in the 'firſt of which St. James's doctrine of Juſtification by works is explained and defended; in the 'ſecond, the agreement of St. Paul with St. James 'is clearly demonſtrated.' Though this piece was not printed till the year above mentioned, it appears to have been written eight or nine years before (31), during the unhappy times of the great rebellion, when a vaſt number of books were written and publiſhed, by the hot men of the ſeveral parties, on the ſubject of Juſtification, and abundance of learned ſophiſtry had been uſed to perplex the natural and plain ſenſe of the ſacred writers (32). He wrote this work in Latin, the rather becauſe he thought too much had been written in Engliſh upon this ſubject, and that moſt of what had been written ſerved only to divide and diſtract people's minds: he therefore choſe a learned language, that it might be thoroughly conſidered by the men of learning and capacity, reaſonably ſuppoſing, that if they were ſet right in this great article, it would be more eaſily propagated among the vulgar and unlearned. The peculiar aim and deſign of the *firſt diſſertation* is to ſhew, 'That *good works*, which proceed from *faith*, 'and are conjoined with *faith*, are a neceſſary con'dition required from us by God, to the end that 'by the new and evangelical covenant, obtained by 'and ſealed in the blood of Chriſt the Mediator of 'it, we may be *juſtified* according to his *free* and *un'merited grace*.' In this doctrine, and throughout the whole book, Mr. Bull abſolutely excludes all pretenſions to *merit* on the part of men (33). Mr. Nelſon has given us a diſtinct plan of the *Harmonia*, to which the reader is referred.

[*CC*] *It was oppoſed by Dr. Morley, Biſhop of Wincheſter.*] That great and good prelate, whatever his own private opinion might be of the matter, ſeems to have been utterly againſt reviving a controverſy of this kind at all, and not to have been ſo well ſatisfied, as ſome of his brethren were, with the performance of an author, who had done nothing before this to ſignalize himſelf, and whoſe youth was too great a prejudice for many to get over. But whatever were his motives for ſo doing, this learned Biſhop, in a Paſtoral Charge to the Clergy of his dioceſe, at his next viſitation, thought fit to warn them againſt intruding too raſhly into things above them, and to prohibit them the reading of this book, or preaching agreeably to it. Some heads of houſes in the two Univerſities were alſo of the Biſhop's mind; and there were ſome tutors, who thought it incumbent on them to guard their pupils againſt what appeared to them an innovation in the Church (34).

[*DD*] — *Dr. Barlow, Margaret-Profeſſor of Divinity at Oxford.*] This learned Divine, who was afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln, read public lectures againſt the *Harmonia Apoſtolica* from the Divinity-Chair, in which he treated Mr. Bull very roughly, even ſo far as to give him opprobrious names; an account of which was ſent him by his learned and pious friend Mr. Thomas, at that time Chaplain of Chriſt-Church, who was preſent, and took notes of all that related to his friend in thoſe lectures. This treatment brought Mr. Bull to Oxford, who, with Mr. Thomas, waited upon the Profeſſor, and, complaining of the inhumanity with which he had been treated, offered to clear himſelf by a public diſputation. The Profeſſor thought fit to decline the challenge, and endeavoured to get off as well as he could by avoiding to own the fact; till Mr. Thomas poſitively affirmed it to his face, offering to produce the notes he had taken; to which the Profeſſor had no more to ſay, and they parted (35).

[*EE*] — *Mr. Charles Gataker, a Preſbyterian Divine.*] He was ſon of that learned Critic Mr. Thomas Gataker of London, author of the *Diſſertatio de ſtylo Novi Teſtamenti*, &c. who was a member of the Aſſembly of Divines that met at Weſtminſter in 1643, and was preparing to publiſh an *Harmony* of the Apoſtles James and Paul, a little before he died; with whoſe papers the ſon being aſſiſted, thought himſelf more than able to deal with our author, and even to overthrow his whole foundation (36). About a year after the publication of the *Harmonia*, a copy of it, with marginal annotations and animadverſions, was ſent to the author by his dioceſan and patron Biſhop Nicholſon, who had received them from an unknown hand, after they had been communicated in the ſame manner to others of the Biſhops, together with a letter, ſtirring them up to make uſe of their apoſtolical authority in thundering out their anathemas againſt the doctrines contained in Mr. Bull's book, as pernicious and heretical, and contrary to the decrees of the Church of England, and all the other Reformed Churches. About a year after, it was diſcovered that theſe animadverſions were written by Mr. Charles Gataker (37); who, according to my author, 'appeareth to have been a perſon of great violence in 'his temper, but one well-intentioned, and a zea'lous Proteſtant; and had he had but more coolneſs 'of thought, and had he withal read more of the 'Ancients, and fewer of the Moderns, would have 'made no inconſiderable writer (38).' The ſubſtance of Mr. Gataker's animadverſions, being twenty-three in number, may be ſeen in Mr. Nelſon (39).

[*FF*] *Mr. Joſeph Truman, a Non-conformiſt Miniſter.*] This writer, we are told, was one of a cooler head than the younger Gataker, and one alſo not unacquainted with the ancient Fathers. He had before written and publiſhed a ſhort diſcourſe concerning St. Paul's meaning of *Juſtification by Faith without Works*; and finding ſome of the opinions therein advanced in danger of being quite overthrown by the *Harmonia Apoſtolica*, he ſet himſelf to write an anſwer in Engliſh to that part of it which concerned himſelf, and publiſhed it under the title of, *An endeavour to rectify ſome prevailing opinions contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England*. By the author of the *Great Propitiation*. In the preface to this, the reader is informed, 'that 'about half a year after that he had publiſhed ſome 'ſermons, intitled, *The Great Propitiation*, where'unto was added that ſhort diſcourſe aforeſaid con'cerning *Juſtification by Faith* in the ſenſe of St. 'Paul, there came forth a learned book called *Har'monia Apoſtolica*, written by Mr. George Bull, which 'quite croſſing the interpretation he had given of St. 'Paul, he was occaſioned by ſome occurrences, which 'it concerned not the reader to know, to write the 'ſubſtance of thoſe reflexions upon it for ſome private 'uſe.' For he tells us, they were written, without any deſign of printing them, within three months after the publication of Mr. Bull's book, but were not publiſhed till about two years after, when he obſerved how faſt *ſome opinions* got ground in the Church of England, contrary to his expoſition thereof, which he attributed, in a great meaſure, to Mr. Bull, and eſpecially to the *latter* part of his performance (40). I refer the reader, for a full account of Mr. Truman's anſwer, to Mr. Nelſon (41), who deſcribes him to have been 'a perſon of a deep and ſearching genius, 'but perhaps too metaphyſical; candid in fully re'preſenting the argument of his adverſary without 'diſguiſe, and commending whatever he thought 'worthy of commendation, but ſevere alſo in his 'animadverſions, where he believed he wanted not 'ſufficient

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(*n*) Life, &c. *ubi ſupra*, p. 89.

(*o*) *Ib.* p. 97, 98.

(31) See his Apologia pro Harmonia, &c. ſect. 8. n. 5.

(32) Life, &c. p. 90—93.

(33) *Ib.* p. 94—97.

(34) Life, &c. p. 102.

(35) *Ib.* p. 201—212.

(36) *Ib.* p. 139.

(37) *Ib.* p. 101.

(38) *Ib.* p. 145, 146.

(39) Page 140—145.

(40) *Ib.* p. 162, 163.

(41) Page 171—194.

Tombes, a famous Anabaptiſt Preacher [*HH*]; Dr. Lewis Du Moulin, an Independent [*II*]; and by M. De Marets, a French writer, who tells us (*p*), ‘that the author, though a profeſſed Prieſt of the Church of England, was more addicted to the Papiſts, Remonſtrants, and Socinians, than to the orthodox party (*q*).’ Towards the end of the year 1675, Mr. Bull publiſhed his *Examen Cenſuræ*, &c. in anſwer to Mr. Gataker, and his *Apologia pro Harmonia*, &c. in reply to Dr. Tully [*KK*]. About three years after,

(*p*) In his Syſtema Theologiæ, printed at Groningen, in 4to.

(*q*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 955.

‘ ſufficient grounds for ſo doing; generous very often in his manner of treating thoſe he diſſented from, but ſometimes unreaſonably ſuſpicious and ſcrupulous; cool and moderate in the management of his cauſe, with very little appearance of paſſion or prejudice, but vigorous and zealous for the *rectifying* of ſome certain opinions, which he took to be contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England, for which he ſtill continued to profeſs an eſteem (42).’ Mr. Bull wrote an anſwer to Mr. Truman, which was never publiſhed (43), and took ſome notice of his objections in his *Examen Cenſuræ* (44).

(42) Life, *&c.* p. 204.

(43) *Ib.* p. 194.

(44) *Ib.* p. 196.

[*GG*] — *Dr. Tully, Principal of St. Edmund's-Hall.*] This eloquent and learned writer had ſome time before printed a ſhort *Syſtem of Divinity* (45), for the uſe of young ſtudents, which had met with a favourable reception, and paſſed through ſeveral editions. But his notions being partly different from thoſe of Mr. Bull in his *Harmonia*, the Doctor was prevailed upon to write an anſwer to that book in Latin; and the rather, becauſe as yet it had received no direct reply from the ſide of the Church of England. While Dr. Tully's treatiſe was yet, according to his own expreſſion, *ſticking in the birth*, a conference was propoſed, and agreed to, between him and Mr. Bull; at which meeting, Mr. Bull earneſtly beſought the Doctor, ‘above all things to conſider the peace of God's Church, and to take diligent heed, leſt, by a public diſſenſion between two divines of the ſame communion, the enemies of our Church might take occaſion of upbraiding and reproaching her.’ He therefore entreated him, ‘that he would, for preventing this evil, be pleaſed, as a friend, to communicate to him his papers, upon condition, that if by theſe he could make it appear, that he had written any thing againſt ſound doctrine, he would not refuſe *publickly to retract his error*.’ This propoſal ſeemed ſo reaſonable, that Dr. Tully replied, ‘he might, perhaps, in a very little while, ſend him a copy of his papers.’ But after this Mr. Bull never once heard from him, nor had any reaſon given him for the alteration of his mind. At length, about the beginning of the year 1674, after much expectation, there was publiſhed at Oxford (*cum Permiſſu Superiorum*, as the title-page expreſſes it) a treatiſe in Latin, intitled, *Juſtificatio Paulina ſine operibus, ex mente Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, omniumque reliquarum quæ Reformatæ audiunt, aſſerta et illuſtrata contra nuperos novatores: Authore* Tho. Tullio, S. T. P. &c. i. e. ‘St. Paul's doctrine of *Juſtification without Works* aſſerted and explained, according to the ſenſe of the Church of England, and all the reſt of the Reformed Churches, againſt ſome late innovators: By Thomas Tully, S. T. P. *&c.*’ In *quarto*. There was added at the end of this book a ſmall tract, in anſwer more particularly to the ninth chapter of the ſecond diſſertation of the *Harmonia*, under the title of *Diſſertatiuncula de ſententia Paulina*, Rom. vii. *à com.* 14. *in qua oſtenditur Paulum de ſe loqui* regenito, *non autem in perſona hominis nondum regeniti*, i. e. ‘A ſhort diſſertation concerning St. Paul's meaning in *Rom.* vii. from *ver.* 14. in which is ſhewn, that St. Paul ſpeaks of himſelf as *regenerate*, and not in the perſon of an unregenerate man (46).’ For a diſtinct account of Dr. Tully's performance, conſult Mr. Nelſon (47), who tells us, the Doctor ‘had merited the reputation of a very pious and learned man; but, as ſome that perſonally knew him have obſerved, it was a great misfortune that he betook himſelf to write controverſy, and eſpecially that he engaged with ſo briſk a writer as Mr. Bull was, even then when he was well nigh worn out (48).’

(45) The title of it was, Præcipuorum Theologiæ Capitum Enchiridion didacticum, Lond. 1665, 1666, *&c.*

(46) Life, *&c.* p. 212—220.

(47) Page 220—227.

(48) *Ib.* p. 228.

[*HH*] — *Mr. John Tombes, a famous Anabaptiſt Preacher.*] This author had been engaged in the ſame controverſy twenty years before, and had written againſt Mr. Baxter's *Aphoriſms* concerning *Juſtification*. And now he reſolved to draw out all his artillery againſt Mr. Bull, as an enemy of the greateſt weight, and as one who had brought together the whole ſtrength of the cauſe in which he had engaged. He was threeſcore and twelve years of age, when he publiſhed his book, which was intitled, *Animadverſiones in librum Georgii Bulli, cui titulum fecit* Harmonia Apoſtolica: i. e. ‘Animadverſions upon a book of George Bull's, which he hath intitled, *The Apoſtolical Harmony* (49).’

(49) *Ib.* p. 245—248.

[*II*] — *Lewis du Moulin, an Independent.*] He was ſon of the famous Peter du Moulin; and in a virulent pamphlet (50), which he publiſhed in 1680 againſt the Church of England, he fell foul upon the principles of our moſt eminent Divines, among whom he did not forget Mr. Bull, beſtowing at the ſame time great commendations on the induſtry and zeal of Dr. Tully and Dr. Barlow, as the two princpal perſons who kept the Univerſity of Oxford from being *poiſoned with Pelagianiſm, Socinianiſm, and Popery*. This was deſpiſed, as it deſerved, by Mr. Bull (51).

(50) Intitled, A ſhort and true Account of the ſ veral Advanees the Church of England hath made towards Popery, *&c.* 4*to.*

(51) Life, *&c.* p. 253.

[*KK*] *His* Examen Cenſuræ, &c. *in anſwer to Mr. Gataker, and his* Apologia pro Harmonia, &c. *in reply to Dr. Tully.*] Theſe two pieces were both publiſhed together. The title of the firſt is; *Examen Cenſuræ, ſive Reſponſio ad quaſdam Animadverſiones, antehac ineditas, in librum cui titulus Harmonia Apoſtolica*, &c. *per Georgium Bullum, Anglicanæ Eccleſiæ Preſbyterum*, i. e. ‘An Examination of the Cenſure, or, An Anſwer to certain Animadverſions, never before publiſhed, upon a book intitled, The Apoſtolical Harmony, *&c.* by George Bull, a Preſbyter of the Church of England.’ The other has for its title; *Apologia pro Harmonia ejuſque authore contra Declamationem Thomæ Tullii* S. T. P. *in libro nuper typis evulgato, quem Juſtificatio Paulina*, &c. *inſcripſit*. i. e. ‘An Apology for the Apoſtolical Harmony, and the Author thereof, againſt the Declamation of Thomas Tully, D. D. in a book lately publiſhed by him, intitled *Juſtificatio Paulina*.’ Dr. Tully being dead, when theſe pieces were publiſhed, Mr. Bull took care to have ſeveral paſſages expunged out of the ſheets remaining to be printed, becauſe they contained ſome ſharp reflections upon the Doctor, though they were true in fact, and by ſome of Mr. Bull's friends thought too material to be omitted (52). There is an *Appendix* to our author's Examination of Mr. Gataker's *Seventeenth Animadverſion*, in anſwer to Mr. Truman's objections (53). The *Examen* is not barely to be conſidered as a reply to Mr. Bull's adverſaries, but as a fuller explication of his own ſentiments. For he very ſolemnly aſſures us (54), that, when he was about forty years of age, he read over again his *Harmonia* ſeveral times, with as much ſerioufneſs and impartiality as he poſſibly could, and that he earneſtly prayed to God, in the firſt place, that he would enlighten his mind, and diſcover to him whatever errors he might have been guilty of; that he did his utmoſt to diveſt himſelf of all ſelf-love, and partiality for his own work; and that he had bound himſelf by a ſolemn vow, upon the diſcovery of any errors, openly to renounce them before the Church. Upon which review of his work, ſo accurately and ſo religiouſly performed, he declares, that there were ſome things in it, which might have been explained more clearly and fully, for the ſake at leaſt of younger readers, and that therefore he had endeavoured to ſupply this defect as well as he could in his *Examen* (55). In his *Apologia*, he very ingenuouſly confeſſes, ‘that Dr. Tully had not a few Divines of the Church of England, and thoſe of ſome eminence alſo in it, who had led him into the error; but that theſe learned men lived in thoſe times, when by the arts of certain perſons, who were extremely wedded to the *Geneva Divinity*, matters were come to

(52) *Ib.* p. 229, 230.

(53) *Ib.* p. 196.

(54) Apolog. ſect. viii. n. 5.

(55) Life, *&c.* p. 231, 232.

after, he was promoted by the Earl of Nottingham, then Lord Chancellor, to a Prebend in the church of Glouceſter [*LL*], in which he was inſtalled the ninth of October 1678 (*r*). In 1680, he finiſhed his *Defence of the Nicene Faith* [*MM*], of which he had given an hint five years before in his *Apology* (*s*). This performance was received with univerſal applauſe, and its fame ſpread into foreign countries, where it was highly eſteemed by the beſt judges of antiquity, though of different perſuaſions [*NN*]. It is true, it has been animadverted upon, and cenſured, by ſome Unitarian writers [*OO*]. Five years after the publication of this book, the author was preſented, by Philip Sheppard,

(*r*) Life, &c. p. 279.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 280.

‘ that paſs, that it was hardly ſafe for any one to interpret either the articles of our Church, or even the Scriptures themſelves, otherwiſe than according to the ſtandard of *Calvin's Inſtitutions* (56).’ This *Apology* of Mr. Bull's is written with ſuch maſterly ſtrength and judgment, that a very learned foreigner (*) called it the *Triumph of the Church of England* in this cauſe (57).

(56) Apolog. Sect. xi. No. 7.

(*) Dr. Grabe.

(57) Life, &c. p. 235.

[*LL*] *He was made a Prebendary of Glouceſter.*] Anthony Wood tells us (58), Mr. Bull obtained this Prebend through the intereſt of Dr. John Tillotſon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury. But Mr. Nelſon (59) aſcribes this promotion only to the great reputation the author had acquired by his *Harmonia*; and adds, that, as a teſtimony of his gratitude, he deſigned a public acknowledgment of the Chancellor's favour, by dedicating to him his *Fidei Nicenæ Defenſio*, which was the next book he publiſhed; but before it appeared, that great man died, in whom the Church loſt a faithful and zealous friend, and learning a generous and conſtant patron (60).

(58) Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 955.

(59) Life, &c. p. 278.

(60) *Ib.* p. 276—280.

[*MM*] *His* Defence of the Nicene Faith.] It is intitled; *Defenſio Fidei Nicenæ ex Scriptis, quæ extant, Catholicorum Doctorum, qui intra tria prima Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ Sæcula floruerunt*, i. e. ‘A Defence of the Nicene Faith, from the writings, which are extant, of the Catholic Doctors, who flouriſhed within the three firſt centuries of the Chriſtian Church.’ After Mr. Bull had finiſhed this work, he offered the copy to three or four bookſellers ſucceſſively, who all refuſed it, being unwilling to venture the expences of the impreſſion; ſo that he brought it home, and entirely laid aſide all thoughts of printing it: for being in low circumſtances, and having a large family to ſupport, he could not poſſibly be at the charge of printing it himſelf, as he was inclinable enough to have done, if he had been able. Thus this learned book might have been buried for ever, had not a certain worthy friend of the author's, ſome few years after, adviſed him to put his neglected copy into the hands of Dr. Jane, then *Regius Profeſſor* of Divinity in the Univerſity of Oxford, and ſubmit the ſame to his cenſure and diſpoſal. Accordingly Mr. Bull committed his papers to the Profeſſor, who, highly approving them, recommended this work to the pious and learned Biſhop Fell. That prelate was preſently for encouraging ſo uſeful and excellent a performance, and wanted no ſolicitation to undertake the whole expence of printing it; which was accordingly done at the Theatre in Oxford in the year 1685 (61). This book is written againſt the Arians and Socinians on the one hand, and the Tritheiſts and Sabellians on the other. The author of Biſhop Bull's *Life* has given us an hiſtory of the controverſy, which occaſioned the writing this book, together with a plan of the work, and an account of the uſes made of it by ſome later writers, particularly Dr. Samuel Clarke in his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, and Dr. Edwards of Cambridge in his *Animadverſions* on Dr. Clarke's book (62).

(61) *Ib.* p. 280—284.

(62) *Ib.* p. 284—341.

[*NN*] *It was received with univerſal applauſe, and highly eſteemed by the beſt judges of antiquity, though of different perſuaſions.*] An Unitarian author, who calls himſelf a *diſintereſted perſon*, though he has given his judgment againſt the *Defenſio Fidei Nicenæ*, with all the ſtrength and learning that he was maſter of, yet was obliged, by the irreſiſtible force of truth, to give the following character both of the book and author. ‘After Dr. Cudworth, came Dr. *Bull*, author of the *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, a book that has rendered the writer of it very famous, not in England only or chiefly, but beyond the water. 'Tis compoſed in a ſtyle moſt truly Latin, with much vivacity of expreſſion, with great vigour and ſubtilty of thought: in ſhort, 'tis worthy of the noble argument, of which he treats. This author having ſtudied the Fathers with an application, diligence and obſervation, almoſt peculiar to *him*, perceived that the ſchools have departed from that notion of the Trinity, believed and profeſſed by ſome of the principal Fathers (63).’ The anſwerer of this Socinian pamphlet, who is ſuppoſed to be Dr. Sherlock himſelf, in a diſcourſe intitled, *The difference between real and nominal Trinitarians examined* (64), aſſures us, this was not ſaid out of any good will to our author, or diſintereſtedneſs between the two contending parties, but that *All that this Socinian intended by bringing Dr.* Bull *into the fray, was to follow the blow the animadverter* (Dr. South) *and the Oxford decree had given to a* Trinity of diſtinct, proper, ſubſiſting, living, intelligent Perſons *(which is all that Dr.* Bull, *or the* Dean *aſſert) by their charge of* Tritheiſm; *which*, he hoped, *would be a ſufficient anſwer to that otherwiſe unanſwerable book, and, together with Dr.* Bull, *would confute all the Fathers at once, on whoſe authority he ſo much relies, and to whom he perpetually appeals.* Among the foreign authors, who have made honourable mention of Dr. Bull, I ſhall cite here the teſtimony of M. Boſſuet, Biſhop of *Meaux*; whoſe *Hiſtory of the Variations*, &c. having been attacked by M. Jurieu, in defence of the Proteſtants, with little deference to the primitive Fathers of the Church, the Biſhop publiſhed a reply, in which he frequently ſends his adverſary and his readers, for ſatisfaction, to the collection of teſtimonies made by our author out of the Fathers. In one place he ſays; ‘That I may have no occaſion, my brethren, to defend againſt you the doctrine of the firſt ages concerning the eternal generation of the Son, if your Miniſter hath any doubt hereof, and is not willing to read the learned treatiſes of Father Thomaſſin (*), who ſo profoundly explains the ancient traditions, or the learned preface of Father Petau (†), which is the elucidation and key of his whole doctrine concerning this matter, I ſend him to BULL, that learned *Engliſh* Proteſtant, in the treatiſe, where he hath ſo well defended the Fathers, who lived before the Council of Nice. You muſt either renounce the Faith of the Holy Trinity, which God forbid, or pre-ſuppoſe with me, that this author hath reaſon (65).’ And here it is very remarkable, that our author's book was in ſuch eſteem abroad, both with Romaniſts and Proteſtants, that even M. Jurieu himſelf contended, no leſs than the Biſhop his adverſary, to have him on his ſide, ſaying, *that* Bull's *obſervations and his were as like as an egg to an egg*, concerning the generation of the Son of God. But the Biſhop of Meaux replied to M. Jurieu, that, without entering into all the particulars, it was enough to let him know, that he, the Biſhop, had *taken from him in one word all the ancients, by ſending him to* Bull, as from whom he might *learn the true explication of all their paſſages* (66).

(63) See The Judgment of a diſintereſted Perſon, concerning the Controverſy about the Bleſſed Trinity, depending between Dr. South and Dr. Sherlock, 4to, Lond. 1696.

(64) Page 4.

(*) Dogmata Theolog. T. iii.

(†) Pref. Theolog. Dogm. T. ii.

(65) Premier Auvertiſement aux Proteſtants ſur les Lettres du Miniſtre Jurieu contre *L'Hiſtoire des Variations*, § xxv.

(66) Life, &c. p. 346.

[*OO*] *It has been animadverted upon, and cenſured, by ſome* Unitarian *writers.*] The author of a pamphlet intitled, *The Judgment of the Fathers concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity, oppoſed to Dr.* G. Bull's Defence of the Nicene Faith (67), undertakes to *diſcover Dr.* Bull's *frauds and miſtakes, detect his ſophiſtries and eluſions, and confront his miſrepreſentation of the Fathers with the confeſſions and judgment of the criticks, who have either publiſhed or commented on the writings of the Fathers* (68). This author complains of the ſevere terms, in which Dr. Bull treats the Unitarians, both in this work and in his *Judicium Eccleſiæ Catholicæ.*

(67) Printed at London in 1695, in 4to.

(68) Page 76.

pard, Eſq; to the Rectory of Avening in Glouceſterſhire [*PP*], a very large pariſh (*t*), and worth two hundred pounds *per annum*. The people of this pariſh, being many of them very diſſolute and immoral, and many more diſaffected to the Church of England, gave him for ſome time great trouble and uneaſineſs; but, by his prudent conduct and diligent diſcharge of his duty [*QQ*], he at laſt got the better of their prejudices, and converted their diſlike into the moſt cordial love and affection towards him (*u*). He had not been long at Avening, before he was promoted, by Archbiſhop Sancroft, to the Archdeaconry of Landaff, in which he was inſtalled the twentieth of June 1686 (*w*). He was invited ſoon after to Oxford, where the Degree of Doctor in Divinity was conferred upon him by that Univerſity [*RR*], in conſideration of the great and eminent ſervices he had done the Church (*x*). During the reign of King James II. the Doctor preached very warmly againſt Popery [*SS*], with which the nation was then threatened. Some time after the Revolution, he was put into the commiſſion

tholicæ. 'In ſhort *(ſays he)*, Dr. Bull hath expreſſed ſuch a malevolence, and hath ſo notoriouſly and infamouſly violated the cartel of honour and civility, that was thought to be agreed and eſtabliſhed between perſons of excellent learning and great abilities, when they happen to be engaged in contrary ſides, that no reſpect or tenderneſs can be ſhewn to him by an Unitarian (69).' Mr. Whiſton, in his letter to the Archbiſhops of York and Canterbury (70), tells them, he had occaſion to take notice of *ſeveral great miſtakes in the right reverend and very learned Biſhop* Bull, *concerning the Trinity and Incarnation*; 'which I could not, *ſays he*, avoid without betraying the truths of God Almighty, ſince I think he has too often *perverted* them, and the teſtimonies in antiquity belonging to them. Nor can I forbear to wiſh that his Lordſhip's plain failure in ſo celebrated a work may be a warning to all the *learned* hereafter, how they write in the uſual way of modern controverſy, which has too long by much been the bane of the Church of Chriſt; and to the *unlearned*, how they truſt to ſuch writings in the determination of their faith and practice.' I ſhall only add the judgment of Father Simon, who, in his *Nouvelle Bibliotheque Choiſie* (71), after endeavouring to ſhew, that the Anti-Nicene Fathers are favourable to Arianiſm, and that our author has not proved the contrary, concludes with remarking, that it is not his deſign to run over the whole book of Dr. Bull, 'which, notwithſtanding, *ſays he*, what I have juſt now obſerved, is a good book, and may be of uſe to Divines.' Then he adds; 'Perhaps it would have been better, if the author had proved the myſtery of the Trinity, againſt the Socinians, by clear and formal paſſages of the New Teſtament, rather than have oppoſed againſt them a tradition, which does not appear altogether conſtant.' And again; 'If the learned Biſhop Bull had been well ſkilled in the *critique* of the Greek copies of the New Teſtament, and of the ancient Latin copies, he would not have affirmed ſo poſitively, that Tertullian and Cyprian have quoted the 7th verſe of the vth chapter of the 1ſt epiſtle of St. John, nor would he have alleged that paſſage againſt thoſe, who believe that it is not genuine.'

[*PP*] *He was preſented by Philip Sheppard, Eſq; to the Rectory of Avening in Glouceſterſhire.*] Mr. Bull owed this preferment to the following accident. At the time when that Rectory became vacant, Mr. Sheppard and Mr. Bull, with ſome other friends, were at Aſtrop-wells in Oxfordſhire, drinking thoſe mineral waters for the advantage of their health; and they were even in company together with ſome other gentlemen, when Mr. Sheppard received the news of it. Upon which he acquainted the company, that he had a very good living to diſpoſe of, and reckoned up the qualifications he expected in the perſon, upon whom he ſhould beſtow it; which ſo exactly agreed with Mr. Bull's character, that every one preſent plainly perceived, that Mr. Sheppard deſigned that preferment in favour of Mr. Bull. Some time after, Mr. Bull withdrew with ſome of the company, to walk in the garden; which opportunity Mr. Sheppard took to declare, that he had purpoſely thrown out thoſe hints, that Mr. Bull might be encouraged to apply to him for it; but finding his modeſty was too great to make that ſtep, he was reſolved to offer it to him; which he accordingly did, as ſoon as Mr. Bull returned into the room, who received it with all the acknowledgments due for ſo good a living to ſo generous a patron (72).

[*QQ*] *His prudent conduct, and diligent diſcharge of his duty.*] As a particular account has already been given of Dr. Bull's method of governing thoſe pariſhes, of which he had the care, it is not neceſſary to add any thing farther upon that ſubject, than what appears to have been peculiar to his conduct at Avening. He had a ſermon at his church every Thurſday, at which time the children were catechiſed by his Curate; and, to encourage the poor to attend the church at ſuch ſeaſons, he conſtantly upon that day diſtributed five ſhillings among them (73). One great conteſt he had with the diſorderly people of Avening related to the obſervation of a feaſt or wake, which was attended the day following with extravagant revels. Dr. Bull preached againſt the diſorders committed upon that occaſion. But when neither his inſtructions nor exhortations could prevail with his pariſhioners to obſerve that decency, which becomes Chriſtians in the celebration of thoſe anniverſaries, he procured an order of ſeſſion to ſuppreſs it, which effectually put an end to it many years before he left that place (74).

[*RR*] *The degree of Doctor in Divinity was conferred upon him by the Univerſity of Oxford.*] A motion was made, in full convocation, by Dr. Jane, *Regius* Profeſſor of Divinity, that, as an acknowledgment of the ſingular honour done that Univerſity, and of the laſting ſervice done to the whole Church, by Mr. George Bull, in his excellent *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, lately printed and publiſhed among them, and as a perpetual teſtimony of their eſteem and regard for a perſon of his merit, he ſhould be admitted to the degree of Doctor in Divinity, notwithſtanding that he had never taken any academical degree. This motion being unanimouſly agreed to, Biſhop Fell wrote a letter to Mr. Bull, to thank him for the noble preſent he had made him in that immortal work, and to acquaint him at the ſame time with the honour which the Univerſity deſigned him. The Profeſſor wrote alſo a letter to him, acquainting him with what paſſed in convocation, and preſſing him to come to Oxford, there to be admitted to the higheſt degree of honour that was in their power to confer on any perſon. Mr. Bull received theſe letters at Landaff, where he had juſt taken poſſeſſion of the Archdeaconry, and came to Oxford the beginning of July, where he was created Doctor in Divinity the tenth of the ſaid month 1686, without the payment of the uſual fees (75).

[*SS*] *He preached very warmly againſt Popery.*] This he did not only in his own pariſh, but in other public places, where he was called to preach, as at Bath and Glouceſter, and in a viſitation ſermon at Hampton. It is true, indeed, that Dr. Bull was a frank aſſertor of ſome principles, upon which are built ſeveral errors of the Church of Rome; upon which account he had been cenſured by many, who could not diſtinguiſh the foundation from the hay and ſtubble built thereupon, as too much inclining to favour that Church. But how little he deſerved that reflection, appeared now by his courage and reſolution in attacking thoſe pernicious errors which he apprehended

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(*t*) It is eight miles in compaſs.

(*u*) Life, &c. p. 348—354.

(*w*) *Ibid.*

(*x*) *Ib.* p. 360. & Wood, Faſti Oxon. vol. ii. col. 229.

(69) Page 77.

(70) See the Hiſtorical Preface to his Primitive Chriſtianity reſtored, Lond. 1711, 8*vo*, p. 57.

(71) Ch. xiv. edit. Amſterd. 1714, 2 vols. 12*mo*.

(72) Life, &c. p. 349, 350.

(73) *Ib.* p. 360, 361.

(74) *Ib.* p. 362, 363.

(75) *Ib.* p. 359, 360.

miſſion of the peace [*TT*], and continued in it, with ſome little interruption, till he was made a Biſhop *(y)*. In 1694, whilſt he continued Rector of Avening, he publiſhed his *Judicium Eccleſiæ Catholicæ*, &c. [*UU*], in defence of the *Anathema*, as his former Book had been of the *Faith*, decreed by the firſt Council of Nice (*z*). The laſt treatiſe, which Dr. Bull wrote, was his *Primitive Apoſtolical Tradition*, &c. [*WW*] againſt Daniel Zwicker, a Pruſſian (*a*). All Dr. Bull's Latin works, which he had publiſhed by himſelf at different times, were collected together, and printed in 1703, in one volume in folio, under the care and inſpection of Dr. John Erneſt Grabe, the author's age and infirmities diſabling him from undertaking this edition. The ingenious editor adorned the work with many learned annotations, and uſhered it into the world with an excellent preface (*b*). Dr. Bull was in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age, when he was acquainted with her Majeſty's gracious intention of conferring on him the Biſhopric of St. David's; which promotion he at firſt declined, on account of his ill ſtate of health and advanced years; but, by the importunity of his friends, and ſtrong ſolicitations from the governors of the Church, he was at laſt prevailed upon to accept it, and was accordingly conſecrated in Lambeth-Chapel, the twenty-ninth of April 1705 (*c*). Two years after, he

(*y*) Life, &c. p. 363—366.

(*z*) *Ib.* p. 369.

(*a*) *Ib.* p. 390.

(*b*) *Ib.* p. 401, 402.

(*c*) *Ib.* p. 407—409.

hended might gain ground by the favour and authority of the Prince upon the throne, who was unhappily engaged in that communion (76).

(76) Life, &c. p. 364 365.

[*TT*] *He was put into the Commiſſion of the Peace.*] The main inducement, which prevailed upon Dr. Bull to act in a ſecular poſt, was, that he might have an opportunity of putting in execution the laws againſt immorality and prophaneneſs; in which he was very ſucceſsful, by the help of ſome clergymen in his neighbourhood, who procured him informations againſt common ſwearers, drunkards, and ſabbath-breakers (77).

(77) *Ib.* p. 366.

[*UU*] *His Judicium Eccleſiæ Catholicæ*, &c.] The whole title runs thus: *Judicium Eccleſiæ Catholicæ trium priorum Seculorum de neceſſitate credendi, quod Dominus noſter Jeſus Chriſtus ſit verus Deus, aſſertum contra M. Simonem Epiſcopium alioſque*, i. e. 'The 'judgment of the Catholic Church of the three firſt 'centuries concerning the neceſſity of believing that 'our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is very God, aſſerted againſt 'Simon Epiſcopius and others.' The occaſion of Dr. Bull's writing this treatiſe was, that in reading the thirty-fourth chapter of the fourth book of Epiſcopius's *Inſtitutions*, in which he treats concerning the neceſſity of believing the manner of the *divine filiation* of Jeſus Chriſt, and puts this queſtion, *Whether the fifth (and higheſt) manner of Chriſt's being the Son of God, be neceſſary to be known and believed, and whether they, who deny the ſame, are to be excommunicated and anathematized*; he had made ſome remarks thereupon for his own private uſe, by way of anſwer to the arguments of that learned writer, who held, that the primitive Catholics did not refuſe communion with thoſe that received not the article of the divine generation or filiation of Jeſus Chriſt, provided they acknowledged him to be the Son of God, in virtue of his miraculous Conception, his mediatorial Office, his Reſurrection from the dead, and Exaltation to the right-hand of God the Father (78). The *anathema*, pronounced by the Council of Nice, which Epiſcopius thought too harſh and uncharitable, and which our author undertook to vindicate, is this: 'Thoſe 'who ſay, *there was a time when he was not*, or, *be*'*fore he was born he was not*, or, *he was made of* '*things that are not*, or, *he is of another ſubſtance or* '*eſſence*; and thoſe who maintain that the Son of 'God is *created*, or *convertible*, or *changeable*; all 'theſe doth the Catholic and Apoſtolical Church ana'thematize.' But this anſwer of Dr. Bull to Epiſcopius, in defence of the ſaid *anathema*, was not written ſo much againſt Epiſcopius himſelf, as againſt ſome at home, to whom Dr. Bull gives the name of *Mediators*, for joining together two extremes (79). Mr. Nelſon has given us a ſhort abſtract of the contents and method of this book (80), which was deſigned as a ſupplement to the *Defenſio Fidei Nicenæ*. The ſame gentleman, ſoon after its publication, ſent it as a preſent to M. Boſſuet, Biſhop of Meaux, who, upon ſeveral occaſions, had expreſſed a great value and eſteem for Dr. Bull's learning and judgment (81). That Prelate not only read the Doctor's work with great care and exactneſs himſelf, but communicated it likewiſe to ſeveral other French Biſhops, who peruſed it with equal pleaſure and ſatisfaction; the reſult of which was, to compliment the author in their name; and Mr. Nelſon was deſired, in a letter from the Biſhop of Meaux, not only to return Dr. Bull his humble thanks, but the unfeigned congratulations alſo of the whole clergy of France, then aſſembled at St. Germains, for the great ſervice he had done to the Catholic Church, in ſo well defending her determination, concerning the neceſſity of believing the Divinity of the Son of God (82). In that letter, the Biſhop of Meaux expreſſes himſelf in the following terms: *There is one thing I wonder at, which is, that ſo great a man, who ſpeaks ſo advantageouſly of the Church, of Salvation which is obtained only in Unity with her, and of the infallible aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt in the Council of Nice, which infers the ſame aſſiſtance for all others aſſembled in the ſame Church, can continue a moment without acknowledging her. Or, let him tell me, Sir, what he means by the term* Catholic Church? *Is it the Church of* Rome, *and thoſe that adhere to her? Is it the Church of* England? *Is it a confuſed heap of ſocieties, ſeparated the one from the other? And how can they be that Kingdom of Chriſt, not divided againſt itſelf, and which ſhall never periſh? It would be a great ſatisfaction to me to receive ſome anſwer upon this ſubject, that might explain the opinion of ſo weighty and ſolid an author.* Dr. Bull anſwered the queries propoſed in this letter; but juſt as his anſwer came to Mr. Nelſon's hands, he received the news of the Biſhop's death, which prevented the progreſs of this controverſy (83). However, Dr. Bull's anſwer was publiſhed, and a ſecond edition printed at London, 1707, in 12*mo*, under the following title; *The Corruptions of the Church of Rome, in relation to Eccleſiaſtical Government, the Rule of Faith, and Form of Divine Worſhip: In anſwer to the Biſhop of* Meaux'*s Queries.*

(78) *Ib.* p. 369.

(79) *Ib.* p. 372.

(80) *Ib* p. 376—383.

(81) See the remark [*OO*].

(82) Life, &c. p. 383—385.

(83) *Ib.* p. 388—390.

[*WW*] *His* Primitive Apoſtolical Tradition, &c.] The whole title is; *Primitiva et Apoſtolica Traditio Dogmatis in Eccleſia Catholica recepti de Jeſu Chriſti Servatoris noſtri Divinitate; Aſſerta atque evidenter demonſtrata contra Danielem Zuikerum Boruſſum, ejuſque nuperos in Anglia Sectatores* (84), i. e. 'The Pri'mitive and Apoſtolical Tradition of the Doctrine 'received in the Catholic Church, concerning the 'Divinity of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, aſſerted and 'evidently demonſtrated againſt Daniel Zwicker the 'Pruſſian, and his late followers in England.' In this work, Dr. Bull undertakes to prove, that Juſtin Martyr was not, as is pretended, an innovator of the Chriſtian Faith in the article concerning the perſon of Chriſt; that he was not deceived herein by the frauds and artifices of the Diſciples of Simon Magus; that he never learnt from the ſchools of Plato, what he taught concerning the *Logos*; and that he was the fartheſt in the world from any deſign of intermixing Polytheiſm with Chriſtianity, or of accommodating the Goſpel of Chriſt to the Gentile theology; but that, on the contrary, it was an apoſtolical tradition, introduced into the firſt Chriſtian Churches, that our Saviour did exiſt before the world was made; that the doctrine of his Godhead could not proceed from the ſchool of the *ſorcerer*, whoſe ſentiments differed very

(84) Lond. 1703.

he loſt his eldeſt ſon, Mr. George Bull [*XX*], who died of the ſmall-pox the eleventh of May 1707, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age (*d*). Our Prelate took his ſeat in the Houſe of Lords in that memorable ſeſſion, when the bill paſſed for the *Union* of the two kingdoms, and ſpoke in a debate which happened upon that occaſion [*YY*]. About July after his conſecration, he went into his dioceſe, and was received with all imaginable demonſtrations of reſpect by the gentry and clergy. The epiſcopal palace at Aberguilly being much out of repair, he choſe the town of Brecknock for the place of his reſidence (*e*); but was obliged, about half a year before his death, to remove from thence to Abermarleſs, for the benefit of a freer air (*f*). He reſided conſtantly in his dioceſe, and carefully diſcharged all the epiſcopal functions [*ZZ*]. Though Biſhop Bull was a great admirer of our eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, yet he would often lament the diſtreſſed ſtate of the Church of England, chiefly owing to the decay of ancient diſcipline, and the great number of lay-impropriations [*AAA*]. Some time before his laſt ſickneſs, he entertained thoughts of addreſſing a circular letter to all his clergy; and, after his death, there was found among his papers one drawn up to that purpoſe [*BBB*]. He had

very widely from the Catholic tradition of that doctrine; and that it could not poſſibly be derived, either from the Platonic Philoſophers, or any other, whom the Chriſtians had a mind to gain over to their party. Here is alſo a particular and moſt accurate account given of Hegeſippus, and his ſentiment concerning Chriſt's perſon; as likewiſe of the primitive Nazarenes, and of the firſt Biſhops of Jeruſalem, challenged as theirs by Dr. Zwicker's Engliſh diſciples. The reader will here be entertained with a good deal of curious and uſeful learning, about the Sibylline Oracles, and the verſes of Orpheus, which are cited by ſeveral of the primitive writers againſt the Heathens (85).

[*XX*] *He loſt his eldeſt ſon* Mr. George Bull.] This young gentleman had ſpent ſeventeen years at Chriſt-Church in Oxford, and was eſteemed one of the ornaments of that ſociety. He was tutor to ſeveral young gentlemen; one of whom, Sir Bourchier Wrey, became his patron, and preferred him to the rectory of Tawſtock in Devonſhire. Upon the promotion of his father to the See of St. David's, he was made Archdeacon of Landaff in his room. His death was the greater loſs to the Biſhop, as the aſſiſtance he expected from him in the diſcharge of the epiſcopal function, was what had a great influence upon him in determining him to accept it (86).

[*YY*] *He ſpoke in a debate, which happened upon that occaſion.*] A certain noble Lord, it ſeems, moved in a ſpeech, that, ſince the Parliament of Scotland had given a character of their Church, by extolling *the purity of its worſhip*, their Lordſhips ſhould not be behind-hand in giving a character of *the beſt conſtituted Church in the world.* 'For (ſaid he, turning 'himſelf towards the Bench of Biſhops) I have always been taught by my Lords the Biſhops from 'my youth, that the Church of England was the 'beſt conſtituted Church in the world, and moſt agree'able to apoſtolical inſtitution.' Whereupon Biſhop Bull, who ſat very near his Lordſhip, ſtood up, and ſaid; *My Lords, I ſecond what that noble Lord hath moved, and do think it highly reaſonable, that, in this Bill, a character ſhould be given of our moſt excellent Church. For, my Lords, whoever is ſkilled in primitive antiquity, muſt allow it for a certain and evident truth, that the Church of England is, in her doctrine, diſcipline, and worſhip, moſt agreeable to primitive and apoſtolical inſtitution.* Upon coming out of the houſe, Biſhop Beveridge ſaid to the Biſhop of St. David's; 'My Lord, if you and I had the penning of this 'bill, it ſhould be in the manner your Lordſhip hath 'moved.' To which Biſhop Bull made ſuch a reply, as repreſented the neceſſity he lay under of thus diſcharging his duty, when ſo ſolemnly called upon in the greateſt court of the nation (87).

[*ZZ*] *He carefully diſcharged all the epiſcopal functions.*] His firſt care was to acquaint himſelf with the ſtate and condition of his dioceſe; in order to which, he propoſed to viſit it in perſon that ſummer, and actually began at Brecknock, where he delivered his charge to the clergy; but a ſevere illneſs putting a ſtop to his progreſs at that time, he appointed Commiſſioners, the chief of whom was Mr. William Powel, Rector of Langaſtock, to viſit in his name. Three years afterwards, his Lordſhip appointed a triennial viſitation; but not being able, through weakneſs and continued indiſpoſitions, to bear the fatigue of travelling, he conſtituted his ſon-in-law, Mr. Stephens, Archdeacon of Brecknock, with Mr. William Powel before mentioned, to be his Commiſſioners, and to viſit in his ſtead. Mr. Stephens, in this viſitation, delivered a charge prepared by the Biſhop himſelf for that purpoſe (88). He frequently *confirmed* in the neighbourhood of ſuch places where he reſided, particularly at Brecknock, Caermarthen, Landeilo, and Abermarleſs (89). He was very ſtrict in examining into the qualifications of candidates for Holy Orders, and never diſmiſſed thoſe whom he ordained, without the moſt earneſt and affectionate exhortations, with reſpect to their future conduct (90). Among other irregularities, which he found to have prevailed in his dioceſe, he endeavoured to reform that of adminiſtring Baptiſm in private houſes, excepting in caſes of neceſſity (91). His converſation with his clergy was, upon all occaſions, grave and ſerious, and related chiefly to the condition of their pariſhes, and the diſcharge of their own duties (92).

[*AAA*] *He lamented the diſtreſſed ſtate of the Church of England, owing to——the great number of lay-impropriations.*] Several good men (he uſed to ſay) looked upon the alienation of tythes, as the ſcandal of the *Reformation*, and eſteemed it the great blemiſh of the *Reſtoration*, that no care was taken, at that time, of the intereſt of the Church of England, with reſpect to its revenues. When the Biſhop talked upon this ſubject, he would often mention, with pleaſure, the wiſdom and goodneſs of Queen Anne, in her augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy. This deſign, he thought, would be more eaſily carried on, if ſome rich impropriators could be prevailed upon to reſtore to the Church ſome part of her revenues, which they had too long enjoyed, to the great prejudice of the Church, and very often to the ruin of their families, by that ſecret curſe, which is the uſual attendant on ſacrilegious poſſeſſions. He was able, he ſaid, to give inſtances of this kind, in ſome families of his acquaintance; and in this point he ſeemed to concur with the opinion of Sir Henry Spelman. Though he was always in his judgment againſt lay-impropriations, yet he was never ſo ſenſible of the great inconveniencies which attend them, as upon his coming into the dioceſe of St. David's, where they are very numerous, and the ſalaries allowed the curates by the impropriators too mean and inconſiderable to furniſh a tolerable maintenance. The Biſhop applied himſelf to ſeveral of theſe impropriators, in hopes of prevailing with them to advance the ſtipends to a competent ſubſiſtence. But the little ſucceſs he met with in theſe applications, put him upon inquiring, how far it was in his own power to remedy this grievance; and if he had lived to have ſeen London once more, he deſigned to have taken the advice and direction of his brethren, the Biſhops, upon this momentous affair (93).

[*BBB*] *There was found among his papers, a circular letter, drawn up to that purpoſe.*] It had not received his laſt hand, and wants that perfection which uſually

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(*d*) Life, &c. p. 412.

(*e*) *Ib.* p. 415—417.

(*f*) *Ib.* p. 437.

(85) Life, &c. p. 400, 401.

(86) *Ib.* p. 411, 412.

(87) *Ib.* p. 415, 416.

(88) *Ib.* p. 417—421.

(89) *Ib.* p. 422.

(90) *Ib.* p. 423—428.

(91) *Ib.* p. 429.

(92) *Ib.* p. 430.

(93) *Ib.* p. 431, 432.

had greatly impaired his health, by too intenſe and unſeaſonable an application to his ſtudies, and, on the twenty-ſeventh of September 1709, was taken with a violent fit of coughing, which brought on a ſpitting of blood. About the beginning of February following, he was ſeized with a diſtemper, ſuppoſed to be an ulcer, or what they call the inward piles; of which he died the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, and was buried, about a week after his death, at Brecknock [*CCC*], leaving behind him but two children [*DDD*] of the eleven with which God had bleſſed him *(g)*. What remains to be drawn of Biſhop Bull's character, and an account of his Sermons and Diſcourſes not hitherto taken notice of, ſhall be given in the remarks [*EEE*] and [*FFF*]. All his works have been publiſhed together ſince his death, in folio, by Mr. Nelſon.

(g) Life, &c. p. 458—475.

uſually attended whatever he compoſed. It is addreſſed *to the Reverend the Archdeacons, and the reſt of the clergy of the dioceſe of St. David's.* The firſt thing the good Biſhop recommends, for the advancement of piety and virtue, is, *The eſtabliſhing Family Devotion*; the next is, *The erecting of Charity-Schools*; the third is, *That they endeavour to diſpoſe parents, to ſupply each of their children before they marry, or are otherwiſe ſettled in the world, with a ſmall library* (*), *containing books of practical Divinity, to the value of three, four, or five pounds, fixed in a little preſs with Shelves proper for that purpoſe.* Fourthly, the Biſhop recommends the uſe of the *Welch Common-Prayer-Book*, lately printed in a ſmall volume; and, in the laſt place, he earneſtly exhorts them to uſe their intereſt with the Juſtices of the Peace, *to put in execution the laws againſt vice and immorality.* The reader may ſee the letter at length in Mr. Nelſon (94).

(*) There has been ſince printed a ſheet of paper called *The Young Chriſtian's Library*; or a Collection of good and uſeful books proper to be given to young perſons by their parents, &c. Printed by J. Downing in Bartholomew-Cloſe.

(94) Life, &c. p. 442—452.

[*CCC*] *He was buried —— at Brecknock.*] He lies (if Mr. Nelſon's information be true) between two of his predeceſſors, Biſhop Manwaring and Biſhop Lucy. His funeral was attended by great numbers of the gentry and clergy, both of the county of Caermarthen and of Brecknock. He had given ſtrict charge that the burthen of his debts ſhould not be increaſed, by beſtowing more expence on his interment, than what neceſſity and decency required. And upon this account, it is thought, when he was aſked where he would be buried, he replied, *Where the tree falleth, there let it lie.* But he was prevailed upon, by the deſire of his wife, to conſent to be buried at Brecknock, it being the place where ſhe deſigned to paſs her widowhood; and, as Mrs. Bull was deſirous to be depoſited with her huſband after her death, his grave, by her direction, was walled on all ſides, and made large enough to receive two bodies (95). His grave was covered with a plain ſtone, and the ſhort inſcription upon it, which follows, was framed and ordered by his pious widow, who was ſo ſatisfied with it herſelf, that ſhe would not ſuffer it to be caſt into any other form.

(95) Mrs. Bull died ſoon after Mr. Nelſon undertook to write the Life of her huſband, and was accordingly buried in the ſame grave with the Biſhop.

Here lieth the Right Reverend
Father in God, Dr. George Bull,
Late Bishop of this Diocess;
Who was excellently learned,
Pious and Charitable;
And who departed this Life
February the 17th, 1709. Aged 75 (95).

(95) Life, &c. *ib.* p. 473—475.

[*DDD*] *He left behind him two children.*] *Viz.* his ſon *Robert*, who became Rector of Tortworth in Glouceſterſhire, and Prebendary of Glouceſter, and who married Rachel, the daughter of Edward Stephens, of Cherington in the county of Glouceſter, Eſq; and of Mary, the daughter of Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench: and his daughter *Bridget*, married, after his death, to Mr. Edward Adderly, ſon of the aforeſaid Mary by a former huſband (96).

(96) *Ib.* p. 475.

[*EEE*] *His character.*] He was tall of ſtature, and in his younger years thin and pale, but fuller and more ſanguine in the middle and latter part of his age; his ſight quick and ſtrong, and his conſtitution firm and vigorous, till indefatigable reading, and nocturnal ſtudies, to which he was very much addicted, had firſt impaired, and at length quite extinguiſhed the one, and ſubjected the other to many infirmities; for his ſight failed him entirely, and his ſtrength to a great degree, ſome years before he died. But whatever other bodily indiſpoſitions he contracted, by intenſe thinking, and a ſedentary life, his head was always free, and remained unaffected to the laſt. As to the temperature and complexion of his body, that of melancholy ſeemed to prevail, but never ſo far as to indiſpoſe his mind for ſtudy and converſation. The vivacity of his natural temper expoſed him to ſharp and ſudden fits of anger, which were but of ſhort continuance, and ſufficiently atoned for by the goodneſs and tenderneſs of his nature towards all his domeſtics. He had a firmneſs and conſtancy of mind, which made him not eaſily moved, when he had once fixed his purpoſes and reſolutions. He had early a true ſenſe of religion; and though he made a ſhort excurſion into the paths of vanity, yet he was entirely recovered a conſiderable time before he entered into Holy Orders. His great learning was tempered with that modeſt and humble opinion of it, that it thereby ſhone with greater luſtre. His actions were no leſs inſtructive than his converſation; for his exact knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and of the writings of the primitive fathers of the Church, had ſo effectual an influence upon his practice, that it was indeed a fair, entire, and beautiful image of the prudence and probity, ſimplicity and benignity, humility and charity, purity and piety, of the primitive Chriſtians. During his ſickneſs, his admirable patience under exquiſite pains, and his continual prayers, made it evident, that his mind was much fuller of God than of his illneſs; and he entertained thoſe that attended him with ſuch beautiful and lively deſcriptions of religion and another world, as if he had a much clearer view than ordinary of what he believed (97).

(97) *Ib.* p. 476—479.

[*FFF*] *Some account of his* ſermons *and* diſcourſes.] His ſon, *Mr. Robert Bull*, had not only the Biſhop's leave, but his order, to print his *ſermons* after his death; ſo that we may from thence conclude, they had received his laſt hand, and conſequently that perfection, which belonged to his compoſitions. The ſubjects are reduced to no dependence upon one another, in the method of ranging them; neither was it neceſſary, ſince it does not appear that they were framed with any ſuch proſpect (98). Theſe ſermons are of great uſe in two reſpects. In the firſt place, ſeveral of them are written upon the moſt curious points of antiquity, and may ſerve as a touch-ſtone, to diſtinguiſh primitive doctrines from modern errors which have been built upon them. Secondly, they are a very proper model, both as to ſtyle and method, for the teaching any ſubject of Divinity. Dr. Lupton, in a letter to Mr. Nelſon (99), has given us the following character of Biſhop Bull's ſermons. 'He abhorred affectation of wit, trains of fulſome 'metaphors, and nice words wrought up into tune'ful, pointed, ſentences, without any ſubſtantial 'meaning at the bottom of them. He looked upon 'ſermons, conſiſting of theſe ingredients, which 'ſhould be our averſion, and not our aim, as empty 'and frothy and trifling, as inconſiſtent with the dig'nity of ſerious and ſacred ſubjects, and as an indi'cation of a weak judgment.' After cenſuring the abuſe of *wit* in ſermons, the Biſhop goes on: 'The 'proper uſe even of true wit, doth require the very 'beſt judgment. And in both did this learned Pre'late excel, though he uſed the firſt very ſparingly 'in his ſermons; but the ſecond was abundantly 'demonſtrated in every one of them. For every 'one compriſed the principal truths which belonged 'to the ſubject, and thoſe were ranged into the moſt 'natural and eaſy order, illuſtrated with the utmoſt 'clearneſs, confirmed with the utmoſt ſtrength of rea'ſoning, and expreſſed in the moſt plain and ſignifi'cant words. And ſuch a rich vein of piety did run 'through the whole, as would have rendered it ac'ceptable and delightful to any man who is ſincerely 'religious,

(98) *Ib.* p. 480.

(99) *Ib.* p. 490.

‘ religious, though it were not attended with thoſe ‘ ſhadows of beauty and ornament, which are too ‘ often thought to be the beſt parts of a ſermon.’ Dr. Lupton concludes thus: *Thoſe therefore who are cenſorious enough to reflect with ſeverity upon the pious ſtrains, which are to be found in* St. Chryſoſtom, *Biſhop* Beveridge, *or Biſhop* Bull, *may poſſibly be good judges of an* ode *or an* eſſay, *but do not ſeem to criticize juſtly upon* ſermons, *or to expreſs a juſt value for* ſpiritual *things*. As to thoſe *diſcourſes*, which accompany the Biſhop's *ſermons*, the *firſt* relating to *The Doctrine of the Catholic Church for the firſt three Ages of Chriſtianity, concerning the Bleſſed Trinity, in oppoſition to Sabellianiſm and Tritheiſm*, was drawn up at the requeſt of a perſon of quality (*), who, having ſeriouſly conſidered the controverſy, then carried on between Dr. Sherlock and Dr. South, found himſelf not clear, as to the ſenſe of the firſt and pureſt ages of the Church, in reference to that great myſtery. The method his Lordſhip pitched upon to ſatisfy his doubts, was, to apply to Dr. Bull, that great maſter of Primitive Antiquity; but having no acquaintance with the Doctor, he communicated his thoughts to his worthy friend Mr. Archdeacon Parſons, Rector of Odington in Glouceſterſhire, who, being a neighbour, and intimately known to Dr. Bull, engaged him to comply with his Lordſhip's requeſt, and to draw up the diſcourſe in queſtion, which he incloſed in a letter to the Archdeacon, in order to be communicated to his Lordſhip. This diſcourſe was received with much ſatisfaction by the noble Lord, as appears by a letter addreſſed by him to Mr. Parſons (100). The next *Diſcourſe*, concerning which the reader may be apt to require ſome information, is the *fourth*, containing *Some Animadverſions on a Treatiſe of Mr.* Gilbert Clerke, *intitled* Ante-Niceniſmus, *ſo far as the ſaid author pretends to anſwer Dr.* George Bull'*s Defence of the Nicene Faith*. The manuſcript of theſe Animadverſions was found among Dr. Grabe's papers, but appears unqueſtionably to have been written by Dr. Bull. The book, which gave occaſion to theſe *Animadverſions*, was printed in 1695, under the title of *Ante-Niceniſmus*, or, *The Teſtimonies of the Fathers, who wrote before the Council of* Nice, *whence may be collected the Senſe of the Catholic Church touching the Trinity*. At the ſame time came out an Anſwer in Latin to Dr. Bull's *Defenſio Fidei*, &c. both written by Mr. Gilbert Clerke, who publiſhed his name with them. Theſe two treatiſes were accompanied by a third, without the author's name, intitled, *The true and antient Faith, concerning the Divinity of Chriſt, aſſerted, againſt Dr. George Bull's* Judgment of the Catholic Church, *&c.* (101). The *fifth* and laſt *Diſcourſe*, intitled, *Concerning the firſt Covenant, and the State of Man before the Fall, according to Scripture, and the Senſe of the Primitive Doctors of the Catholic Church*, ſeems to have been drawn up by the learned author about the time that he was engaged in the controverſy relating to *Juſtification*. It plainly appears, that it coſt him a great deal of labour and ſtudy, and he ſeemed, upon ſome occaſions, to expreſs himſelf favourably concerning it. For having lent it to a certain perſon, whoſe name he had forgot, it was loſt for many years, and recovered by the following accident. A neighbouring clergyman dying, Mr. Stephens, the Biſhop's ſon-in-law, bought part of his books, and among his pamphlets found this treatiſe, which he immediately brought to the author, who could not forbear declaring his ſatisfaction for the recovery of that, upon which he had beſtowed no ſmall pains. It was afterwards read by ſome conſiderable clergymen in the neighbourhood, and at laſt communicated to his particular friend Dr. Fowler, afterwards Biſhop of Glouceſter, in whoſe hands it had lain ſo long, that his Lordſhip, when Mr. Nelſon (publiſher of the Biſhop's Works) applied to him upon that account, had loſt all remembrance of it. However, at this editor's requeſt, Biſhop Fowler ſearched among his papers, and in a few days ſent him the manuſcript (102). B.

⁂ [That Biſhop Bull, a Proteſtant Prelate, ſhould receive the thanks of the whole body of the Clergy of France for his *Judicium Eccleſiæ Catholicæ*, is a ſingular circumſtance; but it doth not, in our eſtimation, reflect upon him any high degree of honour. The occaſion upon which theſe congratulations were ſent to him, detracts greatly from their value. Had he been diſtinguiſhed by ſuch a mark of reſpect, merely on account of his general defence of the doctrine of the Trinity, it might have been deemed honourable to him, as that doctrine hath ſo commonly been admitted by Chriſtian churches. But to be thanked by a national aſſembly of Roman Catholic Clergy, for vindicating anathemas, can confer no true glory on any man. Indeed, it gives us pain to think, that ſo pious, excellent, and learned a Prelate as Dr. Bull ſhould have applied his abilities to ſo unhappy a purpoſe. The curſes annexed to the Athanaſian and Nicene Creeds have been very much diſliked by many who firmly believed the Creeds themſelves. Nothing, in fact, can be more contrary to ſound reaſon, and the tenets and ſpirit of the Goſpel, than ſuch curſes. Is it poſſible for a liberal mind to imagine, that a man's ſalvation ſhall depend on his reception of a doctrine ſo abſtruſe, myſterious, and involved in difficulties, as *that* of the Trinity? Will not the moſt ardent piety, and the moſt ſincere and earneſt inveſtigation of truth, avail any thing in the ſight of God, if a perſon ſhould happen to be miſtaken in his opinion? Are ſome of the brighteſt ornaments of the Church of England (for ſuch might be mentioned) to be anathematized here, and to be excluded from eternal life hereafter, becauſe they embraced different ſentiments from thoſe of the Nicene Fathers? Moſt men of knowledge and literature, in the preſent age, will, we truſt, diſcard all ſuch ungenerous ideas.

It appears, from what is recorded of our good Biſhop, in Note [*AAA*], that he was not entirely free from a tincture of ſuperſtition. He thought that the poſſeſſors of lay-impropriations held them not only to the great prejudice of the church, but *very often to the ruin of their families, by that ſecret curſe, which is the uſual attendant on ſacrilegious poſſeſſions. He was able, he ſaid, to give inſtances of this kind, in ſome families of his acquaintance.* But nothing can be more fanciful and fallacious than concluſions of this nature. Other inſtances might, no doubt, have been produced, in which lay-impropriators had been proſperous and happy. We have not a right, in any caſe, to pronounce that the calamities which fall upon perſons and families are to be conſidered as divine judgments. In making theſe remarks, we do not mean to vindicate lay-impropriations, or to enter at all into that ſubject.

Biſhop Bull's Sermons, and the larger diſcourſes, an account of three of which is given in the laſt Note, were publiſhed in 1713, by Mr. Nelſon, in three volumes, octavo. The larger diſcourſes, one ſermon excepted, take up the whole of the third volume. In the firſt volume is a ſermon to prove, ‘ that the ‘ ſoul of man ſubſiſts after death, in a place of abode ‘ provided by God for it, till the reſurrection;’ and another to ſhew, that ‘ the middle ſtate of happineſs ‘ or miſery, allotted by God to every man preſently ‘ after death, according as he has been good or bad ‘ in his paſt life, is inconſiſtent with the Popiſh doc‘ trine of Purgatory.’ Theſe two diſcourſes, which were re-publiſhed, in 1765, by the late Profeſſor Chappelow, have not eſcaped the notice of the acute and learned writer of ‘ An Hiſtorical View of the ‘ Controverſy concerning an intermediate State, and ‘ the ſeparate Exiſtence of the Soul, between Death ‘ and the general Reſurrection,’ who hath been at ſome pains to point out the defects of Biſhop Bull's reaſoning. The ſame Author hath, likewiſe, made ſeveral ſtrictures on our Prelate's controverſy with Mr. Joſeph Truman (103). One of the ſermons in the Biſhop's firſt volume is ‘ concerning the great ‘ difficulty and danger of the prieſtly office;’ and there is another in which he labours not a little to prove, that pious perſons under the Old Teſtament diſpenſation had a firm perſuaſion of the reality of a future ſtate of life and bleſſedneſs. In the *ſecond* volume is a ſermon to ſhew, ‘ that the poverty ‘ of the firſt Preachers of the Goſpel was deſigned by ‘ Providence to convince the world of their ſincerity; ‘ and that even perſons divinely inſpired, and Mini‘ ſters of God, did not ſo wholly depend upon divine

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(*) Lord Arundel.

(100) *Ib.* p. 493—496.

(101) *Ib.* p. 497—511.

(102) Life, *&c.* p. 511. *ad finem.*

(103) Hiſtorical View, p. 140—164.

'inſpiration, but that they made uſe alſo of the ordinary help and means, ſuch as reading of books, 'with ſtudy and meditation on them, for their aſſiſtance in the diſcharge of their office.' From the books and parchments which St. Paul directed Timothy to bring with him, our learned Prelate obſerves, that the Apoſtle had read other writings beſide the Scriptures, and that what theſe writings were may beſt be collected from his *education*, and from thoſe footſteps and traces of his *reading* which appear in his ſpeeches and epiſtles. In conſidering this matter, the Biſhop goes through that courſe of ſtudies of which a *Jewiſh academical education* conſiſted. On the whole he concludes, that St. Paul was converſant with profane Authors, with Aratus, Epimenides, and Menander; that he had diligently peruſed the Epiſtle of Heraclitus the Epheſian, as Scultetus hath abundantly proved; and that, from his frequent uſe of Platonic phraſes, he had read likewiſe the writings of the Platoniſts.——By the *parchments* Dr. Bull underſtands St. Paul's Adverſaria, or Common Place Books; and thence infers, firſt, the benefit of ſuch collections, eſpecially to thoſe, who, like the Apoſtle, are poor and travel; and ſecondly, that if divinely inſpired perſons made uſe of ſuch helps, there muſt be much ſtronger reaſons why Miniſters of the Goſpel in general ſhould do ſo, who have only ordinary aſſiſtance. Hence alſo the Biſhop takes occaſion to treat of *the Schools of the Prophets*. The tendency of the whole diſcourſe ſeems to be to convey a rebuke to thoſe Clergymen who neglect their ſtudies (104).— We find, likewiſe, in the ſecond volume of our Prelate's ſermons, two on the exiſtence of Angels, and their office in reference to good men.

From the above account it appears, that ſome of the ſubjects, treated of by the pious and learned Author, are curious, and afford room for ingenuity and conjecture, perhaps too for miſtake. Beſides the larger diſcourſes in the third volume, there is a Charge, delivered to the Clergy of the Dioceſe of St. David's, 'on the principal parts and branches of the paſtoral office, with rules and directions for the due performance of each of them.'] K. and T.

(104) Robinſon's tranſlation of Claude's Eſſay on the Compoſition of a Sermon, vol. i. p. 436. note. Bull's Sermons, vol. ii. p. 397—431.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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